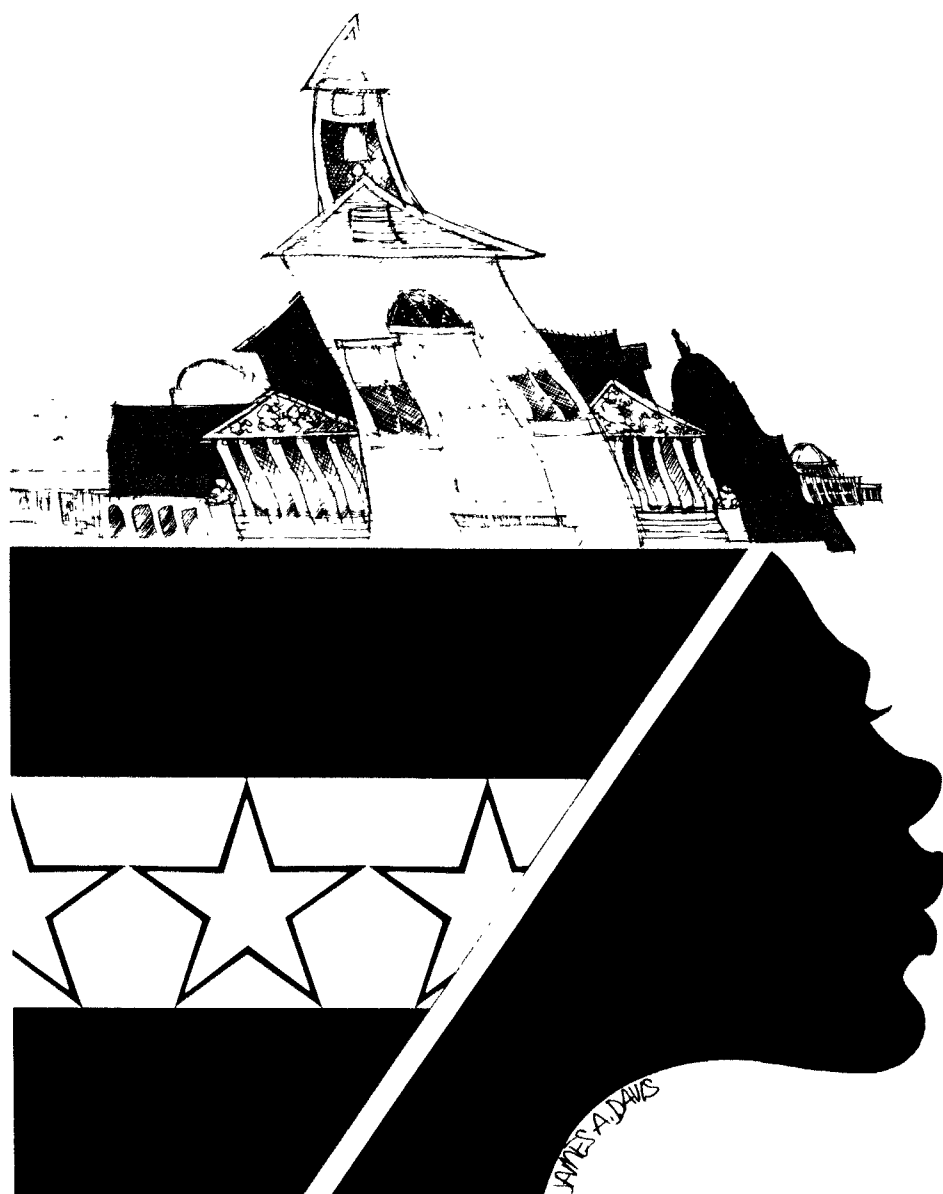


FOCUS

**Andrew Brimmer on
unemployment and teen wages**

Special section

Black women in electoral politics



Editor's note: JCPS President Eddie N. Williams, whose column usually appears in this space, is on vacation. Following is a commentary by William Doyle, reprinted with permission from the August 13 issue of The Nation. Although this article should not necessarily be taken to represent the views of the JCPS, we feel it may be of interest to our readers.

The 16 black members of the House of Representatives have organized a significant Black Caucus. A good example of what it can do was reported recently in the *Los Angeles Times*. This report was about two politicians.

F. Edward Hebert (D-La.) is chairman of the very important House Armed Services Committee because he has long seniority in Congress. Most chairmen of congressional committees are like Hebert; they are Democrats elected under election laws which inhibit the black vote . . .

The other man in the story is black Rep. Ron Dellums of Berkeley, Calif., the most outspoken radical in Congress. His latest speech in Los Angeles, for example, condemned the huge government loan to Lockheed as "welfare for the rich," and he made equally trenchant criticisms of the stranglehold which the great corporations have on American life. Dellums is the closest thing to a socialist to be elected to Congress in more than 20 years . . .

As he began his second term in Congress, Dellums wanted to be on the Armed Services Committee. Hebert wanted him off. Ordinarily the wish of Hebert, the committee chairman, would have been law. He is of the Congressional Establishment. But now the Black Caucus exists in Congress. Its members wanted Dellums on the committee. The *Los Angeles Times*

story reports a lot of complicated shenanigans, but the very impressive fact, a fact of the New Politics, is that Dellums is now on the committee.

Dellums won't do a lot as just one member of a committee. But he will do something. One thing he can do is point out to all black voters, day after day, that he is being held in check by a committee chairman elected by racists. This news will do a lot either to change the Democratic Party or to educate black voters on whom that party depends. (Four out of five black voters voted for McGovern; two out of three whites voted for Nixon.)

It is still true that both major parties are dominated by the major corporations of America, but these giants have some soft spots in their political armor, and elected representatives from the ghettos are in a position to test these weaknesses. It used to be that the safest seats in Congress were from the "Solid South." To a degree that is still true, but now some other seats are becoming even safer. Year after year, the growing black ghettos are returning their representatives to state and national government. These blacks are acquiring political seniority and some of the power that goes with it. Sure, the Establishment will attack this power and try to get around it, but a 16-strong Black Caucus is sure to grow.

Will these black politicians really be useful to the black poor? They will be just as useful as poor people are active—no more. Blacks have learned a bitter lesson these past 10 years; they can't win alone in the streets. Probably they can't win alone anywhere. But they can use the power which action in the streets has brought to the black community. If they can organize their voices, there are now more blacks in the government to respond.

FOCUS

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'Better Communities Act': How much better?

THE ADMINISTRATION'S proposed "Better Communities Act," sent to Congress last April as a special revenue sharing plan for urban community development, has attracted a variety of criticisms, some designed to change its form, others designed to kill it.

The bill would combine existing categorical aid programs into a single package and, like other revenue sharing programs and proposals, return most decision-making authority over the program to states and localities. The existing programs which would be combined into one are: urban renewal, model cities, open space land program, neighborhood facilities grants, rehabilitation loans, basic water and sewer facilities, and public facility loans.

These are physical development programs, but do not include housing. Many members of Congress are waiting for the Administration to produce its promised new subsidized housing proposals before acting on this special revenue sharing bill (see Telescope, page 7).

UNDER THE new proposal, money would be distributed under a formula directly to states, to cities with over 50,000 population and to "urban counties" (defined for the purposes of this legislation as counties of over 200,000 population, excluding the major city in the county). Smaller communities would be compelled to get funds through their states or counties.

Each community receiving the funds would be able to decide how to use the funds within a group of purposes which are generally the same as those under the present categorical programs. For instance, a community could decide to spend all of its funds under this proposal on water and sewer projects, or all on open space projects, or on any mix of purposes permitted under the act.

During the first five years of the program, a "hold harmless" clause would allow communities smaller than the minimum size defined in the act to continue receiving funds, in decreasing amounts, if they have received money under the existing categorical programs that are being replaced. Large cities, too, would be assured for the first five years of amounts roughly equal to previous categorical grants.

IN A SPEECH to the National Urban League convention in Washington last month, Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center, criticized portions of the proposed urban community development revenue sharing program.

"First, and most troubling," he said, "is that when you look past the words in the allocation formula, which calls for double-weighting the poverty factor, you see a hurt put on the cities, where we are, and a bonanza for the suburbs, where we ain't."

"For example, after five years Baltimore City's share would be down 46 percent, but Baltimore County's share would be up 237 percent. Pittsburgh's share would be down 46 percent while Allegheny County's share goes up 77 percent. St. Louis' share down 3 percent. St. Louis County's share up 293 percent."

Williams also pointed to the lack of safeguards to ensure that urgent needs, especially those most pressing to minorities, would be placed at the top of the list in many cities and states. He expressed concern about the lack of citizen participation language and the less than precise civil rights provisions which, though better than those in the general revenue sharing legislation, are still too weak in terms of federal responsibility.

WILLIAMS CALLED for four key tests in evaluating any special revenue sharing program:

"One: They must contain explicit national goals which take into account the needs of the poor and minorities. Where possible they should also provide financial incentives to governments which strive to meet these goals.

"Two: There must be a reasonable application and review process which will ensure that those localities most needing funds actually receive them and that those that receive them actually use them consistent with the national objectives.

"Three: There must be explicit and binding civil rights protections written into the law which take full account of the continuing need for federal enforcement; and

"Four: There must be strong provisions for effective community participation in the decision-making process."

OTHER ORGANIZATIONS and leaders have been similarly critical. Vernon Jordan, executive director of the National Urban League, spoke out flatly against special revenue sharing during his organization's annual conference in Washington. The National League of Cities, a long-time supporter of the concept of revenue sharing, expressed concern about several provisions of the present administration proposal. Some other analysts felt that many of the issues which had been resolved by compromise during debate in the last Congress were raised again by being reinserted in the administration's proposal this year.

Senator John Sparkman (D-Ala.), chairman of the Senate Banking, Housing and Urban Affairs Committee, has introduced his own proposal for block grants in the community development area which is more compatible with last year's compromise. The difference between block grants and special revenue sharing is basically that the former provides for more federal control and review of local uses of federal money than does the latter. Even these names have become important in the debate.

In all, the desirability of returning more control to states and localities continues to be debated. In visits to a number of communities, Joint Center staff members have heard continuing expressions of concern that blacks and the poor have been unable to significantly affect general revenue sharing fund expenditure in many localities. More facts are needed on how the general revenue sharing program is actually working. Persons with such information are encouraged to write or call the Research Department at the Joint Center.

A subminimum wage for teens?

Editor's note: Congress has passed legislation to increase the federal minimum wage in steps to \$2.20 an hour and to extend its coverage to an additional 7 million workers. The bill does not include a provision for a special "sub-minimum" level of \$1.60 to \$1.80 for teenagers, as had been recommended by the Administration. Republicans have warned that absence of such a provision would possibly provoke a presidential veto of the bill. This would bring the issue to wide debate.

The issue centers on this question: If employers are not permitted to hire teenagers at low wages, will they hire them at all? This becomes an especially acute question for the black community, where unemployment of young persons is already sky-high, and is related to many other problems, including crime rates.

In the following article, these questions are examined by economist Andrew F. Brimmer, the only black governor of the Federal Reserve Board, the independent body whose power to set bank interest rates and other matters has a pervasive effect on the national economy. Below is a section of a speech Brimmer delivered in March at the University of California at Los Angeles. The speech summarized his fourth annual assessment of the economic progress of blacks in the United States.

In his report, Brimmer notes that black youths have consistently lagged behind all other segments of the population in the economy. They made "virtually no progress toward improving their relative economic position" during the decade of the 60s, he notes. In fact, "among black youths the level of unemployment was 34,000 higher in 1969 than it was in 1961," while the figure declined for black adults and for all whites.

Here are his comments on the minimum wage and youth unemployment:

By Andrew F. Brimmer

The persistence of high levels of unemployment among youths—both black and white—is a widely-noted and troublesome problem. In fact, the situation among black youths is particularly distressing. In the fourth quarter of last year, the unemployment rate among workers between 16 and 19 years of age was 15.6 per cent—compared with an overall rate of 5.3 per cent, and rates of 3.6 per cent and 5.2 per cent, respectively, for adult males and adult females.

Among blacks, the overall rate in the same period was 9.9 per cent; it was 5.9 per cent for black men and 9.3 per cent for black women. But for black youths, the unemployment rate was 35.9 per cent. In contrast, among whites the overall rate was 4.7 per cent. It was 3.4 per cent for white men, 4.6 per cent for white women and 13.2 per cent for white youths.

As I also mentioned above, the youth unemployment rate has risen significantly in the last decade. Before the early 1960's, joblessness among youth was about two to three times the level of that of adults. However, since 1963, the rate has been four or five times greater. Moreover, the incidence of unemployment has fallen

more heavily on black youth: the ratio of the black youth unemployment rate to the white youth jobless rate rose from 1.80 in 1963 to 2.90 at the end of 1972.

Several developments over the past decade have contributed to the teenage unemployment problem: the substantial growth in the youth population, an increased proportion of school enrollees competing for part-time jobs, the movement of families from farms to the city where teenagers must compete in the urban labor market, and the effect of the draft with its attendant uncertainties.

IN ADDITION, the minimum wage laws have increasingly been a subject of scrutiny by economists attempting to analyze the youth unemployment problem. Last year amendments to the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) were introduced in Congress which provided for a youth "subminimum" wage. The Administration had proposed a 20 per cent differential for workers under 18 years old and for full time students. In addition, it recommended this 20 per cent differential for all 18 and 19 year olds for the first six months of their first job.

This proposal was an attempt to "... recognize that during the early phases of a first job, the young person is in need of familiarization and orientation with the world of work..." A bill introduced early this year incorporates substantially the same features. These proposals are based on the assumptions that increases in the level of minimum wages and broadening of the coverage have had an adverse impact on teenage employment opportunities.

A number of empirical studies have been conducted in an attempt to determine the relationship between the minimum wage and teenage employment. These studies, unfortunately, provide no consensus. A number purported to find disemployment effects among teenagers from rising minimum wages; others concluded these effects were not evident. While time does not permit an assessment of all of the studies, several major research efforts are reviewed below.

THE BUREAU of Labor Statistics conducted a series of studies, and reported that increases in the level and coverage of the Fair Labor Standards Act (FLSA) may have contributed to the employment problem of young people. Yet, BLS concluded that, in general, it was difficult to disentangle such effects from numerous other influences—such as growth in the youth population, the military draft and other factors.

From the results obtained from statistical analysis, some highly tentative conclusions emerged. Extensions of coverage of minimum wages may have more of an effect on teenage employment than the level of minimum wages; federal manpower programs may have offset the disemployment effect of minimum wage

Continued on page 5

Black women in electoral politics

WE ARE AWAKENING to the extent of female exclusion from full participation in many areas of professional life. Black women have been constrained from entering many fields, partly because of sexual discrimination which handicaps all women, and partly because of racial discrimination which handicaps all blacks.

Although there are approximately seven million black women of voting age in the United States today, a study of the latest *National Roster of Black Elected Officials*, published by the Joint Center, shows that black women hold only 337 of the more than 520,000 elective offices in the country. However, there has been about a 160 percent increase in the number of black women officeholders since 1969, when there were only 131 such women listed in that year's Roster (see Tables 1 and 2).

The increase for black men, from 1,099 in 1969 to 2,293 in 1973, was 108 percent. Thus, today, black women account for 12 percent of the 2,629 black elected officials in the country. In 1969 they were 10 percent of the national total of black elected officials.

Number and regional distribution

In 1973, as in 1969, about 45 percent of all black women in elective offices are in the South (see Table 3). In 1973 the states of the Old Confederacy alone account for roughly 34 percent of all black women in elective offices. In 1969 this figure was 39 percent.

The decline in the Old Confederacy's share, from 39 percent in 1969 to 34 percent in 1973, occurred because the number of black women elected officials in other parts of the country increased more rapidly. For example, the number of female black elected officials in the Northeast increased more than four-fold, from 21 to 94.

The continued concentration of black female as well as black male elected officials in the South undoubtedly reflects the concentration of blacks in small Southern communities, vigorous registration and voter education projects and the protections of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.

New York is the state with the greatest number of black women elected officials, with 37. In 1969 there were three. Michigan, with 30, and Mississippi, with 22, rank second and third in the number of black women holding elective offices.

These three states with the greatest number of black female elected officials are also the ones with the greatest number of black male elected officials. Moreover, these states rank among the top ten in the percentage of blacks of voting age.

This study was prepared by Herrington J. Bryce, director of research for JCPS, and Alan E. Warrick, research assistant.

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All but two of the 37 black females who hold elective offices in the state of New York serve on school boards, mostly in New York City where blacks account for roughly 20 percent of the voting age population. In Mississippi the black women are not concentrated in any specific town in that state. In Michigan most black women elected officials are members of school boards, and most reside in the greater Detroit area, where blacks account for 39 percent of the voting age population.

Offices held

The most common elective offices held by black females are those related to education, primarily on local school boards. In the nation as a whole, about 44 percent of all black female elected officials are in that category (see Table 4). The concentration of women in education is greatest in the Northeast. There, 69 percent of all elected black women are in offices related to education, compared with 28 percent in the South, 35 percent in the Midwest, and 52 percent in the West.

The fact that black women are concentrated in education is related to the high proportion of educated black women who are teachers and the traditional concern of women with the welfare of children. It is also related to the perception by the electorate that education outside of the university is primarily a female function. Only 27 percent of black male elected officials are in offices related to education.

The second most common offices held by black women are those on the municipal level. About 31 percent of all black women elected officials are in municipal offices. This compares with about 41 percent of black men. Thus, while black women are concentrated in offices related to education, black men are concentrated in offices on the municipal level.

Like black men, black women are least visible at the county and federal levels. This is particularly distressing since many governmental responsibilities of critical importance to blacks are discharged on the county level, such as water and sewer, zoning, education, health and welfare. In a sense, blacks are acutely under-represented at the level where global and national decisions are made (the federal level) and on the county level where men and women make the "nitty-gritty" decisions—many of which loom large with the new thrusts of revenue sharing, the "new federalism" and local government reorganization.

Upward mobility and tenure

Often one elective office is a stepping stone to a higher office. However, this study finds that there was little upward mobility among black women elected officials between 1969 and 1973. Most notable among those who did move upward were State Senator Barbara Jordan of Texas and State Assemblywoman Yvonne Brathwaite Burke of California, both of whom moved from state legislatures to the U.S. House of

Continued on next page

Continued

Representatives, and Doris A. Davis, who became mayor of Compton, California, after serving two terms as city clerk.

This lack of observed mobility may be due, in part, to the fact that some of the incumbents who took office in 1969 may not have completed their terms of office by April, 1973, the printing deadline for the latest Roster. But this does not appear to be too important, because only about 61, or roughly 46 percent, of the 131 women who were in office in 1969 are also in office in 1973 (see Table 5). This suggests that the rate of attrition among black women in elected office was nearly 54 percent over a four-year period. That is, about half of the black women listed in the first volume of the Roster are no longer in the offices they held in 1969.

The lack of tenure in office is a significant drawback since long-term service is often an important element in the acquisition of power. This instability in office is an ominous sign, even if some of these black women have been replaced by other blacks. The real objective should be the retention of current black political gains and the expansion of the total number of capable black officeholders.

Black females in county-level offices are the least likely to be building up seniority. The retention rate of black women in these offices between 1969 and 1973 was 14.2 percent—meaning that nearly 86 percent of all black women who held county-level offices in 1969 do not hold similar offices today. The retention rate is highest among those black women elected officials who hold offices related to education. Nearly 60 percent of those who held these offices in 1969 hold similar offices today.

Comparison of black and white women

It would be interesting to compare black and white women elected officials along several dimensions. However, the available data on white women are incomplete. While we do not have complete data for white women, Table 6 helps us to make some comparisons. It does not contain the total number of white women officeholders because the available data do not show county and school board positions. We see that black women account for an impressive 25 percent of all women in federal offices—the House of Representatives. But they account for only 6 percent of the 466 women in state level positions.

Conclusions and discussions

In just four years the black female has more than doubled her presence among elected public officials. While this is impressive, we are sobered by the reality of her continued underrepresentation. She accounts for an infinitesimally small percentage of all elected officials and only about 12 percent of black elected officials.

Why is the black female so underrepresented? There are several possible explanations.

Certainly one of the most important explanations lies in the society's discriminatory attitudes towards women

which only recently have begun to give way and to tolerate female entry into various male-dominated occupations, including electoral politics. Women won the right to vote just over 50 years ago—in 1920 through the 19th Amendment to the U.S. Constitution. Seven years later Mrs. E. Howard Harper was appointed (to succeed her deceased husband) to the state legislature in West Virginia. Mrs. Harper's position was, at that time, the highest elective office held by a black woman, and she was the first black woman to reach that plateau.

It was not until 1938, however, that a black woman, Crystal Bird Fauset, was elected to a major public office. She was elected to the Pennsylvania State Assembly.

In 1968 black women achieved an important breakthrough on the national political scene with the election to the U.S. Congress of Shirley A. Chisholm, who became the first black woman to serve in that body. Today there are four black women in the U.S. House of Representatives: Mrs. Chisholm, Cardiss Collins, Yvonne Brathwaite Burke, and Barbara C. Jordan.

Today there are at least four black women mayors: Lelia Foley of Taft, Oklahoma; Doris A. Davis of Compton, California; Ellen Walker Craig of Urbancrest, Ohio, and Sophia Mitchell of Rendsville, Ohio. Mrs. Mitchell, former president of the city council, was appointed by the city council following the resignation of the previous mayor. (Because she was not elected to office, she is not included in our tally of elected officials.)

In addition to sexual discrimination, a major explanation for the underrepresentation of black females in elective offices is racial discrimination. It was not until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 that some of the racial barriers to black political participation began to crumble. This act was buttressed by vigorous private voter registration and voter education efforts. Partly as a result of these, blacks, including black women, made important gains in electoral politics. Yet, blacks account for less than one-half of one percent of all elected officials.

Gains by black women appear likely to continue in the future as sexual and racial discrimination ease; as black women gain easier access to funds and to the political fund-raising mechanisms; as their level of awareness of the political process moves upward through political socialization, and as there is an increase in the number of educated black women willing to hold political office and willing to assume the responsibilities inherent in winning and holding public service positions.

It is interesting that the educational factor seems to have less impact on the success or failure in politics of black men and many white men—especially on the local level. For example, black men, whose educational attainment is comparable to black women and whose voting age population is roughly 1.9 million less than black women, hold just over seven times as many elective positions. But, both black women and black men are seriously underrepresented in electoral politics.

Table I
BLACK WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS
1969

	FEDERAL		STATE		COUNTY	MUNICIPAL			LAW ENFORCEMENT				EDUCATION						
	SENATOR	REPRESENTATIVES	STATE EXECUTIVES	SENATORS		REPRESENTATIVES	COMMISSIONERS SUPERVISORS COUNCILMEN	OTHER COUNTY OFFICIALS	MAYORS	VICE MAYORS	COUNCILMEN ALDERMEN COMMISSIONERS	OTHER LOCAL OFFICIALS	JUDGES JUSTICES MAGISTRATES	CHIEFS OF POLICE CONSTABLES MARSHALS SHERIFFS	JUSTICES OF THE PEACE	OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS	STATE AND COLLEGE BOARDS	LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS	OTHER EDUCATION OFFICIALS
TOTAL																			
Alabama											1			2	4				
Alaska																			
Arizona																		3	
Arkansas																			
California																		12	
Colorado																			
Connecticut											1	2						1	
Delaware											1								
District of Columbia																		3	
Florida											5								
Georgia																			
Illinois											1		1					5	
Indiana											1							1	
Iowa																			
Kansas																			
Kentucky											1								
Louisiana																			
Maine											2								
Maryland											1								
Massachusetts																			
Michigan											2							1	
Minnesota																		5	
Mississippi											5	6						2	
Missouri											2							1	
Nebraska																			
Nevada																			
New Hampshire																			
New Jersey																			
New Mexico																			
New York		1									1								
North Carolina																			
Ohio											1							1	
Oklahoma																		2	
Oregon											1								
Pennsylvania																		3	
Rhode Island																			
South Carolina																			
Tennessee											1							2	
Texas																			
Vermont																			
Virginia																			
Washington											1								
West Virginia																			
Wisconsin											1								
Wyoming																			
TOTALS	131	1	3	13	5	2				27	11	8	2	5	1	4	49		

Table II
BLACK WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS
1973

	FEDERAL		STATE		COUNTY		MUNICIPAL			LAW ENFORCEMENT				EDUCATION			
	SENATOR	REPRESENTATIVES	STATE EXECUTIVES	SENATORS	REPRESENTATIVES	COMMISSIONERS SUPERVISORS COUNCILMEN	MAYORS	VICE MAYORS	COUNCILMEN ALDERMEN COMMISSIONERS	OTHER LOCAL OFFICIALS	JUDGES JUSTICES MAGISTRATES	CHIEFS OF POLICE CONSTABLES MARSHALS SHERIFFS	JUSTICES OF THE PEACE	OTHER LAW ENFORCEMENT OFFICIALS	STATE AND COLLEGE BOARDS	LOCAL SCHOOL BOARDS	OTHER EDUCATION OFFICIALS
TOTAL																	
Alabama																	
Alaska																	
Arizona																	
Arkansas																	
California		1					1										
Colorado																	
Connecticut																	
Delaware																	
District of Columbia																	
Florida																	
Georgia																	
Illinois		1															
Indiana																	
Iowa																	
Kansas																	
Kentucky																	
Louisiana																	
Maine																	
Maryland																	
Massachusetts																	
Michigan																	
Minnesota																	
Mississippi																	
Missouri																	
Nebraska																	
Nevada																	
New Hampshire																	
New Jersey																	
New Mexico																	
New York		1															
North Carolina																	
Ohio																	
Oklahoma																	
Oregon																	
Pennsylvania																	
Rhode Island																	
South Carolina																	
Tennessee																	
Texas		1															
Vermont																	
Virginia																	
Washington																	
West Virginia																	
Wisconsin																	
Wyoming																	
TOTALS	337	4	3	26	10	7	3	2	69	31	10	7	14	1	5	145	

TABLE IV
DISTRIBUTION OF BLACK MEN AND WOMEN ELECTED
OFFICIALS BY OFFICE HELD: 1973

OFFICE	BLACK MEN %	BLACK WOMEN %
FEDERAL	*	1.2
STATE	11.0	8.6
COUNTY	8.4	5.1
MUNICIPAL	41.4	31.0
LAW ENFORCEMENT	13.1	9.5
EDUCATION	27.0	44.6

TABLE V
RETENTION RATES OF BLACK WOMEN
IN ELECTIVE OFFICES

Black Women Holding Elective Office in 1969 and 1973		
OFFICE	NUMBER	Number as percent of 1969 total* (Retention Rates)
FEDERAL	1	100.0
STATE	7	43.7
COUNTY	1	14.2
MUNICIPAL	16	42.1
LAW ENFORCEMENT	4	25.0
EDUCATION	32	60.3
TOTAL	61	46.5

*For total in each office see Table I.

TABLE VI
COMPARISON OF BLACK AND WHITE WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS

OFFICES	TOTAL		WHITE		BLACK	
	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%	NUMBER	%
FEDERAL	16	75	12	75	4	25
STATE	466	94	437	94	29	6

Calculation based on data provided by National Womens Political
Caucus, 1302 18th St., N. W., Suite 703, Washington, D. C. 20036 and
The National Roster of Black Elected Officials: 1973 (Joint Center for
Political Studies, Washington, D. C.)

Table III
BLACK WOMEN ELECTED OFFICIALS BY
REGION : 1973

REGION	NUMBER	PERCENT DISTRIBUTION
NORTHEAST	94	27.9
SOUTH	144	42.8
(Old Confederacy)	117	34.8
MIDWEST	74	21.7
WEST	25	7.1

*Column might not add up to 100 percent because of rounding errors

REGIONS:

Northeast - Connecticut, Delaware, D.C., Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, Vermont, and West Virginia.

South - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Kentucky, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, Oklahoma, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Midwest - Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Michigan, Minnesota, Missouri, Nebraska, Ohio, and Wisconsin.

West - Alaska, Arizona, California, Colorado, Nevada, New Mexico, Oregon, Washington, and Wyoming.

Old Confederacy - Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas and Virginia.

Continued from page 4

changes; and FLSA seemed to have had a larger effect on 16-17 year olds than on 18-19 year olds. In a related study, the BLS found that employer attitudes (as reflected in a BLS survey) suggested that a substantial youth wage differential (at least 20 per cent) might provide an incentive to overcome the apprehension of employers about the quality of teenage job seekers—especially 16 and 17 year olds.

OTHER RESEARCHERS have reached different conclusions. One of these found that increases in either the level or coverage of FLSA led to an increase in teenage joblessness. The author of this study employed a statistical technique in which he regressed unemployment rates by age, sex, and race against the jobless rate for males 25 and older, the minimum wage as a proportion of average hourly earnings, and the proportion of black teenagers in the population. He observed that the increases in unemployment among teenagers corresponding to an increase in either the level or coverage of minimum wage were higher for black youth than for white and for females than for males. When the same analysis was applied to men 20-24, FLSA changes did not appear to have a noticeable impact.

However, this study may not have included all the relevant variables. Notably the author did not account for the increased proportion of all teenagers in the labor force, and another study which took into account the sharp rise in the teenage population reported no statistically significant unemployment effects.

Another study reached conclusions similar to those described above. Using statistical techniques which related the employment rates of teenagers to "normal" employment (trend growth), transitional employment (the difference between normal and actual employment) and the minimum wage as a percentage of average hourly earnings times the estimated coverage, the authors concluded that increases in the minimum wage sharpened the vulnerability of teenage employment to cyclical fluctuations and also decreased the teenage share of total employment. Moreover, the authors found that black youth bore a disproportionate share of the disemployment effects. However, a criticism may be leveled at this study, too, on the grounds that the authors excluded from their analysis other factors—such as population growth, school enrollments, etc.—which would presumably have had an effect on the teenage share of employment.

IT IS DIFFICULT to draw firm conclusions from these empirical studies unless one is willing to play one methodology off against another. On balance, however, I think the evidence tentatively suggests that changes in the FLSA may have had some adverse impact on teenage employment—especially through the extension of FLSA coverage to service and trade establishments with amendments in 1961 and 1966.

In the light of this tentative conclusion—and given the extremely serious problem of youth unemployment (particularly among black teenagers)—I think a youth differential may, to some extent, alleviate the burden of youth unemployment. But I would not expect the establishment of a below-minimum entry wage to result in an expansion of the teenage share of employment. Instead, a differential might maintain the employment status quo in that it might preserve jobs which may otherwise disappear with increases in the minimum wage. And, judging from the evidence presented in some of the research studies, I would expect a youth differential to have the greatest impact on 16-17 year olds—the majority of whom are currently earning less than the minimum wage.

I APPRECIATE the fact that a number of economists, public officials, and other observers (as well as officials of trade unions) have long held the view that such a provision would undercut the hard-won gains made by the labor movement over many years. I admit that if employers could pay wages below the statutory minimum, they most likely would use the option to attract employees whom they otherwise might not be willing to put on their payroll. That is precisely the point: the willingness of employers to bring in teenagers as well as any other employees presupposes that the productivity of the newly-hired worker would at least equal the wage—after some reasonable allowance for learning time. On the record, it appears that a substantial number of employers have concluded that a considerable proportion of young people simply cannot meet that test. An entry wage below the statutory minimum would help to reduce this employment disincentive.

At the same time, I also realize that safeguards would have to be built into any amendment to the Fair Labor Standards legislation. Undoubtedly, some employers would attempt to replace some of their high-wage employees with workers to whom they could pay less. But the extent of that risk is uncertain. Against it must be offset the present certainty of persistent high unemployment among young people. I know that any substitution of lower paid youth workers for higher paid, more mature employees would involve some cost; but some benefits would also result. Thus, it becomes a question of trade-offs. Under the circumstances which are already prevailing, a disproportionate share of the burden of unemployment is borne by teenagers. This is especially true in the case of black teenagers.

So, I have concluded that the appropriate course for public policy at this juncture is to shift some of that burden to the shoulders of those better able to bear it. If this requires the use of public funds to provide modest subsidies to private employers to induce them to hire more teenagers while limiting the replacement of more skilled workers, I personally believe that would be a good use of the public's tax money.

Whatever happened to impounding?

A FUNNY THING has happened to the Nixon Administration on its way to the Treasury with congressionally appropriated money it sought to "impound," rather than spend on a variety of social programs.

It's been stopped in its tracks by a series of court decisions holding that the Administration's refusal to spend money allocated by Congress is illegal. And now Congress is readying legislation to provide itself with its own weapons to head off any more impoundment moves.

Court decisions have been handed down ordering the Administration to unfreeze funds appropriated for such purposes as housing subsidies, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, elementary and secondary education, the Office of Economic Opportunity, and community mental health centers.

Housing—A federal judge on July 23 ordered the Department of Housing and Urban Development to reinstate three programs that had been discontinued last January. They are rent supplements for the poor; assistance to home buyers under Section 235 of the 1968 Housing Act, and assistance to low- and moderate-income apartment tenants under Section 236 of the same act.

Money for operations of public housing projects which ran out with the fiscal year is not affected by the ruling.

U.S. District Court Judge Charles R. Richey of the District of Columbia said in his ruling: "The fact that the (HUD) secretary is dissatisfied with these programs is immaterial if the congressional mandate requires that they be operated on a continuing basis."

Replacement programs are being prepared; see Telescope, p. 7.

HUD asked the Justice Department to seek a stay of Richey's ruling from the U.S. Court of Appeals; the case was still pending as of mid-August.

OEO—The Administration's attempts to dismantle the Office of Economic Opportunity have been thwarted, at least temporarily, by another U.S. District Court judge and by congressional appropriation of money for the agency in the 1974 fiscal year.

In June, Judge William B. Jones of the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia ruled that Howard Phillips, then acting director of OEO with orders to demolish it, was holding his job illegally. Phillips had been on the job five months but had never been nominated for a permanent presidential appointment and subjected to congressional scrutiny.

Two weeks later, Jones asked for the names of all OEO officers who could authorize expenditures. He then told them to process some 600 grant applications that had accumulated, and to finish the job before the 1973 fiscal year ended June 30—a period of four days. It was later reported that OEO officials complied with his ruling, and many local projects got the money they had sought.

Youth Corps—The Administration is appealing a June decision by a federal judge in Newark, N.J., ordering the Labor Department to release \$239 million for Neighborhood Youth Corps programs across the nation. The judge set a June 30 deadline for releasing the funds.

Summer Youth Corps funds have reportedly been distributed because of the order. If the judge's order is later reversed on appeal, it seems likely that the government will ask cities to pay back only the money they haven't spent by then, but will not ask them to pay back their entire Summer Corps allotments, according to advice from the National League of Cities.

Others—Federal judges in the District of Columbia have also ordered the Department of Health, Education elementary and secondary education and for community mental health centers. Whether the money will actually be spent will depend on the outcome of further considerations in the two cases. Earlier a federal judge also ordered the Environmental Protection Agency to make available \$6 billion to local and state governments for water pollution and sewage treatment programs.

Congress acts—Only one court case, involving money from the Highway Trust Fund, has yet been decided on the appellate level. The verdict there was in favor of freeing the funds. Until one of the pending cases is decided by the Supreme Court—many months away, perhaps years—to stop each impoundment effort would require a new court battle.

To prevent impoundments across the board, both houses of Congress have passed bills empowering Congress to block an impoundment effort. Differences between the two bills are now being ironed out by a House-Senate conference committee.

The House bill, passed July 25, requires the President to notify Congress of any impoundment within 10 days. If either chamber of Congress adopts a resolution disapproving of the impoundment within 60 days, the money would have to be freed.

The Senate bill would require the President to free impounded money unless both houses of Congress approve the impoundment within 60 days.

Both bills also set budget ceilings for the 1974 fiscal year, but require the President to stay within the ceiling by cutting from all programs proportionally.

Labor-HEW money may be vetoed—Meanwhile, a presidential veto appears imminent of the House-passed appropriations for a package of Labor, HEW and OEO programs, which together would cost \$1.25 billion more than the Administration requested. Accounting for the extra money are such programs as education for disadvantaged children, hospital construction and modernization, OEO community action programs, legal services for the poor and senior citizens programs, all of which the Administration wants to reduce in scope or eliminate entirely. A Senate vote is expected in September.

Ups, downs in black mayor races

Heated races involving black mayoral candidates have developed in Detroit and Atlanta, while divisions among black politicians in Cleveland have apparently ended the possibility of a black candidacy there. Here is the rundown for these and other cities:

Detroit—Nineteen names will be on the non-partisan primary ballot September 11, but only two will remain for the Nov. 6 general election. Press attention has concentrated on five "major" candidates. Two blacks are in this group: former Wayne County Judge Edward Bell, a Republican, and State Senator Coleman Young, a Democrat. Their "major" white competitors are Mel Ravitz, president of the city council; John Nichols, Detroit police commissioner, and John Mogk, a law professor at Wayne State University. Another black in the race is Mrs. LaNell Buffington, a Neighborhood Youth Corps worker in the city.

According to press reports, the candidates' private polls show the top major contenders to be Ravitz, Nichols and Bell, although each poll shows a different order. Between 30 and 40 percent of the voters answering each poll were either undecided or leaning for a "minor" candidate, however.

Atlanta—As the Oct. 2 general election draws closer, the most vocal contest seems to be between the two black mayoral candidates, State Sen. Leroy Johnson and Vice Mayor Maynard Jackson. Johnson has aimed most of his ammunition at Jackson, who has the backing of much of the liberal business community and is generally regarded the front-runner. A third black candidate, Rev. W. J. Stafford, has pulled out and endorsed Jackson.

Major white candidates in the race are former Congressman Charles Weltner and incumbent Mayor Sam Massell.

Cleveland—The Oct. 2 mayoral primary has been left with no black candidate after Rev. Alfred M. Waller, a Baptist minister, withdrew. He had been endorsed by the 21st Congressional District Caucus, led by U.S. Rep. Louis Stokes. Stokes had hoped to field a black candidate against incumbent Mayor Ralph J. Perk and Democratic challenger James M. Carney, but the Waller campaign had trouble raising funds. Several members of the caucus resigned rather than support Waller, whom they considered a weak candidate. Many other black politicians had already lined up behind the Democrat, including black leaders George Forbes, city council president, and Arnold Pinkney, school board president.

Stokes and his brother, Carl, former Cleveland mayor, formed the independent caucus in 1970 in a break with the local county Democratic organization. Pinkney and Forbes split with the caucus and returned to the regular Democratic party fold last year.

Other cities—In Plainfield, N.J., a city of 47,000 population southwest of Newark, Democrat Richard Roundtree, a black city council member, is running for

mayor against Republican Paul O'Keefe. In Miami, Wellington Rolle, president of the Greater Miami NAACP, has announced his bid for mayor in the November nonpartisan primary. He has previously run unsuccessfully for the Dade County School Board and the Metro Commission of Miami-Dade County.

HUD study urges cash housing allowances

The administration's low-income housing program to replace the programs frozen last January will probably include cash grants to the aged and, perhaps later, other segments of the poor, according to press reports.

A **Washington Post** report says Housing and Urban Development Secretary James T. Lynn is likely to propose that the programs that were frozen earlier be eliminated. These programs had provided subsidies to builders and developers who rented or sold housing to low- and moderate-income families. Under the new plan reportedly being considered, subsidies would be given directly to the families.

The aged poor would be first in line for such subsidies, with others below the poverty line to be added if the program works for the elderly, according to the newspaper account.

Lynn also wants to move away from programs to build new housing for the poor. Instead, he would rely primarily on helping the poor find decent shelter in existing units, the report said. In areas where existing housing is in short supply, however, HUD reportedly would contract with builders to rent to lower-income tenants, or guarantee the rent on a certain percentage of the units in a middle-class apartment development, allowing lower-income families to move in.

The administration has said it will announce its new housing plan by Sept. 7.

NBC/LEO charts action for more influence

Creative new methods of financing its operations, the feasibility of sponsoring a national conference of black elected officials and strategies to gain more influence within its parent organization dominated discussion at the steering committee meeting of the National Black Caucus of Local Elected Officials (NBC/LEO) in Detroit.

The one-day session on August 15 at the Detroit Hilton also focused on additional pressures that might be brought to bear on the Treasury Department to convince the latter to take the undercount of black population in consideration in connection with the equitable allocations of revenue sharing monies.

NBC/LEO's steering committee meeting, which coincided with the board meeting of its parent National League of Cities, drew the most impressive array of black municipal officials to date. The largest cities with black mayors were represented by their chief executives, including Mayors Tom Bradley of Los Angeles, Richard Hatcher of Gary, Ind., and James H. McGee of Dayton, Ohio. Mayor Kenneth Gibson of

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Newark, N.J., detained in his city by the press of municipal business, sent a high-level personal advisor to represent him at the steering committee meeting.

The NBC/LEO leadership gave some priority to the routine business of maintaining itself as a viable force in public policy discussions. It also carefully planned the strategy it will use to encourage greater visibility for the black perspective on city problems at the annual conference of the National League of Cities, scheduled for December 2 - 6 at San Juan, Puerto Rico.

The Joint Center for Political Studies hosted a working luncheon for NBC/LEO's steering committee and provided its customary support services.

Districting efforts advance

In Chicago, U.S. District Court Judge Thomas R. McMillen has ordered a shift in the boundaries of the 7th ward on the city's South Side, resulting in an increase in the percentage of black voters in the ward from 27 to 52.

McMillen found that the city council had drawn the ward lines to exclude blacks, although the area has undergone a shift from majority white to mostly black residents in recent years. He ruled that the 7th ward reflected the only clear instance of the gerrymandering of ward lines, although plaintiffs in the case had charged that other wards had also been drawn to safeguard the seats of white aldermen.

A special election to choose a new alderman for the 7th ward has been set for Nov. 27.

In Boston, the Massachusetts legislature has passed a third version of a state senate redistricting bill which sets up a senate district which contains most of the city's black population. Black neighborhoods had been split up among four different senate districts, and as a result there have been no blacks in the state senate.

One earlier redistricting effort was vetoed by Gov. Francis W. Sargent because it failed to assure black representation; a second was sent back to legislative committee because of opposition of the Black Caucus in the House (see July *Focus*).

Gov. Sargent signed the new bill on August 21.

Congressional caucus sets annual dinner

Three thousand guests are expected to pay \$100 each to attend the Congressional Black Caucus' third annual fund-raising dinner, scheduled for September 29 in the Washington Hilton Hotel in the nation's capital.

The event is the primary source of funds for operations of the caucus, paying for salaries and offices of its staff and other expenses. The caucus consists of the 16 black members of the U.S. House of Representatives.

Guest of honor at the dinner will be Thomas Bradley, first black mayor of Los Angeles. Sen. Edward W. Brooke (R-Mass.) will be the principal speaker.

Dean named to JCPS post

John Dean, the former minorities division director of the Democratic National Committee, has joined the staff of the Joint Center in a dual capacity as director of special projects and special assistant to JCPS President Eddie N. Williams. Dean's appointment was effective on July 1.

Dean served JCPS as a consultant during the year previous to his appointment to the permanent staff. He brings to his new position years of experience in government and in grass roots political action. In addition to his stint at the Democratic National Committee, Dean has served as a high-level advisor to the 1972 presidential primary campaign organization formed by Sen. Edmund Muskie (D-Me.).

Powell to head equal job opportunity panel

John H. Powell, Jr., general counsel to the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights since 1970, has been nominated by President Nixon to be chairman of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission.

Powell, a black Republican, was chairman from 1962 to 1964 of the political action committee of New York State's NAACP conference of branches, and in the early 1960s was a special counsel for the Southern Christian Leadership Conference defending persons arrested in the North Carolina lunch counter sit-ins. He has also been a counsel for Celanese Fibers Group and the Inmont Corp.

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