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FOCUS

The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

Turning Boys to Men

Community-Based Programs for At-Risk Young Black Males Are Highlighted at a Joint Center Conference

Programs That Serve Young Black Males

A Statistical Study Conducted by the Joint Center Shows That Programs Serving Young Black Males Are Generally Underfunded

The Congressional Black Caucus in the 103rd Congress

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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A Partnership for Empowerment

Ten years ago this August in an article for *Ebony* magazine I predicted the development of more statewide political caucuses composed of black elected officials. In that article, I projected that such caucuses would bring together a broad cross-section of leaders to develop common agendas and action plans at every level of government. These caucuses would help individual political officials increase their political strength as well as their influence in the process of decision-making in the economic and public policy arenas. Nationally these groups could form new, potentially powerful networks. Looking back at those words, I am pleased to see my prediction coming true as more caucuses have come into being around the country.

The challenge to caucuses of African American political leaders a decade ago was to build coalitions of conscience and clout to pursue our interests in a complex and rapidly changing nation and world. That challenge is as valid today as it was then. Similarly, the need for caucuses is just as pressing since they provide forums and networks for sharing information and ideas, and offer opportunities to address common problems, debate options, and reach consensus on critical issues. Viable black caucuses—whether they are made up of local, state, or federal officials or of other leaders—are formidable entities which can influence decisions in legislative bodies and executive offices. They also put those who might oppose or be indifferent to our concerns on notice. In addition, caucuses create a framework for outreach to other groups and for building strategic coalitions around specific issues without diluting the unity and priorities of the black caucuses.

The last point is especially important if one looks at the demographic changes that are dramatically altering the communities where African Americans have been making major strides in government and business. Joint Center studies show that more than 40 percent of the nation's population growth in the decade between 1980 and 1990 stemmed from immigration. Seventy-five percent of these "new" Americans were either Latino or Asian, many of whom have settled in and around areas where the majority of black Americans live.

With Latinos projected to rival African Americans in numerical strength by the beginning of the next century, and with the rapid growth of recent immigration from the Pacific rim, it behooves black political leaders to develop coalitions with other minority groups, to pursue mutual interests, and to avoid needless competition for slices of a decreasing economic pie. Nor do we want to get bogged down by arguments about which group is being victimized most. We can prevent a divide-and-conquer scenario by building effective coalitions.

A decade from now I would hope to see even more caucuses and coalitions, more working together for common goals. These groups would be well served if they abided by three precepts that have been central to the Joint Center's mission since its founding nearly a quarter of a century ago: political action makes things happen; politics and economics are the siamese twins of American public policy; and knowledge is power. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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Turning Boys to Men

Community-Based Programs for At-Risk Young Black Males Are Highlighted at a Joint Center Conference

by Allison J. King

"I was sitting in a third grade class recently, teaching kids some math problems, when I asked them about their goals in life. The children were from low-income families, probably 60 percent were black and the rest Hispanic. I noticed that there was a little boy sitting in a corner outside of the group. His name was Tony, and I asked the rest of the children to move aside a little to let him sit right next to me. After some prodding, Tony finally shared with the class that he wanted to be a doctor. When I asked him why, he said so he could help people. He said, 'I want to be a doctor because I want to be able to help the next person who gets shot around me.'"

This disturbing account was related by Dr. Freeman Hrabowski, the African American president of the University of Maryland–Baltimore County and a Joint Center board member, during the Center's June 6 conference on "Fulfilling the Promise: Community Programs for Young Black Males." As the luncheon speaker for this day-long conference, Hrabowski emphasized the need to instill in black youth the belief they are capable of achieving academic success. In 1988, Hrabowski teamed with Baltimore philanthropist Robert E. Meyerhoff to launch the multimillion dollar Meyerhoff Scholarship Program that prepares minority high school students for academic careers in the sciences, engineering, and medicine and supports them with scholarships. Over 150 students have already benefited from this nationally acclaimed program.

Hrabowski's comments underscored a panel discussion, which took place during the first part of the conference, among four directors of community-based programs that work with black youth. They focused on the challenges of empowering young people while sustaining the financial viability of their programs. The conference also provided a forum for the release of preliminary findings of a study conducted by Joint Center researchers Todd A. Turner and Katherine McFate, "Community Programs That Serve Young Black Males." The report is summarized in a feature in this issue of *FOCUS*, "Programs That Serve Young Black Males," (see page 5).

The four program directors who made panel presentations were: Keith Givens, executive director of Operation Teamwork in St. Louis; Paul Hill, Jr., executive director of East End Neighborhood House, Cleveland; DeWitt Martin, Jr., president and chief executive officer of the Butler Street YMCA, Atlanta; and, Oliver Thomas, a New Orleans councilman and founder of the Boys to Men Program in New Orleans. The programs the panelists discussed varied from traditional settings like YMCAs and settlement houses, to newer, less conventional programs that stressed African heritage, manhood training, and rites of passage.

Being Smart IS Cool

While some of the programs offer services as diverse as day care for seniors and youth athletic programs, each director perceived his most daunting challenge to be that of empowering young black males with the tools that will prepare them to be productive, self-sufficient adults who are assets to their communities. "One of the lessons you learn when you are talking about black males is that it's just not cool to be smart and black," Hrabowski observed. "It's a matter of educating these young men to get them to feel good enough about doing well in school."

A key ingredient of any program is trust. Some young black men, who come from families headed by a single mother, are unaccustomed to interacting with adult black male role models, so the link the young men form with an adult male is an essential first step to the youth participation in any other element of the program. "A young man I initially started to work with didn't contact me for five months," said Oliver Thomas of the Boys to Men Program in New Orleans. "I didn't know how to deal with that. But what I learned was that he was expecting me to be like every other male who had come in and out of his life. I had to prove to him that I was going to be there for him despite a five-month gap. I had to pass his test."

At the East End Neighborhood Project in Cleveland, volunteers consisting of adult African American men are put through an intensive training process to prepare them for working with young black males who come from low-income, unstable family backgrounds. The process, which lasts about a year, requires the prospective mentors to attend three weekend retreats where they devise their own community service project that would help young people. They must then participate in an internship which actually involves working with youth.

"No matter how big or small your program is, there better be training for the people who are involved," Thomas said, "because some of the 13- or 14-year-olds who are involved in the program are taking care of their little brothers and sisters in addition to raising themselves and even supporting their families, and they have a hard time dealing with men 25 or 30 years old."

While every program director recognized the importance of academics in a child's life, some relied on sports and

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Ms. King is a communications specialist and associate editor of *FOCUS*.

Boys to Men

(Continued from page 3)

other enticements to attract the youths into their programs, as well as gain the interest of funders. "We use recreation to hook the kids in," explained Keith Givens. But once the kids enter Operation Teamwork, they are required to participate in the tutoring and cultural enrichment programs that the organization offers. The tutoring, in math and science, takes place three nights a week for two hours each session; the cultural enrichment component involves teaching the young people about the theater, arts administration, and the arts in general. Currently, Operation Teamwork serves roughly 5,000 children, ages seven to 18, year round. Ninety percent of the children are black males.

Support for Baseball, Not African Heritage

To keep the doors to their programs open, the directors must wage a constant search for resources. But dollars aren't always enough. While some funders may feel that the giving of money is the extent of their obligation to funding certain programs, many program operators are seeking more than just dollars. Givens told conference participants that there are four major requests he makes to corporate sponsors: donate money; offer volunteers from their company to participate in the program and actually work with the young people; guarantee a long-term commitment of three years or more to the program; and, secure part-time jobs for the youth.

Thomas's two-year-old Boys to Men Program, which serves about 50 children, pursues an Afrocentric approach to educating the children. The program seeks to instill pride and self-esteem in the youngsters by giving them a sense of their African heritage. That element of the curriculum may have cost Boys to Men some financial support. "We were told by a couple of very large institutions that if we would have taken the Afrocentric education part out of our proposal, we would have had a much better opportunity of getting funds from them," Thomas said. But that omission would have been detrimental to what he believes is the reason for his organization's success: presenting African culture and an Afrocentric perspective, along with an education on the history and culture of other peoples, to black youth.

At the same time, proposals that emphasize recreational sports were more attractive to funders than Afrocentric programs. "If we posed our programs in terms of recreation and camping trips, we could get money for those activities," Thomas said. "People are jumping out of the ceiling to fund some of our basketball programs. But if you say that you want to fund an Afrocentric tutoring program, then many are fearful of little Khalid Muhammads or Malcolm Xs popping out of our neighborhoods."

Of the programs presented during the conference, it was clear that those community-based programs that had been in existence for a long time and/or whose mission was considered broad-based received the most money. For example, Paul Hill's East End Neighborhood House is 87 years old. The organization owns three acres of land and provides services to 6,200 clients ranging in age from 2-1/2 to 100 years old. With an annual operation budget of $800,000, Hill has a staff of 17 full-time and six part-time workers. A multi-faceted operation, East End offers child day care services, an early childhood development program, day care for seniors, and a youth resource center. The program has also helped 23 inmates at the Grafton Correctional Institution earn bachelor's degrees. The program's financial support is also varied; funding comes from federal programs, the United Way, a Cleveland Foundation grant, and the Kellogg Foundation. Conversely, one of the major problems that Thomas found in his search for funding Boys to Men was the program's brief history. "Even though we could show proof, like better grades in school, that our kids were succeeding, we were confronted with comments like, 'Well, you haven't been in existence long enough.'"

The Butler Street YMCA, a 100-year-old institution in Atlanta, has demonstrated that longevity eases fundraising. The "Y" has an operating budget of nearly $1.9 million. According to the executive director, DeWitt Martin, Butler Street has maintained "very close ties with the black business and political leadership as well as the traditional business leadership. One strength that we have is that we don't rely on one granting source." Instead, Butler Street relies on a 7,000-strong contributor base to help fund the facility, which has a youth membership of 16,000.

The amount of dollars raised can determine how well a program is staffed. For most programs, fewer dollars usually translate to lower productivity from program staffers. "The quality of the staff is going to be directly related to what you can pay that person," explained Hrabowski. "We are fooling ourselves if we think that a young person who has a choice between a $35,000 job and a $25,000 job that does not even have solid funding and is without benefits is going to be able to stay there and do that job year after year." In the three years that Givens has been the executive director of Operation Teamwork, which has an annual budget of only $350,000, he has gone through 12 different staff people.

For all of their challenges and limitations, these programs serve to counter some of the negative stories in much of the media about the lack of leadership on the part of African American communities in addressing the problems of young black males. The four programs discussed in this article are but a few of the hundreds of programs with varied missions in operation in urban communities across the nation. Joint Center researchers identified over 700 in the cities of Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, New Orleans, Oakland, and St. Louis as part of its study on community programs serving young black males. Some of these programs are encouraging eight-year-olds like Tony who told Freeman Hrabowski that he wanted to be a doctor so he could help the next person who got shot around him. The fact that there are Tonys in the world is a good sign for the future of young black males. ■

The Joint Center's project on community-based programs for young black males has been supported by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the AT&T Foundation.

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Congressional Report Card—1994

Last year, *FOCUS* published in its August issue of "TrendLetter," a report card on how 102 selected members of the U.S. House of Representatives voted on key issues. Each representative in the report card was from a congressional district with black constituencies of 15 percent or more. This year, "TrendLetter" looks at 10 roll-call votes on measures dealing with national service, education, crime, housing, budget priorities, and statehood for the District of Columbia. The voting patterns of most of the members of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) were relatively uniform; however, as with last year's report card, there were divisions on some issues.

The most serious split among CBC members reflected in Report Card 1994 was over prison construction and military spending cuts. The greatest disparities in voting behavior were between white Republican House members and the CBC. Some GOP congressmen, including **SONNY CALLAHAN** and **TERRY EVERETT** of Alabama, **JACK KINGSTON** and **MAC COLLINS** of Georgia, **JIM MCCREY** of Louisiana, and **ARTHUR RAVENEL** of South Carolina, registered opposing votes on every issue in the report card even though some of them represent districts with sizeable black constituencies (see voting chart below). But some white Democrats in the report card did not support many of the positions taken by the CBC. Several of them were in agreement with the CBC just half the time.

The chart below indicates how members of the U.S. House of Representatives with black constituencies of at least 15 percent voted on 10 key roll-call votes taken in the latter part of 1993 and in 1994. A plus sign (+) indicates a vote consistent with the positions taken by the majority of the Congressional Black Caucus; a minus sign (-) indicates the reverse; and a question mark (?) indicates that the legislator did not vote. CBC members are in boldface type. The chart also contains the state, district, and political party of each representative, as well as the black voting-age population (VAP) of each district. The votes of each member of the CBC are included in the chart with the exception of **GARY FRANKS** of Connecticut, the only black Republican in the House, whose district is just five percent black. Franks' votes were consistent with the majority of the CBC on only two occasions: to extend college loan default exemptions to historically black colleges (Vote #3) and to promote investment in low-income housing (Vote #7). House rules barred **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON**, the Democratic delegate from the District of Columbia, from voting on most of the selected votes.

Key Issues in the Report Card

1. **National Service**—Passage of H.R. 2010 authorizing $389 million in fiscal year 1994 for the Clinton administration's National Service Program, which engages Americans 17 and older in two-year community service projects in exchange for a stipend and education awards of $4,725 for each year of service. Roll-call vote No. 379, July 28, 1993, passed 275-152. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

2. **Funding Private Schools**—A substitute amendment to the School Improvement Act (H.R. 1804), authored by Rep. **DICK ARMEY** (R-Tex.), to earmark $400 million in federal funds over five years to states for use by local school districts to support model schools, merit school systems, and school choice programs. At least 25 percent of the funds would be mandated for school choice programs that could subsidize private and parochial schools. Roll-call vote No. 494, October 13, 1993, rejected 130-300. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

3. **College Loan Default Exemption**—Passage of S. 2004, extending the exemption from student loan ineligibility to July 1, 1998 for historically black colleges and universities and community colleges

controlled by Indian tribes that have high loan default rates. Without the exemption, the United Negro College Fund estimates that one-third of the nation's 104 historically black colleges and universities would be denied participation in the federal Guaranteed Student Loan Program. Since these schools accept high percentages of low-income grant and loan dependent students, without exemptions, many of these institutions would shut down. Roll-call vote No. 102, April 13, 1994, passed 283-136. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

4. **Brady Bill**—Passage of H.R. 1025 requiring a waiting period of five business days before the purchase of a handgun in order to permit enough time for local officials to perform background investigations. Roll-call vote No. 564, November 10, 1993, passed 238-189. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

5. **Youth Alternative Sentencing**—A procedural vote to consider H.R. 3351, a bill to authorize $200 million in grants to states each fiscal year, from 1994 to 1996, to develop sentencing alternatives to incarceration and probation for young offenders. Roll-call vote No. 584, November 19, 1993, passed 238-179. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

6. **Building More Prisons**—An amendment to the Omnibus Crime Bill (H.R. 4092), introduced by **JIM CHAPMAN** (D-Tex.), that would increase federal grants to states for prison construction from $3 billion to $13.5 billion. Twenty-five percent of the funds would be allocated on the basis of states' willingness to comply with "truth-in-sentencing laws" that limit eligibility for parole. Roll-call vote No. 124, April 19, 1994, passed 377-50. A vote **against** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

7. **Housing**—Passage of the Community Investment Demonstration Act of 1993 (H.R. 2668), sponsored by Rep. **HENRY GONZALEZ** (D-Tex.) to promote investment in low-income housing by pension funds and authorize the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development to provide rental assistance to low-income families living in homes built or rehabilitated with pension fund revenues. Roll-call vote No. 389, Aug 2, 1993, passed 309-106. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

8. **CBC Alternative Budget**—Some of the key elements of the Congressional Black Caucus' "Budget to Rescue America," introduced by Rep. **KWEISI MFUME** (D-Md.), were to increase funding for job training and creation by $2 billion, create new community development banks, shift funding priorities for criminal justice from punishment to prevention through the CBC's alternative crime bill, and cut military spending by $8 billion. Roll-call vote No. 54, March 11, 1994, rejected 81-326. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

9. **Military Spending Cuts**—An amendment to the Defense Authorization Bill (H.R. 2401), sponsored by Rep. **RONALD DELLUMS** (D-Calif.), to cut the Ballistic Missile Defense Program by $1.5 billion. Roll-call vote No. 412, September 8, 1993, rejected 160-272. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

10. **Statehood for the District of Columbia**—A vote on H.R. 51, sponsored by Delegate **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON**, to admit the District of Columbia into the Union as the State of New Columbia and provide citizens of the new state with two U.S. Senators and a member of the U.S. House of Representatives with full voting privileges in Congress. Roll-call vote No. 595, November 21, 1993, rejected 153-277. A vote **for** was consistent with action by the majority of the CBC.

How They Voted

State	District	Member	Party	Black Voting-age Pop. (%)	House Vote (See Descriptions Above) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Alabama	1	Callahan	(R)	26	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	Everett	(R)	21	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Browder	(D)	24	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Cramer	(D)	14	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	7	**Hilliard**	(D)	64	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+	+	+
Arkansas	1	Lambert	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	+	-	?	-	+	-
	2	Thornton	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	4	Dickey	(R)	24	+	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

State	District	Member	Party	Black VAP Pop. (%)	House Vote (See Descriptions Above) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
California	7	Miller	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+
	9	**Dellums**	(D)	29	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	32	**Dixon**	(D)	40	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	35	**Waters**	(D)	44	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	37	**Tucker**	(D)	34	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Delaware	At-Large		Castle	(R)	15	-	+	-	+	-	-	+	-	-
Florida	2	Peterson	(D)	21	+	+	?	-	+	?	+	-	-	-
	3	**Brown**	(D)	51	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	11	Gibbons	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+
	17	**Meek**	(D)	54	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
	23	**Hastings**	(D)	46	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+
Georgia	1	Kingston	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	**Bishop**	(D)	52	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+	-	+
	3	M. Collins	(R)	16	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	**Lewis**	(D)	58	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	8	Rowland	(D)	18	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	10	Johnson	(D)	17	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	11	**McKinney**	(D)	60	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Illinois	1	**Rush**	(D)	68	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+
	2	**Reynolds**	(D)	66	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	?	+	+
	7	**C. Collins**	(D)	60	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	?	+	+
	12	Costello	(D)	15	+	+	-	-	+	-	+	-	-	+
Indiana	1	Visclosky	(D)	19	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
	10	Jacobs	(D)	27	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	+	+	+
Kentucky	3	Mazzoli	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
Louisiana	2	**Jefferson**	(D)	56	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	3	Tauzin	(D)	20	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	4	**Fields**	(D)	63	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	5	McCrery	(R)	20	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	7	Hayes	(D)	18	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	-
Maryland	3	Cardin	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	-	+
	4	**Wynn**	(D)	56	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	5	Hoyer	(D)	18	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	7	**Mfume**	(D)	68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Massachusetts	8	Kennedy	(D)	20	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Michigan	9	Kildee	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
	14	**Conyers**	(D)	65	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+
	15	**B. Collins**	(D)	68	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Mississippi	1	Whitten	(D)	20	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	2	**Thompson**	(D)	58	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	3	Montgomery	(D)	28	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	4	Parker	(D)	37	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Taylor	(D)	18	+	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Missouri	1	**Clay**	(D)	48	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	5	**Wheat**	(D)	21	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	+	+	+
New Jersey	1	Andrews	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	-	-	+
	10	**Payne**	(D)	57	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+

State	District	Member	Party	Black VAP Pop. (%)	House Vote (See Descriptions Above) 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
New York	4	Levy	(R)	15	-	-	-	-	-	-	+	-	-	-
	6	**Flake**	(D)	55	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	10	**Towns**	(D)	59	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	?	+	+
	11	**Owens**	(D)	72	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	15	**Rangel**	(D)	47	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	16	Serrano	(D)	42	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	17	Engel	(D)	40	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	30	Quinn	(R)	15	+	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
N. Carolina	1	**Clayton**	(D)	53	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
	2	Valentine	(D)	20	+	+	-	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3	Lancaster	(D)	20	+	+	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
	4	Price	(D)	19	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	7	Rose	(D)	17	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
	8	Hefner	(D)	21	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	+
	12	**Watt**	(D)	53	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
Ohio	1	Mann	(D)	27	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3	Hall	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	?
	11	**Stokes**	(D)	55	+	+	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+
	12	Kasich	(R)	21	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
Pennsylvania	1	Foglietta	(D)	50	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	2	**Blackwell**	(D)	58	+	+	?	+	+	+	+	+	+	+
	14	Coyne	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
S. Carolina	1	Ravenel	(R)	18	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	2	Spence	(R)	23	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	3	Derrick	(D)	19	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	4	Inglis	(R)	18	-	-	+	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
	5	Spratt	(D)	28	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	6	**Clyburn**	(D)	58	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	-	+
Tennessee	5	Clement	(D)	21	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	8	Tanner	(D)	17	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	9	**Ford**	(D)	54	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	?	+	+
Texas	1	Chapman	(D)	16	+	+	+	+	+	-	?	-	-	-
	2	Wilson	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	?	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Bryant	(D)	15	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	+
	9	Brooks	(D)	20	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	?	-	-
	11	Edwards	(D)	15	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	18	**Washington**	(D)	49	?	+	?	+	?	+	?	+	+	?
	24	Frost	(D)	18	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	-	-	-
	25	Andrews	(D)	25	+	+	+	+	?	-	+	?	-	-
	30	**Johnson**	(D)	47	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+
Virginia	1	Bateman	(R)	17	-	-	+	+	-	-	+	-	-	-
	2	Pickett	(D)	16	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	3	**Scott**	(D)	61	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	+	-	+
	4	Sisisky	(D)	31	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
	5	Payne	(D)	23	+	+	+	-	+	-	+	-	-	-
Wisconsin	5	Barrett	(D)	29	+	+	+	+	+	-	+	+	+	+

Joint Center summer intern Lacretia Hill, who will graduate from Howard University in December, assisted in the compilation of the data contained in this report card.

Programs That Serve Young Black Males

A Statistical Study Conducted by the Joint Center Shows That Programs Serving Young Black Males Are Generally Underfunded

by Todd A. Turner and Katherine McFate

The following article is a summary of a Joint Center report, "Community Programs That Serve Young Black Males," based on a statistical survey conducted by the Center's research staff. The report was released by the Joint Center at its June 6 conference, "Fulfilling the Promise: Community Programs for Young Black Males."

Nearly one in five young black males between the ages of five and 14 lives in a neighborhood of concentrated poverty. Over half of all black children in the United States live in female-headed families. Black males who grow up in poor, mother-only families appear to be at special risk for a variety of behavioral problems. They are likely to have learning and disciplinary problems in school and may be more likely to engage in substance abuse and criminal activities than children from two-parent households.

Some researchers argue that young men from mother-only families have a natural desire to detach themselves from any maternal authority and assert a more masculine identity, driving them to attach themselves to male-only gangs and become involved in a "street culture" of exaggerated masculinity. With few adult male role models who have escaped poverty through legal means, young men from poor neighborhoods lack the guidance of male adults to show them how to respect themselves and others while they trek the road through adolescence to adulthood.

Children who grow up in families with few material or educational resources and with few adult care-takers are the children most in need of extra-familial adult supervision and extracurricular activities. Yet studies have shown that low-income central city neighborhoods with a high density of young people are the communities least likely to offer a rich and varied array of youth services. The disparity between services available to low-income urban children and those available to middle-class suburban youngsters has grown as urban parks and playgrounds have become unsafe for unsupervised play. There is a need for constructive, social youth development activities in central cities, especially for programs that appeal to young black males.

Unfortunately, the pressing need for youth development programs has grown during a period of local and state government fiscal distress, public skepticism about government programs, and declining United Way funding. Nonetheless, small groups of youth service providers and volunteers are trying to help young black males from these neighborhoods discover who they are and how they should relate to others. In some cases, new programs have been created as grassroots responses to the perceived absence of services for young people. In other cases, churches and fraternal organizations have established or expanded youth outreach initiatives. Even well-established, more traditional youth service organizations have revamped their programs to try and meet the needs of low-income minority children more effectively.

In 1993, researchers at the Joint Center surveyed over 700 programs in six major U.S. cities serving a large number of black male youth or a predominantly black male youth population to learn more about these programs—their size, services, staffing, and funding patterns. The cities included in the study were Atlanta, Boston, Cleveland, New Orleans, Oakland, and St. Louis. In the spring of 1993, six field analysts (residents of the cities in which they collected information) were hired to help construct a list of programs in their communities that served a predominant or large number of young black males.

During the summer and fall of 1993, questionnaires were mailed to the directors of 763 programs; 251 surveys were returned, yielding an overall response rate of 33 percent. It is not claimed that those who responded comprise a representative sample of the programs surveyed or the actual population of programs that exist in a given city. However, these 251 programs provided services to over 35,000 youngsters, employed more than 2,800 paid staff persons, and had budgets that totalled over $89 million.

While there was an underlying emphasis on prevention and remediation, most youth programming for low-income minority children in the sample offered multiple services to a wide age range of youngsters. Over 60 percent of all of the programs offered services to children of elementary, junior high, and high school age. The survey also found that most of the financial support for the programs surveyed came from a multiplicity of public and private sources, but federal funding was particularly important for newer programs. Despite the variety of institutions providing financial support, the overwhelming majority of the directors of programs serving young black males said that the funds they were able to raise were critically inadequate.

Services and Staffing

The study revealed an emphasis on creating programs and curricula that appeal to black children: Over half of the programs (54 percent) reported having special programs or

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Mr. Turner is a research analyst and Ms. McFate is associate director of research at the Joint Center.

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courses (such as African Heritage/Afrocentric Education or Manhood Training/Rites of Passage) designed especially for African American children. There also appeared to be a new concern with creating in-depth, one-on-one relationships between adult black men and high-risk males through mentoring programs: 52 percent of the programs reported some kind of mentoring program. Almost half of the responding programs met at least five days a week in an effort to maximize the time that children have for constructive activities under adult supervision.

Most of the programs were relatively small in size. The median number of participants in a program on a given day was 35, and the median program's staff-to-child ratio was one staff person for each six participants. Nonetheless, there were some large programs in the sample, too. About 18 percent served over 100 children a day. These programs had a median paid staff of 18, but had more children per staff than the smaller programs. The programs that served black males only tended to be smaller than the norm. They had a median of 27 participants per session, but had a median of only one paid staff member.

Most of the programs surveyed were staffed by college-educated African Americans and supported by many volunteers. Of the 2,800 paid staff identified by the responding programs, the majority were college-educated African Americans, many in their "prime earning years." Almost half of these staff workers stayed with their programs for two to four years, and 11 percent stayed for over five years. Black women were more likely to be employed as directors and paid staff persons in youth development programs than black men, but adult black males are volunteering to work in youth programs in large numbers. Middle-class black males are reaching out to help less-advantaged young black males in central city neighborhoods, and about half of these volunteers, many of whom have family and work obligations, stick with the programs for at least a year. In just 204 programs in these six cities, the survey identified almost 4,600 adult black males who were volunteering to work with black youths. About half have a professional background.

Limited Dollars

As a general rule, the directors who responded to the survey said their programs were underfunded and that the prospects for expanding their financial resources were limited. Few of them had the resources that were available to programs that were part of membership organizations or large funding sources like the YMCA or United Way. About 20 percent of the programs surveyed had budgets of under $25,000. And many programs had to rely on the scarce support of individuals in the low-income communities they served.

Of the programs that provided complete budget information, the median annual budget was only $135,900. A little more than a third of the programs had budgets of $50,000 or less; two programs reported no funds at all—they relied on volunteer labor and resources only. Fifteen percent of the programs had budgets of at least $1 million. One adolescent health clinic had a budget of $5 million. Programs that served black males exclusively had very low budgets. Three-quarters had budgets of less than $25,000. This may be due, in part, to the fact that most black-male-exclusive programs were new, and newer programs received less funding.

Combined funding for the programs that provided funding information was $89.7 million in fiscal year 1992. The study identified the sources of $86.8 million of these funds. The public sector at all levels provided 48 percent of this money, and the private sector provided 52 percent. The top contributors to the funds received by all the programs were the federal government ($19.8 million) and state governments ($13.9 million). Membership or user fees raised almost $12.4 million for the programs, and the United Way contributed another $11.5 million.

Programs fortunate enough to receive monies from federal or state government, or the United Way, were usually given substantial grants and tended to have relatively large budgets. Less than 20 percent of the programs received funds from the United Way, a quarter received funds from state governments, and about a third received funds from the federal government. The median amount received from the federal government was $135,900, and the median amount received from state government was $133,650. The median grant received from the United Way was $104,960. While generous to those they did support, these funders did not support a large number of the youth programs in our study.

About half of the programs reported that they relied on individual donations for support, and over a third collected membership/user fees; 44 percent received foundation grants. However, the amounts received from these sources were relatively small. The median amount received from individual donations was only $15,000; the median raised by charging user or membership fees was $30,000. The median foundation grant was $47,600.

The 19 local programs affiliated with national youth development organizations (like the Boy Scouts or the YMCA) had the largest budgets and received almost all of their funding from private sources. These organizations had the advantage of name recognition and access to technical assistance in fundraising and, as a consequence, received the great bulk of private funds provided to the youth-serving programs in our study.

Since the vast majority of the programs studied were nonaffiliated, independent programs, they had to rely on whatever mix of funding they could find. Some relied entirely on public money, and among these the federal government seemed to be a particularly important source of funds, especially for the newer programs. Other programs combined government funding with user fees, United Way, and/or foundation support. About a fifth of the programs had budgets of less than $25,000 a year. These small programs tended to rely on individual donations, fundraising events, and membership dues to raise

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The Congressional Black Caucus in the 103rd Congress

Forthcoming Joint Center Book Serves as Road Map to Understanding the New CBC

During 1992 and 1993, the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) gained considerable new potency on Capitol Hill. While it has long been a force to be reckoned with, this 24-year-old coalition of African Americans in the U.S. House of Representatives (and now the U.S. Senate as well) welcomed 17 freshman members into its ranks in the wake of the 1992 elections. The influx of younger representatives (a growing proportion of them female) demonstrates the importance of the 1982 amendments to the Voting Rights Act, whose application in the redrawing of congressional districts played an enormous role in enlarging the Caucus's roster.

Because of the CBC's legislative and political influence, there is a growing interest in who the members are and how they vote. A new Joint Center publication, *The Congressional Black Caucus in the 103rd Congress*, provides a comprehensive look at the CBC. It is both a reference source for hard facts on the composition and behavior of the current Caucus and an analysis of the group's history and inner workings. Written by the Joint Center's senior political analyst David Bositis, the new volume, due out in September, contains detailed statistical information on Caucus members' legislative roles and activity and on their elections and campaign finances, as well as the demographics of their districts. The book also reveals how the 40 Caucus members agree and disagree over various types of legislation, according to their regions, gender, and seniority, as well as more complex factors. Summaries of individual members' actions on the House floor are included, along with analyses of their roles as Caucus participants and as House Democrats. The book concludes with a look at the group's future, including a discussion of the 1993 *Shaw* v. *Reno* U.S. Supreme Court ruling on redistricting and its likely impact on lower court rulings and future elections.

Composition of the CBC: 1990 vs. 1994

CBC Membership	1990	1994
Total Members	24	40
Total: U.S. Senate	0	1
Total: U.S. House (Percent of House Total)	24 (6%)	39 (9%)
Total Voting Members: U.S. House (Percent of House Total)	23 (5%)	38 (9%)
Total Republicans: U.S. House (Percent of House Total)	0 (0%)	1 (1%)
Total Democrats: U.S. House (Percent of House Total)	24 (9%)	38 (14%)
Total Democrats: Voting Members (Percent of House Total)	23 (9%)	37 (14%)
Women Members (Percent of CBC Total)	1 (4%)	10 (25%)
Women Members in House (Percent of Total Women Members in House)	1 (3%)	9 (19%)
Average Age (Years)	57	50
Freshmen Members (Percent of CBC Total)	2 (8%)	17 (43%)
Freshmen Members in House (Percent of Total Freshmen Members in House	2 (6%)	17 (15%)
Total Southern Members (Percent of CBC Total)	4 (17%)	17 (43%)
Total Southern Democrats (Percent of Southern Democrats in House)	4 (5%)	17 (22%)
Representing Non-black Majority District or State (Percent of CBC Total)	7 (29%)	10 (25%)

Among the findings detailed in this book:

- CBC members constituted 5.5 percent of the total House membership at the start of the decade; they now represent 8.9 percent;
- Southern membership in the CBC has increased dramatically in the 103rd Congress, from only four (16.7 percent) in 1990 to 17 (42.5 percent) in 1993;
- Of the 14 women who have served in the CBC, 10 are presently in office;
- In 1990, nine percent of all Democrats were CBC members, but by 1993 their proportion had grown to 14.4 percent;
- CBC members are represented on every standing committee in the U.S. House of Representatives except Natural Resources; they now chair three full committees and 17 subcommittees;
- According to the Federal Election Commission, the average CBC member raised $370,000 during the 1991-92 election cycle versus $543,000 for the average House member;
- Half of the members of the CBC receive more than 50 percent of their contributions from PACs;
- Labor PACs were the principal source of PAC funds for 32 of the 39 members of the CBC;
- The educational background of CBC members is remarkably like that of their other colleagues in the Congress. Most notably, 42 percent of the CBC members have law degrees, compared with 43 percent for all of Congress.

Advance orders of *The Congressional Black Caucus in the 103rd Congress* by David Bositis may be made by calling the Joint Center's book distributor, University Press of America, at 1-800-462-6420. ■

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funds, but this fundraising strategy is self-limiting. It is unrealistic to expect poor communities to find the collective community resources to pay for programs designed to compensate for the lack of individual and family resources.

There is a tension within community-based organizations between maintaining the autonomy and mission of their programs and finding a stable funding base that allows the program to serve more children. Interviews with program directors suggested that black directors, particularly those who operated programs focused exclusively on black males, were very conscious of the potential trade-offs between receiving more funding from "establishment" sources (the government, the United Way) and maintaining control over the content and character of their programs.

Most of the individuals operating youth programs would like to expand their services, but simply could not find the funds to do so. Responses to the survey demonstrated decisively that the resources available for youth services in central cities were woefully inadequate to meet growing needs. About half of the programs ranked funding problems as their greatest obstacle to providing quality services. Almost 60 percent of the program directors reported that "last year's budget was insufficient to achieve the main goals of the program." About half reported that services were eliminated or altered due to funding limitations; over a fifth reported that staff or staff-related activities (e.g., training, salaries) were curtailed due to funding shortages; 18 percent reported they were unable to buy or repair equipment because of a lack of funds; and 17 percent had to cut field trips.

Implications for Policy

What can be done to encourage, strengthen, and expand these efforts to provide youth services? It is apparent that the most pressing problem most programs have is finding ways to strengthen and stabilize their funding bases. The research suggests that the federal government plays a key role in providing funding for programs that serve black urban youth, particularly new programs. However, the categorical nature of much government funding unnecessarily restricts the resources available for youth services. Moving from a categorical program to a "block grant" approach with federal monies would allow a more comprehensive approach to youth development services. Full funding of the Young Americans Act, which passed in 1990 without funding, would also allocate new financial resources to youth development activities at the local level and help build the infrastructure needed to plan and implement youth development services at the national level.

At the local and state levels, youth service funders—both public and private—need to work with each other to create systems of support for at-risk youth and young black males in particular. There are state and local models of such coordinated youth-development strategies. Oregon established a state commission that coordinates community initiatives aimed at creating healthy, skilled, and literate young adults. Each county has a youth commission charged with planning local service delivery that engages both public and private service providers. At the local level, YouthNet in Kansas City, Missouri, and the Chicago Cluster Initiative offer models of ways public and private youth service providers can collaborate to increase the quantity and quality of services available to youth in low-income areas.

The funding issue for youth services is, at its root, a question of national priorities, and these programs will never be adequately funded until youth development becomes a national priority. A host of indicators tell us that young black males from poor urban neighborhoods are at special risk of becoming alienated and marginalized adults. We owe it to these youngsters and to their generation to move youth development to the top of the national agenda. ■

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