

---



# FOCUS

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

---

## Perspective

*Reinvigorating Our Efforts in 2002*

---

## Congress Resumes Sparring Over Issues

*Progressive Agenda Overshadowed by War, Economic Matters; Bush Tax Cut Limits Ability to Pass Domestic Legislation*

---

## Year-End Index

*Index to Volume 29 Focus Magazine*

---

## Post-September 11 Policies Examined

*Experts Speak at Joint Center Public Policy Forum*

---

## Trendletter

**Political Report:** *New Mayors Face Tough Budget Balancing Acts*

**Economic Report:** *Policy Implications Of Children's Poverty*

# Reinvigorating Our Efforts in 2002

**A**fter what we went through in 2001, we need the opportunity this New Year gives us to catch our breath and finally exhale. At the Joint Center, that means using our knowledge and experiences to proactively shape the present and future.

While remaining true to our core mission, we are always taking stock in order to serve better a diverse constituency that looks to us for information, insight, and data found nowhere else.

One very visible indication of our desire to assist you in ever-improving ways is this publication, FOCUS. We will follow this combined January/February issue with a redesigned FOCUS in March. Thanks to David Farquharson, our creative director, the new design will be more attractive and easier to use. At the same time, we will continue the traditional coverage and analysis — and add new features.

Under the direction of our new editor, Joe Davidson, we will strengthen our emphasis on reporting and strong journalism, increase interaction with you, the reader, and intensify attention to economic and foreign affairs. Joe, a former Washington and Johannesburg correspondent with *The Wall Street Journal*, has long covered the type of political, economic, social and international issues the Joint Center studies.

We will focus much of our reporting on information and analyses that are useful to the expanding interests of our core constituency, black elected officials, and the many others who use our services. That means strong attention to issues from the grassroots to the international, more stories on business development, in addition to our continued strong coverage of politics and economic policies.

A recent example of our efforts to get ahead of issues before they get ahead of us was our January 15 forum on “America in Transition: Rethinking National Policy Priorities.” As reported in more detail in this issue, this initial overview session launched a year-long examination of the current and likely future impact of the September 11 terrorist attacks on policies that affect the nation as a whole and African Americans in particular.

We are planning additional forums, which will closely examine international relations and national security, economic opportunity and social policy, and civil liberties and civil rights. Holding the inaugural session on Martin Luther King’s birthday created a symbolic link between the rich history we celebrate during Black History Month and the new challenges we face.

The Joint Center faces those challenges through such research projects as our signature three-volume series on “The Black Worker in the 21st Century.” We are now working on volume two, which will focus on how traditional and innovative education and training programs affect African Americans in the workforce.

Our concern for black workers is matched by action to advance minority entrepreneurship. The Joint Center’s Minority Business RoundTable is planning a June conference on the next level of ownership: billion-dollar minority-owned businesses.

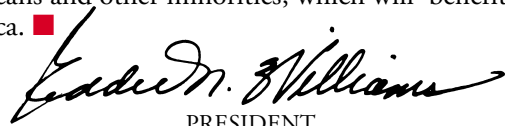
One illustration of the special service we continue to provide is our roster of black elected officials, first published

30 years ago. A summary of the most recent roster will be released soon and appear in next month’s FOCUS.

The roster will demonstrate the remarkable growth in elected officials since King and many others successfully fought for the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Five years later, the Joint Center was created to promote black political empowerment through technical assistance, research, analysis and the kind of articles we present regularly in this publication.

The 30th anniversary of the BEO roster and Black History Month remind us of the need to reflect on the many black American struggles and accomplishments that have led this country to greatness.

It’s also a time for those of us at the Joint Center to rededicate ourselves to building on that fine tradition. We are well positioned to do that as we reinvigorate our efforts to strengthen the political and economic power of African Americans and other minorities, which will benefit all America. ■



PRESIDENT



Copyright © 2001 Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, Inc. The monthly magazine of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, 1090 Vermont Ave., N.W., Suite 1100, Washington, D.C. 20005-4928, 202-789-3500; and PO Box 23881, Joubert Park 2044, 12th Floor, Auckland House, 185 Smit Street, Braamfontein 2017, South Africa. The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans and other minorities and promotes informed and effective involvement of blacks in the governmental process. Founded in 1970, the Joint Center provides independent and nonpartisan analyses through research, publication, and outreach programs. Opinions expressed in signed FOCUS articles are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. FOCUS is published monthly by JCPES, Inc.

Subscription price: U.S. \$15.00 per year.

**EDITOR**/Joe Davidson  
**CONTRIBUTING EDITOR**/Marc DeFrancis  
**CREATIVE DIRECTOR**/David Farquharson  
**TRENDLITTER RESEARCHER**/Alfred Baltimore

**PRESIDENT**/Eddie N. Williams  
**SENIOR VICE PRESIDENT AND CHIEF FINANCIAL OFFICER**/Brenda Watkins Noel  
**VICE PRESIDENT, RESEARCH**/Margaret Simms  
**VICE PRESIDENT, DEVELOPMENT AND COMMUNICATIONS**/Denise L. Dugas  
**VICE PRESIDENT, INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS**/Carole Henderson Tyson

#### BOARD OF GOVERNORS

**Elliott S. Hall**/Dykema Gossett, PLLC, Chair  
**Joyce London Alexander**/U.S. Magistrate Judge, United States District Court, Vice Chair  
**W. Frank Fountain**/DaimlerChrysler Corporation, Vice Chair  
**Hector M. Hyacinthe**/Packard Frank Business and Corporate Interiors, Inc., Treasurer  
**William M. Freeman**/Verizon, Secretary  
**Eddie N. Williams**/Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies, President  
**John Hurst Adams**/A.M.E. Church  
**George L. Brown**/L.Robert Kimball & Associates  
**Linda Chavez-Thompson**/AFL-CIO  
**James P. Comer**/Yale University Child Study Center  
**Charles U. Daly**  
**Wendell G. Freeland**  
**Mirian M. Graddick-Weir**/AT&T  
**Glenn F. Ivey**/Preston Gates Ellis & Roulevas Meeds, LLP  
**Joyce A. Ladner**/The Brookings Institution  
**Weldon H. Latham**/Holland & Knight  
**Edward J. Perkins**/The University of Oklahoma  
**Charles E. Phillips**/Morgan Stanley  
**Thomas B. Shropshire**/Sigma Pi Phi Fraternity  
**Rodney E. Slater**/Patton Boggs

**Members Emeriti**: William B. Boyd, Kenneth B. Clark, James D. Wolfensohn

---

# Congress Resumes Sparring Over Issues

## *Progressive Agenda Overshadowed by War, Economic Matters; Bush Tax Cut Limits Ability to Pass Domestic Legislation*

*By Deborah Mathis*

**T**he second session of the 107th Congress has a full plate of unfinished or, in some cases, untouched, progressive legislation before it — leftovers from an agenda that was first overwhelmed by partisanship and later scuttled in the wake of the September 11 terrorist attacks.

A preoccupation with the anti-terrorism campaign and homeland defense, intensely partisan wrangling over an economic stimulus package and mid-term election campaigning mean that agenda will have a tough fight in round two of the 107th Congress.

Nonetheless, progressive legislators and activists intend to push for healthcare benefits for the poor, the working class and the elderly; a federal ban on racial profiling; a bill to punish hate crimes that target gender, race or sexual orientation; election reform that improves the voting process; a minimum wage increase; and at least a partial rollback of the \$1.3 trillion, 10-year tax cut that the Bush White House shepherded through Congress in 2001.

The second session will have a different tone than the first, when conservative Republicans controlled both houses of Congress, the White House and the legislative agenda.

While Democrats were all but bystanders at the outset of the first session, they now control the Senate by one vote. This has injected real tension into the mix and enhanced the prospects for passage, or at least serious debate, of their legislation.

Moreover, the rush of patriotism that consumed the nation in response to the September 11 terrorist attacks is beginning to fade as the country returns to business as usual, however tentatively. These circumstances do not necessarily mean progressives are more likely to win the day in the second session. But they do increase the possibility that, this time, progressives will be heard.

The greatest threat to their agenda may not be competing legislation, but President Bush's continuing popularity as the leader of a nation anxious about terrorism.

Following the attacks, a spirit of conciliation and cooperation washed over the nation, and Americans lost their stomach for partisan rivalries and even more so for resistance to Bush policies. Suddenly bound by a common emergency, congressional leaders from both parties strutted a newfound congeniality, fueling hopes that the anti-partisan mood would translate into compromises and concessions on major legislation.

Instead, Congress set its sights almost exclusively on thwarting, punishing and mitigating terrorism. Bowing to a very popular administration, the first session of the 107th

Congress quickly approved billions of new dollars for defense, law enforcement and economic bail-outs for businesses crippled by the terrorist attacks. In fact, most of the \$20 billion appropriated for domestic security in 2002 was authorized in the wake of the attacks.

Left behind were measures dealing with 43 million uninsured Americans, a flawed election system, a growing gap between rich and poor, and escalating unemployment.

"The war has not changed the fact that our children need better schools, the sick need to be assured of patients' rights protections, and our seniors need affordable prescription drug benefits," said Rep. Charles Rangel (N.Y.) in the Democratic response to Bush's weekly radio address on December 22.

Bush is calling for \$38 billion in homeland defense spending for fiscal year 2003, which begins October 1, with the lion's share going to first response and preparedness. Moderates and progressives would like to hold down that spending for the sake of social programs without appearing to be complacent about national security.

In addition to their fiscal concerns about Congress's anti-terrorism spending, Rangel and other congressional Democrats resisted some homeland defense measures on the basis of civil rights and civil liberties. Still, Congress quickly passed the U.S.A Patriot's Bill, which gave extraordinary leeway to law enforcement officials for wiretapping, detaining and monitoring suspected terrorists and their sympathizers — primarily people of Arab and South Asian background and Muslims, in the Justice Department's view.

"If there is anything African Americans and other people of color should question, I believe it should be the creeping attack on civil liberties," says Rep. Sheila Jackson Lee (D-Texas). "I did support the president's desire to go after terrorists, but I do not believe the next step should have been broad-based passage of the anti-terrorism legislation."

When progressives and moderates look for bright spots in the legislative record, they invariably point to bipartisan reauthorization of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, largely for what it didn't include. "We were able to get out some really problematic school voucher language," says Hilary Shelton, government affairs director for the NAACP. "We were also able to increase funding for teacher training and bring some oversight to the new movement for increased testing."

Indeed, both the House and Senate shot down efforts to pin onto the bill federally funded school vouchers for private schools. The final measure also directs extra resources to

---

Deborah Mathis is a nationally syndicated newspaper columnist and TV commentator based in Washington D.C.

*Continued on page 4*

## Congress Resumes

Continued from page 3

schools with high failure rates in the newly mandated annual performance tests for third through eighth graders.

But the bill did not increase funds for special education — an omission widely viewed as a slight to Vermont Sen. Jim Jeffords, who bolted the GOP at midyear, effectively handing control of the Senate to the Democrats by a one-vote margin. Jeffords has been a champion of special education funding.

Nor did the bill make provisions for school construction, a sore need in many American communities — so sore that, according to the General Accounting Office, it would take \$112 billion to

modernize, expand and replenish the nation's public school stock. "We argue that school construction is not just a way to enhance the effectiveness of education," says Shelton, "but it should be a

major component of any economic stimulus package. Think of the jobs that creates and how it targets the communities that need jobs most."

A vigorous school construction and repair campaign would have also relieved another problem that bedevils poor communities and people of color disproportionately — the digital divide. By Department of Education estimates, nearly half of all the nation's public schools would have to be re-wired to support computers and other modern technologies now considered essential to quality and effective education.

The bill "was not all perfect," Jackson Lee says, "but the victory was that we got the education bill to be for public schools." Democrats attribute the shortcomings in the education bill to an anti-public school sentiment among conservatives and, more concretely, to the tax cut passed in June in a bow to Bush's inaugural agenda.

The tax cut struck a populist chord when millions of taxpayers received \$300 to \$600 refund checks over the summer. Bush maintained that the then-\$5.6 trillion surplus made the tax cut both possible and necessary. Taxpayers had been overcharged and deserved a refund, he said. And there was a bonus, the president added — the refunds would pump money back into the sluggish economy and restore it.

Democrats retorted that the tax cut might allow the sinking economy to bob briefly but could not keep it afloat. They cited an analysis by the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office which said the tax cut would have no significant, positive effect on the economy. Meanwhile, detractors warned that the loss of revenues endangered funding for education, health care and other social programs and would inevitably drain Social Security and Medicare reserves.

Other critics emphasized the lopsided design of the tax cuts. "For the 78 million taxpayers in the lowest 60 percent of the income scale, the tax cut will average \$347 a year," wrote the National Urban League in a mid-year report assessing the 107th Congress. "In contrast, at the top of the income scale, the average tax cut will be \$53,000." However, the Urban League noted that "thanks to extensive advocacy efforts," the final bill did provide partial refunds for child tax credits, a plus for low-income families.

Presciently, tax cut opponents warned of unanticipated or emergency expenditures that would leave the country in a bind, having spent the surplus on what they claimed was no more than a populist bribe. Rangel, ranking Democrat on the tax-writing House Ways and Means Committee, said the

combination of the tax cut and war spending have left poor, elderly and working class Americans on the ropes. "Long before September 11th, the Republicans had eroded a surplus that was well over a trillion dollars," he

said. "And, they did this by pushing through their ... tax cut, mainly to benefit the wealthy."

Echoes Jackson-Lee: "The tax cut undercut most of what we wanted for America. I believe the tax bill was the first step of an economic decline. Those checks took away an opportunity to do a lot of things."

Already, the unofficial moratorium on partisanship is winding down. Bush's budget has lifted the lid off the adversarial relationship between Republicans and Democrats. Rangel excoriates Bush's proposed economic stimulus bill as a payoff to big corporations. "It has nothing to do with stimulating the economy and everything to do with stimulating Republican campaign contributions," Rangel said.

As the second session of this Congress unfolds, Democrats on Capitol Hill are latching onto Senate Majority Leader Tom Daschle's "new growth economy," his name for an economic manifesto with familiar Democratic components — patient's rights and universal health care, protections for the Social Security and Medicare funds, job training and other assistance for displaced workers, improved welfare reform, improvements in public education.

Shelton said the NAACP will urge passage of hate crimes legislation, a racial profiling ban, and funding for the Healthcare Fairness Act, authorizing research that focuses on diseases and conditions that disproportionately afflict black Americans and other people of color. "One of the last things President Clinton did for us was to sign the bill," says Shelton. "Now we need to get it funded. We're pushing for that now."

Since 2002 is a mid-term election year, the partisan war cries will only grow louder. Democrats are struggling to

Continued on page 8

***"The tax cut undercut most of what we wanted for America. I believe the tax bill was the first step of an economic decline. Those checks took away an opportunity to do a lot of things."***

— Rep. Shelia Jackson-Lee (D-Texas)

# Index to Volume 29 Focus Magazine

January to December 2001

## Article Index

Title	Issue	Page	Title	Issue	Page
<b>Business Affairs</b>			<b>Education and Training</b>		
Bush Backs DOT in <i>Adarand</i> Case	SEP	<i>Econ.</i>	AmeriCorps—Adversity and Success	FEB	3
The California Energy Crisis:	FEB	<i>Econ.</i>	Court Nixes Georgia's Admissions Policy	SEP	<i>Polit.</i>
Minority Firms Can Survive the Recession	NOV/DEC	5	Equal Education Remains Elusive Years After <i>Brown</i>	NOV/DEC	<i>Econ.</i>
President Presents Budget for FY 2002	MAY	<i>Econ.</i>	High Court Takes Vouchers and Death Penalty Cases	OCT	<i>Polit.</i>
September 11 Hits Close to Home	OCT	<i>Econ.</i>	Nominee for Education Garner's Support From All Sides	FEB	<i>Polit.</i>
SMOBE Shows Large Increases in Number of Minority-Owned Businesses	APR	<i>Polit.</i>	Racial Bias in Special Education	MAY	<i>Polit.</i>
<b>Census</b>			Reading Gap Widens	MAY	<i>Polit.</i>
2000 Census: Good News, Bad News	MAR	7	Schools Resegregate	SEP	<i>Polit.</i>
The Question of Race	APR	5	<b>Elections and Voting Rights</b>		
<b>Children and Youth</b>			Commission Recommends Election Reform Guidelines	SEP	<i>Polit.</i>
Building Kids, Building Our Future	APR	7	Fixing America's Voting System ( <i>Perspective</i> )	JAN	2
The Cost of Preventing Teen Pregnancies	JUN	7	NAACP Files Class-Action Suit	FEB	<i>Polit.</i>
The Incarceration Generation	SEP	5	North Carolina's 12th Ruled Constitutional Polls Closed to Many Black Men	MAY	<i>Polit.</i>
Youth Crime Peaks Right After School	JAN	7	Prospects for Election Reform	MAY	7
<b>Civil Rights/Civil Liberties</b>			Report Finds Racial Disparities in Florida Election	MAR	5
Adams Mark Boycott Renewed	SEP	7	Restoring the Faith of Voters	JUN	<i>Polit.</i>
American Muslims and Others Face Discrimination	OCT	<i>Polit.</i>	Saluting Twenty-Five Years of Civic Engagement ( <i>Perspective</i> )	FEB	7
Anti-Terrorism Provisions Worry Civil Libertarians	OCT	<i>Polit.</i>	SRC Report Confirms Disparities in Uncounted Georgia Votes	APR	2
The Blessings of Diversity	MAY	5	U.S. Civil Rights Commission Investigates Florida Voting Irregularities	MAR	<i>Polit.</i>
An End to Racial Profiling?	APR	<i>Polit.</i>	Young African Americans: Less Politically Involved	FEB	<i>Polit.</i>
Equal Education Remains Elusive Years After <i>Brown</i>	NOV/DEC	<i>Econ.</i>	<b>Government and Politics</b>		
Feds Accused of Initiating Racial Profiling Policy	JAN	<i>Polit.</i>	Bush Backs DOT in <i>Adarand</i> Case	SEP	<i>Econ.</i>
High Court Takes Vouchers and Death Penalty Cases	OCT	<i>Polit.</i>	Bush Courts Black Caucus	MAR	<i>Polit.</i>
The Mississippi Flag Vote ( <i>Perspective</i> )	JUN	2	Bush Moves Into the White House	JAN	3
NAACP Speaks Truth to Power	JUL/AUG	<i>Polit.</i>	Business as Usual? ( <i>Perspective</i> )	OCT	2
Post September 11: Racial Profiling Gets a New Lease on Life	NOV/DEC	4	Federal Funding for Faith-Based Programs	JUN	3
Racial Bias in Special Education	MAY	<i>Polit.</i>	Generational Shift Among Black Elected Officials	JUL/AUG	5
Rally Protests Felony Charges Against Picketers	JUN	<i>Polit.</i>	Houston's Neighborhood-Oriented Government	SEP	3
Sacrificing Liberty for Safety ( <i>Perspective</i> )	NOV/DEC	2	New Office of Faith-Based Programs Established	MAR	<i>Polit.</i>
Schools Resegregate	SEP	<i>Polit.</i>	The Political Landscape, Then and Now	OCT	5
Taking America's Pulse	MAY	3	President Presents Budget for FY 2002	MAY	<i>Econ.</i>
<b>Criminal Justice</b>			Postal Reform: A Black Union's Perspective	JUN	5
High Court Takes Vouchers and Death Penalty Cases	OCT	<i>Polit.</i>	Restoring the Faith of Voters	FEB	7
The Incarceration Generation	SEP	5	Senate Control Shifts	JUN	<i>Polit.</i>
Youth Crime Peaks Right After School	JAN	7	Supreme Court Close Calls	JUL/AUG	7
An End to Racial Profiling?	APR	<i>Polit.</i>	A Tale of Three Cities	FEB	5
Feds Accused of Initiating Racial Profiling Policy	JAN	<i>Polit.</i>			
A Tale of Three Cities	FEB	5			

**Key:** *Econ.* indicates *Economic Report*  
*Polit.* indicates *Political Report*



## Article Index (cont'd.)

Title	Issue	Page	Title	Issue	Page
<b>International Affairs</b>			<b>Personalities</b>		
The Future of U.S. Policy Toward Africa	JAN	5	African Americans in the New Administration	MAR	3
The Importance of U.S. Foreign Assistance	OCT	3	Julian Dixon, Civil Rights Champion and Former Joint Center Board Member, Dies	JAN	<i>Polit.</i>
Standing Against Racism in the Wake of Terror ( <i>Perspective</i> )	SEP	2	A Mighty Oak Has Fallen	MAY	2
Why We Need to Be in Durban ( <i>Perspective</i> )	JUL/AUG	2	Nominee for Education Garner Support From All Sides	FEB	<i>Polit.</i>
<b>Jobs, Income, and Welfare</b>			Rep. Eddie Bernice Johnson Chairs CBC	JAN	<i>Polit.</i>
Celebrating the Strength of Black Workers	FEB	2	<b>Race Relations</b>		
Economic Prospects for African Americans Under the Bush Administration	JAN	<i>Econ.</i>	The Blessings of Diversity	MAY	5
Jobless Benefits Help Economy	NOV/DEC	7	Many Whites Misinformed About Blacks	JUL/AUG	<i>Polit.</i>
Managing in the Middle: Economic Security for the "Sandwich" Generation	JUL/AUG	<i>Econ.</i>	The Mississippi Flag Vote ( <i>Perspective</i> )	JUN	2
Rally Protests Felony Charges Against Picketers	JUN	<i>Polit.</i>	The Question of Race	APR	5
Reauthorizing Welfare Reform: Part 2	APR	<i>Econ.</i>	Standing Against Racism in the Wake of Terror	SEP	2
Reauthorizing Welfare Reform: Part 3	JUN	<i>Econ.</i>	Taking America's Pulse	MAY	3
Unemployment Inches Up	MAR	<i>Econ.</i>	Why We Need to Be in Durban ( <i>Perspective</i> )	JUL/AUG	2
			<b>Redistricting</b>		
			North Carolina's 12th Ruled Constitutional	MAY	<i>Polit.</i>
			Pay Attention to Redistricting	MAR	2
			Redistricting 2001	APR	3
			The Status of Residential Segregation	JUL/AUG	3

## Author Index

Author	Article Title	Issue	Page	Author	Article Title	Issue	Page
Alaga, Akin	Building Kids, Building Our Future	APR	7	Roach, Ronald	African Americans in the New Administration	MAR	3
Bositis, David A.	Generational Shift Among Black Elected Officials	JUL/AUG	5	Ruffin, David C.	Bush Moves Into the White House	JAN	3
Bositis, David A.	The Political Landscape, Then and Now (interview)	OCT	5	Ruffins, Paul	A Tale of Three Cities	FEB	5
Bositis, David A.	Redistricting 2001	APR	3	Santos, Aline	The Importance of U.S. Foreign Assistance	OCT	3
Brown, Lee P.	Houston's Neighborhood-Oriented Government	SEP	3	Simmons, Quintin J.	Supreme Court Close Calls	JUL/AUG	7
Cloud, Sanford Jr.	Taking America's Pulse	MAY	3	Tyson, Carole H. and Mary K. Garber	The Future of U.S. Policy Toward Africa	JAN	5
Garber, Mary K.	Adams Mark Boycott Renewed	SEP	7	Waters, Maxine	Restoring the Faith of Voters	FEB	7
Garber, Mary K.	Prospects for Election Reform	MAR	5	Weaver, Vesla M.	The Incarceration Generation	SEP	5
Hall, Wiley A. III	AmeriCorps—Adversity and Success	FEB	3	Wenger, Michael, and Sheila Collins	Post September 11: Racial Profiling Gets a New Lease on Life	NOV/DEC	3
Harrison, Roderick	The Status of Residential Segregation	JUL/AUG	3	Wenger, Michael	The Blessings of Diversity	MAY	5
Harrison, Roderick	2000 Census: Good News, Bad News	MAR	7	Williams, Eddie N.	<i>Perspective (Monthly)</i>		
Harrison, Roderick	The Question of Race	APR	5	<b>Contributors to TrendLetter/Political Report:</b> David A. Bositis, Mary K. Garber, and Quintin J. Simmons			
Johnson-Blanco, Marcia	Postal Reform: A Black Union's Perspective	JUN	5	<b>Contributors to TrendLetter/Economic Report:</b> Andrew F. Brimmer, George Cave, Mary K. Garber, and Margaret C. Simms			
Leigh, Wilhelmina A.	The Cost of Preventing Teen Pregnancies	JUN	7				
Mauer, Marc	Polls Closed to Many Black Men	MAY	7				
McCoy, Frank	Minority Firms Can Survive the Recession	NOV/DEC	5				
McCullum, Antawn	Federal Funding for Faith-Based Programs	JUN	3				
Orszag, Peter	Jobless Benefits Help Economy	NOV/DEC	7				

# Post-September 11 Policies Examined

## *Experts Speak at Joint Center Public Policy Forum*

*by Joe Davidson*

**L**ong time Washington, DC, resident Roger Wilkins has seen the U.S. Capitol many times, but since September 11 he can't drive by it without remarking on its beauty.

Reactions to the terrorist attacks take many forms. For Wilkins, a George Mason University history and American culture professor, one form is his realization that "I'm much more patriotic than I thought I was. My patriotism has a lot of dissent in it, but it's patriotic nonetheless."

Wilkins was moderator at the Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies' public policy forum on "America in Transition: Rethinking National Policy Priorities." His comments exemplify the personal response of many who would defend the nation against terrorism, but question the impact of policies that have been implemented or considered in the past few months.

The public policy reaction to the attacks is the focus of this forum series. The first overview session was held on January 15, the birthday of Martin Luther King, whose commitment to nonviolence and human rights changed policy and history. The other sessions this year will examine in depth the impact of the terrorist attacks on international relations and national security, economic opportunity and social policy, and civil rights and civil liberties.

"In the area of civil liberties, for example, attempts to deal with terrorism can undercut protections that we fought so long to ensure," said Eddie N. Williams, Joint Center president, at the forum. "At the same time, we have unique insights that might guide individuals and policy makers to a better way of addressing many political and social issues that must be the focus of attention over the coming year."

Black and Hispanic people certainly have insights into racial and ethnic profiling, which has taken on new significance since September 11. "The level of hate directed to people who appear to be Muslim, Middle-Eastern, South Asian descent...gives bigotry a righteousness it does not deserve," Sanford Cloud, Jr., president and CEO of the National Conference for Community and Justice, told the audience.

"We need racial profiling legislation now more than ever," Cloud added. He believes attracting additional support from the "new victims" of profiling could give legislation in Congress a needed push. At the same time, Cloud fears that the Bush administration's desire to have "some flexibility in detaining people based on how they look and their faith" could impede passage.

Forum panelist Robert Greenstein believes it's likely the White House would impede passage of any legislation incorporating what he described as a "fundamental priority

question." That priority is to cancel already approved tax cuts that would not take effect for several years.

Because of pressing defense and homeland security needs, the tax cuts are likely to increase cutbacks in domestic programs, predicted Greenstein, executive director of the Center on Budget and Policy Priorities. States are already balancing their budgets by slicing low-income projects.

A survey by Greenstein's organization found "19 states have already made specific, identifiable cuts to low-income and human services programs ... Of these, 17 have cut healthcare programs, and 10 have cut income support or employment support programs (such as child care and job training)."

Beyond lamenting the cutbacks, Greenstein's Center has identified states that are balancing their budgets in ways that are less harmful to poor people. Some states specifically exclude certain programs from cutbacks. Others use state savings. Still others have delayed tax cuts or increased taxes instead of hurting their more vulnerable residents.

Greenstein also argues that maintaining low-income support programs strengthens the economy, because poor people are more likely to spend their available dollars than affluent folks, who tend to save a larger portion of their incomes.

No discussion of America in transition would be complete without a discussion of the war. Panelist Michael H. Armacost, Brookings Institution president and an ambassador and under-secretary of state during the Reagan administration, raised the question of expanding combat to Africa. After citing the tactical advantages and "the moral authority and political strength" that aided the U.S. in Afghanistan, Armacost said: "It is noteworthy that we can expect similar advantages in at least some of the other countries...like Somalia or the Sudan."

That moral authority and political strength might quickly diminish generally and among black Americans in particular, however, if President Bush were to take the war to Africa, Wilkins said after the program. "If you start chasing Al Qaeda into a black country and the black public starts seeing black babies dead," it's going to affect public support, he predicted.

A question from the floor suggested a national debate is needed on a "fair and more balanced policy" toward the Middle-East as a means of looking at how the current crisis developed. Such a debate is difficult in this country, Cloud replied. But he did agree that it is necessary "in order for us to have the lessening of tensions in other parts of the world and the hatred that gets expressed toward the American people."

The Joint Center will continue to address these issues in the coming forums and through the Center's website. ■



For more information on this and related topics, visit our website.

*Congress Resumes*  
*Continued from page 4*

retain their delicate majority in the Senate and wrest control of the House after eight years of Republican rule. Likewise, Republicans are determined to recapture the majority in the Senate and to not only keep the House but widen their lead.

Both parties are edgy. Sixteen Republican and eight Democratic House seats are being vacated by incumbents this year, and redistricting has created 14 new seats in the House. Among the Democrats leaving is Rep. Eva Clayton, immediate past chair of the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation. She announced she will retire from her rural North Carolina congressional seat this year, after five terms.

Underlying the predictable political tensions of an election year is suspense about the election process itself. Notwithstanding a flood of rhetoric, hearings and promises about election reform following the Election Day debacle of 2000, passions fizzled as the first session wore on. For a time, it appeared that the oft-promised election reform

legislation would not materialize. Late in the session, the House did pass the Ney-Hoyer election reform bill, but Shelton believes it ignores many civil rights concerns.

"In essence, the language in New-Hoyer makes it even easier to wrongly purge voters from the rolls," he says. In the 2000 presidential election, erroneous purges were a common complaint in Florida — ground zero of the political melee. "We also had major concerns around the provisions, or lack of provisions, for our friends in the disability community. There were no standards for physical access to the polls. But the bill passed. We're trying to fix it now on the Senate side."

The Democrat-led Senate bill includes access and secret balloting for the disabled, statewide databases, funding for new voting equipment, provisions for non-English speaking voters and non-discriminatory language. "That is one of our top priorities in the next session," Shelton says. "We are not finished with election reform." ■

## SAVE THE DATE

### *Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies* *2002 Annual Dinner*

**National Dinner Chairman**

Daniel A. Carp, Chairman and CEO, Eastman Kodak Company

**General Dinner Chair**

Weldon H. Latham, Senior Partner, Holland & Knight

March 26, 2002  
Hilton Washington and Towers Hotel  
Washington, DC

*Please contact Alfreda Edwards for ticket information at (202) 789-3545.  
Media should contact Liselle Yorke at (202) 789-6366.*



*FOCUS is printed on recycled paper with soy-based ink.*



Joint Center for Political  
and Economic Studies  
1090 Vermont Ave., NW, Suite 1100  
Washington, D.C. 20005-4928  
202-789-3500

PO Box 23881, Joubert Park 2044  
12th Floor, Auckland House  
185 Smit Street  
Braamfontein 2017, South Africa

ADDRESS  
SERVICE  
REQUESTED

Postmaster:  
Form 3547 requested

### IMPORTANT!

NOTICE TO READERS: Please send address or title changes to Information Resources, Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT  
U.S. POSTAGE  
**PAID**  
PERMIT No. 6958  
Washington, D.C.



# TRENDLETTER

## POLITICAL REPORT

### New Mayors Face Tough Budget Balancing Acts

By Kitty Garber

Perhaps more than any other group of elected officials, mayors are on the front line of homeland security. They are in charge of the first responders — police, fire and emergency personnel.

Yet during this time of increased security needs, mayors are also on the front lines of budget battles. They must balance soaring security costs with slumping economic realities.

This New Year brings several new faces to this complex mix. In small, medium and large cities, new African American mayors took office in recent weeks, after reaching across racial lines to form winning electoral coalitions that have produced a number of firsts.

Balancing competing interests could be a particularly tough challenge for the current crop of incoming mayors, according to New Orleans Mayor Marc Morial. “That’s going to stretch city budgets,” Morial says. “It’s going to test mayoral leadership.”

Furthermore, Morial says, the new mayors “have big shoes to fill,” he added. They will be judged against previous mayors who were in office during a time of economic expansion and during a city-friendly Clinton administration, explains Morial, who

also is president of the U.S. Conference of Mayors. Because of term limits, he will leave his New Orleans post in May.

Advancement to the mayor’s office, and for other positions as well, increasingly requires black candidates to win in districts that do not have black voting majorities. The successful black mayoral candidates—particularly women—were often able to appeal to white females, as well as to their traditional African American voter base. In a number of races, white women provided crucial support for black candidates up against previously entrenched incumbents.

Appealing to white male and female voters certainly was a necessity for the victorious African American in South Ogden, Utah. The city has almost no black residents.

Municipal office remains a growth area for black elected officials. It is the only area among seven categories of officials where elected African Americans increased in each of the 30 years the Joint Center has counted them. Between 1990 and 2000, the number of black mayors jumped 44 percent, to 451.

Emerging from the most recent campaigns are African Americans who capitalized on anti-incumbent sentiment and scored a number of historic victories in remarkably diverse places.

#### Southfield, Michigan

When Brenda Lawrence, 46, won election as mayor of Southfield, Michigan, she captured a number of firsts. She became the first woman and the first African American to hold

that position and the first new mayor in 30 years. She took nearly 53 percent of the vote to defeat incumbent Donald Fracassi, who had held the position since 1972.

Lawrence, who served on the city council for four years, noted how she personified the change that had taken place in the city during Fracassi’s tenure. Located just outside Detroit, the city evolved from a white-flight dominated suburb dotted with cornfields to become a diverse, heavily populated city, with a 54 percent African American majority and significant numbers of other ethnic groups.

#### Dayton, Ohio

In another Midwestern city, the situation was similar — a black woman challenger promising change narrowly defeated the white male incumbent to become Dayton’s first female mayor. Rhine McLin, a former Democratic state senator, beat incumbent Republican Mike Turner in a closely fought election. Although the city had prospered under the Turner administration, McLin contended that not all areas of the city had benefited. Contributing to McLin’s success was backing from the Democratic National Committee and labor unions.

McLin comes from a political family. Her grandfather ran, albeit unsuccessfully, for city commission, and her father, C.J. McLin Jr., served in the Ohio State House. She began her political career by taking over her father’s seat after his death in 1988. Six years later, she became the first

black woman elected to the Ohio State Senate, where she served as minority whip and then minority leader.

### Atlanta, Georgia

Atlanta has long had African American mayors, but like Southfield and Dayton it never had a female mayor before Shirley Franklin took office in January.

A native of Philadelphia, Franklin, 56, is no newcomer to Atlanta politics or the city's political leaders. She began her public service career in 1978 as Mayor Maynard Jackson's commissioner of cultural affairs. Under Mayor Andrew Young, Franklin was chief administrative officer from 1982 to 1989, a period of strong growth in the city. In 1990-1991, during Jackson's third term, she was executive officer of operations.

Franklin raised a huge amount of campaign money, breaking the record set by previous mayor Bill Campbell. Her ratio of expenditure per voter was one of the highest in the country. Franklin's long list of endorsements was a who's who of Atlanta politics and included Young, Jackson, Rep. John Lewis, and Rev. Joseph Lowery, among others.

With black women making up the largest single group of voters in Atlanta, Franklin was able to benefit from support for her to break the gender barrier. In addition, she courted white women voters who rallied to her campaign.

### South Ogden, Utah

When George Garwood, Jr., 45, became mayor of this small city, he not only became South Ogden's first black mayor, but the first African American mayor of any municipality in the state. What makes this historic achievement even more amazing is that Garwood won 72 percent of the vote in a city where 99 percent of the city's 14,337 residents are not black.

Garwood campaigned on the slogan, "Leading the way." He plans to concentrate on building the city's tax base by attracting more businesses to the community.

### Fayetteville, North Carolina

"Change is coming," the central campaign theme of Marshall Pitts, Jr., clearly won the day as he took 56 percent of the vote to defeat incumbent Milo McBryde and become the first African American mayor of Fayetteville, North Carolina. The 37-year-old lawyer proclaimed a "new day for Fayetteville" in his victory speech. His message of change resonated with voters, who turned out in record numbers for the mayoral election.

Even at the swearing-in ceremony, Pitts proved that he was serious at least about the image of change. In a light-hearted move that earned a standing ovation from the crowd, an emcee announced first the members of the city council and then the mayor as though they were members of a sports team. They ran in, huddled, and high-fived each other to demonstrate their commitment to working together cooperatively.

### Toledo, Ohio

In Toledo, Jack Ford surprised pundits with an easy win over his

much-better funded opponent, Ray Kest. Ford took 60.5 percent of the vote to become the city's first African American mayor. Both he and Kest are Democrats.

Like other winning black candidates in the November elections, the Ford campaign sought to put together a coalition of African Americans and white women voters. This strategy allowed Ford to gather support from across all parts of the city. The black community showed its support for the former state representative and city councilman by showing up in record numbers on election day and by contributing relatively large sums of money to the campaign. Ford said they contributed much more than they had for any other political campaign in the city's history.

Change came to Minneapolis too, but in the form of defeat for Sharon Sayles Belton, the city's first African American and first female mayor. In keeping with the civil nature of the mayoral races around the country, Sayles Belton accepted defeat graciously.

"We still have contributions that we must make," she said in a concession speech that set the tone for others now taking office. "Our work is just beginning." ■

---

Black mayors for the period from 1990 through the latest 2000 data:

Year	Number
1990	313
1991	314
1992	338
1993	356
1994	357
1995	387
1996	378
1997	387
1998	445
1999	450
2000	451

Source: Rick Hart, database administrator, The Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies

---

# ECONOMIC REPORT

## Policy Implications Of Children's Poverty

by Margaret C. Simms

As we enter 2002, there is considerable uncertainty about the economic outlook for the immediate future. The uncertainty is greatest for those whose economic circumstances were not rosy even during more prosperous times.

Unfortunately, the group most likely to be in poor economic circumstances is our children. In 2000, the last full year of economic expansion, the poverty rate for children under age 18 was 16.1 percent, compared to a rate of 9.4 for adults (age 18 to 64).

Child poverty carries with it many policy implications at the federal, state, and local levels. This year the Bush administration and Congress have an opportunity to address some of the causes as Washington considers reauthorization of the nation's welfare program. There also are a number of actions that state and local governments can initiate to supplement parental resources needed for child and youth development.

Although the poverty rate decreased between 1999 and 2000 for children in single-parent families, it remained very high. Two out of five children with single mothers lived below the poverty line. (The poverty rate for a family of three, including two children, was \$13,874 in 2000.) Black children were more likely to be poor than others, although their poverty rate also declined during the economic growth of the 1990s.

### Indicators of Well-Being

While poverty rates fell during the economic expansion, dropping from 46.3 percent in 1992 to 30.7 percent in 2000 for all black children, the

welfare of children might be more accurately understood by examining other measures of their socioeconomic status and general well-being.

The Federal Interagency Forum on Children and Family Statistics does that in an annual series called *America's Children*. The fifth report, issued last fall, presents a mixed picture of well-being. For example, even though poverty rates declined and employment rose between 1980 and 1999 among families with children, the proportion of children with working parents in poverty increased by half, to 31 percent.

### Biggest Employment Gains

The biggest employment gains over this 19-year period were among black households, perhaps reflecting the push of welfare reform and the pull of a strong economy. Yet about one-third of black children continue to live in poverty. Moreover, in spite of nearly a decade of sustained economic growth, depressingly large racial differences in children's poverty persist.

Other measures of well-being also show a mixed picture. On an important measure of school readiness, the Forum finds that the percentage of children living in poverty households who were read to by their parents dropped from 46 percent in 1996 to 38 percent three years later. Housing cost burdens also increased substantially from 1978 to 1999. The proportion of families with children spending more than 30 percent of their income on housing increased from 15 percent to 28 percent. The proportion paying more than 50 percent of income almost doubled to 11 percent.

One way families can increase their economic resources is to send additional workers into the work force. For single-parent families, this means teenagers. According to a report from

Child Trends, a research organization that studies children and families, youth in poor families were only half as likely to be working as their more well-to-do counterparts living in families whose incomes were more than 200 percent above the poverty level. Only about one-quarter of young people in families that had previously received welfare were working. Among these groups, the teens most likely to be working at least half-time (20 hours or more per week) were those in families that had left welfare within two years of the survey. Seventy percent of these teenagers were working at least half-time.

Citing data from the National Survey of America's Families (NSAF), Child Trends reports that minority teens were much less likely to be working than white teens. Among all African American and Hispanic teenagers who were working, 44 percent of black teens and 35 percent of Hispanic youth were working half-time.

### Possible Adverse Effects

Some experts are concerned that the long hours teenagers might work could be harmful to their ability to study and be productive in school. Too much paid work could contribute to students dropping out or performing too poorly in high school to be able to take advantage of post-secondary education or training opportunities. This might jeopardize their long-term economic prospects for short-term financial gain.

Other studies, summarized in a Child Trends research brief on "Welfare Reform's Impact on Adolescents: Early Warning Signs," suggest that parents' move from welfare to work can have a number of negative consequences for teens. In addition to poorer performance in school, several studies identified an increase in drinking, smoking, and delinquency among children whose parents left welfare.

## Implications for Policy

To be sure, not all the indicators of child well-being have moved in a negative direction in the past decade. Children's housing conditions improved, and the percentages completing high school (including high school equivalency programs) and college were up. Births to teens have generally declined, and children today are more likely to have health coverage. And in many ways, it seems to be less dangerous to be an adolescent as crime and victimization rates have both fallen.

However, the economic indicators suggest that we should be attentive to the impact on children of policies designed to move their parents into the work force. As the poverty rates indicate, work alone is not enough to lift all families out of poverty. And parental employment may mean that mothers and fathers have less time and energy to supervise their children or assist in their educational and social development.

With the major welfare reform program, Temporary Assistance for Needy Families, coming up for reauthorization in 2002, both policymakers and children's advocates should be attentive to features that would affect children's well-being. Facilitating employment at a "family" wage may require more investment in improving skill levels for those leaving welfare. Better support systems such as childcare assistance are also needed.

Beyond initiatives that are directed at parents, policymakers need to examine a broader array of youth development programs that would supplement the efforts of parents who are struggling to combine longer work hours and quality time with their children. This is a universal problem for many working parents. But some parents have fewer financial and family resources to support their efforts.

For additional information on poverty, see *Poverty in the United States: 2000*, (U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, P60-214, available at [www.census.gov](http://www.census.gov).) The report *America's Children* is found online at <http://childstats.gov>. The two reports by Child Trends are available at [www.childtrends.org](http://www.childtrends.org). Additional statistics on children can be obtained from the Joint Center's DataBank website at [www.jointcenter.org](http://www.jointcenter.org).

## Dropout Prevention Vital in Education Programs

By George Cave

A key element in the education package recently passed by Congress and signed by the President is school accountability. The legislation establishes extensive student testing requirements to determine how schools perform.

Testing has its place, but policymakers should beware. Programs holding schools accountable by focusing on certain student assessment measures could inadvertently give schools an incentive to boost the dropout rate.

One way to boost average student performance is to exclude low-achieving students from the assessment process, including standardized tests. Dropouts don't take tests. When low achievers drop out, their schools' measured levels of performance on high-stakes exams improve simply because fewer low achievers are present to bring down average scores.

When determining school accountability and the rewards and punishments that go with it, incentives to reduce dropout rates should be given as much importance as test scores. Unfortunately, Congress's education legislation

gives only little direct attention to dropout prevention.

One response to students who drop out is the GED (General Educational Development) high school equivalency program. While a dropout with a GED certificate certainly has more opportunities than a dropout without one, economists have measured stiff labor-market penalties for failing to earn a regular four-year diploma.

Data show that people with GEDs work less often and earn less than those among those among their neighbors who graduated from regular high school. Among young men at age 25, those with GEDs earn 23 percent less — and dropouts without GEDs earn 32 percent less — than regular high school graduates earn.

To mature into productive workers, students must learn much more than the minimal basic skills certified by the GED examination. Cramming for a GED exam does not provide the "people skills" and readiness for teamwork likely to be learned in the day-to-day experience of getting along with teachers and fellow students in class through the 12th grade.

Despite the disadvantages of holding a GED rather than a high school diploma, Education Department statistics show GED rates going up and regular high school graduation rates going down. Between 1988 and 1999, the diploma rate fell by 3.5 percent, while the GED rate rose by five points to 9.2 percent.

Care must be taken not to construct educational assessment and funding programs that unintentionally reward school districts for dropouts, even those who progress to GED programs. Creative projects designed to keep marginal pupils in programs that lead to high school diplomas, rather than GED certificates, would generate significant, positive consequences for students and society. ■