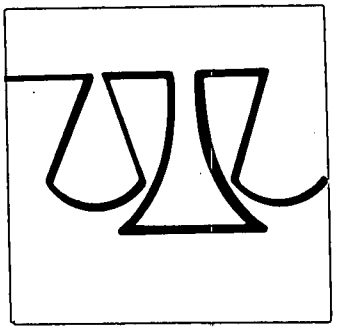
Volume 11, No. 6 June, 1983

FOCUS

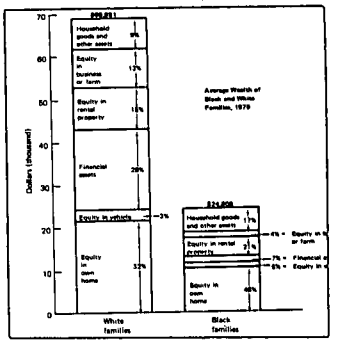
"A Policy Framework for Racial Justice"

Thirty Black scholars set forth three primary areas of concern:
The Economy, The Black Family, Education



Wealth and Economic Status

New findings show that Blacks lag even further behind whites in accumulated assets than in annual income.



Black Voter Registration

Statistics on the 27 states with sizable Black populations

State	Unregistered black voting age populatio
New York*	894,000
Texas	520,000
North Carolina*	506,000
Georgia	472,000
California	462,000
Florida	459,000
Virginia*	331,000
Pennsylvania	294,000
South Carolina*	292,000
Alabama*	272,000
Illinois	257,000
Maryland	256,000

Plus

Conference Report Number 4
Race and Political Strategy

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Debates about industrial policy are gaining force as the 1984 election season nears. Although the precise meaning of *industrial policy* is elusive, many groups whose interests would be affected by it already have enunciated their concerns and sought to create alliances. But for a variety of reasons—some having to do with the precise terms in which industrial policy issues have been framed, others having to do with unfamiliarity in minority communities with the issues—the interests and concerns of minority Amercians have been noticeably absent from the debates thus far.

Yet the decisions that comprise industrial policy—such as changing investment patterns, shifting resources from consumption to saving, and altering tax patterns—may well shape the terrain on which minority socio-economic development will occur well into the twenty-first century.

There are three broad areas with which minority Americans should be especially concerned:

Control of Industrial Policies. If the federal government were to create some kind of entity to develop and manage industrial policy, what kind of entity should it be? Some proponents of industrial policy have recommended establishing an authority along the lines of the TVA, which would represent the views of the so-called "industrial triad" of government, business, and organized labor. This body would have broad powers to formulate and create policy, but would be shielded from direct public accountability. Would minority interests be represented and served by such a triad?

Geographic Impact of Industrial Policies. Black and Hispanic Americans are mostly urban dwellers, inhabiting the large cities in the Midwest, the Southwest, and along the eastern seaboard. Many of these cities are also home to "smokestack" industries, once the backbone of the American economy, and these industries have served as important vehicles of economic mobility for minorities. In many "boom towns," on the other hand, high-tech and service industries make up the economic base, and minorities are concentrated in low-paying jobs.

Should industrial policies selectively benefit the cities and regions most in need of help? Or should policies of "urban triage" be pursued, as some commentators have advised, with government providing help only to move job-seekers to new sites of economic opportunity? What would be the implications of such policies for the future of our cities? How should the relocation of industries overseas be accommodated? What are the responsibilities of industries to the communities they choose to leave?

Efficiency and Equity. There is a broad consensus that fostering economic growth unavoidably heightens existing inequalities and demands the greatest sacrifices from the most vulnerable segments of our society. On the other hand, some argue that growth and equity are compatible, and that the development of a strong, flexible, structurally balanced economy demands that equity concerns figure prominently in consideration of industrial policies. The equity-efficiency issue touches most of the major questions raised in industrial policy debates.

The Joint Center for Political Studies is seeking to promote the involvement of minorities in the industrial policy debate. The April issue of *FOCUS* carried an introductory article by Ernest Wilson III, a professor at the University of Michigan, that examined minority concerns in greater depth than I have done here. In May the center convened a meeting of black scholars to clarify their concerns; in the fall, a larger conference will bring together these scholars and some of the leading advocates and critics of industrial policy. Further publications will be developed as resources for elected officials, community leaders, and others who need to participate in the industrial policy debate. Minority Americans can ill afford to remain uninformed and silent about the possible enactment of policies that may drastically change the structure of economic opportunity and materially affect their prospects for education, employment, and investment.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

Copyright © 1983 Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc. The monthly newsletter of the **Joint Center for Political Studies,** 1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400, Washington, D.C. 20004, (202) 626-3500. *The Joint Center for Political Studies is a national, nonprofit, tax-exempt institution that conducts research on public policy issues of special concern to black Americans 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. The Joint Center does not fund or participate in voter registration, lobbying or campaigning. JCPS is funded by foundations, other organizations, and private gifts. Signed FOCUS articles are presented solely for the information of readers, and they do not necessarily represent the views of the Joint Center for Political Studies. FOCUS is published monthly, $12.00 per year by JCPS, Inc.*

president: Eddie N. Williams
vice president: Eleanor Farrar
director of development: Kathleen Vander Horst
director of finance: Brenda Watkins Noel
director of information resources: Auriel Pilgrim
director of publications: Catherine Iino
director of research: Milton Morris
editorial assistant: Constance B. Toliver

Board of Governors

Wendell Freeland, *Chairman,* Attorney at Law
William B. Boyd, Johnson Foundation
Kenneth B. Clark, Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris
Hortense Williams Dixon
Mervyn Dymally, U.S. House of Representatives
Jayne Brumley Ikard
Louis E. Martin, Howard University
Percy E. Sutton, Board of Inner City Broadcasting Corp.
Eddie N. Williams, Joint Center for Political Studies
James D. Wolfensohn, James D. Wolfensohn, Inc.

Wealth and Economic Status

by William P. O'Hare

(The author is senior research associate at the Joint Center.)

Recently released figures on the average wealth of families provide a new and somewhat surprising comparison of the economic well-being of blacks and whites.

Nearly everyone—bureaucrats, politicians, and researchers—uses personal income in comparing the economic status of blacks and whites. But income alone does not provide a full measure of economic status. A man with no income in a given year but a million dollars in the bank, for example, is clearly better off than a man who earns $20,000 in that year but has no savings. Personal wealth, or accumulated assets, is an important part of the picture.

Comparing the personal wealth of black and white families reveals good news and bad news. The good news is that, while the ratio of black family *income* to white family income has remained unchanged for the past two decades, the ratio of black family *wealth* to white family wealth almost doubled during the seventies. The bad news is that the wealth measure shows a much wider gap between blacks and whites than the income measure: black family wealth is still only 36 percent that of whites.

In 1979, the median income for black households was $10,133 and that for whites was $17,259. The wealth of black households, however, was $24,608, compared to $68,891 for white households. In other words, the income of whites was about 1.7 times that of blacks, but the wealth of whites was almost 3 times that of blacks. Looked at another way, white households had a total wealth that was 4 times their income, while blacks had a total wealth of about 2.5 times their income.

Distribution of Wealth Among Blacks and Whites

Although black households make up 12 percent of all households, they hold only 4 percent of the combined wealth of blacks and whites. In 1979, blacks held approximately $211 billion in personal wealth, compared to $4.875 trillion held by whites. A smaller proportion of blacks than whites holds assets in each of the categories of wealth, and the average value of holdings for blacks in most of the categories is far less than the average value of holdings for whites (see table).

Two asset categories seem to be exceptions to this rule: equity in rental property and equity in own business. But since the study is based on a sample of only 7,000 households—including about 700 black households—the number of blacks in the sample with assets in these categories was too small to provide reliable figures.

The wealth of blacks and whites is distributed differently among the categories of assets (see figure). Equity in a home represents almost half the wealth of blacks (46 percent), while it represents less than a third of the wealth of whites (32 percent). This is not because whites have less valuable homes than blacks, but because whites have more wealth to invest in other types of assets. Rental property also makes up a larger part of black than white wealth. Over one-fifth of black wealth (21 percent) but only 15 percent of white wealth is made up of rental property. This may reflect a preference among blacks to put their money in tangible assets such as houses rather than in paper assets such as stocks and certificates of deposit. It is probably also a reflection of the segregated nature of the housing market and the smaller resources of black families; some blacks may have found they could not sell their homes profitably and may have been forced into a rental investment.

Household goods and other assets also represent larger proportions of black than white wealth; 17 percent of black wealth but only 9 percent of white wealth is invested in these assets. This asset category consists of essential household items such as furniture and appliances. Similarly, equity in a vehicle represents a larger proportion of black than white wealth—7 percent for blacks, compared to 3 percent for whites.

Only 7 percent of black wealth is invested in financial assets (cash, checking and savings accounts, savings bonds, stocks, loans, certificates of deposit, and mutual funds), while 28 percent of white wealth is composed of such assets. And while 95.3 percent of white households have financial assets of some type, only 78 percent of black households have this type of asset. This means that 22 percent or roughly 1,900,000 black

(Continued on page 5)

Racial differences in household wealth, 1979

	Percentage of households with this type of assets			Average size of holdings for households with asset of a given type		
	Black	White	Black/White Ratio	Black	White	Black/White Ratio
Total wealth	—	—	—	$24,608	$ 68,891	0.357
Equity in own home	47.9	62.4	0.768	25,589	35,599	0.719
Equity in vehicles	54.4	70.4	0.773	2,043	2,808	0.728
Financial assets*	78.0	95.3	0.818	2,180	20,413	0.107
Equity in rental property	7.2	14.7	0.490	71,395	69,926	1.021
Equity in own business	2.2	10.8	0.204	71,514	68,140	1.050
Equity in own farm	0.1	2.7	0.037	55,250	120,862	0.457
Household goods and other assets	100.0	100.0	1	4,438	6,270	0.708

Source: Data from "Composition of the Personal Wealth of American Households at the Start of the Eighties," by Robert B. Pearl and Matilda Frankel, presented at the American Statistical Association Annual Meeting, August, 1982, Table 6.

*Includes cash, checking accounts, savings accounts, savings bonds, certificates of deposit (CDs), loans, stocks, and mutual funds.

"A Policy Framework for Racial Justice"

A group of black scholars and leaders has identified the issues that should form the core of the black agenda for the 1980s. Deliberations by the group about the current status of blacks in America began in 1981, with publication by the Joint Center of an essay by black psychologist Kenneth B. Clark and historian John Hope Franklin.

In *The Nineteen Eighties: Prologue and Prospect,* Clark and Franklin contended that the struggle for civil rights had reached the "critical stage" predicted forty years ago by W. E. B. DuBois, who said that even after litigation, legislation, and direct confrontation had ben used to their fullest extent, blacks would still face persistent problems of racial discrimination. When that stage was reached, DuBois said, blacks with skills in economics, social policy, public administration, and political action and theory would be required to use those skills in the struggle for social justice.

Many concerned blacks responded to Clark and Franklin's call for involvement of black thinkers. The Joint Center took the process a step further by bringing together 25 black scholars and policy leaders in July 1981 and again in November 1982. Meeting in Tarrytown, New York, they held wide-ranging discussions, growing out of the analysis presented by Clark and Franklin.

Some of the participants in the Tarrytown meetings, joined by members of the Black Leadership Forum representing the leading national black civic organizations, reviewed and refined the conclusions of those meetings during a conference at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread Conference Center in March, 1983. The result was a statement identifying the most troubling aspects of the current condition of black Americans. Entitled *A Policy Framework for Racial Justice,* the statement is being published this month by the Joint Center.

The Economy, the Black Family, Education

Continuing racism in American society has been sharpened by the current economic downturn, the statement says. "Resentment in some quarters to the advances already made" by blacks has led to "sharp attacks on efforts, such as affirmative action, that were designed to continue the drive toward equity." These attacks, unless countered, will block efforts to improve the lives of "the excluded, . . . comprising people who are chronically poor, unemployed, or underemployed."

The statement identifies three areas where action should be concentrated to deal with the problems of the excluded: "the progress of the economy, the condition of the black family, and educational opportunity." According to the conference statement, "If comprehensive action is taken in these areas, not only blacks but American society as a whole will benefit."

As most employment opportunities have shifted from manufacturing, wholesale, and retail firms and into businesses providing services, the level of skills needed in many jobs has gone up. This is one root of the economic problems facing low-skilled blacks. The other is the shift in composition of many cities from primarily white to primarily black or Hispanic. Drops in average income of city residents that accompany this shift contribute to deteriorating city services and facilities. Rural residents, too, face problems caused by the mechanization of many farms, which has thrown many low-skilled persons out of work and presented unsurmountable competition to undercapitalized small farmers.

"To achieve the goal of full employment at a decent wage level, we believe there has to be *rational* government involvement in the economy," the statement says. Economic policy must shift from "strategies designed to meet immediate problems to strategies thought out in advance and consistently pursued." The ultimate goal, according to the statement, is "creation of a general economic policy (integrating social policy with industrial and labor market policies) built upon a social contract between business, labor, professional associations, and government." Such a contract "would be the foundation for a consensus-making organization working more or less within a public framework to bargain and initiate policies on questions of economic growth, unemployment, prices, taxes, balance of payments, and social policy."

Problems of blacks are concentrated in families headed by females, according to the conference statement. Children in families headed by women—many of whom gave birth while still teenagers themselves—not only have no male role model, but are more likely to live in poverty than children in families with both parents present.

The main government program aiding women who are raising children alone—Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)—"was conceived as a stopgap measure to enable families to survive" during the Depression. It needs to be replaced with programs of "training and support" that will enable participants to become self-sufficient. Further, "young men and women need to be encouraged to pursue education, training, work, and personal development while they delay pregnancy and family formation."

Efforts to combat inadequate education of low-income blacks must concentrate in three areas, the statement said:

1. In elementary and secondary schools, "school districts must be held accountable for the achievement level of students" while being protected from "crippling cutbacks in their operating budgets resulting from federal or state legislation."

2. At the post secondary level, "maintaining adequate student aid . . . remains the most important way of ensuring the attendance of blacks in institutions of higher education," while tutoring programs and affirmative action are also needed.

3. Attention at all levels must be given to adult illiteracy, which is the main problem cutting off employment opportunities for many blacks.

Drs. Clark and Franklin, who served as chairs for the meetings, say in their foreword to the statement, "Contemporary racial problems cannot be

(Continued on page 6)

Joint Center
for
Political Studies

JCPS Conference Report

Number 4, June 1983

Race and Political Strategy

The past fifteen years have been a period of enormous progress in the election of blacks to public office. Yet the rate of increase has slowed considerably in recent years, as black candidates have moved beyond black-majority jurisdictions and begun to compete in white-majority constituencies. If blacks are to play a more prominent role in American politics, and thereby broaden the source of American political leadership, it is essential that black candidates greatly improve their ability to tap support beyond the black community.

To explore the impact of race in contemporary American politics, the Joint Center convened a one-day roundtable discussion in February 1983. The conference was prompted by the widespread interest in the narrow defeats of Tom Bradley in last year's California gubernatorial race and Robert Clark in the Mississippi Delta congressional election. The Joint Center assembled black candidates who had run in the 1982 elections, political consultants, pollsters, and academic researchers to analyze how black candidates contend with problems of political strategy, campaign technology, and grass-roots organizing in election campaigns. The following is a brief overview of the issues discussed.

On February 16, 1983, the Joint Center for Political Studies held a roundtable on "Race and Electoral Politics" in Washington, DC. Funding was provided by the Rockefeller Foundation. Thomas E. Cavanagh, research associate at the Joint Center, prepared this report on the meeting. A transcript of the proceedings will be published this summer.

Strategic Choices Confronting Black Candidates

Professor **Leslie B. McLemore** of Jackson State University initiated the discussion on campaign strategy by noting that a black candidate's attempts to structure the political dialogue around partisanship and other issues are often overcome by the issue of race. **Mickey Michaux** added that, during his unsuccessful campaign for a Democratic congressional nomination, the media invariably referred to him as a "black attorney from Durham, North Carolina, seeking to become the first black congressman. . . . The media make an issue of race," he concluded.

Several participants noted the increasing subtlety and sophistication of racist appeals. For example, Michaux read from campaign literature produced by his opponent:

"It says, 'Our polls indicate that the same well-organized block, B-L-O-C-K vote'—bloc in political terms is spelled B-L-O-C—but it says 'our polls indicate that the same well-



Thomas Pettigrew, Milton Morris, Ron McDuffie



Harold Wolff, William Elkins, Thomas Cavanagh



Tony Harrison, Harold Webb

organized block vote which was so obvious and influential in the first primary will turn out again on July 27th. My opponent will again be *busing* his supporters to the polling places.' "

The question of how to respond to such tactics prompted a lengthy give-and-take. "Can one of our candidates ever call his opponent a racist?" asked **Louis Martin,** vice president of Howard University and a former aide to President Carter. "Politically, every time your opponent is scoring you have to have some kind of response."

Democratic pollster **Paul Maslin** suggested that black candidates ought to confront the race issue head-on, to which Bradley aide **Bill Elkins** cautioned, "When a black overtly, aggressively makes race an issue, that black candidate is doing precisely what we are saying his opponent ought not to be doing." Elkins cited Bradley's statement, "Don't vote for me because I am black, but don't vote against me because I am black." Social psychologist **Thomas Pettigrew** countered that appeals to race may be necessary to ignite both the minority community and white liberals, who "want to feel good about voting for a black."

There was considerable discussion of Clark's Mississippi campaign. McLemore felt that "Robert depended too much on the party, and the party gave the campaign a different direction than it had originally targeted. In Robert's television commercials, the people were 95 percent white. The strategy should have been to continue to mobilize the black vote in the district."

JCPS Conference Report, Number 4

©1983, Joint Center for Political Studies, Inc.

Suite 400
1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20004
(202) 626-3500

Tony Harrison, deputy chairman of the Democratic National Committee, concurred: "You don't want white folks so bad that you lose your own home base. There is only a skeletal entity that calls itself a Democratic party in these states. It has no ability to deliver anything. Those county organizations are less than nothing, and when you rely on that to be a delivering mechanism, what you have done is put false hope in an illusion."

As a black Republican, **Virgil Brown** considered himself under a "double whammy" in his unsuccessful 1982 bid against a white Democrat to become secretary of state of Ohio. According to Brown, his opponent spread the word that "Virgil's okay. However, we've got to send Reagan a message, so we'll vote against Virgil."

As a result, Brown was held to 47 percent of the black vote, "in spite of the fact that since I've been a county commissioner we have an MBE [Minority Business Enterprise] set-aside, for the first time minorities and women are placed in management positions that they have not held before, and they are getting some of the contracts and goods and services that are purchased.

"Can we ever expect that blacks will cross party lines to vote in their best interests if it is felt that we cannot vote for a Republican?" Brown asked.

Black women candidates appear to suffer less of a handicap than men. Indiana Congresswoman Katie Hall (D, Gary), who won with 57 percent of the district vote, received significant support from women's groups, according to her administrative assistant, **Cecelia Jakovich. Odessa Shannon** said that she was drafted by a screening committee of black fraternities and sororities into running a successful campaign for the school board in the wealthy suburbs of Montgomery County, Maryland.

Pettigrew cited polling data showing that many white voters find black women candidates less threatening than black men. Elkins also mentioned some UCLA research commissioned by the Bradley campaign, which concluded that "it would be much more difficult for Tom Bradley to run for governor than for the United States Senate. There's a greater reluctance to give to a black the highest office within the power of the electorate to bestow upon an individual."

Pettigrew added, "That's not irrational if you make racist assumptions. If Bradley went to the Senate, there would be 99 whites to control him. If you are captain of the ship, governor, mayor, there's more of a threat."

Use of Campaign Technologies by Black Candidates

Professor Pettigrew began the session on campaign technology with a discussion of "a kind of new racism confronting black candidates.

"At first, you claim to be racially tolerant. You're running a racist-free campaign. You want to make that clear to everyone.

"You say that early. Then you start using subtle, somewhat ambiguous code words and slogans. One kind of slogan seems to have been used this time across the country, in North Carolina, Mississippi, and California. I think we'll see a lot more of it. It is that the white candidate can represent *all* of the state's people or city's people or district's people—the implication being that a black can never represent white peo-



Mickey Michaux



Eleanor Farrar, Harold Webb

ple. The idea that a white could represent a black is not important here, because you're going after conservative whites and that issue is not high on their list of priorities.

"Next, you try to identify the black candidate with the far left, or with militant black figures that are known to frighten other blacks and most whites.

"You don't have to say it's because of race. The race connection is in the listener's mind. It's already there in white thinking, so you don't have to make it explicit.

"And then for those whites who may miss the subtleties, you can have parts of your campaign use old-fashioned racist techniques. Anywhere it looks like it would be a good idea, you send out racist literature. If this is exposed, the central campaign can always say we don't know anything about this, we're outraged by this, and we will stop it immediately. And stop it, if it comes to that.

"Or you can have your campaign manager or some member of the campaign informally brief news people about a hidden racism among the electorate. And if that doesn't float too well, the candidate can fire the campaign manager, further illustrating that he is above all this. But of course the deed is done.

"It's the message that's important, even if it comes from a source that's not too credible, because people very quickly forget the source, more quickly than they forget the message."

The discussion then shifted to methods of improving polling accuracy in black-white elections. Pettigrew noted that simply adding the white undecided vote to the vote for the white candidate normally results in a very accurate prediction of the outcome. Several of the pollsters in the group proposed asking more indirect questions about issues and racial attitudes to discern the voting intentions of the undecided bloc in such contests.

There was a lively debate on the extent of the race effect on Bradley's loss in California. **Warren Mitofsky** of CBS News said he could not find any significant net effect, while Pettigrew pegged it at over 300,000 votes. **Lance Tarrance,** the pollster for Bradley's opponent, George Deukmejian, mentioned a post-election poll that found 10 percent of the Deukmejian voters saying they voted against Bradley because he was black. Reacting to some of the discussion, Democratic consultant **Harold Wolff** said, "It's really hard for me to believe that such sophisticated people come to the conclusion that only 3 percent of the vote in California was determined by race. You may say that, but I know you don't believe it."

Three other problems were brought up that complicate polling in black-white campaigns: the small number of blacks usually included in a survey sample; the atypical turnout pattern in such elections, which makes it difficult to construct an accurate sample; and the need to use white interviewers when talking to white respondents and black interviewers with black respondents.

Handling the visual dimensions of a campaign can be a source of difficulty for black candidates. Tarrance recalled that the first wave of Bradley television advertising in August 1982 showed a closeup of Bradley, so "you really knew this was a black candidate running. He wanted to get it out without telling everybody, but get it out visually." Tarrance thought it would have been more effective to show Bradley in racially mixed crowds in his early spots: "taking the image so strong, so early, was almost like 'the lady doth protest too much.' "

Michaux decided against using billboards because "there's a certain resentment, when you have a redneck coming out of the fields in the morning or late in the evening, and there's that big billboard with this black man's picture on it." However, he did distribute 3-by-5 cards with his picture on them in the black community.

Larry Gibson, who managed the nationally publicized upset win of Kurt Schmoke in the 1982 Baltimore race for state's attorney, switched strategies after an early poll found that most whites who were willing to vote for a black considered Schmoke's race an asset rather than a liability. At that point, the campaign decided to make it very clear that Schmoke was black.

Grass-Roots Organizing by Black Candidates

In the final session, the conference participants heard three very different approaches to grass-roots organizing. Elkins began with a discussion of the Bradley campaign structure, which he said "did not differentiate between black and Hispanic or Asian, although we were criticized because of that. The philosophy was to have persons support the candidacy of this man not because he was black, but because he had attempted to respond to the issues and the things that are important to people. This candidate strongly felt that it is a disservice to the process to fragment people and to try to organize them totally within the framework of their ethnicity." The campaign was targeted to reach regional groupings, the ecumenical leadership, young people, fraternities and sororities, and a variety of ethnic minorities.

Michaux generally initiated contacts in the black community and then used those contacts to reach the white community. This approach was followed in targeting interfaith ministerial groups, senior citizens, public housing projects, and campuses. A key component in Michaux's intensive voter registration effort was compiling and distributing statistics showing that increasing the black vote made the victory of a black candidate plausible.

"In order to build an effective grass-roots organization," Michaux asserted, "you have got to be able to have an issue or issues that appeal primarily to the emotions. Who's gonna get hurt? Am I gonna be hurt? And then you build it from that point."

Gibson, a veteran campaign organizer in Baltimore, said that he is moving "more and more *away* from grass-roots organization as something that is cost-effective, useful, and even achievable. In Baltimore, in 1982, by far the most powerful tool with which to communicate to people is television. There simply is no competitor. In one second you go up every alley, into every street, every block, into every house.

"In the 80s, in the 90s, we're talking about a mass media world, in which our kids play with electronic toys, where the whole citizenry spends more time in front of the television set than any other place. Blacks who want to get elected in races that involve large numbers of voters aren't going to change that. You may as well work within the context of that reality."

Because of the expense of television and radio advertising, Gibson devoted almost half of Schmoke's campaign time to raising money. To hold down media costs, "priority number one was to get on television free every time that you possibly could, by hook or by crook, by whatever means possible. Nothing was to interfere with any television appearance opportunity."



Warren Mitofsky, Lance Tarrance

Gibson also disparaged the traditional election-day practice of driving voters without transportation to the polls, considering it a waste of manpower. Operation Big Vote director **Gracia Hillman** said, "that might be fine for cities with several polling places, but I would hate to take that out of Baltimore and Chicago and put it in a place that's not as easy to get around." Gibson agreed that transportation was much more essential in rural get-out-the-vote efforts.

Maslin noted that "traditional grass-roots politics is always rooted in ideas and messages and not just pure organization. Perhaps some of the ideas and messages got a little bit lost in recent years. People were left with just the organizational plan and the campaign manager, who sits down and says two weeks out we're going to do this and we're going to do that.

"But in reality the most effective means of getting people to register, getting people to the polls, mobilizing them in any way politically is going to be with a message. That's true, whether it's on television or radio, or even through telephone canvassing from a central phone bank. They have to say, not only, please vote, but also, vote for this reason. It is a sad fact of recent American politics that usually that reason is a negative one."

After listening to such ruminations, Republican National Committee aide **Ron McDuffie** said he had "had a shocking experience here. You're getting closer and closer to the Republican model for operating campaigns. You ran down the Republican script to the T in terms of how you build your building blocks or your coalition, protecting your base, shoring that up.

"Management is extremely important on our side, and we use more high-tech and research tools," McDuffie continued. After careful targeting of black constituencies through analysis of polling data, precinct returns, and local demography, the Republicans rely heavily on direct mail and telephone banks to reach their black voters.

Republican pollster Tarrance offered to "take my hat off to you, Ron, because I imagine it's a little bit rough out there right now. I sense a hardening in the views of the Republican party about whether they can get black votes to any significant degree any longer. I think black leadership has got to question the advantages of that over the long term."

JCPS president **Eddie Williams** responded, "The Republican party prefers to deal with blacks only in terms of presidential politics. It never emphasizes the Virgil Browns, it never emphasizes the voters in Chicago or the vote in Pennsylvania, where Thornburgh got 51 percent of the black vote in the governor's race in 1978. Some greater emphasis on building from the bottom up, before you worry too much about the presidency, is very, very important.

"But there is a large and growing amount of frustration and disenchantment on the part of blacks in the Democratic party," Williams concluded. "They are moving toward the point of being prepared to accept whatever risk there is to telegraph once and for all that their bloc of votes cannot be taken for granted and that the Democratic party too needs to be more responsive."

(Continued from page 3)

households have no financial assets. This may result partly from mistrust that some blacks have of banking and other financial institutions, in addition to the basic lack of money available to blacks for investment in financial assets. But because financial assets are more liquid than others, their lack of such holdings may place blacks at a particular disadvantage during sudden changes in the economy.

Among those households that have such assets, the value of holdings for the average black household is about one-tenth that of average white households: $2,180 for blacks, compared to $20,413 for whites.

Equity in a farm or business comprises 13 percent of white wealth but only 4 percent of black wealth. This is consistent with other reports that show blacks holding only 3 percent of all businesses and a very small proportion of the nation's farms. Between 1969 and 1978, the total number of farms declined by 23.8 percent, but the number of black-owned farms dropped by 57.3 percent, from 133,973 to 59,271. The vast majority of black-owned farms (85.6 percent) had sales of less than $20,000 a year, and most (56.5 percent) were under 50 acres in size.

If we look at owner-occupied houses, vehicles, and household goods as one parcel of assets, then 68 percent of black wealth is tied up in this package. Only 32 percent of black wealth (21 percent in rental property, 7 percent in financial assets, and 4 percent in business and farm equity) is invested in nonhousehold assets, those assets likely to bring income in return. In contrast, white households have 56 percent of their wealth invested in nonhousehold assets (28 percent in financial assets, 15 percent in rental property, and 13 percent in business and farm equity). White families are using their wealth to expand their wealth, while blacks are forced to invest a larger portion of their income in "survival" assets such as homes, cars, and household goods.

Equity in their own home and rental property alone account for a total of 67 percent of all black wealth. Yet there is evidence that black-owned houses do not appreciate as rapidly as other houses.

Changes in Wealth between 1967 and 1979

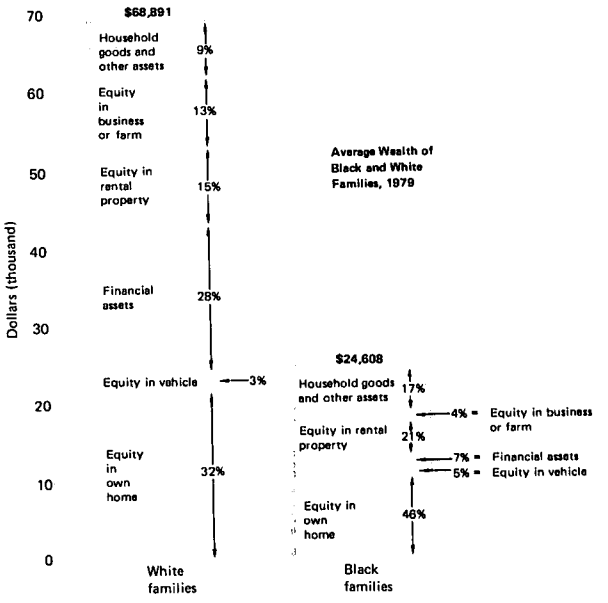
In 1967, the average wealth of white families was $20,153 and that of blacks was $3,779. In other words, for every dollar of wealth held by the average white family, the average black family held about 19 cents. In 1979, the average wealth of white families was $68,891 and that of blacks was $24,608. Thus, for every dollar of wealth held by the average white family, the average black family held 36 cents. Thus, in relative terms, blacks have made some progress toward economic parity, although in absolute terms, the gap between black and white wealth has widened. (The 1967 survey and the 1979 survey employed slightly different methods, but these minor differences should not affect the general trends discussed here.)

For both blacks and whites, there was little change in the proportion of wealth invested in a home, vehicle, or in financial assets between 1967 and 1979. However, there were some very interesting changes in two categories: equity in rental property and equity in a business or farm. For blacks, the percentage of total wealth consisting of rental property nearly doubled over the 12-year period, from 12 percent in 1967 to 21 percent in 1979. The increased share of wealth accounted for by rental property is probably related to the enormous increase in the value of housing during the 1970s.

The other important change for blacks was a decline in the percentage of wealth composed of equity in a farm or business, which went from 14 percent in 1967 to only 4 percent in 1979. This change is the result of increases in other types of assets and a decrease in the number of black farms: the number of black businesses actually increased from 163,073 in 1969 to 231,203 in 1977.

The white population showed similar but smaller shifts in wealth composition. Equity in rental property increased from 9 percent of wealth in 1967 to 16 percent in 1979, and the percentage of wealth in farm or business equity decreased from 23 percent in 1967 to 14 percent in 1979.

The data reported here are from a 1979 survey conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census for the Survey of Income and Program Participation (SIPP). Although the Reagan administration initially eliminated the SIPP program, concerned citizens, acting through Congress, succeeded in getting funds for the program restored. The SIPP program should begin collecting data within a year and thereafter should supply some important and useful indicators of economic well-being, such as personal wealth, which contribute to an accurate picture of the economic status of the population.



Policy Framework

(Continued from page 4)

dramatized by television pictures of cattle prods being used against those seeking relief from blatant forms of injustice. The chief barriers to racial justice today are subtle and much less conducive to media coverage.

"Such problems as inferior schools in northern cities that resist attempts at desegregation, deteriorating urban ghettos, persistent unemployment and underemployment, and the myriad handicaps of single-parent black families do not elicit the same moral indignation on the part of the American public as did earlier forms of injustice . . .

"We hope that the ideas contained in this document will encourage widespread discussion and that out of such discussions will come strategies to achieve social and racial justice in America."

The Black Leadership Forum endorsed the statement, saying "One result of the Wingspread meeting has been a strongly shared resolve to take greater advantage of the opportunities for creative interaction among those who from differing vantage points are attempting to find surer paths out of the critical economic, social, and cultural dilemmas that confront us all.

"We hope that these papers will be among the most valuable tools for accomplishing that crucial task."

Participants in the Tarrytown Conferences, June 29-30, 1981, and November 19-21, 1982

Dr. Bernard Anderson
Director
Division of Social Sciences
The Rockefeller Foundation
New York, New York

Dr. Mary Berry
Professor of History and Law, and Fellow,
Institute for the Study of
Educational Policy
Howard University
Washington, D.C.

Derrick Bell, Esquire
Dean
University of Oregon School of Law
Eugene, Oregon

Dr. Haywood Burns
Dean
Urban and Legal Programs
City College of New York
New York, New York

Lisle C. Carter, Jr., Esquire
Verner, Liipfert, Bernhard & McPherson
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Kenneth B. Clark
President
Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris
New York, New York

Dr. Mamie Phipps Clark
Treasurer
Clark, Phipps, Clark & Harris
New York, New York

Dr. Jewel Cobb
President
California State University
Fullerton, California

Dr. James Comer
Maurice Falk Professor of Child Psychiatry,
Yale Child Study Center
Associate Dean, Yale Medical School
New Haven, Connecticut

Drew Days, Esquire
Professor
Yale University School of Law
New Haven, Connecticut

Christopher Edley, Jr., Esquire
Assistant Professor
Harvard University School of Law
Cambridge, Massachusetts

Dr. Eleanor Farrar
Vice President
Joint Center for Political Studies
Washington, D.C.

Dr. John Hope Franklin
James B. Duke Professor of History
Duke University
Durham, North Carolnia

Dr. James Gibbs
Professor of Anthropology
Stanford University
Stanford, California

Dr. Bernard Gifford
Dean
Graduate School of Education
University of California
Berkeley, California

Charles Hamilton, Esquire
Battle, Fowler, Jaffin, Pierce & Kheel
New York, New York

Patricia Roberts Harris
Former Secretary
U.S. Department of Housing &
Urban Development
Washington, D.C.

Dr. Matthew Holden, Jr.
Henry L. and Grace M. Doherty
Professor of Government & Foreign Affairs
University of Virginia
Charlottesville, Virginia

Joyce Hughes
Professor
Northwestern University School of Law
Chicago, Illinois

Dr. Walter Leonard
President
Fisk University
Nashville, Tennessee

Sir Arthur Lewis
Professor of Economics
Woodrow Wilson School
Princeton University
Princeton, New Jersey

Dr. David Lewis
Professor of History
University of California, San Diego
La Jolla, California

Dr. Hylan Lewis
Professor Emeritus
Brooklyn College
New York, New York

Eleanor Holmes Norton
Professor
Georgetown University School of Law
Washington, D.C.

Dr. J. Saunders Redding
Ernest I. White Professor Emeritus of
American Studies and Humane Letters
Cornell University
Ithaca, New York

Dr. William Shack
Dean
Graduate School
University of California
Berkeley, California

Dr. Elliott P. Skinner
Franz Boas Professor of Anthropology
Columbia University
New York, New York

Dr. Mabel Smythe
Professor of African Studies
Northwestern University
Evanston, Illinois

Dr. Howard Stanback
Professor of Economics
New School for Social Research
New York, New York

Roger Wilkins
Senior Fellow
Institute for Policy Studies
Washington, D.C.

Eddie N. Williams
President
Joint Center for Political Studies
Washington, D.C.

Dr. William J. Wilson
Lucy Flower Professor of Urban Sociology
University of Chicago
Chicago, Illinois

Telescope

Goode Wins Philadelphia Primary

In an election that may have symbolized the end of an era, former city managing director W. Wilson Goode defeated ex-mayor Frank Rizzo in Philadelphia's mayoral primary on May 17.

Goode, the black son of a sharecropper, received 54 percent of the vote against Rizzo, whose inflammatory racial rhetoric had earned him national notoriety during the 1970s.

The political dialogue was relatively restrained and provided a welcome contrast to the open hostility displayed in Chicago's bitter mayoral campaign this spring (see *Focus,* May 1983).

Goode received about 23 percent of the white vote, believed to be the best initial showing ever recorded for a black mayoral candidate in a large northern city. Nonetheless, the racial polarization usually found in the election returns in such races was present yet again in Philadelphia.

According to an exit poll conducted for WCAU-TV and the *Philadelphia Inquirer,* Goode received high marks from blacks, who gave him 97 percent of their votes. White voters were more ambivalent, on the other hand, and much of his white support may have been due to anti-Rizzo sentiment. Only 10 percent of Rizzo's supporters said they were prepared to vote for Goode in the November general election.

Goode will face two opponents in the fall: Democrat-turned-Republican John Egan, the head of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, and Independent Thomas Leonard, a former Rizzo aide. There is widespread speculation that Leonard may withdraw. If he stays in the race, a split in the white vote would probably ensure a Goode victory. A one-on-one confrontation between Goode and Egan, however, might prove unexpectedly close. Egan pulled well ahead of a strong field in the three-way Republican primary after an impressive performance in a televised debate. If Egan can add hardcore Rizzo voters to his Republican base, the contest will probably be hard fought.

Good News, Bad News

The Army's equal opportunity report offered good news and bad news regarding the distribution of blacks across occupational specialties within the Army. The good news is that the overconcentration of blacks in the combat branches has been corrected: on the average, the proportion of blacks in the combat specialties of the Army is now the same as the proportion of blacks in the Army as a whole.

In 1981, the proportions of blacks in the infantry, the armor branch, and combat engineer branch were lower than the overall proportion of blacks in the Army. Blacks remain overconcentrated in only two combat specialties—field artillery and air defense artillery.

The bad news is that black soldiers are still concentrated in other low-skill jobs such as supply and food service. According to the report, 29 percent of black enlisted personnel are in four occupational categories that require the lowest skills. The report goes on to state that these categories "embrace the kinds of . . . low-status duties traditionally associated with blacks in the pre-civil rights era," according to the *Army Times.*

These results are not surprising. Assignments to military specialties depend, in part, on standardized test scores. According to the Pentagon's study, "Profile of American Youth," only 9 percent of black enlistees score above average on the Armed Forces Qualification Test, compared with 38 percent of white youth. On the other hand, 45 percent of black enlistees but only 14 percent of white enlistees are in "category IV," the lowest test category from which the military will accept enlistees.

Congressional Select Committee on Cities Proposed

Representative William J. Coyne has proposed to establish a Select Committee on Cities, which would impanel nine representatives to study and issue recommendations on urban policy to Congress within a two-year period. Representative Coyne points out, "This is no narrow issue—the United States is 79 percent urban, with 168 million people classified by the Census as urban."

In a "Dear Colleague" letter to his fellow members, Representative Coyne cited the following problems requiring the special attention of a select committee:

—Cities have been hit hard by the recession. Business failures and industrial shutdowns are largely urban phenomena. Unemployment has been devastating for urban groups.

—Urban infrastructure, so vital to the functioning of both the national and metropolitan economies, is decaying. Deferred maintenance has compounded the problem.

—Tighter federal budgets and weakened local tax bases confront cities and urban counties just at the time their housing, transportation, and welfare problems are mounting.

The select committee would seek responses to these serious problems from a comprehensive, urban perspective, cutting across all programs. The committee would be directed not only to investigate the problems but also to publicize successes in modern urban America. The proposal has been cosponsored by 18 members of the House of Representatives to date, and 17 mayors have lent their support. More than 20 education, civil rights, housing, aging, and political groups have endorsed the proposal, including the National Urban League, the League of Women Voters, the National League of Cities, and the Mexican American Legal Defense and Education Fund.

Black Journalist Buys Oakland *Tribune*

Robert Maynard, editor and publisher of the Oakland *Tribune,* purchased the paper in May from the Gannett chain, thereby becoming the first black owner of a general-circulation daily newspaper in the United States. The *Tribune's* circulation has been declining, and Gannett decided to divest itself of the paper so that it could purchase a San Francisco television station. As editor of the paper, Maynard has been working to make its reporting more reflective of Oakland's black and Hispanic majority.

Black Voter Registration, 1982

The potential importance of the black vote in the 1984 presidential election has prompted renewed interest in black voter registration efforts. The following estimates of November 1982 voter registration in states with more than 100,000 blacks of voting age, are derived from a U.S. Census Bureau survey. Because there is a tendency for survey respondents to report that they are registered when they are not, the table undoubtedly overestimates the registration rate and underestimates the number of unregistered blacks.

Rank by number of unregistered blacks	State	Unregistered black voting-age population	Registered black voting-age population	Total black voting-age population†	Percentage of voting-age blacks registered
1	New York*	894,000	737,000	1,631,000	45.2
2	Texas	520,000	678,000	1,198,000	56.6
3	North Carolina*	506,000	391,000	897,000	43.6
4	Georgia	472,000	510,000	982,000	51.9
5	California	462,000	836,000	1,298,000	64.4
6	Florida	459,000	464,000	923,000	50.3
7	Virginia*	331,000	383,000	714,000	53.6
8	Pennsylvania	294,000	426,000	720,000	59.2
9	South Carolina*	292,000	333,000	625,000	53.3
10	Alabama*	272,000	372,000	644,000	57.7
11	Illinois	257,000	819,000	1,077,000	76.1
12	Maryland	256,000	407,000	664,000	61.4
13	Louisiana*	256,000	557,000	813,000	68.5
14	New Jersey	247,000	363,000	610,000	59.5
15	Ohio	247,000	470,000	717,000	65.6
16	Michigan	214,000	553,000	767,000	72.1
17	Tennessee*	158,000	322,000	479,000	67.1
18	District of Columbia	149,000	171,000	320,000	53.5
19	Mississippi*	131,000	410,000	541,000	75.8
20	Arkansas*	85,000	147,000	233,000	63.3
21	Indiana	84,000	182,000	265,000	68.5
22	Missouri	79,000	260,000	339,000	76.7
23	Connecticut	68,000	75,000	143,000	52.3
24	Massachusetts*	64,000	86,000	149,000	57.3
25	Kentucky*	62,000	114,000	176,000	64.9
26	Oklahoma	56,000	82,000	138,000	59.2
27	Wisconsin	13,000	97,000	111,000	87.9

*In these states, the number of unregistered voting-age blacks in 1982 exceeded the Republican margin of victory in the 1980 presidential election.

†Because all numbers are rounded to the nearest thousand, some numbers in this column do not equal the sum of the numbers in the two preceding columns.

Source: Joint Center for Political Studies

FOCUS

Joint Center for Political Studies

1301 Pa. Ave., N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20004
(202) 626-3500

ADDRESS CORRECTION REQUESTED
Postmaster:
Form 3547 requested

PRICE $1.25

NOTICE TO READERS: Please notify FOCUS of any change of address or title. YOU MUST ATTACH THE MAILING LABEL FROM THE BACK COVER when writing about service or change of address. No change can be made without this information. Allow 6 weeks for change of address to take effect. Thank you.

NON-PROFIT
U.S. POSTAGE
PAID
PERMIT No. 44958
Washington, D.C.