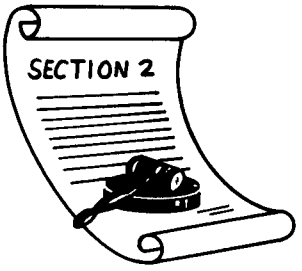
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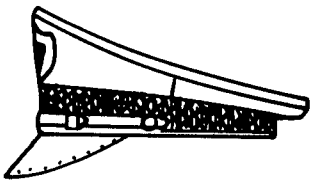
Reincarnating the Intent Standard

Although the Voting Rights Act now clearly calls for a results test in Section 2 cases, some federal judges are ignoring the congressional mandate.



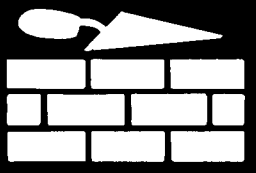
Improving American Law Enforcement

Hubert Williams, newly appointed president of the Police Foundation, discusses his plans and opinions in an interview.



Urban Renewal, 1985

How can we revive declining neighborhoods without displacing current residents?



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Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Political communications technology has emerged as one of the most critical determinants of who wins and who loses elections in the United States. This technology relies on polling, direct mail, telephone banks, and sophisticated packaging and marketing of issues and candidates. The effective use of TV—both news and advertising—is essential to this new approach to electioneering.

Political communications technology has spawned a host of consultants who employ new research and campaign methodologies and even their own vocabulary. It is already a major driving force in presidential elections and in most gubernatorial and senatorial races, and is increasingly a force in congressional and big city mayoral races. Therefore, it is important for us to examine not only its effectiveness in the conduct of campaigns, but also its impact on the electorate and its implications for the electoral process.

My sense is that this new technology is enormously effective. It is not likely to disappear from American politics and no doubt will spread to other countries when its techniques can be readily adapted. It would appear, however, that this new political medicine also produces some negative side effects which, if untreated, could be disastrous.

Increasingly, complex campaign issues are being reduced to simplicities and symbols, and candidates are being marketed to voters like consumer products: pasteurized, homogenized, and unscented. While we may be getting more information, we seem to know less about the candidates and what they really stand for. As a result, some voters frequently become cynical about what they perceive as slick deceptions and posturing that smacks of condescension. Others become confused and turned off. Since Americans depend on the campaign process to test candidates, there is reason to be concerned about the prospect of a pretty package and a cute jingle persuading us to buy a bad apple.

Under these circumstances, it may not be merely coincidence that the two-decade decline in voter participation coincided with the increasing use of political communications technology.

Another negative side effect involves the use of tracking polls and attitude polls, which permit candidates to be far less dependent on political parties and personal contacts to keep them apprised of what is on the minds of the voters. This depersonalization of campaigns often leads to alienation by those who feel their views are not being represented. Walter Mondale had this problem with his black supporters as was evident in Atlanta Mayor Andrew Young's complaint about "the smart-ass white boys" running his campaign.

The black electorate is excluded in other ways as well. Despite its broad reach, the new communications technology, which relies heavily on television, often fails to reach the black electorate, especially young blacks and those with low incomes. Blacks generally rely on sources other than television for their political information; these sources have traditionally included personal contact campaigning and black spokespersons for the major candidates.

And of course there is the ever-present issue of money. Television advertising is the critical element of political communications technology, and it has caused campaign costs to soar. While the cost of TV advertising may not be a major factor in federally financed presidential elections, it is a serious problem in other areas. Increasingly in American politics we talk about the cost of a Senate seat or the price of a governor's mansion, highlighting the enormous amount of money needed to win. Such demands put a far greater premium on fundraising than on competence.

These are a few of the potential side effects of this new development in American politics. While all of the impacts may not yet be fully understood or even easily discernible, surely we are witnessing a revolution that could have far reaching implications for the electoral process.

Eddie N. Williams
President

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Urban Renewal, 1985

by Deborah C. Vincent
(Ms. Vincent is a data base supervisor at the Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation.)

During the late 1960s and early 1970s, several cities throughout the United States began to acknowledge openly that some of their neighborhoods were declining rapidly. Although the federal government tried to address these problems through urban renewal programs, few of these programs succeeded in reversing, or even reducing, the social and economic dilemmas associated with inner-city decline.

In fact, many of the federally sponsored programs made matters worse. Most of the neighborhood revitalization efforts were undertaken by outside investors who made substantial changes in the neighborhoods and raised prices and rents sharply, thereby displacing the former residents, who were the purported beneficiaries of federal programs.

What can be done for these people and others like them who are in danger of being displaced? Is it possible to revitalize blighted neighborhoods without displacing the current residents?

The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation

The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation Act of 1978 established a congressionally chartered public corporation to develop neighborhood rehabilitation programs and to organize and monitor local private partnerships for neighborhood preservation. The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation (NeReC) succeeded the Urban Reinvestment Task Force, which had been created by an interagency agreement between the Federal Home Loan Bank Board and the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

The major difference between NeReC and other federally funded and operated programs is that NeReC does not manage neighborhood activities. It develops local Neighborhood Housing Services (NHS) programs (which involve partnerships of residents, local government officials, and financial and business leaders) to assist local communities in the revitalization of neighborhoods for the benefit of current residents.

NHS partnerships are incorporated as private, non-profit, autonomous organizations. They are active in 42 states and the District of Columbia, serving over 200 neighborhoods in 135 cities. Of the 56 larger metropolitan areas (those with populations over 250,000) 43 have an active NHS program. An NHS neighborhood typically contains 500 to 40,000 residents. (Currently over two million people live in these neighborhoods.) Racial and ethnic minorities make up more than half of the total population in at least 80 of the nation's NHS neighborhoods.

NHS Program Services

NHS clients receive rehabilitation counseling, construction monitoring, financial assistance, and, when needed, other special services such as help in arranging for the inspection of housing units. Also, each NHS program sets up its own revolving loan fund.

The loan funds provide money to neighborhood residents who cannot obtain credit from conventional financial institutions. These loans are for home repairs, other rehabilitation work to bring units up to code standards, and the purchase of homes. Repayment terms are structured to fit the ability of the borrower. The revenues for the revolving loan funds come from foundation, corporation, and local government contributions. (The government contribution usually comes from community development block grant funds.) After local NHS programs have become fully incorporated, the NeReC provides seed grants to their loan funds to stimulate capitalization of the funds.

Over two billion dollars of reinvestment has been made in NHS neighborhoods. Data from some of the earlier incorporated programs indicate that approximately $12 million of reinvestment occurs in the first six years in an average size neighborhood, which contains approximately 2,500 housing units. Furthermore, state and local governments have made capital improvements (street paving, sidewalk repairs, lighting, etc.) in NHS neighborhoods totaling $371 million.

A site selection committee made up of local residents, businesspeople, and city officials decides which communities within a selected city will be served by an NHS program. The committee generally chooses declining neighborhoods with a high degree of owner-occupied housing, stable financial institutions, and some evidence of community organization. By persuading their colleagues in city government to submit an aid request to the NRC, elected officials can be of great help to constituents who reside in declining inner-city neighborhoods.

In response to increasing challenges, NeReC has developed other preservation programs to rescue declining neighborhoods. Among the more successful programs is the Apartment Improvement Program (AIP), set up to provide effective, economical means of revitalizing and preserving neighborhoods with multi-family housing units. As in NHS, a partnership is created among tenants and community representatives, property owners and managers, financial institutions, and the local government. Originally developed in Yonkers, New York, in 1978, AIPs currently number 27. To date, over 12,000 multi-family units have been rehabilitated.

A small but effective program is the Owner-Built Housing program, designed to address the severe shortage of affordable and quality housing for moderate income families. It provides homeownership opportunities in NHS neighborhoods by offering families the chance to build their own homes. The necessary supervision, coordination, and technical assistance are provided by the NHS. Each family, after obtaining the approval of the NHS and a financial backer (bank, savings and loan, etc.), invests at least 40 hours of work per week during the entire project, which lasts approximately one year. This program was initiated in Oakland, California in 1980 and provided homes for 23 families. It has now provided homes for an additional 185 families in 12 cities throughout the United States.

Creative alternatives such as these, along with the NHS programs, are effective bulwarks against rampant gentrification—private sector revitalization that displaces inner-city residents who can no longer afford to live in their refurbished neighborhoods.

Application forms and additional information about NeReC programs can be obtained by writing to:
Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation
1850 K Street, N.W., Suite 400
Washington, D.C. 20006
(202) 653-2600

The Reincarnation of

by Richard L. Engstrom

(The author is professor of political science at the University of New Orleans. This is an abbreviated version of an article to appear in the Howard University Law Journal.)

Voting rights advocates thought they had won a major victory when, in 1982, Congress amended Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act to impose a results standard, rather than an intent standard, in voting discrimination cases. This made it less difficult to win court challenges to discriminatory election systems, such as at-large elections, by relieving plaintiffs of the enormous burden of proving that such a system was employed for the purpose of diluting voting strength. But that victory is being tainted by recent judicial decisions giving the intent requirement a second life.

Judges are instructed, in cases brought under Section 2 of the VRA, to consider "the totality of circumstances" in deciding whether or not plaintiffs have satisfied the statute's results test. Although several relevant circumstances are identified in the legislative history of the 1982 amendment, none is more important than the extent to which voting is "racially polarized." Judge John Minor Wisdom of the Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals recently stated, for example, "the legislative history indicates that this factor will ordinarily be the keystone of a dilution case." Given the centrality of this evidentiary issue, the defendant jurisdictions have naturally tried to minimize the impact of racially divided voting preferences by arguing that such divisions no longer constitute evidence of racially *polarized* voting. Unfortunately, some judges have agreed with them.

What Is "Racially Polarized Voting?"

The concept of racially polarized voting (also called "racial bloc voting") has not previously been confusing to social scientists, lawyers, or judges. Standard analytic procedures have been used for many years to assess the degree to which voting is racially differentiated, and the estimated differences in voter preferences derived from these procedures have rarely been a major source of disagreement in litigation. The differences vary in degree, of course, and exactly how large they must be before voting can be considered "polarized" has never been settled. But voting along racial lines is often so pronounced that it would exceed the threshold chosen by any reasonable person.

Recently, however, defendents have tried to reintroduce an intent requirement—arguing that evidence of racially divided voting is not a sufficient basis for a finding that voting is "racially polarized." No matter how acute and consistent the racial division in the vote may be, they maintain that *additional evidence* showing that these voter choices were racially *motivated* is required for a finding of racial polarization.

Federal district court judges sitting in Norfolk, Virginia; Fort Lauderdale, Florida; and Austin, Texas, have recently embraced this approach. Each had been asked to invalidate the at-large system employed by the city in which they preside, and each found that voting within the at-large arrangement had not been racially polarized—a finding that was, of course, fatal to the plaintiff's case.

The basic approach to reinserting an intent requirement into vote dilution litigation is to redefine the concept of racially polarized voting so that it means more than racially divided or bloc voting. Such an approach was used successfully in the recent defense of the at-large election system in Norfolk, Virginia.

All seven members of Norfolk's city council are elected at-large. Blacks constituted 35.2 percent of Norfolk's population in 1980, yet prior to the trial, no more than one black person had ever served on the council at any one time. Rarely will the candidate preferences of voters differ by race more markedly than they have in the recent councilmanic elections in Norfolk. Five of the six whites sitting on the council at the time of trial (over 70 percent of the council) held their seats as a result of electoral coalitions that were virtually all white. One of the defendants' own expert witnesses estimated that the percentage of white voters supporting these five council members ranged from 68.1 to 79.9, while the percentage of black voters supporting them (four of whom where incumbents seeking reelection) ranged from 1.7 to 5.8. The only white council member holding a seat as a result of a biracial coalition at that time was Mrs. Betty Howell, who received 72.9 percent of the black vote in 1980 (but only 39.8 percent when reelected in 1984).

Conversely, the Reverend Joseph Green, a black incumbent, was reelected to the council in 1982 with the support of (again, relying on the defendants' own estimates) 88.2 percent of the blacks voting and 31.1 percent of the whites. Another black candidate, Mrs. Evelyn Butts, was unable to obtain a council seat in either 1980 or 1982, despite receiving the overwhelming support (92.9 percent and 87.6 percent, respectively) of black voters. The percentage of white voters casting ballots for Mrs. Butts was only 9.5 in 1980 and 11.2 in 1982.

That votes in Norfolk's councilmanic contests were cast largely along racial lines was undeniable. Even the judge in the case, the Honorable J. Calvitt Clarke, Jr., said "when we're talking about polarization, you are just beating the obvious, aren't you?"

The defense's response was to minimize the importance of these divisions by offering a unique definition of "racially polarized voting." According to the new definition, voting is polarized if (1) voting preferences have differed by the race of the voters, *and* (2) there has been a "white backlash in response to the possibility of a black being elected (demonstrated by a higher than usual turnout among white voters), *and* (3) efforts have been made to limit the number of white candidates (so that the white vote will not be dispersed across too many white candidates).

Using this definition, the councilmanic elections in Norfolk were not racially polarized. Indeed, under this definition, 100 percent of the black voters could cast ballots for black candidates A, B, and C, while 100 percent of the white voters cast ballots for white candidates D, E, and F, yet voting would not be "racially polarized" if whites were not turning out in greater numbers than in the past, or if other potential white candidates had not been somehow forced out of the race. The justification for this definition was that all three dimensions were part of the "general climate" within which Norfolk's councilmanic elections

took place. When the witness who offered this definition was asked whether it had been developed for use in this particular case, his response was, "I think Norfolk is peculiar."

Norfolk is not nearly as "peculiar" as the definition. Arguing that racially polarized voting cannot be measured without also examining mobilization and manipulation is like arguing that one cannot determine how much it rained on election day unless one has also examined the temperature and wind on that day. The phenomena are conceptually distinct, and should be left that way.

When this type of definition is accepted by a judge, then the plaintiffs have to demonstrate much more than racial divisions in the vote; they have to present evidence of racial *animosity* as well. Indeed, the argument that this definition "considers voters' motivations in selecting particular candidates"—that is, includes an intent standard—was cited by the judge as a reason for adopting it.

Race and Voter Preference

A similar tactic, used successfully by Austin, Texas, among others, is to assert that even though the race of the voters is strongly related to their candidate preferences, race may not be the determinant of their voting choices, or it may be only one of several determinants. Other variables, such as the party identification or income of the voter, or the issues with which the voter is concerned (variables that are themselves often strongly related to the race of the voter) may influence voting behavior as well. Unless these other variables have been shown to have virtually no impact on voter choices (leaving the race of the voter as "the major determinant"), racial divisions in the vote, it is argued, do not demonstrate that voting is racially polarized—regardless of how pronounced and consistent those divisions may be.

The defendants have not generally been required to show that these other variables *have* in fact affected the voters' choices in the elections at issue, or that these other variables are not themselves strongly related to the race of the voters. In short, they have not been required to demonstrate that the racial divisions in the vote are actually explained by "nonracial" factors; they have only needed to assert that such could possibly be the case. This was a sufficient condition for Judge Clarke in Norfolk, for example, as well as for the Honorable James R. Nowlin, in Austin, Texas, to conclude that the plaintiffs' evidence of racial divisions in voting did not demonstrate that voting was polarized along racial lines in their respective cities.

Judge Clarke's approach to the "other variables" argument illustrates quite clearly how unsystematic, and even ludicrous, this argument can be. Judge Clarke found the plaintiffs' evidence of racially divided voting less than persuasive because a number of factors that might influence voting behavior, other than race, had not been considered. To demonstrate the potential importance of these other variables, Judge Clarke highlighted the impact that incumbency had on voting, noting that "there is a high correlation between incumbency and election to the City Council."

What Judge Clarke failed to note about voting for incumbents in Norfolk was far more revealing. The electorate's response to the candidacies of incumbents was, in all of the recent elections, severely polarized along racial lines. Whites in Norfolk vote heavily for white incumbents, but not for the black incumbent; black voters, likewise, vote overwhelmingly for the black incumbent, but shun almost all of the white incumbents.

A more systematic, but no less disturbing, approach to the "other variables" issue shifts the analytic focus from *precincts*, which are the usual units of analysis in polarization studies, to characteristics of candidates and their campaigns that might relate to whether those candidates win or lose. The question is no longer whether "other variables" explain why minority and white or Anglo voters prefer different candidates, but rather, whether "other variables" beside the race of candidates account for why some candidates win and others lose.

A recent challenge to at-large elections for city council in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, illustrates how deceptive this type of analysis can be. The judge in the case, the Honorable Norman C. Roetter, Jr., found that voting in Ft. Lauderdale was not racially polarized, on the basis of testimony by an expert witness for the defense that the race of the candidates, when included in a multivariate analysis with other characteristics of candidates and their campaigns, did not help to account for who won or lost.

This could hardly have been unexpected, however, given that 94 percent (102 of 107) of the candidacies over the time period studied were white. Since only 29 could have been successful, 72 percent of the white candidacies *had to fail* (in fact, only 75 percent did). One black had been elected twice, while the other four black candidacies (including the latest effort by the twice-successful black) had ended in failure. The race of the candidates, in short, was hardly a "variable" in this analysis, and therefore could not be expected to account for who won or lost, even if it had been the *only* factor examined.

When the phenomenon to be "explained" is changed from the different voter preferences to whether a candidate wins or loses, the analysis no longer addresses the evidentiary issue Congress instructed judges to consider in Section 2 cases—the extent to which *voting* is racially polarized.

"Back-Door Repeal of Section 2"

The reintroduction of the intent requirement is an ominous development. Frank Parker, one of the country's leading voting rights attorneys, has described it as "an attempt to achieve a back-door repeal of Section 2." This reincarnation of the intent test by the federal judiciary unquestionably conflicts with Congress' express purpose, in amending Section 2, of creating a results-based, rather than intent-based, adjudication standard in vote dilution litigation. Not one of the judges who has imposed this requirement on plaintiffs has cited any legislative history justifying it.

The old intent test was discarded by Congress for three basic reasons: (1) it asked "the *wrong question,*" in that vote dilution is an invidious phenomenon whether intended or not; (2) it was "unnecessarily divisive," because it involved "*charges of racism* on the part of individual officials or entire communities"; and (3) it imposed on plaintiffs "an *inordinately difficult burden*" of proof. Obviously, all of these concerns are equally applicable as objections to the new intent test as well.

Improving American Policing

Hubert Williams, former police director of Newark, New Jersey, was recently appointed president of the Police Foundation, in Washington, D.C., by its Board of Directors. The Police Foundation, a privately funded, independent, nonprofit organization established by the Ford Foundation in 1970, is dedicated to supporting innovation and improvement in policing. Mr. Williams, who also served as the first president of the National Organization of Black Law Enforcement Executives (NOBLE), took up his new post on May 1, 1985. On his second day in office, President Williams granted an interview for publication in Focus. *Ms. Peggy Triplett, a criminal justice specialist with the Washington, D.C., metropolitan police department, conducted the interview and prepared this article for the Joint Center.*

Triplett: In the past, the Police Foundation's research projects have focused on experimentation and inquiry into such areas as preventive patrol, team policing, domestic violence, and firearms abuse. Under your leadership, what direction do you expect the foundation to take in the matter of providing assistance to the nation's law enforcement agencies?

Williams: Having served as the director of police in the city of Newark for 11 years, I have had to face some of the most complex police problems there are: fiscal constraints that forced layoffs of hundreds of people and reduced the uniform force by approximately one-third; emergent unions that challenged the managerial prerogatives of police administrators; and the vast influx of offenders into the criminal justice system—stemming, of course, from improved police work. So, I have some sense of the problems that need to be looked at. I believe that police departments have to learn to function more effectively and more efficiently with declining resources. It's important that we look at the research the foundation has done in law enforcement and translate the findings into real changes in the way law enforcement is conducted. I believe that through closer relations with police leaders, we can help them improve the services they deliver to their communities.

But I don't want to shape the foundation's work around my own views and beliefs. I've been struggling hard not to do that. I've been getting reacquainted with a lot of people in the law enforcement community and getting a broad-based sense of what the problems are for American policing.

There are a couple of things that do shape our reality. If foundations like this are dependent on federal government support, then the direction of this organization will be predetermined. But the strength of the Police Foundation has been the support of the Ford Foundation, which has allowed us to look into areas that might not be popular with any particular administration in Washington. This has given us credibility and a reputation for progressiveness under the leadership of our former president, Patrick Murphy. I am fortunate to have that tradition already established and I intend to build on it.

Additionally, we are fortunate because we have a very good board of directors. They are concerned about policing and want to see services improved.

Triplett: I wonder if you might speak to a few of the "hot" issues today—particularly the Supreme Court's decision on the seniority rule and its impact on the gains that minorities and women have made in U.S. police departments. Do you see a role for the Police Foundation on this issue?

Williams: I would like to address the question of seniority as it relates to the effectiveness of a police organization. If we are to conduct law enforcement efficiently and effectively, we cannot put people in positions just because they have been on the job longer. They must demonstrate that they have the competency to do the job—that's really the critical question. And I am not concerned with affirmative action as an end in and of itself. I am concerned with the improvement of American policing. But I don't believe that you can improve American policing without having an adequate representation of the constituency groups the department serves. This has been the root of our police system since its inception. The police and the community must be one. It is written in all of the textbooks.

So police departments that think they can function in a black or Hispanic community when they are all Anglo—all white—either don't understand the nature of American policing and its traditions or they are seeking to protect some other values such as their own jobs, future, and things of that nature.

People consent to be served, they consent to the police being there. And out of this consensual relationship comes a partnership and a participation that is absolutely essential for effective law enforcement. With approximately 2.6 police officers for every 1,000 citizens, you cannot police a community unless people actively participate and support you. People must come forward with information. They must help the police. They must go to court. They will not do that if the department does not have credibility, if the department demonstrates that it is closed, that it does not care, or that it is inequitable. All of this means that a department is judged not merely by what it says but by what it does. People look at how we in American policing function with respect to the principles we espouse.

Triplett: One more issue. Washington, D.C., is experiencing increases every month in child abuse and neglect and sexual molestation. These problems have become an important issue across the country. Do you see a role the Police Foundation might play to assist police departments in this area?

Williams: Well, we are creatures of tradition. We tend to use resources in the same fashion we always have. When a new problem comes up, we say we don't have enough resources, but the real problem may be that we continue to allocate resources in the same way we have in the past. We need to reevaluate what police departments do, and to respond more flexibly to public concerns such as abuse within families.

In my view, there is nothing more important to a society than its children, its youth. They are our future. If America is to be a strong nation in the years ahead, we cannot have our children abused and sexually molested and attacked. Police departments obviously can refocus their resources to deal with that. So it is something the Police Foundation would definitely have an interest in.

Triplett: Thank you, President Williams.

Telescope

Black Women State Legislators Organize Group

Black women have been very active recently from a political organization standpoint. Since the early 1970s, several state and local political organizations for black women have been formed. Last August, Shirley Chisholm, C. Delores Tucker, and others formed the National Political Congress of Black Women, the first national black women's political organization (see *Focus,* September 1984). Now comes NOBEL—the National Organization of Black Elected Legislators/Women. At its first meeting in March in Detroit, NOBEL decided its objectives would be to establish an interstate network for black women legislators; to foster relationships with other women's groups; to formulate a platform of concerns of black women; to exchange, discuss, and draft model legislation for the states; and to organize solutions on a national level. Maryland delegate Jerry Perry was appointed acting chairperson. The group met again in May in Oxon Hill, Maryland, to firm up goals, objectives, and guidelines for the organization.

1985 Roster of BEOs Now Available

"Bigger, better, and more current than preceding volumes . . . It includes current data that will prove valuable to students of American politics, social change, and race relations."

American Reference Books Annual

The Joint Center's *Black Elected Officials, A National Roster, 1985* is now available from UNIPUB. It contains the names and addresses of all 6,056 black elected officials in the United States and the Virgin Islands, as well as graphs and tables showing the number and distribution of the officials over the past 14 years (see *Focus,* May 1985, for details).

This important reference book costs $29.50 and can be ordered from UNIPUB by calling toll-free **800 521-8110** (in Michigan, call 313 761-4700). Specify order number **5064-JCP-202.** Or write UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

ATTENTION: BLACK ELECTED OFFICIALS SPECIAL OFFER

Black officials listed in the *Roster* will receive a 20 percent discount—$6.00 off the full price—if they order by September 30, 1985. Call or write, using the phone number or address shown above, but *be sure to use special order number* **506S-JCP-202.**

JCPS Appoints Senior Fellow to Study Foreign Affairs

Bernard Johns, a Middle East political analyst and Arabist, has been appointed a senior research fellow at the Joint Center. He will spend one to two years at the center organizing a foreign affairs research program, which will include conferences, seminars, and symposia. Johns, who is a career foreign service officer on detail from the Department of State under its Pearson Fellowship program, has served at American embassies in Peru, Lebanon, Libya, and Morocco; the American Consulate General in Jerusalem; and as the Department of State desk officer for Syria. Prior to the Syria desk position, he was a Woodrow Wilson Mid-Career Fellow at Princeton University, where he concentrated on Middle East studies under the Department of State area specialist program. Before joining the Foreign Service, he had been a television and radio reporter with WMAL-TV in Washington, D.C., a library research assistant at the *Washington Post,* and managing editor for the *Iberian Times,* an English language weekly in Barcelona, Spain.

Robert McCormick Adams Joins JCPS Board of Governors

Robert McCormick Adams, secretary of the Smithsonian Institution, joined the Joint Center's board of governors in March. Adams was appointed to head the Smithsonian in September 1984. Previously, he served as provost of the University of Chicago, with which he had been affiliated for nearly 40 years as student, teacher, and administrator. An anthropologist and archaeologist, Adams' principal interests lie in the agricultural and urban history of the Near and Middle East, geographical and archaeological study of settlement patterns, and the history of pre-modern societies. He is known best for his studies in Mesopotamia (modern-day Iraq), site of one of the world's earliest civilizations.

Joint Center Researcher Writes Poverty Study for Population Reference Bureau

Some 35.3 million Americans lived below the official poverty line in 1983, 15.2 percent of the total population. These figures were the highest since the mid-1960s when President Johnson launched the War on Poverty, leading many to believe that billions of antipoverty dollars have been wasted in the last 20 years. Among blacks in particular, critics charge, the increased government assistance unwittingly undermined the work ethic and promoted female-headed families, the most likely to be poor. Others blame the recent increase in poverty on the Reagan administration cuts in federal funding of antipoverty programs.

In *Poverty in America: Trends and New Patterns,* published recently by the Population Reference Bureau, William P. O'Hare, a senior research associate at the Joint Center, rejects both of these views. O'Hare believes the nation's economic health, and not antipoverty programs or Reagan budget cuts, is the underlying reason for increases in poverty. He agrees that Reagan budget cuts "have made life much more difficult for the poor" and may have added upwards of a million to the poverty population. But "this does not not explain why the poor increased by nearly 11 million between 1978 and 1983 or why the increase began in 1978, three years before the changes were implemented." O'Hare shows how fluctuations in poverty figures have paralleled those in the general economy.

As far as the popular impression that welfare has fueled the increase in poor female-headed families, especially among blacks, O'Hare cites a study by Harvard researchers who found no relationship between the level of AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children) payments in different states and the proportion of female-headed families. A plausible reason for the rapid rise in female-headed black

. . . Telescope

families, most of whom are poor, is the increasing dearth of "marriageable" black men. Rates of unemployment, incarceration, and mortality are higher and job earnings lower for black men than for white men.

Poverty in America: Trends and New Patterns, is available for $4.00 plus postage and handling from the Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 2213 M Street, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20037; telephone, 202 785-4664. Interested persons can also contact William O'Hare at the Joint Center.

Frank Parker, Prominent Civil Rights Attorney Named First JCPS Distinguished Scholar

Frank R. Parker, director of the Voting Rights Project at the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law, has been selected as the first Joint Center for Political Studies Distinguished Scholar.

Established under a 3-year grant from the MacArthur Foundation, the Distinguished Scholars Program enables outstanding scholars and public policy analysts to spend up to one year in residence at the Joint Center conducting research. Eligible persons must have a record of substantial publication and distinguished work in their field.

Mr. Parker, who is an attorney, has published extensively on voting rights issues. His most recent work is "Legislative Reapportionment and Racial Gerrymandering," a chapter in *Minority Vote Dilution,* which was prepared under the auspices of the Joint Center and published in 1984 by Howard University Press. Among his other works are "The 'Results' Test of Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act: Abandoning the Intent Standard," published in the *Virginia Law Review;* and *Section 2 Litigation Manual,* published by the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights Under Law.

His many accomplishments in the field of civil rights law include: playing a lead role in extending and obtaining strengthening amendments to the Voting Rights Act; serving as lead counsel in the Mississippi congressional redistricting cases that eliminated 15 years of racial gerrymandering; and originating the legal theory that the Constitution and the Internal Revenue code should be interpreted to deny tax-exempt status to segregated private schools—a theory ultimately sustained by the Supreme Court in *Bob Jones University* v. *United States.*

During his year at the Joint Center, Mr. Parker will research and write a political and social history of Mississippi from 1965 to 1980. This work will emphasize the increase in black political participation and its impact on state and national politics. Frank Parker lived in Jackson, Mississippi, from 1968 to 1981, and he served as lead counsel in several civil rights lawsuits.

"Frank Parker's experience and insight make him an excellent choice to inaugurate our Distinguished Scholars Program," said Eddie N. Williams, president of the Joint Center for Political Studies. "He will undoubtedly establish a high standard for subsequent Distinguished Scholars to meet."

The Joint Center's Distinguished Scholar is chosen by a Selection Committee chaired by Dr. Michael Winston, vice president for academic affairs at Howard University. Other members are:

Henry Aaron, Senior Fellow, Brookings Institution
Luther Hilton Foster, Chairman of the Board, Moton Memorial Institute
Matthew Holden, Jr., Henry L. and Grace M. Doherty Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia
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The program's policies and guidelines are determined by an Advisory Committee chaired by Dr. John Hope Franklin, James B. Duke Professor of History, Duke University. Other members are:

Mary Berry, Professor of Law and History, Howard University
Laura Bornholdt, Assistant to the President, University of Chicago
William B. Boyd, President, The Johnson Foundation
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