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FOCUS

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Preparing a Nation for Democracy

A Conversation with Pearl-Alice Marsh, Director of the Joint Center's South African Election Support Project

Proactive Equal Education Enforcement

Norma Cantu, the Head of the Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education, Focuses on Language Minorities

The Economic Status of Black Children

The Impact of Regional Recessions on Black Child Poverty Is Addressed in New Joint Center Monograph

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Use the Pen If You Have to, Mr. President

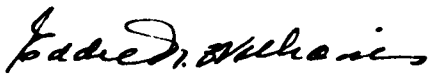
Flourishing a pen during his State of the Union speech, President Clinton warned that he would use it to veto any health reform legislation passed by Congress that does not provide universal coverage. He is right to take that position. Every American should be entitled to affordable health care coverage and guaranteed access to a high standard of benefits that include primary care and treatment. But over 35 million Americans are without health insurance. Most of them are in working-poor families, and a majority are children. Unfortunately, the nation's health care system, which is primarily made up of private care providers and insurers, is not addressing the health needs of many low-income citizens. And this society can no longer allow that situation to continue.

In every recent public opinion survey on the issue, the public most strongly desires universal coverage over any other area of health care reform. One must wonder why Congress would even bother to overhaul the current system if this goal were not achieved. Some lawmakers who are against universal health insurance argue that taxpayers shouldn't have to shoulder the burden of the additional costs of providing it. But contrary to what some people believe, taxpayers are already underwriting much of the health care that low-income Americans receive, in its most expensive form through publicly financed medical treatment centers.

We live in one of the few industrialized democracies where a person with a bad cold, who can't afford to see a doctor, has to wait until it turns into pneumonia before medical treatment becomes available. Those without health insurance and who have undiagnosed diseases like cancer, heart disease, or diabetes, which could be detected in their early stages through primary care screening, too often enter the health care system through overcrowded public clinics and emergency rooms with ailments that are in advanced stages. At that point, care often involves major intervention—surgery, intensive care, and long hospital stays—all at great expense. And the rest of us pick up the tab. Since we have to pay anyway, isn't it wise to invest more money up front for cheaper preventive care for the poor that will eventually cut the costs of expensive treatment later? Universal health care coverage would go a long way toward achieving that goal.

Direct involvement of the government at some level is imperative to ensuring access to health care for all. That flies in the face of a major tenet held by many conservatives, including the Reagan and Bush administrations, namely, that the profit motive in a market economy can provide goods and services to the public more effectively and efficiently than the government. In many, perhaps most, instances, this is true. It's hard to imagine the government running our banks, or producing the jeans we wear, or the breakfast cereal we eat. But health care is not a product, it is a necessity. And when the health care establishment acts to shut out entire sectors of the population to adequate care, government has a responsibility to act. Profits, in this case, are less worthy of government protection than the people's health.

When the private medical establishment writes off whole segments of the population, President Clinton believes that government has a responsibility to step in. I think he is right. Congress should enact health reform legislation that ensures fair and equitable access to care for all Americans regardless of their income. If this principle is ignored in the legislation that comes from the Hill, President Clinton should use his veto pen and send our legislators back to the drawing board. ■



PRESIDENT

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Preparing a Nation for Democracy

A Conversation With Pearl-Alice Marsh, Director of the Joint Center's South African Election Support Project

In the summer of 1993, the Joint Center launched its South African Election Support Project to help South African political organizations prepare for their country's first-ever multiracial election, which will take place from April 26 to April 28, 1994. The project is responsible for conducting four multiparty forums in South Africa on a range of election campaign issues. The Joint Center is working in conjunction with the National Democratic Institute (NDI), which is providing experts and consultants as project participants, and the International Republican Institute (IRI), which conducted a nationwide survey of the South African electorate to measure political attitudes.

The first forum, "Polling and Campaign Organizations in Democratic Elections," was held in November 1993 in Midrand near Johannesburg, South Africa, and concentrated on campaign research, media, and organization. The second forum, held in Cape Town two months later, focused on political competition and the role of opposition parties in a democratic society. The third forum will take place in Durban this month, and will address the political and logistical challenges and the related security issues connected with getting out the vote. The fourth, to be held in Johannesburg after the election, will involve an assessment of what happened on this historic occasion and an evaluation of the Joint Center's project.

Halfway through her first year as the Joint Center's South Africa project director, Senior Research Associate Pearl-Alice Marsh comments on the complexities of convening the first two multiparty forums and reflects on the task ahead. Dr. Marsh was formerly the program director of the Center for African Studies at the University of California at Berkeley and coordinator of the Berkeley-Stanford Joint Center for African Studies.

FOCUS: What are the goals of the Joint Center's South Africa Project?

Marsh: Our goals are twofold. First, we aim to build upon the world-class organizing skills of South African political groups and provide them with the technical skills and information that will help them develop their electoral campaign strategies. A lot of what goes on in democratic elections is tactical—How do you structure your voter-contact machinery? How do you get out the vote? How do you recruit and maintain a volunteer base?

The second goal is to encourage cross-party dialogue. We are proceeding here under the assumption that—if parties feel they have the capacity to compete, if they talk to one another, not only as competitors but as political parties engaged in a common endeavor, and if they can operate openly and fairly—they will produce a better environment in which their constituents will feel they can participate in the election process. We press upon political leaders and political parties that they have a responsibility to make sure that their constituents understand what their vote means and what choices they are making, and that it's not going to serve a democratic society to have parties scapegoating one another or demagogues promoting themselves and playing on ethnic fears.

FOCUS: What's the format of the forums and who has participated so far?

Marsh: The most important feature of these forums is to promote discussion among the various party delegates over substantive issues. Our aim is to have them focus on common problems which they can resolve together. We bring together international consultants from Zambia, Jamaica, Namibia, and Kenya and other countries who make formal presentations to the party delegates on various aspects of the election process in democratic societies. In addition to a question-and-answer period, we convene small discussion groups where members of the various parties organize themselves into fictitious parties so that they can leave their own political identities outside the room. Discussions in these groups are led by an international consultant and an expert from a local nonpartisan political organization. We also reserve time for informal discussions among the participants as well as a cultural/social event that allows relaxed intermingling.

At our first two conferences, 16 to 18 political parties were represented. The spectrum of participants went from the National Party and the Inkatha Freedom Party on the right to the Pan-Africanist Congress and the Azanian People's Organization on the left, with the African National Congress occupying the middle ground. Participants also came from trade unions, nongovernmental organizations, youth groups, and civic organizations.

One of the important and rewarding components of the South Africa project has been working with many local institutions, especially the Institute for Multi-Party Democracy, a local nongovernmental organization that is assisting us in organizing our forums. The Joint Center will also bring in other organizations, like the Matla Trust, to cosponsor our forums.

FOCUS: What are the concerns of South Africans about the upcoming elections, and how have your project organizers handled these concerns?

(Continued on page 4)

Democracy

(Continued from page 3)

Marsh: People are concerned about security, jobs, and housing. During this period of political transition, the main issue that is haunting South Africans is political violence, especially in rural areas and some of the more distressed townships. Many leaders are trying to figure out how to contain that violence. It was in this environment that we had to come up with a way to bring hostile factions together to engage in a dialogue in our first forum. We took a chance and deleted the political identity on each participant's name badge so that they just came with a name and a designation as either "delegate" or "observer." We then mixed the participants up at the dinner tables, the workshops, and the plenary sessions. At the end of the forum, we were surprised at how much conversation took place among the various parties, and at how well our plan worked.

FOCUS: Has it been determined what the voting process will be?

Marsh: South Africa has adopted a proportional representation system. Any political party polling at least five percent of the vote will gain representation in the national constituent assembly. In the April election, voters will elect representatives to both national and regional assemblies. There are nine regions. Some parties are choosing to run nationally and in all regions, while others are selecting only to run in one or more regions.

Individuals will be eligible to vote if they are 18 years or older, are a permanent resident or citizen of South Africa, and have a voter identity document. This includes long-term migrant workers from other countries. Adults who are excluded from voting are the mentally ill, the drug dependent, and those imprisoned for certain criminal offenses.

FOCUS: How important do you think it is that a new constitution be written to coincide with the formation of a new South African government?

Marsh: South Africans are voting to elect individuals to a constituent assembly, which is a national body composed of national and regional representatives who will write a new constitution. Many West African countries have adopted constituent assemblies to write constitutions. Writing a new constitution, rather than inheriting the old, is important. When new governments get in crises, having to rely on an existing constitution usually brings out the old security laws, the states of emergencies, and so forth—all of the things that the preceding government had used to suppress opposition.

It is in the transition period that new laws, institutions, and new traditions must be established that will ensure stable democracy in the future. Hopefully, this will include strengthening the capacity of parties to participate both in the government as well as in an effective and loyal opposition in the post-election period.

FOCUS: What is the political climate in the rural, hard-to-reach areas of South Africa?

Marsh: One of the major problems in the rural areas, I think, is going to be intimidation by employers who don't want farm workers to vote and will be watching the polls to see who is voting. The trade unions have taken on voter education in rural areas as one of their major projects. Also in the rural areas, illiteracy is a major impediment to voter participation. The voter education literature that is being designed for rural areas focuses on people whose reading skills are either nonexistent or very low. So that's a priority—working with illiterate voters and making sure that they understand how to mark a ballot.

FOCUS: What other "disenfranchised" groups of people do you have to be sensitive to in your presentations and outreach efforts?

Marsh: Women in South Africa are one of the most at-risk groups in terms of voter education. Women are less likely than men to vote, especially in "coloured" and Asian communities. A majority of the rural voters are women living under the rule of chiefs, husbands, and other male authority figures. Assuring them unfettered access to the polls and convincing them of the secrecy of the ballot is a big job.

FOCUS: What challenges will the winners and losers face immediately after the election?

Marsh: Some political parties think that it may not be all bad to lose the first election because whoever wins may so disappoint voters' expectations that they may never get reelected, and the prime opposition party would be the one that actually governs after the constituent assembly drafts the constitution. I don't mean to suggest that political parties are saying, 'Let's lose,' and I can't calculate how long the honeymoon for the new government in South Africa will last. But I can say that, over the next few years, if people don't see employment picking up, new educational facilities, housing construction, or violence calming down, there will be a lot of dissatisfaction. I think most people feel there is a direct correlation between voting and the improvement of their economic outcome.

FOCUS: How has the relationship between the media and the political parties in South Africa evolved since the April elections were announced?

Marsh: In the past, there was either 'advocacy' journalism—journalism that had a particular view—or 'adversarial' journalism. Apartheid was wrong. But now that apartheid isn't the primary question, journalists are having to deal with the difficulty of being objective in a very complex society and accurately assessing the actions of organizations and institutions that haven't come under close scrutiny before. As a result of this new focus on objectivity, a lot of antagonism has been directed toward the media, including the black media.

FOCUS: What are the next steps in the process?

(Continued on back page)

March 1994

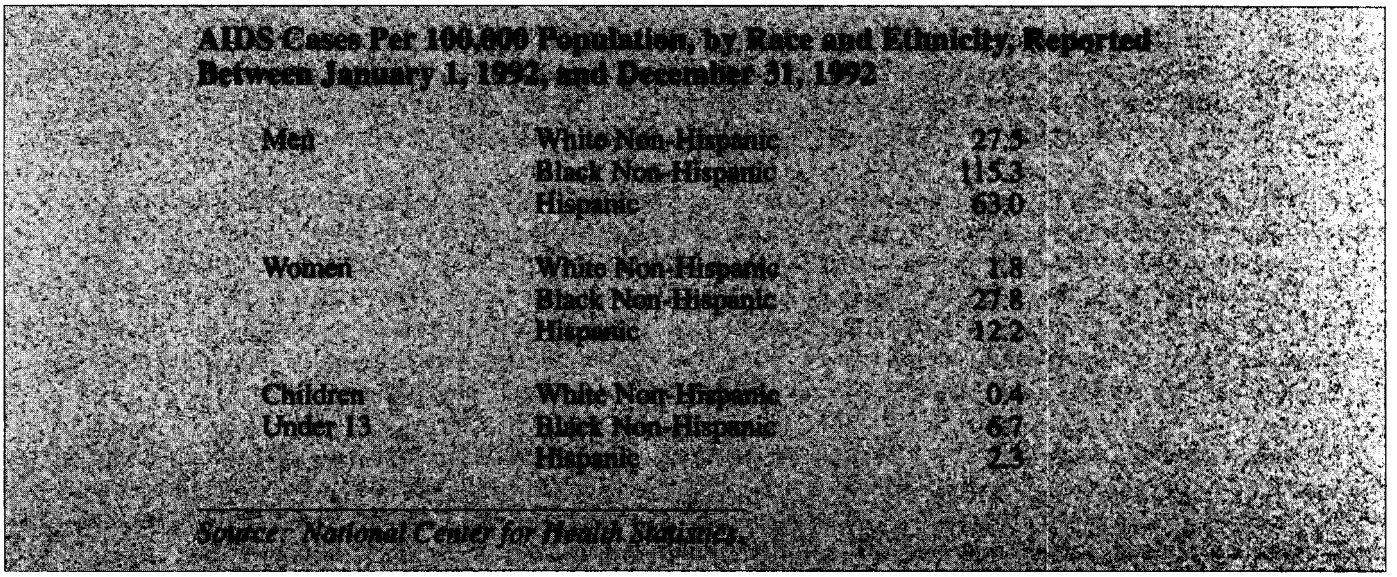
POLITICAL TRENDLETTER

Inside This Issue:

- The number of HIV infections and AIDS cases among black men and women has risen dramatically.
- Members of Congress vote to condemn a speech made by the Nation of Islam's Khalid Abdul Muhammad.
- U.S. Census data reveal that blacks are migrating to the South in record numbers.
- A Japanese governement survey indicates that most Japanese want more balanced trade with the United States.
- Calendar announces upcoming Joint Center conferences on urban policy, health, and young black males.

AIDS Cases Among African Americans Outstrips Other Groups

According to recent Department of Health and Human Services statistics, HIV infections and AIDS among black men and women have increased at alarming rates in recent years. Although nearly three-fifths (58.6 percent) of all AIDS cases diagnosed since 1981 (when cases were first systematically reported) have occurred among "men who have sex with men," the rate of increase among that group is slowing, while the rate of increase among other groups—most notably intravenous drug users and their sexual partners—is rising. The heterosexual share of new cases of AIDS acquired through either drug use or sex grew markedly among both blacks and Hispanics between 1983 and 1992 (see figure below). The AIDS population is changing not only in its racial make-up but also in age: The National Cancer Institute has found that the average age of AIDS patients fell from older than 30 years in the 1980s to around age 25 in 1990. Access to treatment is also a problem. While more blacks are getting AIDS, a study appearing in the *New England Journal of Medicine* this month reveals that blacks are less likely than whites to be treated with effective drugs to retard the disease's progress. The study of 838 patients at a Baltimore AIDS clinic was led by Dr. **RICHARD MOORE** of the Johns Hopkins University School of Medicine. Moore and his team found that only 48 percent of blacks—as opposed to 63 percent of whites—were likely to receive effective drug therapy. Similarly, 58 percent of blacks received effective treatment for preventing AIDS-related pneumonia compared with 82 percent of whites.



Congress Condemns Khalid Abdul Muhammad

On February 23, 1994, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a resolution (H. Res 343) condemning the "hate-mongering" and "vicious" speech given by **KHALID ABDUL MUHAMMAD**, an aide to Nation of Islam Minister **LOUIS FARRAKHAN**. The speech was delivered at Kean College in New Jersey on November 29, 1993. The resolution also condemned all anti-Semitic, anti-Catholic, and racist forms of expression. The vote on the resolution was 361-34 with 29 members voting "present."

Some members of the House opposed the resolution, charging that it violated the spirit of constitutional free speech protections. They were led by Rep. **DON EDWARDS** (D-Cal.), chair of the Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights, who said that Muhammad "will be the only person in world history, to the best of my knowledge, whose speech has been officially condemned by the U.S. Congress." Leading the other side of the argument was Rep. **TOM LANTOS** (D-Cal.), the main sponsor of the resolution, who said, "When free speech is abused in a vile and vicious way to promote hatred and to incite murder on a gigantic scale, it is the duty of responsible legislative bodies to condemn such speech."

CBC members supported the resolution 20-11. Caucus members opposing the resolution were **WILLIAM CLAY** (D-Mo.), **RONALD DELLUMS** (D-Cal.), **CLEO FIELDS** (D-La.), **CYNTHIA McKINNEY** (D-Ga.), **DONALD PAYNE** (D-N.J.), **BOBBY RUSH** (D-Ill.), **BENNIE THOMPSON** (D-Miss.), **EDOLPHUS TOWNS** (D-N.Y.), **CRAIG WASHINGTON** (D-Tex.), **MAXINE WATERS** (D-Cal.), and **MELVIN WATT** (D-N.C.). Four caucus members voted "present:" **EVA CLAYTON** (D-N.C.), **BARBARA-ROSE COLLINS** (D-Mich.), **HAROLD FORD** (D-Tenn.), and **KWEISI MFUME** (D-Md). Three were absent: **FLOYD FLAKE** (D-N.Y.), **ALCEE HASTINGS** (D-Fla.), and **EARL HILLIARD** (D-Ala.). **ELEANOR HOLMES NORTON** (D-D.C.) was not eligible to vote on the resolution. Two Jewish members of the House—**BOB FILNER** (D-Cal.) and **BERNARD SANDERS** (I-Vt.)—also voted against the resolution.

Some prominent white House members either opposed the resolution or voted "present." Among committee and subcommittee chairs voting "nay" were **GEORGE MILLER** and **PETE STARK**, both Democrats from California. Other House leaders voted "present:" **DAVID BONIOR** (D-Mich.), **CHARLIE ROSE** (D-N.C.), **WILLIAM FORD** (D-Mich.), **VIC FAZIO** (D-Cal.), as well as liberals **PAT SCHROEDER** (D-Colo.) and **GERRY STUDDS** (D-Mass.). Also voting "present" were three California Republicans—**BILL THOMAS**, **JERRY LEWIS**, and **BOB DORMAN**.

Goin' South—Shifting Trends in Black Migration

Recent statistics show that black migration from Northern cities to the South, which has been taking place for some 20 years, has been growing dramatically. The city of Atlanta alone received nearly 75,000 new black arrivals between 1985 and 1990 (the year for which the most current numbers are available). That number is almost equal to the gain in black residents experienced by the entire Southern region during the first half of the 1980s (83,000). The general movement Southward started in 1970, shortly after the Civil Rights Act and Voting Rights Act were signed, reversing the long pattern of outmigration from the South that had begun with the Underground Railroad in the 19th century. The most recent boom in black population (1985 to1990) had the greatest impact on Georgia (with a net gain of 80,000 blacks), Maryland (59,000), Florida (57,000), and Virginia (53,000). (See table for city rankings.)

Economic opportunity is a major factor contributing to this trend. "College-educated migrants are most strongly drawn to urban areas that have upgraded public amenities and transportation systems with large and growing professional job bases," explains research scientist **WILLIAM H. FREY** in his article, "Black College Grads, Those in Poverty Take Different Migration Paths," which was published in the February 1994 issue of *POPULATION TODAY* magazine. The South Atlantic region, in particular, has seen the most growth. "Blacks, like whites, are attracted to the dynamic economies of this region's larger metropolitan areas as well as to its growing manufacturing communities, university towns, and coastal retirement areas," says Frey.

Low-income and poverty-stricken African Americans are also moving South for different reasons. "Poverty migrants tend to go where lower paying service or blue-collar jobs dominate, where the cost of living is low, and perhaps where friends and relatives may be able to provide social and economic support," says Frey. Higher housing costs, deindustrialization, and competition from foreign immigrants are also factors, according to Frey.

Rank of Cities with Greatest Black Migration Gains, 1985-90

City	Net Gain of Black Population
1. Atlanta	74,949
2. Norfolk	28,909
3. Washington	20,205
4. Raleigh-Durham	17,428
5. Dallas-Fort Worth	16,075
6. Orlando	13,836
7. Richmond	12,508
8. San Diego	12,482
9. Minneapolis	11,506
10. Sacramento	10,848

Rank of Cities with Greatest Black Migration Losses, 1985-90

City	Net Loss of Black Population
1. New York	-191,700
2. Chicago	-69,593
3. Detroit	-19,114
4. New Orleans	-16,271
5. Los Angeles	-11,731
6. Cleveland	-11,576
7. St. Louis	-10,444
8. San Francisco	-7,078
9. Shreveport	-5,075
10. Pittsburgh	-4,899

Source: Courtesy of William H. Frey, the Population Studies Center, University of Michigan.

More Japanese Oppose Trade Imbalance with the U.S.

An increasing number of Japanese are sympathetic to U.S. concerns over the trade imbalance with Japan, according to a recent Japanese government survey. The survey found that a record-high 36 percent of Japanese polled showed "understanding of the U.S. stance on the trade friction" between the United States and Japan, while 35 percent viewed the U.S. response to the trade issue as "too emotional." The findings of the annual survey on the U.S.-Japan trade friction suggest that the Japanese public supports Prime Minister **MORIHIRO HOSOKAWA**'s effort to break the long deadlock in negotiations between the two nations on how to reduce the U.S. trade deficit with Japan. The survey, which was only publicized last month, was conducted last October, two months after

Hosokawa's seven-party coalition won control over the Diet, Japan's national legislature, ending four decades of rule by the country's Liberal Democratic Party.

According to the survey of 3,000 Japanese citizens, about 53 percent of the respondents favored the further opening of Japan's market to foreigners and 75 percent said Japan should reduce its huge trade surplus. The Office of the Prime Minister announced the findings on February 13, just two days after the recent trade talks between the world's two richest countries broke down. Hosokawa has rejected the numerical trade targets that President Clinton sought in trade talks held in Washington, D.C., believing the targets would bring about managed trade, which is against Hosokawa's deregulation policy. Numerical trade targets would require more government regulation of the Japanese private sector, which Hosokawa strongly opposes.

Japan's economy is currently in a deep recession, despite the nation's $131 billion trade surplus, nearly half of which has resulted from trade with the United States. The prime minister hopes deregulation measures will increase imports and cut Japan's trade surplus with our country over the long term.

By taking a tougher stance on trade with Japan, the United States might have lost some of the Japanese public's sympathetic support. Nevertheless, it is clear that the majority of that public is dissatisfied with Japan's previous position, which has kept markets closed to foreign imports, although many Japanese are also sensitive to foreign criticism of their trade surplus. On March 3, President Clinton signed an executive order reinstating "Super 301," a provision of U.S. trade law that makes it easier for the United States to impose trade sanctions against other countries. This action could help Hosokawa and Japanese reformers convince policy makers in the Japanese trade bureaucracy that the need for trade reform is urgent.

—Special report from Yasuhiro Idei, a visiting journalist at the Joint Center from Japan

Calendar of Upcoming Joint Center Events

March: From March 25 to 27, Durban, South Africa is the scene of the third in a series of Joint Center multiparty forums on democracy, when some 29 political parties are expected to explore "Safeguarding Free and Fair Elections." The forum is part of the Joint Center's year-long South African Election Support Project, which has been assisting South African political organizations to prepare for that country's first-ever multiracial elections in April. The Joint Center will convene a fourth post-election forum in South Africa in May to assess the overall success of the project.

April: Health, neighborhood empowerment and violence, families and welfare reform, and the future of education are among the topics that will be examined during a series of roundtable discussions at the Urban Policy Institutes' Urban Agenda Summit at Chicago State University, on Saturday, April 16. Dr. Walter Broadnax, deputy secretary of the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, is scheduled to make the keynote address at the summit. The Urban Policy Institutes program was established at the Joint Cener in 1990.

May: "The Health Care Needs of Hispanics and African Americans: Policy Issues and Challenges" will be the subject of a Joint Center conference in Washington on May 25 and 26. Dr. David Satcher, director of the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, will be the featured speaker at the preconference dinner on May 25. Barriers to health care for these populations and how health care reform proposals will address these barriers are among the topics to be discussed during the conference. The conference is part of the Joint Center's effort to ensure that the debate on health care policy considers the interests of African Americans.

June: Findings from a Joint Center study of young black males will be the subject of a conference in Washington in June (date to be announced). Conference participants will discuss the obstacles and needs of community-based programs that provide services to at-risk black youth.

Proactive Equal Education Enforcement

Norma Cantu, the Head of the Office for Civil Rights at the Department of Education, Focuses on Language Minorities

Norma V. Cantu was sworn in as assistant secretary for Civil Rights at the Department of Education on May 24, 1993. She is responsible for enforcing Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and other federal statutes that protect the rights of students to equal educational opportunity without regard to race, color, national origin, sex, disability, or age. As head of the Office for Civil Rights (OCR), she has a staff of 850 in Washington and ten regional offices.

From 1985 until joining the Education Department, Cantu was the regional counsel for the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), based in San Antonio, Texas, and was lead counsel in a number of education-related lawsuits. Cantu was a public school teacher in 1974 and again in 1979. She holds degrees from Pan American University and Harvard Law School.

Cantu says she approaches her mission with a sense of optimism, and says that civil rights in education is undergoing a renaissance. The following excerpts from several of her speeches outline her assessment of the issues that the Department of Education faces, and its new directions for civil rights enforcement:

Education has done more than any other American institution to give each generation, as well as new immigrants, the leg up in life they need to get ahead. The centerpiece of the Clinton administration's education reform proposals is the "GOALS 2000: Educate America Act," which provides a framework for supporting comprehensive education reform. GOALS 2000 marks a departure from the piecemeal approach to education legislation. Instead, it incorporates and builds on the lessons learned from the school reform efforts taken by many communities, and is driven by high expectations—clear definitions of what all students need to know and be able to do. The Civil Rights Compliance program will be working hand-in-hand with the GOALS 2000 program to help carry out the reform of America's schools.

Here, the Office of Civil Rights has a major contribution to make by ensuring that performance expectations are never based on a child's membership in a group. We've seen glorious things happen when expectations were set high, when high standards and a high-quality curriculum were held out for everybody—like Jaime Escalante teaching advanced placement calculus to poor Latino children in East Los Angeles...like children at the Chad School in Newark who are building and flying radio-controlled airplanes, and like P.S. 27, an inner-city school in Indianapolis, where children [on a team called] the "Masters of Disaster" have become outstanding chess players.

The sad truth is that, too often, a school's or teacher's expectation for a minority or a female student, or a student with a disability, or a language-minority student is different from other students. This expectation often leads to lowered standards and watered-down instruction.

The irony is that this pattern, what some have called the "conspiracy of low expectation," flies in the face of what we know about children's educational development. The research is showing that content-rich instruction is indispensable for *all* children, at every stage of educational development. Yet we continue to see many students, particularly economically disadvantaged minority students, filling out endless drill-and-practice ditto sheets while other students are reading novels, creating stories, tackling multistep math problems, and designing and conducting science experiments.

Proactive Enforcement

We have just completed our reinvention of the Office of Civil Rights, which has taken the form of a strategic plan which is committed to creating a proactive approach to ensuring equal access to quality education. It is also a blueprint to ensure that OCR is relevant to acute problems of discrimination and the significant educational equity issues of the day. The bottom line is this—OCR will be moving *away* from a reactive system where we've been responding almost exclusively to complaints. We will be moving *toward* a system that will allow us to take the lead by setting the civil rights agenda.

This does not mean OCR is abandoning its responsibilities to those who file discrimination complaints. However, we think we can redesign the way we handle complaints. The strategic plan contemplates less bureaucratic approaches. Currently, no distinction is made regarding the types of complaints we receive. All complaints are subject to the same formal investigatory procedures, which can take up to 225 days for a full resolution. What is needed are alternative mechanisms for dealing with the varied complaints in the OCR caseload. The emphasis will no longer be on *process*. The new emphasis will shift to getting timely *results* and achieving *impact*. At the same time, this also will free up significant resources for the proactive side of our program.

The resources that are freed up will enable OCR to give more attention to self-initiated compliance reviews, which are far more effective than complaint-driven investigations for guaranteeing equal opportunity to learn. In compliance reviews, OCR does not need a complaint to step in.

(Continued on page 6)

Education

(Continued from page 5)

Rather, OCR can choose the recipients and the issues to examine a problem based on various sources of information that may indicate potential compliance problems. We must remember that America's vulnerable people—the poor, the educationally disadvantaged, and non-English speaking—tend not to file discrimination complaints.

Tracking as Bridges, Not Barriers

If we select the issues carefully, many students who currently are not participating in quality educational programs can benefit. For example, we can review ability grouping practices to ensure they are nondiscriminatory and functioning as bridges, rather than as barriers, to equal educational opportunity. [There are barriers] because of ability grouping and tracking practices some school systems are using. The overrepresentation of minority students in "special education" also demands serious attention. OCR can make sure schools are using placement procedures that accurately assess capacities of students instead of using race, ethnicity, or some other noneducational factor to put students in special education classes.

We must also look at the exclusion of minority and female students from math and science programs. One of the National Education Goals is that American students will be first in the world in math and science. This will not happen unless *all* students are encouraged to take the critical gatekeeping and advanced math and science courses. OCR also needs to look at gifted and talented programs and advanced placement courses to see if all students enjoy equal access.

Cries of Discrimination in Spanish

In order to provide equal educational opportunity for the 2.1 million school children in our classrooms who have limited English-language skills, special instruction or support services are required for them to participate fully in educational programs. Just completed compliance reviews from all over the country expose egregious problems with students who have limited English language skills. In one Wisconsin school district, we found ESL [English as a Second Language] students literally being taught in the hallways. In Burlingame, California, language services were available only to students limited in English oral proficiency. If you could speak English—even if you could not read or write it—you were ineligible for services. We found students being misclassified as learning disabled because of diagnostic instruments that essentially measured English language skills.

The Office of Civil Rights has been expanding self-initiated investigations to determine whether school officials are meeting their legal obligations under Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 in: identifying and assessing students who need a special language service program; developing a program that is likely to work; ensuring that needed staff, curricular materials, and facilities are in place; and developing appropriate standards for measuring the progress of students, including program exit criteria.

Myth of Model Minority

Asian and Pacific Islanders are often held out as America's "model minority." But like any stereotype, the "model minority" myth masks the diversity among the numerous subgroups and cultures that make up the Asian and Pacific Islander community. It also is masking discrimination, and is leading many institutions to overlook serious barriers to equal educational opportunity.

Our investigations show that many Asian Americans, like Latinos, who are not proficient in English are not getting the language assistance they need, particularly in parts of the country such as California with large and diverse Asian and Pacific American populations. There is a serious shortage of bilingual teachers and teachers of English as a Second Language for most Asian groups.

The examples in California are especially distressing. In Fresno, there were no Southeast Asian bilingual teachers. Thus, nearly 10,000 Southeast Asian students limited in English spent the entire school year without a single Southeast Asian bilingual teacher. The situation was the same in Stockton regarding 5,600 students. In Los Angeles, only 7 of the 81 languages spoken by students limited in English were served by bilingual teachers.

Many school districts also are not meeting their other obligations regarding proper identification, assessment, and implementation of language-service program. As a result, some Asian subgroups are not performing well in the classroom or adjusting to school life. There are also high dropout rates. In Lowell, Massachusetts, over half of the Laotian students in one high school drop out within a year. Others are leaving public schools with serious deficiencies in language and communication skills. The frequent disparity between high math and low verbal scores on the Scholastic Aptitude Tests of many Asian students is another reflection of the problem. The disparity is limiting the college and career choices for some of the most promising students.

Our educational institutions also are overlooking another serious barrier to equal educational opportunity—the harassment of minority students in primary and secondary schools and on college campuses. As the number of Asian and Pacific American students has increased at a rapid rate, so too have the reports of harassment directed at them. The school environments in which many Asian American students, especially immigrant children, find themselves are often unfriendly and hostile. One study on the school climate facing immigrant children concluded:

"Almost every student in our sample reported...being called names, pushed, or spat upon, deliberately tricked, teased, and laughed at because of their race, language difficulties, accent, or foreign dress." ■

The Economic Status of Black Children

The Impact of Regional Recessions on Black Child Poverty Is Addressed in New Joint Center Monograph

During the past three decades, the economic picture for African Americans has become a study in contrasts. A growing black middle class has made great strides in educational attainment and economic advancement. At the same time, a large segment of the black population has been mired in poverty. While legal guarantees of equal opportunity have helped some African Americans improve their economic status, others have not been so fortunate. As the plight of poverty has worsened for many, black children have been most affected. Among the black victims of poverty, they are the most vulnerable. If current trends hold, children born into poverty will be increasingly hard-pressed to overcome its oppression.

In a just-released Joint Center publication, *The Declining Economic Status of Black Children*, social scientist Cynthia Rexroat examines how the material well-being of black children changed during the period from 1960 to 1985. Dr. Rexroat, currently an associate professor of sociology at Memphis State University's Center for Research on Women, conducted the study for this monograph while a research associate at the Joint Center. In addition to providing a national overview, her study analyzes specific regions of the United States and 45 metropolitan areas that were home to over half the nation's black population in 1980. Her findings provide, for the first time, a detailed "map" revealing important regional differences.

As expected, the book shows that out-of-wedlock births and female-headed families are strongly linked to the growth in poverty among children. But it also indicates that changes in family structure alone do not account for this growth. In fact, a decline in economic opportunity, including regional recessions and industrial restructuring, has played at least as great a part.

The book also provides a more detailed look at the contours of poverty itself. In particular, Rexroat shows how poverty has deepened, with the slide of many black families from the category of working poor (half or more of their income deriving from earnings) to that of the dependent poor (half or more from public assistance).

While family structure is an important factor in determining whether a black child will be poor, the decline in marriage and the increased proportion of births occurring out-of-wedlock do not account fully for the decline in children's economic well-being. Indeed, the study reveals that the economic pressure upon all types of black families—whether headed by married couples, never-married women, or formerly married women—played at least as great a role as did any changes in family structure. The following highlighted findings suggest the detail and scope of *Declining Economic Status.*

Regional differences. Poverty varies substantially in different parts of the country, strongly suggesting that economic conditions, such as recessions and expanding job markets, directly affected the prevalence of childhood poverty. In the North, black children were more likely to be in poverty in 1984 than in 1969. Moreover, poor black children in the North were also more likely in 1984 to fall into the most disadvantaged subcategory, dependent poor. Black children in the South, on the other hand, were actually better off in 1984 than in 1969, and the families of those below the poverty line were more likely to be classified as working poor rather than dependent poor.

In many Northeastern and Midwestern cities between 1969 and 1979, the declining proportion of children in working-poor families was matched by the rising proportion of those in dependent-poor families. For example, in Indianapolis, the proportion of black children in the working- poor category dropped 10 percentage points while those in the dependent-poor category rose 11 points. In Milwaukee and Cincinnati, the proportion of black children in dependent-poor families grew by 11 percentage points. By contrast, in the South, the poverty rate for black children dropped during the same decade, from 43 to 37 percent.

Children at greatest risk. The children who fare worst are those who face multiple risks—being born to young never-married mothers (as distinct from divorced mothers) who live in economically depressed areas and are likely to be on public assistance. And younger black children are the most affected. Black children under age three and living with never-married mothers had the highest and fastest-rising poverty rate: In just five years, between 1979 and 1984, it rose from 76 percent to 87 percent.

Rexroat concludes her book by offering a few words of caution and advice regarding public and private initiatives that could make a difference, emphasizing that education, job training, and other broad efforts must all be considered as essential to any solution. "The challenge that the black community and the larger society now face," she writes, "is how to improve the situation of the next generation of children in a much less expansive economic era."■

To order a paperback copy of *The Declining Economic Status of Black Children*, send a check for $15.50, payable to the Joint Center, and address to Book Orders, Office of Finance, at the Joint Center's address.

Democracy

(Continued from page 4)

Marsh: We have two more forums to go. The next one, "Safeguarding Free and Fair Elections," will look at some of the logistical challenges to getting out the vote, like transportation and where voting booths are located. But there are also political challenges. Just concentrating on the mechanics of the voting process may not necessarily result in a fair democratic election, even though the technical arrangements may be in place and operate satisfactorily. In the forum, we will attempt to get the party activists to consider negotiating local codes of conduct at polling areas. We will also discuss what should be done in places like the black township of Alexandria, which has been plagued by violence, to make sure that everyone competes fairly. In the last forum, following the election, we will take a hard look at the impact of our efforts.

The Joint Center's work in South Africa is critical. As the only American institution promoting multiparty dialogue, we are helping to shape a constructive approach to politics after the elections. A lot is at stake. This experiment with democracy must not fail. South Africa may be the key not only to the economic prosperity of the Southern African region but perhaps for other parts of Africa.■

The South African Election Support Project is funded through a contract with the U.S. Agency for International Development/South Africa.

Survey Reveals Preelection Hopes

The International Republican Institute conducted a national survey last year that shows that the majority of South Africans of all races are committed to the election and to a nonracial democracy. Black South Africans have particularly high expectations that their quality of life will improve.

- Eighty-eight percent of black South Africans are likely to vote, compared with 83 percent of white South Africans.
- Seventy-three percent of black South Africans believe their lives will improve after the election, compared with 40 percent of coloureds, 34 percent of Asians, and 8 percent of white South Africans.
- Ninety-five percent of black South Africans are concerned about unemployment, first; the cost of living, second (87 percent); and political violence, third (86 percent).
- Eighty-seven percent of white South Africans are concerned about political violence, first; unemployment, second; and the cost of living, third.

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