FOCUS

Blacks Cast Crucial Votes In New York Primary

In This Issue

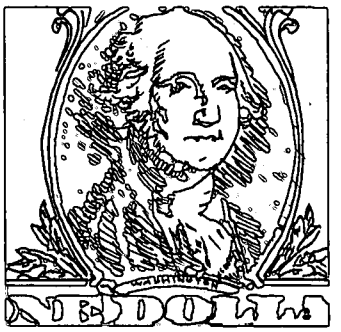
SCHOOL DESEGREGATION SINCE 1968

Gary Orfield Finds Progress For Blacks In South; Increasing Segregation In North



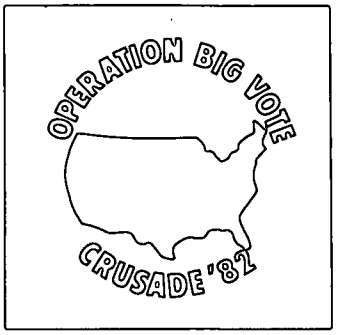
THE CAMPAIGN TREASURER

A CPA Looks At This Power Behind The Politician



OPERATION BIG VOTE

54 Target Areas Set For Crusade '82



Perspective

For months now, black leaders have been stressing the importance of a strong black turnout in this fall's crucial midterm elections. The message seems to be getting through. And it isn't just the black community that is listening. Across the country, political observers are sitting up and taking notice.

Here is a bird's eye view of what's happening around the country:

- Alabama's 6th Congressional District (in the Birmingham area) is awash with thousands of unemployed steelworkers, and 28 percent of the district's population is black. The polls show the Republican incumbent, Albert Lee Smith, in a race against Democrat Ben Erdreich that is too close to call. Blacks could make the difference.
- In Wisconsin's 5th Congressional District (North Milwaukee), black attorney Orville Pitts came within 1,800 votes of winning the September 14 primary for the Democratic nomination. *Congressional Quarterly* reports: "There was an unexpectedly high turnout . . . in Milwaukee's traditionally light-voting black community, and Pitts was the clear beneficiary."
- High black turnouts in Harlem and Roxbury were crucial to the primary victories of Mario Cuomo and Michael Dukakis in the New York and Massachusetts gubernatorial primaries.
- Three William and Mary political scientists have concluded from their polling evidence that "without nearly unanimous black support and a substantial black voter turnout it will be nearly impossible for the Democrats to win the Senate election in Virginia."

In state after state, the black vote is attracting attention, and candidates are trying to fit it into their calculations.

One might be tempted to conclude from this account that the black community has risen to the challenge of maximizing its potential. Certainly, the early signs in this critical year are encouraging. But we still have a long, long way to go.

According to the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan, more than half of the blacks surveyed in 1980 claimed to have voted, but less than a third reported any other form of political activity. For example, only a quarter of those surveyed said they talked to friends, family, co-workers, or others to encourage them to vote for their favorite candidate. Only 16 percent said they had designated that a dollar from their income tax return be devoted to public financing of the presidential campaign. Only 6 percent had attended a public rally. Only 4 percent had displayed a campaign button or sticker. Only 2 percent claimed to be a member of a political organization other than a party. And only 1 percent said they had worked for a political party or candidate.

There is no magic formula for political success. It just takes hard work, savvy, and imagination. All of these factors played a role in black attorney Kurt Schmoke's upset victory in the race to become state's attorney for the city of Baltimore.

On primary day, Baltimore's Chicken George restaurant gave away free dinners to customers who could produce their ballot receipts. Residents of the Murphy Homes, a black public housing project, were treated to spaghetti dinners if they voted. Black businesses and churches in Baltimore donated some 75 trucks and vans to transport voters to the polls.

The result: black turnout jumped from the normal off-year level of 30 percent to as high as 50 percent in some precincts, and Schmoke won the Democratic nomination.

Commenting to the press on his upset victory and his spirited grassroots support, Schmoke said: "They woke up the sleeping giant."

The moral of this story is that together we can make a difference in the political arena. So, if you're wondering what to do this fall and in election years to come, go out and encourage others to be politically active. Don't feel you've done enough by registering and voting yourself. Follow the message of the Operation Big Vote campaign: "REGISTER AND VOTE—PASS THE WORD."

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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Campaign Treasurer Handles More Than Money

by Brenda Watkins Noel

(Ms. Noel is director of finance at the Joint Center.)

Next to the candidate, the treasurer is one of the most important people in a campaign. Yet, the campaign treasurer—often a relative or long-time friend of the candidate—is generally not a Certified Public Accountant and does not have the aid of a computer. Contributors and voters rarely, if ever, meet the treasurer. He or she usually has a full-time job and agrees to act as treasurer as a favor to the candidate—only to realize later that the tedious detail and rigid reporting requirements of a campaign are enough to drive a teetotaler to drink.

Responsibilities of the Campaign Treasurer

In brief, the treasurer is responsible for keeping accurate records of all contributions, documenting and supporting all expenditures, determining the legality of each contribution, and preparing and filing routine reports on a monthly or quarterly basis and special reports by established due dates. Additionally, the treasurer is responsible, and can be held personally liable, for making accurate payroll tax withholdings and depositing such taxes on behalf of persons on the committee payroll. Workmen's compensation insurance and other liability insurance coverage are also handled by the treasurer.

Campaign reporting requirements for local and statewide campaigns vary from state to state. Reporting requirements for federal election campaigns are prescribed in detail in several publications of the Federal Election Commission, which are available from the FEC offices (1325 K Street N.W., Washington, D.C.) or from the U.S. Government Printing Office.

For congressional campaigns, the FEC requires quarterly reports of receipts and disbursements during an election year. Reports are due on the 15th of the month following each calendar quarter except for the quarter ending December 31, for which the report is due on January 31. A pre-election report is due on the 12th day before a primary or general election and a post-election report is due 30 days after the general election.

In nonelection years, congressional campaign committees are required to file semiannual reports, on July 31 for the six months ended June 30 and on January 31 for the six months ended December 31. The treasurer is required to sign all reports.

Record-Keeping and Audits

Sounds simple enough. And indeed, committee reporting is fairly routine, provided the financial records have been maintained in a manner that permits smooth and systematic flow of information onto the report forms. But financial activities reach a hectic peak during the months just prior to an election, and donation deposit slips and vouchers for hurried expenditures are often tossed into a drawer or folder for later "catch-up" posting. The reporting date often arrives before these postings are caught up.

At rallies held throughout the campaign, but most frequently during the months or weeks before election day, the supporters offer much-needed cash and check donations in the midst of cheering and predictions of victory. As the campaign manager smiles and relishes the smell of victory, the campaign treasurer remembers the headaches and long hours spent counting, sorting, and recording the contributions from the last hat-passing rally.

There are several recommended techniques for recording the cash donations received at rallies or at any other time during the campaign. However, as Ellen Kozak says in a recent article in *Campaigns and Elections,* "there are no short cuts."

Ms. Kozak recommends the use of "donation confirmations" such as receipts at the rally or any time cash donations are accepted, although she points out that most state laws and the FEC generally allow cash contributions of five to ten dollars without records of the donor. Nevertheless, it is a good idea to use some form of ledger sheet or memo pad to note cash donors and amounts. Several small donations from the same donor may equal $200 or more and, in a federal campaign, must be itemized in the reports to the FEC.

More often than not, campaign fund records will be audited if federal matching funds are involved. Special priority is given to auditing campaign committees organized under Chapters 95 and 96 of Title 26 of FEC laws (presidential campaign funds), but all campaigns are subject to audit under state or federal laws.

Such audits generally include, but are not limited to, an examination of documentation of contribution receipts and a review of any and all campaign disbursements and financial obligations. The treasurer has primary responsibility for the successful completion of audits.

Therefore, when help is needed, it is important to get it before it's too late. A CPA can provide assistance with many accounting and finance-related campaign matters. In recent years, the American Institute of CPAs and the elders of the profession have encouraged CPAs to "become involved in the political process," and the AICPA has published several campaign treasurer guides, including *Compliance with Federal Election Campaign Requirements: A Guide for Candidates* and the *Campaign Treasurer's Handbook,* which is useful in state and local campaigns. A similar handbook by the FEC, *House and Senate Bookkeeping Manual,* is an excellent guide for congressional campaigns.

Getting help when you need it includes getting legal advice. Although few violations result in serious criminal penalties, the treasurer is the one responsible for any irregularity.

The treasurer's many duties can be grouped into four primary categories: 1) maintaining accurate and detailed financial records; 2) acting as the employer with regard to payroll, taxes, and insurance; 3) monitoring the campaign committee's compliance with the Federal Campaign Act of 1971 and all of its subsequent amendments; and 4) preparation and submission of accurate, timely reports.

An additional, less tangible yet equally important responsibility also rests with the treasurer—that of image protection. The treasurer must keep abreast of what's going on within and around the campaign

(Continued on page 6)

Desegregation of the Public Schools, 1968-1980

by Gary Orfield

In the fall of 1981, the House Subcommittee on Civil and Constitutional Rights held extensive hearings on school desegregation. During the course of the hearings, subcommittee members and staff determined that recent federal data needed to be examined to learn about progress and problems in school desegregation. Subcommittee Chairman Don Edwards directed a series of inquiries to the U.S. Department of Education, asking for basic data on the segregation of blacks and Hispanics and the kinds of changes that had occurred between 1968 and 1980, a period which includes all of the controversial urban desegregation orders. The U.S. Department of Education provided this data in the form of printouts produced by the DBS Corporation under subcontract to Opportunity Systems, Inc. in Washington, D.C. Chairman Edwards asked the Joint Center for Political Studies to examine the data and report to the subcommittee on the major implications. This report, prepared by Gary Orfield, professor of political science, public policy, and education at the University of Chicago under contract to the Joint Center, responds to that request.

Between 1968 and 1980, segregation of black students declined significantly in the United States as a whole. The most substantial changes, however, were limited to the regions that had been segregated by law before 1954—the 11 states of the South and the 6 border states. Most of this change had been achieved by 1972, and, in fact, the South has recently become slightly more segregated.

During the seventies, all regions of the country except the Northeast reduced black segregation to some degree. The Northeast, by far the nation's most segregated region, became more segregated during the decade. The 1980-1981 school year found almost half of the black students in the Northeast in 90-100 percent minority schools, while fewer than one quarter of the black students in the South were in such schools.

The 1980 data show millions of children in integrated schools, particularly in the South, where segregation had been most severe. But it also shows that 63 percent of black students around the country remain in schools that are predominantly minority and about a third (33.2 percent) are still in intensely segregated schools, with 90-100 percent minority enrollment.

The data strongly suggest that the much greater progress in the southern and border states was related to a strong enforcement effort by the federal government and the federal courts, which was primarily directed at southern segregation.

When President Kennedy asked Congress to enact a civil rights bill in 1963, 98 percent of black students in the South were in all-black schools and almost all whites attended all-white schools. Enforcement of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and a number of major court decisions on southern segregation cut the number of southern black students in 99-100 percent black schools to 25 percent by 1968.

Between 1968 and 1972, the Supreme Court made two extremely important decisions, in the cases of *Alexander* v. *Holmes* and *Swann* v. *Charlotte-Mecklenburg*. These decisions required that southern districts desegregate immediately and authorized the use of busing when it was the only way desegregation could be accomplished. These decisions had immediate impacts in hundreds of districts and sharply decreased segregation of black and white students in the South. Neither the executive branch nor the Supreme Court has issued such clear directives for desegregation policy in the North and West, and progress in these areas has been much slower. By 1970, the South was the least segregated region for blacks, and the gap has grown since then.

There was no progress anywhere in the United States in integrating Latino students in public schools in the seventies. In fact, each region of the country has become more segregated for Hispanics as their numbers have rapidly grown in American society. Although the Supreme Court ruled, in the 1973 *Denver* case, that Hispanics as well as blacks should be desegregated when a school board was ordered to implement a plan, very little has been done to implement this policy, and very few cases have been brought to court.

Black Segregation

The statistics on black segregation trends contain several important messages. Dramatic progress is possible. The decisive changes from 1968-1972 have been consolidated in the southern and border states. But the momentum of increasing integration may be lost unless there are new government initiatives. This is suggested by a small increase in segregation from 1978 to 1980 throughout the nation, including the South.

There are extremely wide regional discrepancies, and the basic problems of black segregation have changed almost beyond recognition since the fifties and sixties. The problem of segregation for blacks today is centered in the large older industrial states and in large cities that have experienced major racial change.

Black students in the Northeast, for example, are concentrated in large, predominantly nonwhite school districts that have never been ordered to implement a major desegregation plan, even within the central city.

Segregation of black students is most intense in five areas of the United States, where at least 30 percent of black students are in schools that have 90-100 percent minority students. The five areas are (1) Pennsylvania, New Jersey, New York, and Connecticut; (2) Illinois, Missouri, Indiana, and Michigan; (3) Washington, D.C., and Maryland; (4) Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; and (5) California.

Fourteen states did have at least 95 percent of their black students in schools with at least 40 percent white students. To be sure, most of these states had relatively few black students at all, but the list does include Kentucky and Delaware, which had severe segregation until the implementation of metropolitan desegregation in their largest cities, Louisville and Wilmington. A number of other states

had very modest problems of segregation that could be resolved without major changes.

The most segregated state in the United States for black students in 1980 was Illinois. Some 68 percent of Illinois's black students were in schools that were 90-100 percent minority. (In the District of Columbia, which is not counted as a state, the comparable percentage is 96.) Illinois is followed by New York (56 percent), Michigan (51 percent), New Jersey (50 percent), Pennsylvania (49 percent), Missouri (44 percent), and California (41 percent). All of these industrial states have more severe segregation of black students than any of the southern states. The most segregated southern states, Louisiana and Mississippi, had 37 percent of their black students in such intensely segregated schools in 1980. The typical black student in Alabama was in a school with more than twice as high a proportion of white students than the school of his counterpart in Illinois.

The most striking increases during the 1970s in the white proportion of the student body in schools attended by blacks (in states with at least 5 percent black students) were in Nebraska, which had a 33 percent increase, Kentucky (25 percent), Delaware (22 percent), Wisconsin (19 percent), Oklahoma (16 percent), and Ohio (15 percent). In all of these states, major court orders affected the largest cities. Two had metropolitan merger orders. Two states showed a substantial decline in the white representation in schools attended by blacks: New York (–6.2 percent) and New Jersey (–6.0 percent). There was a small decline in Connecticut.

Hispanic Segregation

Hispanics are a large and rapidly growing group, which already accounts for about a twelfth of U.S. students. Hispanic children are now more likely than black children to be in predominantly minority schools, though they are less likely to be in schools that are intensely segregated (90-100 percent minority).

There are a number of possible explanations for the increasing segregation. First, as a group that has been a small minority in a particular area grows and the ethnic composition of the entire local population changes, children tend to be in schools with a higher proportion of minorities even if there is a good desegregation plan. Second, Hispanics tend to choose large metropolitan areas as a place of residence to an extraordinary degree—even more than blacks—and these areas, particularly their central cities, are experiencing rapid increases in their proportion of minority children. The 1980 census showed that 84 percent of Hispanics lived in metropolitan areas and 41 percent lived in central cities of metropolitan areas with more than a million residents. Hispanic families were more than six times as likely as whites to reside in the central cities of the largest metropolitan areas (those with populations over three million). It is likely, as well, that discrimination of the type that helped force blacks into ghettos early in the century plays a part in this, as do the problems of language and immigration status.

The West is by far the most important region, politically and sociologically, for Hispanics, and as the Hispanic population continues to grow, particularly in the Southwest, the region may play the role for Hispanics that the South played for blacks. The West has 44 percent of the nation's Latino students, although it has only 19 percent of the nation's students. Thus, almost one fifth of the students in the West's public schools are Hispanic—a far larger proportion than in any other region. And 63.4 percent of Latino pupils in the West are in predominantly minority schools. In Texas, which also has a large Hispanic population, the level of segregation is even higher.

The problems of segregation of Hispanic children are most severe in four states. In New York State, 57 percent of Hispanic students are in schools that are 90-100 percent minority; in Texas, 40 percent; in New Jersey, 35 percent; and in Illinois, 32 percent. In 1980, the typical New York State Hispanic student was in a school with only 21 percent white students, the typical Texas Latino pupil in a school with 28 percent whites, the typical New Jersey child in a school with 26 percent whites, and the typical Illinois Latino student in a 36 percent white school. All of these levels of segregation worsened during the seventies. The only states to show any significant improvement were Colorado, probably because of the Denver desegregation plan, and Wyoming, where an influx of whites drawn by the energy boom raised the white proportion and lowered the Hispanic proportion of the population statewide.

School Policies in a Multiracial Society

The school statistics show that, as the United States becomes an increasingly multiracial society, racial segregation remains the prevailing pattern in most regions with significant minority populations. Progress in desegregation for blacks in the South is offset by increasing segregation in the North. The large Hispanic population faces increasing educational segregation in the West and in states elsewhere with significant Hispanic populations.

Where progress has been made, the changes appear to be related to policies and enforcement efforts by the courts and federal executive agencies. Pressure to enforce desegregation has diminished in recent years, and so has progress. There has been no serious effort to provide integration for Hispanics, and their segregation is rapidly increasing.

A quarter century after the beginning of significant southern desegregation with the Little Rock court order, the statistics from the South show that once unimaginable change is possible. But the data from the North and West and the data for Hispanics from all parts of America show that little can be achieved without clear policies, effectively implemented. If the progress achieved in the South is to be emulated in the North and West, clear desegregation policies must be instituted for large metropolitan areas where the entire central-city school district and some older suburbs have become minority institutions.

OBV Targets 54 Cities for Crusade '82

by Gracia M. Hillman

(Ms. Hillman is executive director of the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation.)

On August 2, the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation opened its offices at 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W. in Washington, D.C. Since then, its small staff has been organizing local coalitions to conduct Operation Big Vote, Crusade '82 in 54 target areas.

The 54 areas have been identified by the board of directors of the National Coalition as having relatively large black voting-age populations and showing a need for a significant increase in black voter participation. There are 6.6 million blacks of voting age within the target areas, and approximately 60 percent of them are currently registered to vote. But in the last off-year congressional election, only about 37 percent of the black population actually turned out to vote.

As last month's *Focus* reported, blacks now comprise 20 percent or more of the population in 86 congressional districts and are a majority in 10 major cities. Thus the black vote could be a decisive factor in many elections this fall. The potential impact of the black vote is often weakened, however, by low black voter turnout. White voter turnout has generally been about 10 percentage points higher than black.

In the target areas, local coalition volunteers are using such methods as door-to-door canvassing, telephone banks, community forums, and rallies to stimulate participation in elections. Each local coalition is developing its own plan of action, with help from the National Coalition in the form of background information, voter education and how-to materials, specialized training programs, and technical assistance.

The local coalitions are nonpartisan, broad-based, self-help groups composed of local organizations, businesses, professional groups, and interested individuals. Local chapters of National Coalition member organizations take the lead in developing the local coalitions. The local coalitions are autonomous with regard to staffing and fundraising.

Two names have been added to the National Coalition's board of directors since the list was announced in the August issue of *Focus:* Dr. Faye Bryant, who succeeds Dr. Barbara Phillips as national president of Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; and Samuel Etheridge, special assistant to the executive director of the National Education Association, which was recently elected to the board.

Additional information about Operation Big Vote and the local coalitions can be obtained by writing the National Coalition or calling 202 626-3552.

Operation Big Vote Crusade '82 Target Areas

ALABAMA
- Birmingham
- Mobile
- Montgomery

ARKANSAS
- Little Rock
- Pine Bluff

CALIFORNIA
- Alameda County
- Compton
- Los Angeles Metropolitan Area

CONNECTICUT
- Bridgeport
- Hartford
- New Haven

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

FLORIDA
- Jacksonville
- Orlando
- Tampa

ILLINOIS
- Chicago
- East St. Louis

INDIANA
- Indianapolis

MARYLAND
- Baltimore
- Prince Georges County

MASSACHUSETTS
- Boston

MICHIGAN
- Flint
- Saginaw
- Wayne County

MISSISSIPPI
- Jackson

MISSOURI
- Kansas City
- St. Louis

NEW JERSEY
- Atlantic City
- Camden
- Trenton

NEW YORK
- Albany
- Buffalo
- New York
- Rochester

NORTH CAROLINA
- Raleigh
- Durham
- Chapel Hill
- Wilmington
- Fayetteville

OHIO
- Cleveland
- Columbus
- Dayton

PENNSYLVANIA
- Philadelphia
- Pittsburgh

SOUTH CAROLINA
- Charleston
- Columbia
- Florence
- Rock Hill
- Sumter

TENNESSEE
- Chattanooga
- Memphis
- Nashville/Davidson

TEXAS
- Dallas
- Houston

In addition to the local coalitions in the target areas, local affiliates have been organized in Portland, Oregon; Omaha, Nebraska; and Asheville, North Carolina.

Campaign Treasurer

(Continued from page 3)

through interaction with the candidate, campaign fundraisers and managers, and the rest of the staff to be sure that campaign activities will not result in regulatory problems. Nothing can hurt a candidate more than indications of financial irregularities in the campaign. The campaign treasurer can do much to see that the candidate is regarded as honest, law-abiding, and efficient.

Telescope

National Black Republican Council Holds 1982 Convention

The National Black Republican Council held its first mid-term convention at the Shoreham Hotel in Washington, D.C. on September 15 and 16. Strongly supportive of the Reagan administration's economic policies, black Republican businessmen, local elected officials, candidates for office, and party workers came from all over the country to participate with Reagan administration appointees and Republican National Committee officials in workshops and panel discussions. The workshops focused on the economic recovery program, expanding black enterprise, urban enterprise zones, and campaign strategies. Guest speakers and panelists included Samuel Pierce, secretary of HUD; Drew Lewis, secretary of the Department of Transportation; and Wendell Wilkie Gunn, special assistant to the president for policy development.

President Reagan addressed an audience of 1,300 at the presidential dinner, held in the ballroom, Vice-President Bush addressed participants at a luncheon, and Senator Dole (R-KS) spoke at a breakfast. All three stressed the need for recruiting blacks into the Republican Party and increasing the number of Republican black elected officials.

NBRC was formed in 1973 as the official black auxiliary of the Republican National Committee. It conducts outreach efforts to bring blacks into the mainstream of Republican affairs. The council's 1982 agenda includes revitalizing the organization by increasing membership and visibility across the country, particularly at the state and local levels. At the convention, LeGree Daniels, chairman of NBRC, urged black Republicans to seek nomination as state delegates to the Republican National Convention during presidential election years. NBRC's primary goal this year is to elect a black Republican to the U.S. House of Representatives. Working toward these goals, NBRC held regional conferences over the summer in Jackson (Mississippi), Los Angeles, Milwaukee, and Philadelphia.

According to NBRC, in several states throughout the Northeast and the South, councils of local black Republican officials and others are involved in recruiting blacks into the Republican party, recruiting candidates for public office, and raising funds. Such councils are soon to be established in Connecticut, Delaware, and Kentucky.

"Until we can consistently produce the winning margin in the critical elections, blacks cannot achieve true influence within the Republican Party," says LeGree Daniels. "We cannot produce this vote until we are able to raise the level of acceptability of the GOP among other blacks."

Ms. Daniels and other guest speakers at the convention stressed the value of the two-party system as a bargaining tool in achieving victories on policies that are important to blacks. For this reason, blacks were urged to maintain participation and voting capabilities in both parties. They advocated black economic recovery through increased development of minority business and less reliance on the federal government for support. In a recent article in the *National Black Monitor,* Ms. Daniels concedes that "it takes an extremely strong black person to espouse Republican politics in this day and time when, seemingly, all of the suffering of poor blacks in this country is being attributed by many to the present Republican administration." Yet she believes that more black leaders are beginning to "see the wisdom" of blacks turning away from federal dependency and doing more themselves to enhance their communities.

JCPS Receives $400,000 Hewlett Foundation Grant

The Joint Center has been awarded a four-year, $400,000 grant by the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, to be used "to increase the center's capability for policy research and analysis and to enhance its reputation as a source of high quality work in that field." Under the grant, the Joint Center plans to develop a major research program in economics and to expand its outreach activities.

Samuel C. Jackson

The Joint Center for Political Studies notes with sadness the passing of Samuel C. Jackson, a long-time member of the center's Board of Governors and treasurer of the board since 1978. Mr. Jackson was an attorney, a civil rights activist, and a government official. He served as one of the five original comissioners of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, as assistant secretary of HUD, and as a member of President Reagan's Commission on Housing. He was a founder and active member of the Council of 100, a national group of black businessmen that has a major role in Republican politics. A tribute to Sam Jackson will appear in the November issue of *Focus.*

JCPS Publications in Demographics

The Joint Center recently published *Blacks on the Move: A Decade of Demographic Change,* a monograph examining broad demographic trends among blacks. It includes a historical overview of black population shifts, a survey of recent regional changes, and an analysis of state-level migration in the 1970s. *Blacks on the Move* also looks at trends in metropolitan areas, with particular emphasis on central-city decline and emerging black suburbanization. The study, abridged by Phillip Sawicki, a consultant to the Joint Center, was written by William P. O'Hare, senior research associate; Jane-yu Li, research associate; Roy Chatterjee, staff analyst; and Margaret Shukur, research assistant, at the Joint Center. Copies are available for $3.00 each from the Joint Center.

A forthcoming monograph, *Black Suburbanization: Upward Mobility or Ghetto Expansion,* by William P. O'Hare, senior research associate, and Roy Chatterjee, staff analyst, will take a close look at the recent, dramatic increase in the number of blacks residing in the suburbs. It is the first study to use 1980 Census data to examine black suburbanization on a national basis. It also draws on case studies of Atlanta, Detroit, Houston, and Philadelphia. Copies of *Black Suburbanization* will be available from the Joint Center in November.

Election Update: Black Vote Key in NY Primary

by Thomas E. Cavanagh

(Mr. Cavanagh is a research associate at JCPS).

Blacks played a crucial role in Lieutenant Governor Mario Cuomo's upset victory over New York City Mayor Ed Koch in the Democratic gubernatorial primary on September 23. According to an exit poll conducted by WNBC-TV and Associated Press, blacks supported Cuomo by two to one, while the white vote split evenly and Hispanics narrowly favored Koch. Since blacks cast 13 percent of the total primary vote, they may well have provided Cuomo's margin of victory. Koch has been a controversial figure among New York City's blacks, because of his advocacy of cutbacks in social services, which seriously hurt black neighborhoods, and because he has been perceived as antagonistic to the black community.

In other New York primary action, black television executive Carl McCall was defeated by Westchester County executive Alfred Del Bello in his bid to win the Democratic nomination for lieutenant governor. McCall, who was endorsed at the eve of the election by the *New York Times*, is a former state senator and served as an aide to the American delegation to the United Nations.

Major Owens scored a narrow upset victory over fellow black State Senator Vander Beatty in the race to succeed Shirley Chisholm in the 12th Congressional District. As expected, Deputy Borough President Edolphus Towns cruised to an easy victory over two Hispanic opponents in the neighboring 11th District (North Brooklyn). Both Owens and Towns are almost certain of victory in November. Towns would replace Fred Richmond, who recently resigned in a plea-bargaining agreement.

Black State Senator Katie Hall has been nominated as the Democratic candidate in Indiana's 1st Congressional District (Gary) to replace the late Congressman Adam Benjamin. The nomination was made by Gary Mayor Richard Hatcher acting in his capacity as 1st District party chairman. It has been challenged in the courts by partisans of Benjamin's widow, although it appears safe to assume that the nomination will stand.

The probable election of Hall in this heavily Democratic district, when added to the even greater likelihood of a Towns victory in Brooklyn, virtually ensures a net gain of at least two black House members. The result would be a post-Reconstruction high of 20 blacks in Congress.

Citing fundraising difficulties, State Senator Julian Bond has withdrawn from the Democratic primary for the House seat in Georgia's 65 percent black 5th Congressional District (Atlanta). Incumbent Democrat Wyche Fowler now appears headed for an easy victory in the general election, which has been postponed until November 29 because of the lengthy battle over drawing the district lines.

Black attorney Orville Pitts lost by 1,800 votes to State Senator Jim Moody in the race for the Democratic nomination in Wisconsin's 5th congressional district (North Milwaukee). The former city alderman attracted a heavy black turnout and carried the Milwaukee portion of the district but nevertheless came in third in the six-way contest.

Republican hopes for a black congressman received a jolt when the Reverend Perry Smith lost the all-but certain Republican nomination for Maryland's 5th district seat (Prince George's County) in a September 14 primary. Despite a strong financial and political support from the Republican National Committee, Smith lost to a 29-year-old graduate student named William P. Guthrie, who had spent less than $1,000 on the race.

Perhaps the most promising black Republican candidate this year is Virgil Brown, president of the Cuyahoga County Commission, who is running a strong race for secretary of state of Ohio. A midsummer poll by Market Opinion Research showed Brown tied with Democrat Sherrod Brown at 38 percent overall, despite strong Democratic showings in the other statewide races. The survey showed blacks favoring the Democrat by a margin of 64 to 25 percent. But less than half of black voters know about Virgil Brown, and a concerted voter education program, aimed at encouraging black ticket-splitting in November, may be the key to this black Republican's chances.

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