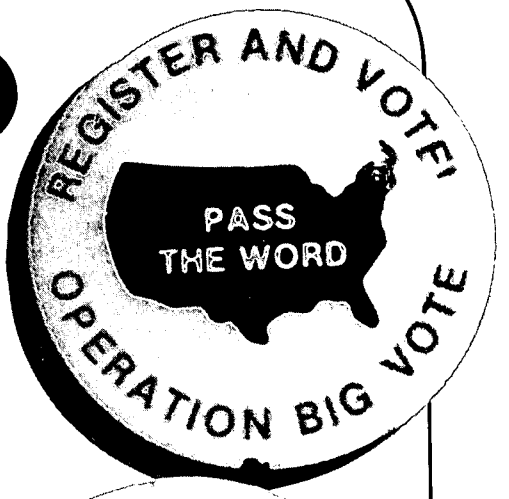
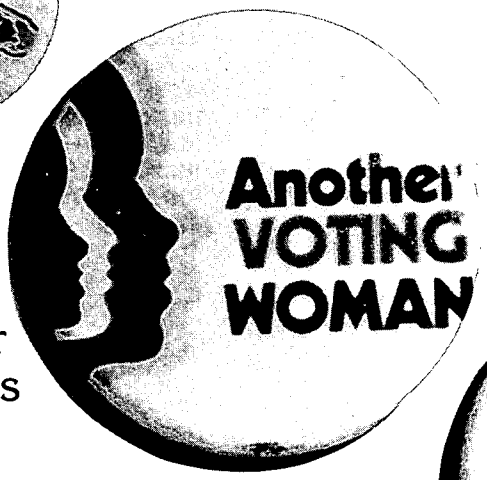
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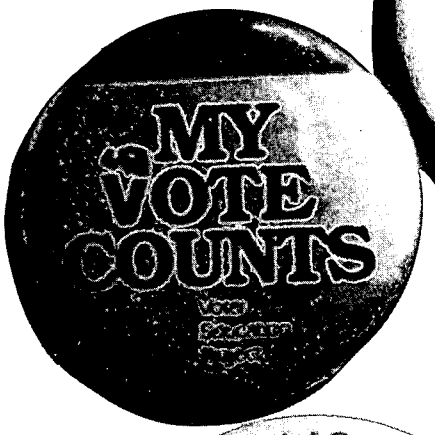
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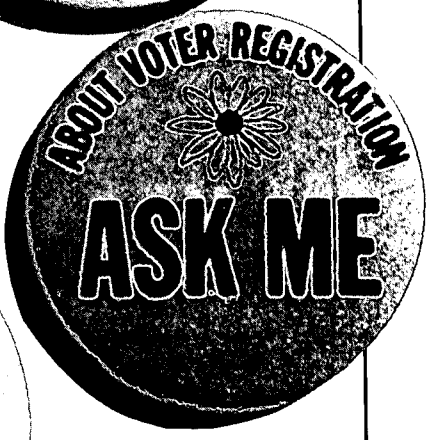


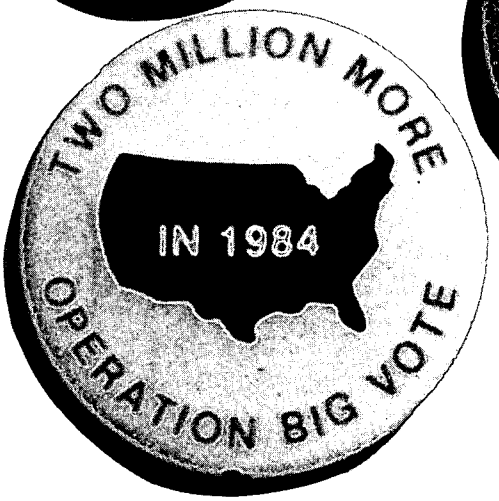












"Two Million More in '84"

A nationwide, nonpartisan black voter registration campaign is in full gear

A Black Woman's Place

The National Black Women's Political Caucus is off the ground

Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

Government policies actually *discourage* welfare recipients from finding work.

Plus:

The first results from a JCPS poll of political attitudes

On the Scene in Dallas

The Republicans try to become "America's Party"

ISSN 0740-0195

Joint Center for Political Studies

Perspective

Last month, the Joint Center released major findings of a recent nationwide survey of the reactions of black and white voters to the American political environment during the 1984 presidential campaign. This is our first full-scale national survey. It was undertaken to fill in gaps in the nation's knowledge of black political participation and to help all of us better understand forces that shape black and white political attitudes and their different consequences. Some of the highlights are reported on page 8; a full analysis will be published in October.

This study is unique in its comprehensiveness and its oversampling of blacks, who generally show up as only 10 percent of most national surveys. The study seeks to minimize distortions and biases in other ways as well. It is based on personal interviews rather than telephone interviews. A majority of whites interviewed white respondents and a majority of blacks interviewed black respondents. The project was conducted under the supervision of Milton D. Morris, JCPS director of research, and was managed by Tom Cavanagh, a senior research associate at the center.

I'd like to share a few observations based on some of the study's major findings. First, blacks are continuing to increase the emphasis they place on political participation as a means of achieving their goals and objectives. The more successful they become, the more their emphasis increases. And at least in national elections, blacks continue to be overwhelmingly committed to the Democratic party and its presidential nominee. Young blacks in particular—those 18-24 years old—are becoming more politically active. In fact, blacks 18-35 years old make up a significant proportion of newcomers to the political arena.

Overall, the gap between rates of black and white voter registration has narrowed, from about 12 percentage points to about 5 percentage points. Since 1982, blacks have out-registered whites by 7 percent to 4 percent. The white-black turnout gap also appears to be decreasing from about 10 percentage points in 1980 to 6 percentage points which the survey projects for 1984.

A major catalyst in the upsurge in black political activism was the Jackson candidacy. But while Jackson is given very high marks as a national leader, he is generally viewed as only one of a number of major leaders. The success of black mayors and other black politicians has had a significant impact on black political consciousness.

The considerable differences between the attitudes of white and black voters on a number of important issues suggest the enormous difficulty that political parties and candidates confront when appealing to all voters. The difficulty for Republicans is especially pronounced. Under present circumstances, the GOP stands little chance of increasing its base among blacks, and, in fact, the JCPS survey suggests that President Reagan will lose some black Republican support in the 1984 election.

Yet despite the dilemma that blacks face, believing that the Republican party ignores them and the Democratic party takes them for granted, they appear to be unalterably committed to the two-party system and overwhelmingly opposed to a black separatist movement or a black political party.

This is our first national poll, but we hope it will not be our last. We expect to institutionalize the survey, conducting it at least once a year in connection with our assessment of the state of black politics.

Eddie N. Williams
President

FOCUS

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On the Scene in Dallas

by Lorn S. Foster

(Dr. Foster is a senior fellow at the Joint Center, on leave from Pomona College in Claremont, California, where he is associate professor of government and black studies.)

Even more than the Democrats, the Republicans sought to make their national convention a media extravaganza with no questions from the audience. And while the country at least had to watch the Democratic convention to find out whether Jesse Jackson and Gary Hart would enthusiastically back Walter Mondale, no one at the Republican convention—including the 70-odd black delegates—was threatening to withhold support from the Reagan-Bush ticket.

The Republicans tried to convey two basic, related messages through their show of unity: that their party best represents mainstream American values, and that their party is successful and optimistic, in contrast to the Democratic party, which they portrayed as incompetent and dispirited. By celebrating Reagan's "successful" economic and foreign policies and by characterizing the Democratic party as untrue to its own heritage, they attempted to broaden their party base and draw in many traditionally Democratic voters.

During the convention, the speakers portrayed their party as maintaining the traditions of an earlier generation of Democrats. Jeanne Kirkpatrick's foreign policy address to the convention, placing the hard-line anti-communism of Ronald Reagan in the tradition of Harry Truman and Scoop Jackson, was aimed as much at Democratic viewers at home as at the audience in the Dallas Convention Center. Other speakers stressed the fact that moderate Democrats, such as Senators John Glenn and Ernest Hollings and former Governor Reubin Askew, were some of the earliest casualties in the Democratic caucuses and primaries. Perhaps, they suggested, moderate to conservative Democrats would be more comfortable voting for President Reagan and other Republican candidates than for the party that, according to Reagan, spends taxpayers' money like "drunken sailors."

Many pundits noted that the Republican platform had been taken over by the right-wing of the party. Nevertheless, the image that the Republicans attempted to convey to the nation was not that of an ideologically polarized party but that of a party dedicated to economic growth and development for all. The Republicans boasted that personal taxes had been cut substantially, inflation was down, and employment was up since the beginning of the Reagan presidency.

But although the Republicans dubbed themselves "America's Party," a lot of America—especially those who are not wealthy and not white—were scarcely represented on the convention floor, in the platform, or in the rhetoric. This year, 3.1 percent of the delegates were black, up slightly from the 2.7 percent in 1980. (Among the convention speakers were Legree Daniels, president of the National Black Republican Council and a minority affairs liaison with the Reagan-Bush campaign; Wendell Wilkie Gunn, former White House aide; and the Reverend E. V. Hill, a Baptist minister from Los Angeles and a close advisor to the Reverend Jerry Falwell.)

The Republicans did try to respond in a positive way to the Democrats' nomination of Representative Geraldine Ferraro as their vice-presidential candidate. Some 48.5 percent of the Republican delegates were women, as a number of male delegates voluntarily gave up their seats to women. The convention's keynote address was delivered by U.S. Treasurer Katherine Ortega. Other major addresses were delivered by the U.S. Ambassador to the United Nations, Jeanne S. Kirkpatrick; Secretary of Health and Human Services Margaret Heckler; and by Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole. The substantial number of female delegates and the prominent roles played by women at the convention were indicative of the Republicans' attempt to neutralize the Democrats' increasing appeal to women.

In the initial draft of the Republican party platform, only four lines addressed minority concerns. A Japanese-American delegate to the platform committee pointed out to the platform committee and to the press that having so little in the platform regarding minority interests would make it difficult for the party to appeal to minority voters.

In the platform adopted by the convention, there is a half page specifically on minority interests and another two and a half pages on women's issues. The platform calls for a civil rights policy "premised on the letter of the 1964 Civil Rights Act" and comes out strongly against quotas. At no point does it call for full enforcement of the recently passed Voting Rights Act, for fair housing legislation, or for a jobs program that pays particular interest to minority concerns. Throughout the platform, however, it is stated that all citizens, regardless of race and gender, have benefited from the president's economic policies.

Black Republicans at the convention were well aware of the fact that most blacks identify with the Democratic party. In conversations, they maintained that blacks are welcome in the Republican party and that blacks need to join the Republican party if the two-party system is to work for blacks. Black Republicans extolled President Reagan's tax and spending policies as benefiting blacks, and argued that enterprise zones were a better means of achieving economic growth than public works programs.

With black support for both Reagan and the Republican party at single-digit levels, it is mathematically impossible for the Republicans to lose much more of their black support, and a number of prominent Republicans are beginning to work at turning the situation around. All five of the leading Republican contenders for 1988—Senate Majority Leader Howard Baker, Vice President George Bush, Congressman Jack Kemp (R-NY), and the husband-and-wife team of Senate Finance Committee Chairman Robert Dole and Secretary of Transportation Elizabeth Dole—have closer ties to the black community than does Ronald Reagan. Senator Dole was particularly outspoken in support of the Martin Luther King holiday bill, and Kemp has been sensitized to the needs of the poor in representing his blue-collar constituency outside Buffalo. After the Reagan administration, at least some of the antagonism blacks feel toward the Republican party may fade, creating some interesting political opportunities for both blacks and Republicans disturbed by the one-party domination of current black politics.

A Black Women's Place

by Julie E. Dade

(Ms. Dade is Director of Programs for the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Inc.)

Meeting last month in Washington, D.C., a group of nationally prominent and politically active black women signaled a dramatic shift in the strategy they will pursue—and will encourage other black women to pursue—in an effort to influence public policy at all levels of government. The group founded the National Black Women's Political Caucus—the first organization of its kind.

Through civil rights, social, and professional organizations, black women have always sought to improve their communities. But when they wanted to influence public policy through the political process, their options seemed limited to letter-writing campaigns, voter registration drives, or work in coalition with other groups. More often than not, black women felt they were sought out primarily to legitimize the label "coalition"; when final decisions were made, their opinions often went unheeded.

First Steps

In the early 1970s, black women began creating local and state political organizations to gain greater political leverage. Today, these groups continue to provide financial support, research, training, and endorsements for candidates seeking elective office. The list of such groups is rapidly increasing; it includes California's Black Women Organized for Political Action; the Black Women's Agenda, founded by California Assemblywoman Maxine Waters; the Black Women's Alliance, in Houston, Texas; the Black Women's Political Action Committee, in Cleveland, Ohio; Women in Unity, in Seattle, Washington; and the Colorado Black Women Organized for Political Action. These groups have raised thousands of dollars, and their efforts may have provided the winning margin for some candidates in local and statewide races.

The idea of establishing a national organization followed naturally from the success of these state and local groups. The question of when was answered after the Democratic National Convention: black women again felt frustrated in their attempts to influence the decisions of coalitions with which they were involved—in this case, both the black and women's caucuses.

Why a Black Women's Caucus?

At the August 9 meeting at which the National Black Women's Political Caucus was founded, some of the participants detailed their reasons for creating the organization. "Neither the black movement nor the women's movement in this country has addressed the problems of blacks who are female," said former Congresswoman Shirley Chisholm, who in 1972 became the first black to mount a serious presidential campaign. C. Delores Tucker, vice chair of the Democratic National Committee's black caucus, added "black women walked away [from the convention] feeling the party had forsaken them and unless they organized they would continue to be left out." Ms. Chisholm and Ms. Tucker were named chair and vice chair, respectively, of the new political caucus. Other founding members included Mary Berry, member, U.S. Commission on Civil Rights; Faye B. Bryant, president, Alpha Kappa Alpha Sorority; Hortense Canady, president, Delta Sigma Theta; LeGree Daniels, chair of the National Black Republican Council; Dorothy Height, president of the National Council of Negro Women; Jewell Jackson McCabe, president, National Coalition of 100 Black Women; and Eleanor Holmes Norton, professor, Georgetown University Law School.

Everyone present agreed that the general goal of the organization would be twofold: to have an impact on the 1984 elections and to build an organization that would increase the political participation of all black women over 18. They decided that the group would be a political caucus including Democratic, Republican, and independent women committed to an eight point mission:

- encouraging every black woman to register and vote;
- teaching black women how the political process operates and how they can operate effectively within it;
- encouraging black women to seek office at all levels;
- endorsing candidates for public office;
- providing financial support for candidates for public office;
- encouraging the appointment of black women to responsible positions within both political parties and at all levels of government;
- developing and advocating public policy positions; and
- preparing black women under 18 to enter the political arena.

The group's long-range plans include a national meeting to conduct workshops on campaign strategy, fundraising, and devising a legislative agenda. Members have also begun to study federal, statewide, and local races. According to the Joint Center for Political Studies, only 22 percent of all black elected officials are women. Expressing disappointment over the defeat of Congresswoman Katie Hall (D-IN) and the narrowness of the primary victory of Cardiss Collins (D-IL), the caucus has already identified congressional contests as one of its key concerns. Both Ms. Hall and Ms. Collins are founding members of the caucus.

The new group will also focus on the issues of housing, education, foreign policy, employment training, business development, and the feminization of poverty, which affects a huge number of black women. One-half of all black families are headed by women, and 70 percent of these families are living below the poverty line.

But with black women representing 55.7 percent of the 18 million blacks of voting age, voter registration, education, and turnout must assume a high place on the caucus' agenda. Black women have the potential

(Continued on page 5)

Two Million More in '84

by Kevin Armstrong

(The author is staff writer at the Joint Center for Political Studies.)

"Two million more in 1984" is the rallying cry of a collective effort to enlist some of the seven million voting-age blacks who remain unregistered. Coined by the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, the slogan sets forth the goal of a nationwide, nonpartisan voter registration campaign that is currently in full gear.

Campaign Support

The campaign enjoys unprecedented support from several major foundations. Carnegie, Ford, and Rockefeller, for example, have each contributed $25,000 or more to the work of the National Coalition and the Voter Education Project (VEP), two prominent organizations devoted primarily to signing up black voters. Foundation support of *all* nonpartisan, tax-exempt voter registration groups has doubled since 1983, but most of the funding is going to organizations with special 4945(f) tax-exempt IRS status. Recipients of this special status must spend at least 85 percent of their income on nonpartisan, educational, or charitable voter registration programs in five or more states and remain active for more than one election period. So far, the National Coalition and VEP are the only 2 black groups of the 12 organizations that have received 4945(f) status.

Public Service Announcements (PSAs)—brief informational radio or television commercials for a specific public service or cause—will play an important role in this year's effort to persuade more eligible blacks to register and vote. Broadcast free of charge, PSAs are accepted only from tax-exempt organizations and must be strictly nonpartisan. All three of the national television networks have pledged to support the use of PSAs in voter registration drives, and after labor day, the top 50 black radio stations in the country began airing voter registration PSAs taped by CBS recording artists, including Carl Anderson, Roy Ayers, Ramsey Lewis, and Wynton Marsalis.

The National Coalition on Black Voter Participation also has a special project aimed at increasing political participation among black women. The Black Women's Roundtable on Voter Participation seeks to train black women to develop leadership skills, emphasize the importance of the women's vote, and ensure the involvement of black women in discussions of the "gender gap" as an influence in elections. The National Coalition is distributing "Black Women Vote—It's Their Heritage" posters as well as "1984 Operation Big Vote" posters. The posters are available for $3.00 each from the National Coalition on Black Voter Participation, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004.

Campaign Strategy

Earlier this year, several voter registration groups formed the National Clearinghouse Project on Black Voter Participation to coordinate the diverse functions of the national registration campaign. The Clearinghouse Project has three specific tasks: funding of local voter registration and get-out-the-vote (GOTV) drives; administration of these efforts; and ensuring the efficient use and exchange of information and limited resources.

As the only two black 4945(f) designees, the National Coalition and VEP will be responsible for using funds they receive to initiate nonpartisan registration and GOTV campaigns in states with sizable populations of unregistered blacks. Within each state, local branches of national organizations and church groups such as the A. Philip Randolph Institute, the NAACP, the National Urban League, and the Congress of National Black Churches will administer the registration campaigns in coalition with public officials, representatives of the National Coalition or VEP, and local groups, such as women's organizations, sororities, fraternities, and community-based organizations. This decentralized approach will enable black public officials, whose participation is crucial, to stress the impact increased registration may have on local races. The third task, the transfer of information and resources, will be managed by the National Urban Coalition.

The following is a list of "primary focus states" in which the National Coalition or VEP will conduct registration and GOTV campaigns. If you are a resident of one of these states and would like to become involved, the National Coalition in Washington (202 626-3552) or VEP in Atlanta (404 522-7495) can put you in touch with a local representative.

National Coalition

Illinois
Maryland
Michigan
Missouri
New Jersey
New York
Ohio
Pennsylvania
Texas

VEP

Alabama
Arkansas
Georgia
Louisiana
Mississippi
North Carolina
South Carolina
Tennessee

A Black Women's Place

(Continued from page 4)

to be a deciding factor in 1984, but the National Black Women's Political Caucus is determined to ensure that the support or acquiescence of this important constituency is never again taken for granted.

The caucus is a membership organization and its founders invite all interested black women to join. For further information, write:

Shirley Chisholm
Chair
National Black Women's Political Caucus
P.O. Box 75013
Washington, D.C. 20013

Welfare Policy and the Working Poor

by Barbara Harrison Linden

(Dr. Linden is a sociologist specializing in welfare and employment related issues.)

A recent study by the nonpartisan Congressional Research Service estimates that at least 557,000 people were made poor by restrictions in the social welfare budget enacted since President Reagan took office. (The Census Bureau classifies as poor a family of four whose cash income is less than $10,178 per year.) Since 1981, changes brought about by the budget reconciliation acts have excluded thousands of families from Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC), Medicaid, and food stamp eligibility, and thousands more have had these benefits reduced.

Many of these measures were put in place with little or no attention to the results of pertinent research and often with little awareness of how the programs operate. Instead, the policy changes reflect administration officials' emphasis on stricter cost-cutting measures, tighter controls over sources of fraud and error in the various programs, and closer targeting of benefits at those defined as "most needy."

AFDC: An Example

Aid to Families with Dependent Children is one of the social welfare programs most heavily affected by the new policies. Four changes in AFDC regulations have been especially important in the past four years: the institution of monthly reporting, which requires clients to report their income and work status each month for use in the calculation of the following month's payment; the exclusion of AFDC clients who have earnings over 150 percent of a state's need standard (set by the state legislature, the need standard is the subsistence level income used to determine eligibility for assistance); a reduction in work-related child-care expenses that may be deducted from income in calculating benefit levels; and the adoption by states of requirements that recipients participate in a variety of additional job-related programs.

Monthly reporting was intended to guard against unreported changes in income and other circumstances leading to ineligibility or overpayments: if reporting forms are not completed correctly or on time, clients are declared ineligible for benefits and dropped from the program, even if their income is still insufficient. However, a recently released New York State study shows that nearly one-quarter of the cases administratively closed there were terminated contrary to regulations, and 30 percent of the closings were reopened within two months.

Furthermore, studies of error rates in AFDC show that overpayments, underpayments, and payments to ineligible recipients are due more often to agency errors rather than client misreporting. Finally, and most important in budgetary terms, the most recent reviews of the impact of monthly reporting show that it has not reduced incorrect payments.

AFDC recipients with employment income have been hardest hit by the new policies because of the changes in the level of allowable income and stricter limitations on work-related and child-care expenses. In 1980, before introduction of the new policies, 28 percent of AFDC recipients with outside income left the program after a year. This percentage increased to 55 percent in the year following the enactments. Average grant reductions for employed persons who remained in AFDC were $57 monthly.

Before the new regulations became law, a family head earning $580 each month could have $362 of that income disregarded, and count $218 toward the calculation of AFDC benefits, which would amount to $202 in a state with a need standard of $420 a month. Under the new rules, this person receives $148 a month during the first four months of employment, and nothing thereafter. Consequently, the proportion of heads of households who receive some AFDC but also have income from earnings has declined considerably since 1981.

Since the proportion of earned income that may be disregarded in the calculation of benefits is lower now than under previous administrations, the rate of substitution of earned dollars for benefit dollars is higher. The new policies, therefore, introduce a negative employment incentive into eligibility rules. A 1982 report by the Center for the Study of Social Policy concluded that the higher substitution rate, together with the loss of Medicaid benefits (which occurs in 30 states if the recipient loses AFDC eligibility) would leave many people economically worse off if they accepted a low-wage job than if they did not work and continued to receive benefits.

Work Requirements

In fact, some type of work-related requirement (often referred to as the Community Work Experience Program, or CWEP) has been made mandatory for all states. These programs vary widely in their requirements, and may include registration at state employment agencies, proof that the recipient has applied for a certain number of jobs, participation in employment training programs, work at public service job sites in return for benefits ("Workfare"), or combinations of these.

Sanctions for noncompliance range from withholding benefits from the household head for up to three months to depriving the entire family of its eligibility for longer periods. CWEP proponents say that requiring eligible clients to participate in these programs increases their future employability and improves their chances of leaving welfare or reducing their dependence on it.

There has been little controversy over the wisdom of increasing job opportunities and training for welfare clients. Critics as well as supporters of these programs have always linked the "way out" of welfare to steady employment. Disagreements have concerned questions of means, not ends: what is the most effective method of preparing recipients for employment? Is it advisable to impose the same requirements on all members of a population although they differ widely in employment and education backgrounds? And how wise are present termination and sanction policies—especially in light of the direct effect benefit reductions have on children in these families?

Evaluations of past and present work requirements have shown that most clients do not find employment; that jobs, when found, are low-paying and usually

(Continued on page 7)

Telescope

The Civil Rights Act of 1984

In its ruling in *Grove City College of Pennsylvania* in February of this year, the U.S. Supreme Court decided that Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibits sex discrimination in schools receiving federal aid, applied only to those educational programs and activities actually receiving aid, not the entire institution. The Ford and Carter administrations had supported the interpretation that if any single school program or activity received federal aid, the entire institution was subject to the provisions of Title IX and could have its federal funds cut off for noncompliance. The dramatic growth in the number of women participating in high school and college sports during the 1970s can be attributed to Title IX and similar statutes barring discrimination in schools.

The Reagan administration, however, has argued for the much narrower interpretation of Title IX upheld in *Grove City College*—that it applies only to those specific activities receiving federal aid—and, more significantly, has applied this interpretation to other major civil rights statutes prohibiting discrimination in institutions receiving federal aid: Title VI of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, Section 504 of the Rehabilitation Act of 1973, and the Age Discrimination Act of 1975. As a consequence, the federal government may now subsidize institutions that discriminate against women, minorities, the disabled, and senior citizens.

In an attempt to restore the four civil rights statutes to their original scope, the U.S. House of Representatives passed a bill—the Civil Rights Act of 1984—by a vote of 375-32. That bill is now in the Senate, where it has 63 co-sponsors, including a number of influential Republicans. However, the administration and Senators Orrin Hatch (R-UT), Jesse Helms (R-NC), and John East (R-NC) are vigorously opposing the bill. Senators Hatch, Helms, and East are expected to filibuster the bill when it reaches the Senate floor. With less than a month left before the 98th Congress adjourns, such a filibuster would seriously jeopardize chances for passage of the bill. The Leadership Conference on Civil Rights, a coalition of 165 national organizations representing blacks and other minorities, women, labor, and religious groups, is leading a major effort to obtain Senate passage of the bill. The LCCR is urging all concerned citizens to write their senators in support of the Civil Rights Act of 1984.

New JCPS Senior Military Fellow

Colonel James R. Daugherty, U.S. Army, has been selected to participate in the Joint Center's Senior Fellows Program. Daugherty will be in residence at the Joint Center for one year, through July 1984, conducting research on military manpower and personnel issues and participating in other Joint Center activities.

Daugherty has been in the Army for 21 years. His most recent position was a deputy director in the Office of the Adjutant General of the U.S. Army. Previous assignments have included administration and personnel management in The First Infantry Division, Ft. Riley, Kansas, and the Office of the Chief of Staff, U.S. Army; and that of academic advisor at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point. He received his Bachelor's degree in social science from St. John's University in Minnesota and his Master's degree in education from Pepperdine University. Daugherty is succeeding Colonel Wade S. Gatling of the U.S. Air Force, who completed his one-year fellowship with the center this past July.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984

Since 1970, the Joint Center has published an annual roster of black elected officials. The thirteenth volume of the *Roster* is now available from UNIPUB, a division of the R. R. Bowker Company, which is publishing the *Roster* for the center.

The cutoff date for the *Roster* has been shifted from June 30 to January 30 of each year to allow reporting of the results of the November elections in a more timely manner. The thirteenth volume lists all 5,700 blacks in office as of January 1984. As in previous editions, each official's address and office expiration date are included, as are demographic and political data for each state. Tables and charts highlight significant statistical features and trends, such as the number of black elected officials in each state, by level of office; changes in the number of black elected officials from year to year, since 1970; cities with black mayors; the number of blacks in state legislators; changes in black female representation, and much more.

Black Elected Officials: A National Roster, 1984 is available for $27.50 per copy from UNIPUB, P.O. Box 1222, Ann Arbor, MI 48106, or call toll free 800 521-8110.

Welfare Policy . . .

(Continued from page 6)

short-term; that dependence on welfare does not decrease, and that welfare budgets are not reduced. Nevertheless, the usefulness of work requirements continues to be debated, and estimates of the savings gained from work requirements also vary substantially. For example, the administration's estimates of the savings attributable to work requirements (from decreased need for benefits, fewer applications, sanctions, and terminations) are more than one-fifth higher than those estimated by the Congressional Budget Office. A Government Accounting Office review of CWEP found that the lack of detailed information made it impossible to attribute any cost reductions to these programs: "The evidence on the effectiveness of CWEP is inconclusive. It may or may not be producing AFDC budget savings."

So, instead of bolstering inadequate incomes with support payments, the recent changes in AFDC have further exacerbated distinctions between working and nonworking welfare recipients. And they have done this without achieving their express goals of helping unemployed clients find lasting employment or reducing costs substantially. Public opinion about the welfare system and those who must depend on it, therefore, will likely worsen. Furthermore, without improved job training programs, employment opportunities are likely to remain limited for unskilled AFDC clients—even as payment levels decline, putting still more parents and children at risk.

JCPS Survey of Political Attitudes

On August 30, the Joint Center for Political Studies released the first results from a poll of 900 blacks and 1,300 whites on a wide range of political questions. The poll probes the political attitudes of both blacks and whites toward Jesse Jackson, the presidential candidates, and the state of the nation. It also explores voter registration and likely turnout. The most significant findings in four major areas:

(1) Blacks head toward the November elections as an extremely unified voting group. They prefer Walter Mondale to Ronald Reagan by 88 percent to 5 percent; even black Republicans generally oppose President Reagan and plan to vote for Mondale.

—An overwhelming majority of blacks—82 percent—disapprove of Reagan's job performance, compared to 32 percent of whites.
—72 percent of blacks see Ronald Reagan as "prejudiced"; 13 percent see Walter Mondale as "prejudiced."
—Black opinion is highly consistent across regions, income levels, occupations, and even gender.

(2) Blacks still lag behind whites in voter registration by about 5 percentage points. However, 7 percent of the black voting-age population has registered to vote since 1982, compared to 4 percent of voting-age whites.

—Of the newly registered blacks, 88 percent reported hearing a speech on the importance of voter registration before they registered, and 84 percent said Jesse Jackson's campaign made them more likely to vote in November. Seventy-four percent of registered blacks are under 35 years old.
—Most newly registered whites—68 percent—support Ronald Reagan; 26 percent support Walter Mondale; and 7 percent are undecided.
—81 percent of blacks registering for the first time did so not at traditional registration offices but at shopping centers, church-sponsored activities, or other on-site registration locations.
—In the past, black turnout has lagged behind white turnout by 10 percentage points. In 1984, 55 percent of blacks and 61 percent of whites say they will definitely vote—a 6 percentage point gap.

(3) Jesse Jackson's campaign for the presidential nomination has had a lasting effect on the politics of 1984.

—67 percent of blacks feel that Jackson has had "a great deal of effect" on Democratic party policies.
—65 percent of blacks say Jackson's campaign has made them more likely to vote in November, and 56 percent say his endorsement of the Mondale-Ferraro ticket makes them more likely to vote Democratic.
—40 percent of blacks think black political influence is increasing, and 36 percent consider Jackson's campaign the most important reason.
—However, there is also evidence of white backlash to Jackson. Among whites, 17 percent say they are less likely to vote for Mondale because of Jackson's endorsement, compared to 10 percent who say they are more likely to vote for Mondale. In the South, whites are less likely to vote Democratic, by 19 percent to 8 percent, because of Jackson.

(4) Blacks and whites assess the state of the nation very differently.

—48 percent of whites but only 14 percent of blacks are satisfied with the way things are going in the country.
—38 percent of blacks but only 6 percent of whites think civil rights is one of the most important issues in this year's presidential campaign.
—40 percent of blacks and 15 percent of whites think "white people want to keep blacks down."
—A plurality of whites feels better off financially today than four years ago; a plurality of blacks feels worse off today.

The Joint Center developed the survey in consultation with the Gallup Organization, which conducted the interviews for the center during the last weekend in July and the first weekend in August. The center commissioned the poll because most nationwide polls include only a small sample of blacks—100 to 150 is common. The large JCPS sample gives a much more accurate and detailed view of the attitudes of the black population. The JCPS sample contains 902 blacks, for a sampling error of 4 percent, and 1,365 whites, for a sampling error of 3 percent.

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