

Black America

1994

Changing Direction

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

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Bob Bradshaw	Raynard Jackson
Bill Calhoun	Peter Kirsanow
Diann Cameron	Glenn Loury
Jackie Cissell	Joey Merrill
Horace Cooper	Deroy Murdock
Debra Cruel	Council A. Nedd, II
Stuart DeVeaux	LarStella Parker
Kevin Pritchett	

Ronald Nehring
Editor

A publication of Project 21

THE NATIONAL CENTER FOR PUBLIC POLICY RESEARCH

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ISSN 1073-9386**

**The National Center for Public Policy Research
300 I Street, Northeast
Suite 3
Washington, D.C. 20002
(202) 543-1286**

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The editor extends his gratitude to Christopher Downing, Editorial Assistant, and Charles Kalina, Editorial and Media Assistant, for their valuable contributions to the production and promotion of this report.

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THE CONTRIBUTORS

Bob Bradshaw is the President of Bob Bradshaw Associates, a marketing firm in Atlanta, Georgia. In 1992, Mr. Bradshaw served as the Georgia Deputy Campaign Manager for independent presidential candidate Ross Perot.

Bill Calhoun is the Chairman, President and CEO of Texas Casualty Insurance Agency, Inc. in Houston, Texas. Mr. Calhoun has served on The White House Council on Small Business, The University of Houston School of Business Advisory Board, and the Houston Mayor's Task Force on Minority Business. He is also the recipient of the Distinguished Entrepreneur of the Year award from the National Association of Black Accountants, the Distinguished Alumnus Award from Prairie View A & M University and the Outstanding Service Award, presented by the National Association of Minority Contractors.

Diann Cameron is a Master of Social Work intern at Family Service of Westchester in Westchester, New York. While she is completing her M.S.W., Ms. Cameron is developing an independent living program for children aging-out of foster care.

Horace Cooper is the Legislative Director for Representative Richard Arme of Texas.

Debra R. Cruel, an attorney, is the President of The International Foundation for Public Excellence, a public interest foundation devoted to helping leaders develop public policy alternatives based on sound principles, and People With a Vision, a grassroots organization devoted to reclaiming neighborhoods and strengthening families. Ms. Cruel has served as an adjunct Professor of Law at Widener University School of Law, Assistant Counsel to the Pennsylvania Department of Education and Director of the Landmark Center for Civil Rights.

Stuart DeVeaux is a senior at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

Raynard Jackson recently authored a major study for The National Center for Public Policy Research discussing the impact of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) on the African-American community. Mr. Jackson formerly worked on the campaign staffs of Senators John Danforth and Kit Bond, former President George Bush and Representative Frank Wolf of Virginia. Mr. Jackson recently founded a Washington, D.C. video production company and has taken delegations overseas to explore emerging trade opportunities.

Peter Kirsanow, labor counsel for Leaseway Transportation Corporation in Cleveland, Ohio, is an Adjunct Professor of Law at the Cleveland-Marshall College of Law. Mr. Kirsanow formerly served as chief labor counsel for the city of Cleveland.

Dr. Glenn Loury is a professor of economics at Boston University in Boston, Massachusetts. He holds a B.A. in mathematics from Northwestern University and a Ph.D. in Economics from M.I.T. He has served as a visiting scholar at Oxford University, Tel Aviv University, the University of Stockholm, and the Institute for Advanced Study in Princeton.

Joey Merrill is a Research Analyst at the Hudson Institute in Indianapolis, Indiana. Ms. Merrill serves on the board of directors of Third Millennium, an organization of "twenty-something" individuals working to raise pertinent generational public policy issues.

Deroy Murdock is a New York writer and president of Loud & Clear Communications, a marketing and media consultancy.

Council A. Nedd, II is the co-host of Capitol Watch, a public affairs program on National Empowerment Television. Mr. Nedd formerly served as legislative assistant to Representative Roscoe Bartlett of Maryland.

LarStella Parker is the President of NFTA Publishing in Los Angeles, California. Ms. Parker, a former welfare mother, founded the Coalition on Urban Affairs in 1992 in response to the Los Angeles riots of that year. The Coalition addresses moral, political and social issues affecting urban communities.

Kevin Pritchett serves as Deputy Staff Director for Senator Trent Lott of Mississippi. A graduate of Dartmouth College, Mr. Pritchett is Editor Emeritus of the Dartmouth Review.

Jackie Cissell is the co-founder of Black Americans for Traditional Family Values in Indianapolis, Indiana.

PREFACE

A little rebellion now and then is a good thing.

Thomas Jefferson

Americans this year look forward to the 30th anniversary of the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Indeed, there is much to celebrate. In the three decades since the Act's adoption, African-Americans have experienced a degree of political enfranchisement of historic proportions. Over 8,000 African-American elected officials serve at every level of government. In Congress, the number of African-American members surpassed 40 for the first time in history, and 1992 saw the election of the first African-American woman, Carol Mosely-Braun of Illinois, to the United States Senate.

The challenges facing the African-American community in 1994 are not the same challenges that were faced thirty years ago. With the battle for civil rights won, African-American leaders must face the daunting problems of economic dependency, crime, drugs, poor education and broken families. The problems have changed, and new solutions must be found.

The generation of African-American leadership that won the battle for civil rights focused on solutions that stemmed from Washington - and rightly so. The refusal of some state and local governments to acknowledge the civil rights of all Americans, regardless of race, demanded federal legislation to guarantee these rights, and the power of federal agencies to ensure enforcement.

However, after three decades of trying, the federal government has proven incapable of solving the greater problems

of economic disenfranchisement, lawlessness, and a disintegrated family structure. Washington-based solutions, despite the noble intentions of their creators, have failed, and the African-American community is demanding new approaches.

Curiously, many of today's African-American leaders continue to cling to top-down, Washington-based solutions to these problems. Their response to the failure of the "Great Society" programs of the 1960's is simple: let's have more of them. Meanwhile, the grass-roots of the community has moved far ahead of the traditional "inside-the-Washington-beltway" civil rights establishment. Most African-Americans are supporting an agenda of "empowerment": the power to take children out of bad schools and send them to good schools, the power to open a business, the power to buy a home, the power to make a community safe. This is the agenda for the coming century.

"Black America 1994: Changing Direction" examines the challenges, and the opportunities, facing the African-American community in 1994. In this volume, significantly, the reader is not likely to find the names of the contributors familiar. The reason for this is simple. The opinions contained within these pages represent the views of real-life African-Americans. Unlike those regularly featured on the evening news providing political commentary, the contributors to this report have no press staffs. They do not earn lofty speaking fees. They are not paid six-digit salaries to fly around America seeking photo opportunities. They are

regular folks who have something to say about how to improve the quality of life in their community.

The recommendations of the contributors represent a departure from the traditional policy agendas that litter Washington like yesterday's confetti. In addition to recommending initiatives for government, the contributors suggest actions to be taken by families, churches, civic organizations, and ordinary citizens, all for the betterment of their own neighborhoods, and the African-American community at large. The contributors recognize that while government ultimately must deal with the consequences of crime, broken families, illegitimacy, and underemployment, the best solutions must begin within the family and community.

The views of this report's contribu-

tors surely will contrast sharply with many of the views commonly expressed by the establishment civil rights leadership, and thus "Black America 1994: Changing Direction" may generate a degree of controversy. It challenges the status quo and the conventional wisdom which has dominated discussion of the state of black America for decades.

For some who have benefited politically from the status quo, this report may be unwelcome. For the press, it may be controversial. For the contributors, it represents the hope that the African-American community, by changing direction, can prosper, and triumph, in the coming century.

Ronald Nehring
Editor

INTRODUCTION

The April 1992 riots in Los Angeles rocked the nation, and forced us to shed our complacency with the deteriorating circumstances that grip the African-American community. While the riots were followed by a seemingly endless stream of posturing and pondering, one fact became clear: the African-American community must change direction.

The television news coverage of the L.A. riots reinforced many of America's assumptions about the African-American community and its leadership. While the cameras rolled, one civil rights leader after another spoke of racism, "rage" and "hopelessness" while almost giving tacit approval to the violence. Representative Maxine Waters of California even remarked that "the anger you see expressed out there in Los Angeles, in my district, this evening is righteous anger, and it's difficult for me to say to the people 'Don't be angry.'"

As television viewers all over the world listened to the traditional civil rights establishment shout about "anger," we began to hear the faint whispers of a few African-Americans who would not excuse

or try to "explain-away" the violence. Local community leaders like Ezola Foster and Star Parker challenged the conventional wisdom by speaking on the importance of values, and of law and order. For once, the diversity of opinion within the African-American community, so often cloaked, was exposed.

Where the news stories left off in 1992, Project 21 has continued. An initiative to promote the ideas of African-Americans whose views have not traditionally been echoed by the Washington-based civil rights establishment, Project 21 participants are challenging the conventional wisdom regarding the future of the African-American community.

This report, the first major publication of Project 21 since it began in early 1993, explores a wide array of subjects that affect African-Americans. Unlike other reports, the contributors to *Black America 1994: Changing Direction* have distinctly different backgrounds. One contributor holds a Ph.D. in economics, while another is a former welfare mother. In all, the diversity the contributors bring to this report reflects the diversity of the commu-

nity itself.

While the contributors will not agree on every facet of every issue, they are united in their dissatisfaction with the African-American community's economic disarray, the disintegration of the family, and the social disorder that has come to typify life for so many. Among their key findings:

Government can and must prompt economic growth and development in economically depressed communities. History has proven that given the opportunity, the private sector can create wealth and produce permanent jobs better than any government program. By employing a strategy of lowering personal income taxes and eliminating regulatory barriers to economic growth, government at every level can spur the economic activity needed to bring real hope and change to the African-American community.

African-Americans must pursue new economic opportunities, such as those offered by the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA). With the passage of NAFTA come tremendous economic possibilities for African-American entrepreneurs, particularly those involved in industries where African-Americans play a large role, such as transportation and high technology. Federal, state and local governments can help create additional opportunity by forming "enterprise zones" in economically depressed areas. These zones would give businesses tax breaks and other incentives to start up or relocate in economically depressed areas, providing the impetus needed for economic development in otherwise desolate communities.

African-Americans must demand health care reform that empowers individuals to obtain medical insurance that best suits an individual's needs and the needs of his/her family. The concepts underlying President Clinton's Health Care Security Act shortchange the medical needs of black America. African-American communities have different, and often greater, health care needs than the population as a whole. By creating monopoly regional health care systems, the President's plan will likely exacerbate racial tensions between cities and suburbs,

and trap urban residents in underfunded, inadequate, and bureaucratic health care systems.

Government must not further inflate the cost of labor. Artificial increases in the cost of labor created by government mandates destroy low-wage and entry-level jobs that for many disadvantaged African-Americans are their first footholds on the ladder to prosperity and self-sufficiency. Minimum wage hikes and payroll taxes give employers incentives to trim labor costs through automation, layoffs, or by moving production facilities out of the country. For employees already at or close to the minimum wage, increased labor costs often force their jobs to disappear.

The federal government should not increase the minimum wage or index it to inflation, as Secretary of Labor Robert Reich has suggested. State and local governments should avoid similar destructive actions. Further, the Administration should revise its approach to health care reform, since its current plan would create prohibitive barriers to employment and entrepreneurship in African-American communities.

Economic solutions to the problems facing African-Americans are not enough, and the government cannot be trusted to solve every problem. Many of the steps that need to be taken are matters of morality and community standards. These are not matters of public policy, nor does the government have the moral authority to bring about the restoration of positive values in the African-American community. The family and the church have historically been the institutions that shape successive generations' conceptions of their duty to themselves and their communities. Too often these institutions have broken down; their restoration is a task for leaders within communities, not for outside agencies.

Crime must be deterred. While the crime rate in America has skyrocketed, the amount of time served by convicted criminals has steadily declined. A 1992 study by the Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms found that career criminals commit an average of 160 crimes a year.

Meanwhile, the National Center for Policy Analysis reports that a person who commits murder can expect to serve less than 2 1/2 years in jail.

Before crime rates begin to decrease, the criminal justice system must be respected by both victims and would-be criminals. While the costs of building prisons, hiring prosecutors and beefing up police forces is high, the evening news programs in every American city provide strong evidence that we can no longer afford the cost of doing nothing.

The black family must be strengthened and rebuilt. Along with the church, the family has historically been the bedrock on which black communities were built. Through the dark days of slavery, segregation and the Great Depression, the family was the institution from which African-Americans could draw strength and identity. Yet after enduring all the hardships of the past, in modern times the African-American family is in crisis and collapse.

While there is clearly no one single cause, government policies antagonistic to the family unit are at least partially at fault. The current welfare system gives single mothers strong incentives to stay single, and eliminates the traditional disincentives to have children out of wedlock. It replaces fathers with a government check, leaving young men free from responsibility while abandoning the next generation of

African-Americans to be raised without the socialization and support that the family provides. These policies must be changed to support and affirm the family as society's first line of defense against social decay.

Black leaders must advocate the beliefs of the community — or move over. Special interest politics has taken a heavy toll on the Washington civil rights establishment. In recent years, African-Americans have watched as civil rights leaders consistently contradict the will of the black community while resisting new approaches to economic empowerment and family re-integration.

For example, many civil rights leaders continue to satisfy their labor allies by supporting the explicitly racist Davis-Bacon Act. Meanwhile, the National Urban League, in its annual report on *The State of Black America*, supports continued reliance on minority set-aside programs while virtually ignoring the widespread support that low-tax enterprise zones enjoy among African-Americans.

As Ross Perot demonstrated in 1992, grass-roots support provides tremendous political power in the 1990's. If the Washington civil rights leaders are either unwilling or unable to accept the changes needed for a better future, they risk widening the gap between themselves and the mainstream of today's African-American community.

Economic Empowerment

AFRICAN-AMERICANS NEED A PRO-GROWTH ECONOMIC STRATEGY

CLINTON ADMINISTRATION INITIATIVES WILL BLUNT
IMPROVEMENT IN EMPLOYMENT, EARNINGS

Peter Kirsanow

The coming year could be one of considerable opportunity for black employees and entrepreneurs. Segments of the black community are poised to reach new levels of success in a variety of endeavors.

While difficulties abound, most can be overcome with hard work, intelligence and determination. But in 1994, one obstacle may not readily yield to these qualities: government.

The signals from Washington portend further government intrusion into the workplace: more mandates, more taxes, more regulations - policies which promise to render many workers unemployed or unemployable and produce an expanding underclass.

The signature of the independent American worker is industriousness, ingenuity and perseverance. When left reasonably free to apply these traits, the American worker has no peer. Unfortunately, the federal government has embarked on a path that will foster dependency on government rather than on the principles that made American enterprise the most competitive on earth.

Intrusive government policies can only drive the nation's workplace toward mediocrity. The electorate must continue to insist that our representatives pursue an agenda that empowers individuals, families and communities, not government bureau-

cracies and politicians.

The formula for black employment success requires that government do only two things: (1) Vigorously and fairly enforce equal employment opportunity laws and (2) get out of the way.

General Review and Outlook

The labor force continued to experience the effects of the sluggish recovery during the first half of 1993. Job creation was tepid, failing to replace jobs lost during the recession. In fact, over 600,000 jobs were eliminated in 1993 - 55,000 more than during the recession year of 1991.¹

While unemployment rates for adult black males and adult black females fell from the last quarter of 1992, overall black unemployment rates for the first half of 1993 remained unchanged. In addition, earnings levels for black workers in the first half of 1993 remained relatively flat.

Unemployment 4th Quarter 1992

	Total	Black	White
Total*	6.9	13.6	6.0
Male	7.2	14.3	6.3
Female	6.6	12.9	5.6

Employment and Earnings Vols. 39-40 (1992-93) Tables A33-34

*includes teenagers

Unemployment 1st Half 1993

	Total	Black	White
Total*	7.0	13.5	6.1
Male	6.5	12.6	5.8
Female	5.9	10.9	5.2

Employment and Earnings Vol. 40 Nos. 1-6
(1993) Tables A33-34

*includes teenagers

The economy lost approximately 1.5 million jobs between April, 1990 and mid-1991. The downturn softened somewhat in mid-1991, although total unemployment continued to climb through February, 1992.²

Compared to previous recessions, the 1990-91 recession was brief and mild. The economic downturn was not as severe and unemployment was not as high. However, unlike previous recessions, job losses were spread across a broad spectrum of occupational categories.³

Occupations in which blacks enjoy significant representation suffered during the recession. These occupations have experienced a relatively slow rate of growth in the recovery.⁴

Similarly, industries in which blacks are highly concentrated suffered during the recession.⁵ The same industries, with few exceptions, have experienced a relatively slow rate of growth during the recovery.

For example, the retail industry has recovered little more than three-fifths of the jobs lost during the recession.⁶ The only segment of the retail economy to experience an historically consistent job recovery is the retail food industry, portions of which have sizable black workforces.

Job recovery in the service industry has been uncommonly lethargic. For the first time in the last five recessions, the service sector actually suffered a net job loss.⁷ Slow job recovery in this sector of employment has contributed considerably to stagnant black employment levels.

The manufacturing sector weathered job losses of approximately 3% during the recession.⁸ An increase in demand for durable goods during much of the recovery period has not resulted in a proportionate increase in jobs. Adjusting for cyclical variations, overall job creation in the manufacturing sector has been slack.⁸ Defense-related jobs, particularly in aerospace, continue to disappear.⁹ The job climate in the automobile manufacturing and parts related industries has

brightened somewhat, although a large portion of the industry is still plagued by layoffs and instability.

Blacks in each of the foregoing industries have experienced job losses at a significantly higher rate than whites.¹⁰ Blacks in unskilled and semi-skilled positions as well as younger blacks were hardest hit. Losses in the manufacturing sector slightly surpassed those in the service sector.¹¹

Government employment is the one area of the economy that defied the trends noted above. State and local government employment grew an impressive 10% during the recession.¹² The growth has persisted through most of the recovery. The number of black job gains in state and local government from the last quarter of 1991 through the first half of 1993 were mixed, with a slight upward trend.

Preliminary figures for the second half of 1993 indicated a modest improvement in employment and earnings among all workers. Similar figures reveal a slight improvement among black workers.¹³

Early figures also revealed modest economic growth. Various analysts, including the federal government, projected an annualized growth rate of between two and a half and three and a half percent in the first half of 1994. Black employment should accordingly reflect gradual improvement provided the government pursues growth policies.

However, any favorable effect the improving economic cycle may have upon black employment in early 1994 may be short-lived. Black job recovery after a recession historically lags behind that of whites. The current recovery is no exception. Black unemployment levels stood at 12.2% in August, 1993 - identical to that during the peak of the recession.

In the past, this phenomenon was primarily caused by racially discriminatory employment practices or by the residual effects of past discrimination.¹⁴ Much of the discrimination was lawful. Both business and unions engaged in overt discrimination.¹⁵ Employment discrimination against blacks was especially pernicious during periods of economic uncertainty.

Studies now indicate that employment discrimination, while still prevalent, has less of an adverse effect on black employment than either suffocating government mandates or poor education.¹⁶

The policies which the Clinton administration is expected to implement this year will have a dampening effect upon overall

black employment. (This may not necessarily lead to higher rates of unemployment, but it will retard or neutralize employment growth). Black teenage employment in particular will be harmed.

The administration has announced its support for several pieces of employment-related legislation which will be considered by Congress in 1994. Many are likely to be passed. The measures to be considered include the following:

Civil Rights Act Amendments;
Electronic Monitoring;
Employee Retraining and Unemployment Compensation;
ERISA Preemption;
Minimum Wage Hikes;
Modification of Plant Closing Notification;
National Health Care;
National Labor Relations Act;
Occupational Safety and Health Reform;
Overtime Pay-Docking Amendments;
Pension Simplification;
Striker Replacement Legislation;

The employment ramifications of the foregoing measures are reviewed briefly below.

Proliferation of government mandates will increase the cost of labor and negatively effect employment and earnings.

As a preliminary matter, it has been noted that the mammoth tax bill passed last August has already had a chilling effect upon the new hire rate. The problem will likely be exacerbated as employers feel the effect of the higher rates during 1994. Employers unable to pass along increased costs to consumers or suppliers will seek to trim labor costs to preserve margins.

The tax bill is only the first of several salvos to be fired against employers and employees. As noted below, employers will be expected to bear the brunt of the costs associated with new government programs. Employees will ultimately suffer.

The National Health Security Act Will Kill Jobs and Reduce Earnings.

The health care plan will have the most immediate and profound effect on black employment of any of the proposals noted above. The final form of the plan may not be known before the end of 1994. However, should the plan be enacted in a form substantially similar to that proposed by the administration, black employment and earnings levels will decline.

The health care plan requires employers with 5,000 or fewer employees to purchase health insurance for employees through a state health alliance. Employers with greater than 5,000 employees have the option of either self-insuring or purchasing health coverage from a state-certified health care plan.¹⁷ Everyone within a particular health alliance will pay the same "community rate" for health care.¹⁸

Employers will be required to pay 80% of their employees' health premiums. The plan would be partially financed by a payroll tax (euphemistically titled "employer premiums") ranging from 3.5% to 7.9% of payroll.¹⁹ Employers are also required to pay a pro-rata share of the health insurance premiums for part-time employees working 10-30 hours per week.²⁰ (Employees working more than 30 hours would be considered full-time).

The destructive effects of the Health Security Act on employment are manifold. Its effect on black employment is particularly invidious.

The payroll tax could increase the cost of labor in some industries by up to 30%.²¹ As a result, more than 3 million jobs may disappear.²² Some of the industries most affected employ a high percentage of minorities.²³ Employees with the fewest skills and least seniority, a large proportion whom are black, are traditionally the first laid off when labor costs rise.

Moreover, the requirement that employers pay for coverage for part-time workers will depress part-time employment. Employers regularly engage part-time workers rather than full-time workers because the benefit costs for the latter are unaffordable. The Health Security Act will price many part-timers out of the labor market. Part-time employment is one of the traditional stepping stones toward full-time employment for many black women and youngsters. Consequently, this mandate will likely effect those groups most severely.

The community rating feature of the health care plan may have the most insidious effect on black employment. Urban alliances will be saddled with the high health care costs of the inner-city now borne by Medicaid.²⁴ As a result, employers within such alliances will pay a higher premium than employers located in areas where health care problems are not as acute.²⁵ The relative cost of inner-city labor will be more expensive than in other areas.²⁶ Inner-city employers will, there-

fore, have a tremendous incentive to relocate. In this regard, the health care plan imposes a tax upon employment.

An increase in the federal unemployment tax to fund federal job training and extended unemployment benefits constitutes a job depressing employment tax.

Congress has proposed creating a national skills standards board to develop skill standards for various occupations.²⁷ In addition, Labor Secretary Robert Reich is expected to propose a plan to provide 18 months of job training and regular unemployment benefits to dislocated workers.²⁸ The plan is expected to cost between \$2 to \$3 billion. It may be financed by an increased payroll tax upon employers.²⁹ The professed goal of the plan is "good jobs at good wages."

The proposal is short-sighted and redundant. The federal government currently provides over 100 employment and training programs. The aggregate cost of such programs is approximately \$16.3 billion per year.³⁰

Federal job training programs have varying degrees of success. The effectiveness of many is marginal at best. Others simply compound the unemployment problem with a waste of taxpayer money.³¹ There is little evidence that the effect of government training programs upon employment is more than trivial.

For example, the government spent \$35 billion administering the Comprehensive Employment and Training Act ("CETA") with no significant, sustained effect upon employment or earnings.³² It has been argued that the group benefiting most from CETA consisted of administrators and bureaucrats.³³

The present Job Training Partnership Act ("JTPA") programs have been somewhat more successful. However, at least one study showed that the number of young JTPA trainees receiving food stamps and general assistance doubled after their involvement with the program.³⁴ Furthermore, JTPA involvement may have actually reduced the earnings of male participants who are out of school.³⁵

A payroll tax on employers to fund yet another job training program is nothing more than a hiring tax. Taxing employers in this fashion reduces the amount an employer can spend on new hires, wages and its own specifically tailored training programs.

Black workers are at a substantial disadvantage compared to their white

counterparts primarily because of disparate levels of educational attainment. During the 1950's, only one-third to one-half of the difference in wages between black workers and white workers was attributable to differences in educational achievement. Today, most of the wage differential can be traced to educational differentials. (This is not to diminish the impact of discrimination, but to underline the primacy of education)

The recent shifts in business patterns increasingly favor workers with greater skills and more education. Worker dislocation due to job elimination as opposed to temporary layoff increased during the recession and persists today. The jobs eliminated have effected all categories and classes of employees but have had the most pronounced impact on low-skilled, inexperienced and uneducated workers.³⁶ Blacks are disproportionately represented in these categories.

A remarkable number of indices of employment success highlight the importance of education:

- * During the last twenty years, fewer non-whites than whites have sought employment. Moreover, among those who do seek employment, whites have had greater success in finding jobs than non-whites.³⁷ This trend also continued in the past year.

The evidence suggests that this pattern is primarily the result of educational disparities. The gap in the employment experience between whites and non-whites becomes negligible among individuals with comparable levels of schooling.³⁸

- * Failure to complete high school is a significant predictor of unemployment rates for all races. However, black male high school dropouts are nearly twice as likely to be unemployed as white male dropouts.³⁹ Failure to complete high school also adversely affects earnings, hours of work, job acquisition and retention and transitional opportunities.⁴⁰

- * Whites have generally held more jobs during the early part of their careers than have blacks. However, after correcting for educational attainment, the disparity virtually disappears.⁴¹

- * The average college graduate has held two more jobs by his 27th birthday than the typical high school graduates. College graduates also average more work weeks per week than high school graduates despite having gone to school full-time.⁴²

- * Blacks generally experience a higher number of unemployment spells than

whites. But again, the number of unemployment spells per life time decreases with advancing levels of education.⁴³

* Blacks also spend more weeks unemployed than whites. This differential also narrows with education. Basic education, not remedial job training, is the key to greater employment opportunities for blacks.

Quotas are occasionally employed in an attempt to remedy the ineffectiveness of government job training programs in preparing black employees for long-term employment ("Quota" as used herein is different from "affirmative action". The former means direct or indirect racial preferences; a remedy on the basis of color rather than injury-equality of result rather than equality of opportunity. The latter connotes an attempt to reach and engage a group who would otherwise be unaware of available opportunities).⁴⁴ What the government fails to do by means of job training it attempts to accomplish through compliance reviews.

The ostensible goal of affirmative action programs is to increase employment opportunities for minorities. Evidence that such goal has been met is equivocal. Some form of affirmative action has been in effect for over 25 years, yet it has been suggested that there is little evidence of long-term benefit to overall black employment.⁴⁵ Indeed, it has been suggested that if anyone is helped, it is those who probably would have succeeded without it. The unpopular policy⁴⁶ promotes resentment and racism in the workforce while subverting merit and achievement.⁵⁷

Quotas, whether direct or indirect, often result in a poor workforce requiring a dilution of work standards.⁴⁸ Many of graduates of a government job training program hired pursuant to a quota system will eventually be terminated as their deficiencies become manifest.

In sum, yet another government job training program is not the solution. The costs far outweigh the benefits.

The second prong of Secretary Reich's job training proposal is of equally dubious merit. The evidence shows that expansion of unemployment benefits actually has a corrosive effect upon employment.⁴⁹

Nearly one-third of all unemployment may be the product of the unemployment insurance system.⁵⁰ The system fails, in part, because it is designed as an income maintenance system rather than a job-seeking system. It subsidizes unemployment and provides little incentive to regain employment. It is particularly ineffective

in addressing long-term unemployment—the very sort for which Reich's plan is purportedly designed.

An Increase in the Minimum Wage Will Reduce Earnings and Destroy The Jobs of Low-Skilled and Unskilled Workers.

Labor Secretary Reich advocates a sizable increase in the minimum wage. House Bill 692 introduced in January, 1993 would raise the current minimum wage of \$4.25/hour to \$5.50/hour in 1994 and thereafter index it to inflation. Going even further, Senate Bill 562 introduced in March, 1993 would increase the minimum wage to \$6.75/hour and also index it to inflation.

The proposals are ostensibly pro-worker. Indeed, the original intent of Congress in enacting the minimum wage law was to ensure "a minimum standard of living necessary for the health, efficiency and well-being of workers".

Raising the minimum wage by indexing it to inflation is harmful to many unskilled workers, a large proportion of whom are black. (Ironically, the precursor to the minimum wage law, the Davis-Bacon Act of 1931, was passed by Congress specifically to prevent black workers from competing against whites for public works jobs.)

The minimum wage law is particularly devastating to black youths, whose unemployment rate exceeds 65% in some areas of the country. Nearly 40 years ago, before substantial increases in the minimum wage, the unemployment rate for black youths was virtually identical to that for white youths.⁵¹

Numerous studies have shown that after adjusting for other factors, increases in the minimum wage have historically resulted in a loss of full-time jobs. In fact, an increase from the current minimum to \$5.00/hour could destroy up to 442,000 jobs.⁵² Industries employing young or low-skilled workers are usually most vulnerable.⁵³

The reason for this displacement is that the government mandated increase at least temporarily prices marginally-skilled workers out of the workplace. It is an arbitrary standard that distorts the labor market.

The displacement effects not only those earning the minimum but those whose wages are bumped upward by the new minimum. Consequently, the wage scales of a significant percentage of job classifications escalate, further driving up

overall labor costs. Moreover, tying the minimum wage to inflation permanently skews the entry level labor market with a domino effect upon the wage levels immediately above.

The minimum wage law is but one of a number of existing employment-related mandates. These mandates may be well-intended and have varying degrees of utility. Nonetheless, each adds to the cost of labor. Their cumulative effect is to erect formidable barriers to workplace entry for unskilled workers. At some point, the cost of employing the unskilled worker begins to exceed its value to the employer. These requirements have caused a 16.2% increase in employment costs in just three years.⁵⁴ It is no coincidence that black unemployment has risen with the proliferation of employment regulations.

Proponents of the minimum wage increase counter that since it applies to all U.S. employers, no specific employer is unfairly disadvantaged. That argument may have had some limited validity in the past but ignores the realities of the contemporary global marketplace.

When labor costs effect competitiveness, an employer has at least four options:

Layoffs. The quickest way to reduce labor costs is to trim the size of the workforce. Generally, those with the fewest skills and least seniority are the first to go. It is often the case in many industries that the least senior employees are black.

Automation. When a minimum wage hike causes the cost of labor to eclipse that of certain capital investments, the low-skilled workers may find himself permanently replaced by machine.

Relocation. The added costs associated with the higher minimum wage may also make it more profitable to export jobs, despite tariffs and increased shipping costs.

Temporary Workers. Those who advocate minimum wage increases apparently presume that employers will take no measures to prevent erosion of profit margins due to spiraling labor costs. Employers seeking to avoid metastasizing regulatory burdens have increasingly resorted to temporary or part-time employees.

After the most recent 11% minimum wage hike, the number of temporary workers grew by nearly 20%. The minimum wage has doubled in the last 20 years. During the same period, the use of temporary workers has quadrupled.⁵⁵ Of course, the mushrooming use of temporary

workers and part-timers is not solely attributable to minimum wage hikes. But when the minimum wage drives overall labor costs to a certain critical mass, temporary workers become a cost-effective alternative. As with machines, the use of temporary workers and part-timers generally does not trigger as many costly federal and state requirements as does the employment of full-time workers (as shown earlier this may end with the enactment of the National Health Security Act).

An inflation-indexed minimum wage would aggravate the chronic under-employment and unemployment of those it is designed to benefit. It would impair the ability of many black workers to gain that crucial first foot hold on the ladder of economic upward mobility. The result is a persistent dependency class.

A Striker Replacement Ban Would Reduce Competitiveness.

The Clinton Administration supports the transparently titled "Caesar Chavez Workplace Fairness Act". Passed by the House in June of 1993, the bill would eliminate the right of employers to permanently replace striking workers.

Current law permits employers to permanently replace striking workers under certain conditions, a right that has been in existence since the Supreme Court decided NLRB v. Mackay Radio and Telegraph Co. more than 50 years ago. The right to strike and the right to replace strikers are pivotal elements of a federal labor policy that recognizes economic self-help as vital to the collective bargaining process. The balancing of these economic self-help remedies allows bargaining disputes to be decided by the interplay of economic forces. The economic rationale of the federal policy is that an employer's ability to hire permanent replacements is the most reliable barometer of legitimacy of the striker's wage demands.⁵⁶

Passage of the striker replacement ban would radically alter the bargaining balance by eliminating market forces from the equation. Consequently, any inclination to strike would not be sufficiently tempered by economic reality. Passage of the striker replacement legislation would spur the development of at least three strike scenarios:

— Deprived of the right to permanently replace strikers, a company may be forced to capitulate to an inflated union wage demand unrelated to prevailing market conditions. By doing so, the company may become uncompetitive and

be forced to cut back operations or even cease doing business.

— Under a second scenario, a company does not give in to the inflated wage demand of striking employees. Because it is barred from hiring replacements to continue operations, the company's customer base dwindles, cut backs ensue and it may eventually go out of business.

— The third alternative is for a company to choose the path of least resistance. American businesses already chafe under regulations and constraints perceived by some as burdensome. The bill would provide companies with further impetus to export jobs to countries without similar restrictions.

Under any of the aforementioned circumstances, the workers whom the bill purports to benefit suffer. The jobs eliminated may never return in an era where American business and labor must compete against their counterparts around the world.⁵⁷

The impact of the bill upon black employment specifically is uncertain. Black labor has often succeeded or supplanted whites who have moved on to other, sometimes more desirable jobs. This phenomenon subsided somewhat subsequent to passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the entry of blacks into mainstream labor unions. Nonetheless, black employment will be effected to the extent all employment is affected.

The Family and Medical Leave Act Will Have Little Impact on Black Employment.

The Family and Medical Leave Act will be fully effective as of February 5, 1994 (those employers not subject to collective bargaining agreements were covered as of August 5, 1993).

Under the Act, employers with 50 or more employees must provide 12 weeks of unpaid job-protected leave per year to employees for purposes of child birth, child adoption or medical care due to serious health condition.

The Act will probably have minimal effect on overall black employment. Although single black employees are three times more likely to head a household than their white counterparts (and thus, presumably, more likely to have reason to resort to Family Leave) they are also more likely to be unable to afford to take an unpaid leave of absence. The employees who can afford to take 12 weeks of unpaid leave are the primary beneficiaries of the Act.⁵⁸

It should be noted that the general accounting office estimates the cost of the Act to employers at \$674 million. The figure could rise to between \$1.2 billion and \$7.9 billion if it develops that all 12 weeks are customarily taken.⁵⁹

The Equal Remedies Act of 1993 Will Have Little Effect Upon Black Employment.

The Equal Remedies Act of 1993⁶⁰ lifts the caps on punitive and compensatory damages under, *inter alia*, the Civil Rights Act of 1991. The cap is currently \$300,000 for companies with more than 500 employees.

Although an argument could be made that the specter of unlimited damages may influence employer hiring and relocation decisions, the Act should have minimal effect upon black employment and earnings. There is little evidence that black employment has been appreciably affected by "civil rights" legislation enacted subsequent to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.⁶¹ On the contrary, it has been argued that black employment progress has been stifled by programs designed to elevate employment and earnings.⁶² Outside of enforcing equal employment opportunity laws, government interference in the employment relationship which increases the cost of labor tends to reduce employment and earnings prospects.⁶³

Miscellaneous legislation. Congress is scheduled to consider provisions pertaining to OSHA (Occupational Safety and Health Act) reform, ERISA (Employee Retirement Income Security Act) preemption, plant closing laws, pension simplification, electronic monitoring, overtime, and employee participation programs in 1994. These items are unlikely to substantively affect black employment and earnings in a manner different than they affect white employment and earnings.

Recommendations

The following recommendations are made with the aim of encouraging federal, state and local governments to pursue a pro-growth agenda to fuel increases in employment and earnings for all Americans.

Cut marginal tax rates across all income brackets. High tax rates benefit only one sector of employment: government. The more an employer must send to

the government, the less he may pay his employees, the fewer employees he may hire.

Cut capital gains tax rates and index them to the most appropriate economic indicator. A reduction in the capital gains rate will boost economic growth. Both employees and the self-employed will benefit.

Improve primary and secondary education. As noted earlier, education is the single most important factor in elevating employment and earnings levels. It has become even more urgent during the transition to a more technology-based, global economy. (Note that an improvement in quality of education does not mean increased expenditures. Indeed, the quality of education seems to have declined in inverse proportion to the amount expended thereon.)

The Administration's health care plan must be revised. The health care plan in its present form would wreak havoc upon black employment. The plan would strangle employment opportunities for black teenagers in particular. The barriers to marketplace entry for many black entrepreneurs would become prohibitive. A rational approach to health care that does not encumber employers and employees must be developed.

No new taxes should be levied for federal jobs training or extension of unemployment benefits. The government must terminate its policy of subsidizing unemployment. Unemployment benefits must be structured as both a bridge and incentive toward new employment. A gradual reduction in benefits over the course of the eligibility period must be considered at a starting point in any new policy. It has been estimated that such gradual reduction may save nearly \$5 billion dollars.⁶⁴

The minimum wage should not be raised at this time. Employers do not set wage rates cavalierly, but with intelligence and deliberation. Government, on the other hand, sets the minimum recklessly and without regard to the infinite factors influencing compensation.

For the reasons noted earlier, the minimum wage proposals now pending in

Congress must be defeated. Government's officious attempt to set an arbitrary wage standard oblivious to the marketplace will ravage black teenage employment.

The Davis-Bacon Act should be repealed in its entirety. The Davis-Bacon Act artificially inflates the cost of government contracts by up to 30% while discriminating against minorities.⁶⁵ Repealing the act could save as much as \$2 billion dollars a year⁶⁶ and expand employment opportunities for all employees.

Freeze new regulations, rescind those that are obsolete, reduce paperwork and simplify compliance with end remaining government mandates. The cost of complying with government mandates is disgraceful. Paperwork costs alone can take a measurable chunk out of an employer's margin.⁶⁷ Voluminous anecdotal evidence suggests that the smothering paperwork needed to simply employ someone inhibits hiring. Employers should be allowed to serve their customers, not bureaucrats.

Meaningful welfare reform needs to be enacted. This topic is beyond the scope of this article. However, welfare must be made less attractive than an entry-level job.

Conclusion

Recent lackluster black employment conditions should register some meager improvement in 1994. Regrettably, the potential for greater improvement will be blunted by the proposed government initiatives discussed herein.

In this regard, the Administration's alarming enthusiasm for paternalistic, heavy-handed employment policies ruinous to employment remains, at times, bewildering. After all, there is considerable evidence that such regressive approaches fail (note: see Eastern Europe, circa. 1989).

On the other hand, history is replete with evidence of the dynamism of black American businessmen and workers, even absent a level playing field. Government must ensure a level playing field but liberate the workforce from creeping corporatism and regulatory straightjackets.

GOVERNMENT BUREAUCRACY VERSUS ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT

Horace Cooper and Ronald Nebring

PART ONE: FROM SHOE SHINERS TO TAXICAB DRIVERS: HOW LOCAL GOVERNMENTS ALLOW JIM CROW TO LIVE ON

Despite the culture of dependency that plagues much of the African-American community, some brave entrepreneurs are taking matters into their own hands, trying to break free of dependence on others by going into business for themselves.

Many of these new entrepreneurs, however, are encountering an ominous opponent: onerous and arbitrary government regulations. Indeed, many of the same politicians who complain about ballooning welfare budgets defend the myriad of ordinances, laws, and bureaucracies that deny many their chance at living the American dream.

It is an economic reality that tomorrow's African-American business leaders often must start at the beginning, building small companies that will eventually become large companies, providing the African-American community with a steadily growing level of economic self-sufficiency. Building these small companies, however, requires fresh opportunities for work in occupations that do not require large amounts of investment capital. The taxicab industry is one example.

Consider the case of Leroy Jones, Ani Abong, Rowland Nwankwo and Girma Molalegna. As experienced taxicab drivers

in Denver, Colorado, these four men, all African-Americans formed their own company, Quick Cab Inc., with the intention of providing taxicab service for the people of Denver. Distressingly, Quick Cab suffered the same fate as every other new cab company in Denver since 1947: it was denied an operating license. Denver, along with dozens of other cities nationwide, virtually bars entry of new companies into its taxicab market through an insurmountable array of regulatory barriers designed not to protect the public, but rather to protect a small group of companies (in Denver's case, three) from healthy competition.

To operate a taxicab company in Denver, a company must prove both that adequate service is not being provided *and* that the existing companies cannot provide such service. Of course, there is no objective set of criteria that an applicant for a "certificate of public convenience and necessity" can review to see just what constitutes "inadequate service," hence the same three companies have dominated the taxicab industry in Denver for over forty years. Meanwhile, many qualified would-be entrepreneurs are denied the opportunity to earn a living.

Ego Brown, a Washington D.C. shoeshiner, faced similar obstacles when the District of Columbia government insisted

he close down his sidewalk shoe-shining business.

For several years Mr. Brown had operated an outdoor shoe-shining business at various locations in Washington, D.C., serving the general public, and employing a number of homeless men whom he provided with showers, shoeshine kits, and training. In 1985, Mr. Brown's general operating permit was revoked on the basis that it violated an obscure regulation that barred anyone from operating a "boot-black" stand on public space. Similar businesses, like hot dog vendors, were perfectly legal.

Indeed, more than twenty years after the civil rights movement had produced a plethora of civil rights legislation, Mr. Brown was facing one of the last vestiges of the Jim Crow era, when laws were enacted to hinder, if not prevent, black self-sufficiency. At the time the District of Columbia ban on bootblack stands was adopted, virtually all such stands were operated by blacks. Yet, more than eighty years later, the law lived on.

Mr. Brown challenged the law as racist and unconstitutional under the equal

protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. In a major legal victory for what the Institute for Justice's Clint Bolick calls "economic liberty," US District Court Judge John Pratt ruled the ban on boot-black stands to be unconstitutional.

While Judge Pratt's ruling in *Brown v. Barry* establishes an important legal precedent, the impact of the legal victory is diminished by the fact that government has nearly unlimited resources to adopt, enforce and defend its often burdensome regulations. Large corporations can defend themselves against the regulatory onslaught through their influence of the political and regulatory processes. By contrast, the citizens and entrepreneurs who hold the greatest promise of empowering the African-American community are least capable of defending themselves against crushing regulations.

All of this ultimately puts government in the awkward position of trying to get people off public assistance programs, while simultaneously constricting economic activity that would allow them to do so.

Jim Crow Turns Green

While most environmental regulations are intended to improve the environment, some African-Americans have begun to ask whether people of color are among those who will see the benefits. To these critics, many environmental initiatives effectively restore the institutionalized racism of Jim Crow laws. For example:

Environmental regulations drive African-American entrepreneurs out of business. Large, predominantly white-owned corporations can afford the additional costs of complying with government regulations. Their small-business competitors, including most minority-owned businesses, often cannot. The result is bankrupt enterprises and lost jobs in minority communities.

Population control, a favorite issue of many environmental groups, is a code word for genocide to many African-Americans. Entrepreneur Edmund Peterson sums up their fears; "Who do you suppose will be getting the permits [to have children]? Not the inner-city poor, I'll bet."

"Environmental colonialism" has slowed development in many African nations. Environmentalists, by pressuring the United Nations, forced Zimbabwe to abandon its environmentally responsible elephant-ranching program. This program had brought in much-needed foreign capital, leaving Zimbabwe's Wildlife Director to complain about western environmentalists "from urban environments who don't know a thing about Africa."

PART TWO: A RACIST LEGACY CONTINUES TO HAUNT BLACK WORKERS: THE DAVIS-BACON ACT

That contractor has cheap colored labor...and it is labor of that sort that is in competition with white labor...This bill has merit...it is very important that we enact this measure.

Alabama Rep. Miles Algood
February 28, 1931

The law in its current form is poison to minority contractors and to minority employment in general...The law stifles the minority contractors' efforts to not only hire as many minority workers as possible, but it also hinders minority contractor efforts to introduce new workers to the construction field.

Ralph C. Thomas III
National Association of Minority Contractors

On November 9, 1993, five small minority-owned contracting firms and three tenant management groups, with the help of the Washington-based Institute for Justice, filed a lawsuit in the US District Court for the District of Columbia with the goal of eliminating one of the last remnants of institutionalized racism: the Davis-Bacon Act.

The Act, passed in 1931 with the support of the American Federation of Labor, was designed to prevent migrant black workers from competing with white laborers for scarce jobs during the Depression. By requiring that "prevailing" (usually union) wages be paid on all federal construction projects exceeding \$5,000, the Act shut most black tradesmen out of many federal construction projects, with jobs going instead to skilled white union workers. The Act was amended in 1935, lowering the minimum contract cost to \$2,000.

Uncovering Davis-Bacon's legislative history clearly reveals its racist intent. The Act was originally drafted by Representative Robert Bacon of New York in 1927, whose racist views were well known. In that same year Bacon introduced into the Congressional Record a statement opposing uncontrolled immigration of non-whites that read "We urge the extension of the

[immigration] quota system to all countries of North and South America from which we have substantial immigration and in which the population is not predominantly of the white race...Only by this method can the large proportion of our population which is descended from the colonists...have their proper racial representation...Congress wisely concluded that only by such a system of proportional representation...could the racial status quo be maintained."

Bacon first drafted the Act after an Alabama contractor who employed only black laborers won a contract for a federal building in Bacon's Long Island district. The Act was one of many political measures supported by white union workers whose jobs were threatened by skilled, non-union black workers.

Today, Davis-Bacon continues to stifle black economic upward mobility. With roughly a fifth of all construction projects in America funded at least in part by the federal government, the building trades represent excellent opportunities for minority-owned contractors and their workers. Yet, Davis-Bacon puts minority-owned firms, which are usually small and non-union, at a severe competitive disadvantage.

By imposing a super-minimum wage, and requiring the use of rigid, union-

Some people say there is only one way to reach our goal of economic equality. They're wrong. There is more than one way to climb the mountain.

Ron Blackstone
Chicago entrepreneur

dictated job classifications, small, minority-owned firms are forced to deal with artificially inflated labor costs. The Institute for Justice cites a contractor in Seattle forced to pay ditch diggers \$40,000 a year in salary and benefits while a worker in Boston who hammers a nail must be classified as a "carpenter" and paid \$60,000 in salary and benefits.

Who are the victims of this legislation? Consider Tyrone Dash, a plaintiff in the case challenging Davis-Bacon and entrepreneur who owned and operated T & S Construction in Seattle from 1984 to 1990. Mr. Dash, an African-American, hired as many as 25 employees to work on highway jobs installing guardrails and other safety items. Because the projects on which his company worked were financed by the federal government, Mr. Dash was compelled to pay his workers \$19 an hour regardless of experience, and fill out

countless forms to comply with the reporting requirements of the Act. The combined burden of higher labor and administrative costs forced T & S Construction into bankruptcy in 1990.

Other casualties of Davis-Bacon include residents of public-housing projects. The Kenilworth-Parkside public housing community in Washington, D.C. was once a haven for drug dealers, criminals and other undesirables who found sanctuary in its deteriorating buildings and grounds. Kenilworth-Parkside began to look much brighter after the residents gained management power of the development and started improving the physical condition of the development as well as the atmosphere.

For Kenilworth-Parkside residents the awarding of an \$18 million renovation grant in the late 1980s was a mixed blessing: while the grant provided the capital to modernize the development, because of Davis-Bacon, not a single construction job was filled by Kenilworth-Parkside residents, many of whom were unskilled and thus could not earn the inflated, union-scale wage. The Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corporation, which represents the development's tenants, has joined in the lawsuit challenging Davis-Bacon.

Conclusion

Government is a double edged sword for the African-American community. The success of the civil rights movement made government a powerful ally in guaranteeing political enfranchisement and equal opportunity to participate in the political process. Yet, intrusive government regulations, many of which are remnants of the Jim Crow era, continue to constrict the economic development of the African-American community.

The American public is committed to

ensuring economic opportunities for members of every race, yet despite more than \$3.5 trillion in spending on social welfare programs since the onset of President Johnson's "Great Society," Ego Brown could not shine shoes on the sidewalk in Washington. When our government would rather have a man on public assistance than making an honest living in a respectable trade, it is time to re-examine the relationship between the government and the governed.

INSURANCE REDLINING: WRITING OFF OPPORTUNITIES

Bill Calboun

The unavailability of insurance coverage for some members of the African-American community has arisen as a major public policy issue in many state legislatures, and in the Congress. Robert Hunter, former head of the National Insurance Consumer Organization, defines insurance "redlining" as the unavailability of insurance coverage on a territorial basis through either excessive pricing or outright denial of coverage.

Mr. Hunter, who was recently named insurance commissioner for Texas, recently kicked off a campaign in Houston to help consumers shop for auto insurance. Said Mr. Hunter in the Houston Chronicle, "we feel a very significant correlation between being minority and having difficulty getting insurance."

As usual, the insurance industry went into denial, citing the right of the industry to make a profit based on its underwriting selection process.

The problem for the insurance industry is that although consumer groups have been largely unsuccessful in proving that redlining exists, the groups blame their failure on the unwillingness of the carriers to accumulate and report customer information, in spite of the fact that the results of the industry's aggregate underwriting programs clearly show wide rate discrepancies based on location and ethnicity.

While the Clinton Administration has made its pro-regulation tendencies clear, the insurance industry has failed to take the initiative in finding market-based

solutions to the redlining issue. Rather, it has decided to instead to assume a defensive posture of denial.

Predictably, several congressmen are now pushing for government intervention to further identify, and hopefully solve, the redlining problem. The various proposals being circulated on Capitol Hill all involve imposing strict statistical gathering and reporting requirements on the insurance industry.

Rep. Joseph Kennedy (D-MA), who introduced a bill to address redlining this year, argues that the insurance industry's failure to maintain proper records that would allow regulators to accurately assess the degree to which redlining occurs, any legislative remedy should mandate the compiling of an extensive array of statistics. His bill, H.R. 1257, would require insurance companies to keep data on the 150 largest metropolitan areas, and that the data be kept by census tracts. A compromise bill was agreed upon that reduced the number of metropolitan areas to 25 and allows the data to be collected and reported by zip code.

The Congress is not alone in looking at legislative remedies. As Mr. Hunter, a Texas official has said, "if we don't see improvement, we go for legislative solutions."

Because the public outcry over redlining is not nearly as loud as it could be, insurance carriers should accept new,

relatively mild reporting requirements, and move to increase and improve its distribution and marketing system. By moving to fully serve minority communities, the insurance industry would eliminate the need for bureaucratic, government-dictated solutions while at the same time improve the bottom line.

While this market-based solution would provide relief to the public, getting it done would require bold, courageous

businesses will be created by these agents, who in turn will employ several hundred thousand people, who will pay millions of dollars in new taxes. These new agents will bring more competition to the insurance market, thereby reducing insurance rates. Lower rates will increase disposable income, enabling residents to buy new properties and vehicles or improve existing ones.

A system-wide effort to increase the number of minority agents to reflect our population mix would not be prohibitively expensive. Industry could use this new network of minority agents to educate minority communities on loss-control techniques and distribute loss-control information, something the industry is not doing very much of in minority communities now because many of those companies that can provide a high volume of loss control services are no longer writing coverage in these areas. Remember: pride of ownership, safe driving habits, abstinence from alcohol and drugs, and home maintenance are all learned behavior.

While we need to have improved reporting by the insurance companies, insurance commissioners in the various states should move cautiously on legislative solutions which do little to solve the problem, while adding more costly regulation.

The solution to the problem must be market-based if it is going to be replicated across the country. Insurance is still regulated at the state level, notwithstanding recent Congressional action. Ongoing involvement by Congress may create the need for states to weigh the importance of an insurance company to the entire state versus fixing specific problem areas.

Finally, the country is currently revisiting the problems created by urban sprawl. Environmentalists are concerned about the continued destruction of vital natural resources. Farmers worry about continued encroachment by developers. It would seem to logical that a market based solution to redlining will be of great importance as discussions about urban redevelopment continue.

The opportunity that God sends doesn't wake up the sleeping.

Senegal

action by the insurance companies. To be successful, it would need an industry sponsor, someone with the vision to see the opportunities for profit that exist in minority communities across the nation. It would further require an expanded commitment to the training and development of new personnel, a task many companies have already undertaken. Finally, it would require that insurance companies look at their sales force as their "customers." In this way, they will be better able to embrace market-based solutions.

With the insurance industry's exodus from minority communities came the dismantling of the minority insurance agency network. As a result, insurance companies have no "eyes or ears" in the minority communities around the country. This, coupled with the absence of any significant number of minority policy-makers at the underwriting level breeds a formula for indifference toward minority communities.

Though the broadening of the distribution system really represents a market solution to a social problem and it makes good business sense. By appointing more minority agents to write policies in these communities, insurance companies will see improvements in their bottom line. In addition, several thousand new small

NAFTA: NEW OPPORTUNITIES FOR BLACK AMERICA

Raynard Jackson

The North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA), ratified this year by the Congress, is an international treaty which eliminates most tariffs, import restrictions and quotas on goods traded among Mexico, Canada and the U.S. The agreement seeks to create a giant free trade area with 360 million consumers and an annual output of \$6.5 trillion to compete with the likes of East Asia and the European Community, and ultimately, to unleash the natural and man-made resources of the entire continent of North America.

The reduction of trade barriers around the world since the end of World War II has brought about enormous increases in trade and economic activity among the participating countries. In constructing this international trading system at the 1948 Bretton Woods Conference, Democrats and Republicans understood that free trade would benefit most working Americans.

Despite the clear connection between free trade and general economic prosperity, there will always be groups who believe their individual interests tend to be threatened by competition from abroad. In the past, the traditional free trade opponents were those industries such as shipping and textiles that profited from government subsidies and tariffs that protected them against foreign competition. The opponents of free trade, whose message that free trade would lead to a reduction in living standards, have been

proven wrong throughout history.

NAFTA will expand U.S. exports to Mexico, which will greatly benefit the American economy. Mexico already is America's third largest trading partner, after Japan and Canada and is growing rapidly. U.S. exports to Mexico are heavily weighted toward the high-value, high-technology products that are the foundation of future U.S. growth. Growth in exports has been one of the major factors in U.S. economic growth over the past decade and a source of much of the past and future job creation. The U.S. Department of Commerce estimates 19,100 U.S. jobs are created for every \$ 1.0 billion increase in U.S. merchandise exports. NAFTA will lower Mexico's trade barriers even further, ensuring that U.S. exports to that country will continue to increase.

NAFTA will benefit the whole U.S. economy; it will lower costs for consumers on such basic products as food, clothing, electronics, appliances and automobiles. Since these products require a high labor content in their production, lowering labor costs will lower the retail price of these goods. Reducing the costs of consumer goods not only dampens inflation, but also improves the standard of living of all Americans and makes businesses more competitive.

Curiously, throughout the entire NAFTA debate that transpired this year, remarkably little attention was given to the doors NAFTA will open for the black community.

Blacks have never had it easy in this country and it seems that we are constantly faced with problems of equality, justice and opportunity. America is the country of dreams that can be made into reality; a country where you are given the freedom to fail; a country where ideas can take you as far as you are willing to go. This does not mean there will not be obstacles along the way, but with perseverance and faith, the prize can be obtained.

For years, blacks have suffered high unemployment, a breakdown of the family structure, and a future that is cloudy at best. The tragedy will be if we continue to be unprepared for the work which could be black America's finest hour.

Despite all we have endured, we are

I rarely hear Black preachers and politicians talk about business. Economics. We talk about politics. Politics without economics is lunatics.

Joshua Smith
1988

still standing. Tragically, many blacks have been waiting for someone to solve our problems for us, rather than creating our own solutions. We must see opportunity at every turn, not racism or discrimination on every corner. We must not be afraid of change, but we must embrace the opportunities change always brings. Those of us who may be hurt by this change must be received by the beneficiaries of change, black and white. Change is always painful, but it is also necessary and very much inevitable.

NAFTA marks a major change in our economic policy with our neighbors to the north and to the south. Interestingly, the traditional black leadership has argued that NAFTA will be harmful to blacks while ignoring the positive impact of NAFTA. They seem only to be concerned about blacks who are going to lose low paying jobs that many economists argue would be lost with or without NAFTA.

NAFTA's opponents continue to ignore the export opportunities that NAFTA will provide black-owned businesses and their employees. We need to be dreamers, creators; we need to own businesses, not

just work in them. NAFTA provides these types of opportunities.

Growth of Black-owned Businesses

Between 1982 and 1987, the number of black-owned firms in America increased 37.6% from 308,260 to 424,165. Receipts increased 105% from \$9.6 billion to \$19.8 billion over the same period. In 1987, the majority of black-owned firms were concentrated in service industries. These industries accounted for 49% of all black-owned firms and 31% of gross receipts. The next largest concentration of Black-owned firms was retail trade with 15% of the firms and 29.8% of the receipts.

California had the largest number of black-owned firms in 1987, with 47,728 firms and gross receipts of \$2.4 billion. New York was second with 36,289 firms and \$1.9 billion in gross receipts. Slightly less than 44% of gross receipts (185,563 firms and \$8.8 billion in gross receipts) were concentrated in California, New York, Texas, Florida, Georgia and Illinois.

Black-owned firms accounted for 3.1% of all firms in the United States and 1% of gross receipts. The largest portion of firms owned by blacks is transportation and public utilities, with 6.2% of all firms and 2.1% of gross receipts. Blacks are particularly concentrated in local and interurban passenger transit, where they own 17.1% of all firms and account for 6.5% of gross receipts.

The District of Columbia had the largest percentage of black-owned firms with 28.3% of the firms and 6.3% of gross receipts. Blacks owned the smallest share of business in Montana with 0.1% of the firms and gross receipts.

To take advantage of Mexico's rapidly growing environmental products sector, the Small and Minority Environmental Enterprise Program (SMEEP) was developed by the Department of Commerce. This unique program provides technical assistance programs through the U.S.-Mexico Environmental Business Committee and through specialists in environmental equipment in the Office of Mexico and the Commerce Department. As part of this program, minority firms are specifically recruited to take part in the many trade

shows in the U.S. and Mexico that focus on environmental protection and pollution control products. Over one hundred minority firms are now part of the growing SMEEP outreach network. Participants receive regular updates on environmental trade events, conferences, regulations and commercial opportunities in Mexico.

In 1987, blacks owned approximately 17% of all small U.S. passenger transit businesses (including taxicabs and buses), and 5% of trucking and warehousing firms. According to Secretary of Transportation, Federico Pena, "The case for NAFTA is clear and compelling. No other single initiative holds the potential for economic growth, jobs and renewal that NAFTA does. Our transportation industries—ranging from truckers, to railroads, airlines and tourism will be among the beneficiaries...The truth is, NAFTA offers us an historic opportunity. It's up to us to seize it."

The fourth largest industry of all black-owned businesses is in the area of technology (7.4% and total revenue of \$668 million). The adoption of NAFTA gives U.S. suppliers immediate access to the Mexican government procurement market. This will mean an increased opportunity for U.S. firms to bid on government contracts for construction, environmental, computer hardware & software services. NAFTA also provides for the continuation of U.S. small business and minority set-aside programs.

NAFTA Breaks Down Barriers

Enhanced or value-added service providers will benefit from the curtailment of regulations that impede trade. Under NAFTA, required licensing, registration, or notification procedures must be transparent and applied expeditiously and equally

to all NAFTA parties. Information collected to fulfill a licensing requirement must be limited to documentation of the provider's financial solvency and the conformity of equipment with applicable standards. This provision will directly benefit several Black Enterprise top 100 businesses, including, the Maxima Corporation, Stephens Engineering, and Dual Inc.

The black community should see NAFTA not as a threat, but as an opportunity. While it is true that some unskilled workers will be hurt by NAFTA these losses can be offset if more black-owned businesses see the opportunities that exporting can provide. The proper role of government is not to provide jobs, but to create an environment that does not restrict the private sector from being creative and profitable.

With the passage of NAFTA, blacks must begin to think in terms of ownership, international trade and manufacturing. Resisting an agreement because one may lose their job is no way to live—we are exposed to that possibility with or without the agreement. We must think in terms of opportunity, not in terms of victimization. "How can blacks benefit from NAFTA?" is the question the Congressional Black Caucus, the National Rainbow Coalition, and the NAACP should be asking.

Do we want to continue to aspire to the American dream? Do we want to be the dreamer? We should be the dreamers for we cannot continue to only live the dreams of Dr. Martin Luther King and others — we must dream our own dreams and make them a reality. In the immortal words of Billie Holiday, "Mama may have and Papa may have, but God bless the child that's got his own." NAFTA gives black America a better opportunity to have it's own.

Health

HEALTH CARE APARTHEID?

Bob Bradshaw

In 1993, President Clinton fulfilled his promise of making health care reform a national priority. As has been the case with many other major reforms, however, its likely impact on the African-American community has been largely ignored.

Under the Clinton plan, the federal government will determine how much money can be spent nationally on health care by setting "global budgets", ceilings on total health care spending. Insurers will be required to accept all applicants regardless of preexisting conditions. The plan will be administered through regional health care "alliances". Every American will be eligible for a standard package of benefits, as determined by a new National Health Board.

What will this standard, "one size fits all" package mean for African-Americans? Unfortunately, it is likely to mean second-class status in the new health care system, and put African-Americans at odds with the government's new health care bureaucracy. The Clinton plan will hurt most Americans, but it will hurt black Americans first, and it will hurt them the most.

Racial differences in health care needs have existed for decades, such as a higher infant mortality rate and shorter life expectancies among blacks than among whites. Other examples:

* The ten leading causes of death among black females age 5-14 differ from those of their white counterparts.

* The death rate for black females age

1-4 due to AIDS is more than eight times higher than for the same category among whites (4.1 per 100,000 population among blacks; 0.5 among whites)

* Gunshot wounds are the fifth leading cause of accidental death for black children under the age of 14, and the leading cause of death among black teenage males.

According to the National Association of Children's Hospitals and Related Institutions, the average cost of treating a child struck by gunfire is more than \$14,000, not including rehabilitation and long-term care for those left disabled.

* Chronic obstructive pulmonary diseases affect blacks four and a half times more than whites (0.9 per 100,000 population for blacks, versus 0.2 for whites).

Many of these differences are the result of economic and social factors (crime, poverty, drugs, etc.) and not race per se. But that is a distinction without a difference; the fact remains that demographically, the health care needs of African-American communities are different, and in most cases greater, from those of the population as a whole.

Yet under the Clinton plan, all Americans will have to accept a standard benefits package. This package - and the global budget that finances it - will be based on the medical needs of the population as a whole. Since African-Americans are a minority, these estimates will short-change African-American health care needs.

These differences in health care needs will ultimately translate into tremendous

political pressure on state officials responsible for drawing the boundaries of the health care alliances. Robert Moffit, Deputy Director for Domestic and Economic Policy Studies at the Heritage Foundation, notes that "Voters will want areas with a higher-than-average incidence of older citizens or retirees, teen pregnancy, violent crime, or HIV infection excluded from their alliance, and areas with low potential health costs included."

Elizabeth McCaughey, a fellow at the Manhattan Institute, puts it more succinctly; "The system promises to pit black against white, poor against rich, city against suburb... Everyone will figure out that you get more health care for your dollar or pay lower premiums in an alliance without inner city problems."

In theory, the plan prohibits drawing boundaries that would discriminate on the basis of race, gender, income or even insurance risk. Realistically, the plan is vague enough to invite political gerrymandering. Moffit argues that "Because state boundary-setting decisions will mean huge costs or savings for families and businesses, there is likely to be intense political infighting and an avalanche of lawsuits."

McCaughey also argues that the Clinton health care plan will exacerbate the problems of our inner cities. Expensive premiums in urban alliances will give businesses yet another incentive to leave the cities. Health care mandates on employers will drive up the cost of labor, forcing businesses to cut wages and/or eliminate jobs. The resulting loss of jobs, 600,000 according to the administration, as many as 3.1 million according to the Employment Policies Institute, will hurt low-wage earners first, a disproportionate number of whom are African-American. They may gain health care coverage, but in the process they will lose disposable income for other necessities such as food, housing and clothing.

Urban alliances will, as a result, have tremendous costs and little or no revenue base to cover them. The Clinton plan provides for "guaranty funds" to bail out insolvent health care plans, just as FDIC insurance bailed out failed Savings-and-Loans. These will be paid for by a surcharge on other plans in the same alliance.

Should an entire alliance go belly-up, however, federal and state governments

will have to step in. The potential exists for an S&L-style crisis and, most likely, an outright government take-over of insolvent systems. The Clinton plan is structured to collapse, and when it does, there is only one system it can collapse into; a government-run, single-payer, "Canadian-style" health care system. And the inner city alliances will be the first to go.

The result would be two health care systems, separate and unequal. Middle-class Americans will have (at least for a time) one system, solvent and minimally adequate, albeit less than they enjoy today. Disadvantaged citizens will have the other system; a national health bureaucracy, with rationing and a lack of access to quality care. Health care will likely become another entitlement trap, keeping African-Americans from taking control of our own lives and locking us onto the welfare plantation.

The problem with depending on the government is that you can't depend on it.

Tony Brown
August 19, 1991

Americans are concerned about health care. They want something done. Unfortunately, too many politicians are eager to do something for the sake of doing something, without carefully considering the potential consequences. When debating health care reform, it is easy to forget that the United States has the finest health care system in the world, and that most Americans are satisfied with the coverage they already have. What we face is not a health care crisis, but a health care insurance crisis. The challenge is to control skyrocketing costs, without price controls that would compromise quality and compel rationing.

Fortunately, there are constructive options for policymakers who want to take action on health care. By lifting mandates and regulations which artificially drive up the costs, the government can put health insurance in reach of millions of Americans who otherwise could afford it.

Deregulate the Insurance Industry. Mandated Health Insurance Benefits (MHIBs) drive up insurance costs by requiring insurance companies to provide

unnecessary coverage. For instance, in certain states couples who cannot have children are nonetheless required to purchase infant coverage due to MHIB requirements. Reducing or eliminating MHIBs could put health insurance in reach of 8.4 million currently uninsured Americans.

Limit Malpractice Liability. The average malpractice award is over \$1.8 million dollars. These awards drive up the cost of malpractice insurance, which is passed on to the consumer. Furthermore, many physicians practice “defensive medicine” — conducting expensive tests and surgical procedures which may be unnecessary — simply to protect themselves from later allegations of malpractice. The cost of these procedures drives up insurance premiums. Capping malpractice awards will reduce premiums, making them more accessible to disadvantaged citizens.

Reduce Restrictions on Care by Non-Physicians. Many routine medical services could be provided by Physician’s Assistants (PAs) or Nurse Practitioners (NPs), if they weren’t prohibited from doing so by government regulations. It doesn’t take a med-school degree to take a patient’s medical history, order lab tests, or perform a routine physical examination. Lifting these restrictions could save 12-45% off the cost of routine procedures, many of which (such as routine physicals) can save money in the long run through early detection of illness.

Change the Tax Code’s Treatment of Health Care Benefits. Because most Americans are insured through their employers, they view insurance as somebody else’s expense. As a result, there is no incentive to economize or to seek the best value for their money. By giving the

preferential treatment for health care purchases, consumers will have an incentive to shop around for the best value in medical insurance plans. Increased competition would drive down premium costs.

Reduce Government Regulation of Hospitals. In 1946, administrative overhead consumed 24% of hospital expenses. In 1991 this figure was 39%, with much of the increase due to increased government regulations. Reducing excessive regulation of hospitals will free resources from administration to medical services, and reduce overall costs.

Streamline FDA regulations. It costs pharmaceutical companies millions of dollars, and takes an average of eight years to gain approval for a new drug from the Food and Drug Administration. These costs are passed on to consumers as higher prices for prescription drugs. Speeding up this process will cut the cost of prescription drugs, and will make it easier to get new, potentially life-saving treatments to patients.

The health care reform debate brings America to a crossroads. The entitlement path, which the President’s proposal takes, promises less freedom and more government control, the same trap that already denies opportunity to too many economically and socially disadvantaged African-Americans. But there is an alternative; an empowerment approach, which gives people the ability to provide for themselves rather than trying to provide for them. Freeing the health care industry from the straightjacket of government regulations is the only approach that can make health care affordable for all Americans — without costing jobs, busting the budget, or reducing the quality and availability of care.

Welfare

THE NAKED CAUSALITY OF WELFARE DEPENDENCY

Diann Cameron

"Going on welfare closed a door between my parents that never reopened. She joined the ranks of unskilled women who were forced to turn to the state for the security their men could not provide....AFDC relegated marginally productive men like my father to the ranks of failed patriarchs who no longer controlled the destiny of their families.... Daddy became one of the shadow men who walked out back doors as caseworkers came in through the front. Why did he acquiesce?...[H]e loved us, so much that he swallowed his pride and periodically ceased to exist so that we might survive."

Rosemary L. Bray
1992

Without viewing the history of welfare in its totality, and its influence on recipients' psychosocial, socioeconomic and ecostructural dynamics, one could opine that a cultural pathology exists that perpetuates welfare dependency. The theory of cultural pathology asserts the notion that the able-bodied poor remain poor by choice, have additional children to increase cash payments, and exhibit behaviors that are destructive to the greater community from lack of values, goals and purpose. However, when exposed, the welfare system demonstrates its inability to see the family in its entirety, and direct its programs to strengthen the family system.

The welfare program's omission of family interrelatedness has had an incredible influence on the fortitude of impoverished black families. For over four decades, black families on public assistance often tolerated the "midnight raids" monitoring sexual conducts between spouses and case termination without due process, while attempting to prove the

family's worthiness. Even with U.S. Supreme Court interventions in the welfare cases of *King v. Smith*, 392 U.S. 309 (1968) and *Goldberg v. Kelly*, 397 U.S. 254 (1970), the continued devaluing of the father's role to provide for his family and the mother's limited control over her children's future results in a weakened family system unable to provide for, nurture or strengthen its members. Hence, the components of the welfare system foster significant dependency on public assistance by negating the needs of the black family system, its inherent strengths and existing capabilities.

The explicit goal of the present welfare system program, Aid to Families with Dependent Children, is designed to provide support to indigent families while serving the needs of children. However, the operational process of the program influences and determines psychosocial pathologies, which contribute to the deterioration of an over-burdened emotional system often requiring the expensive public services of foster care, residential treatment centers or juvenile correctional facilities to ensure the child's protection.

Although researchers assert through empirical data that no causality exists between AFDC and welfare dependency, the following contends both elements are inextricably linked to the dynamics of poverty, welfare status and familial instability.

The Dynamics of Poverty on the Family System

Opportunity, education, achievement, employment and attainment of skills are essential environmental elements to secure the parents' ability to foster a family environment that guards the health and well-being of children. The environment, Pinderhughes (1982) asserts, provides the family system with adequate resources to reinforce healthy family functioning. However, when resources, opportunity, employment and education are lacking, the results are stress and conflict within the family system that can lead to poverty and familial disruption.¹

Poverty and its components of immobilization and deprivation predispose a family to exhaust its foundation of existing strengths, resources, capabilities and capacity to stabilize and maintain the family system. As the foundation is systematically thwarted by poverty's components, the family's self-esteem, purpose, and ability to cope decrease along with the parents' leadership and autonomy. Thus, chronic frustration and the inability to actualize familial goals cause the family to manifest an immobile, helpless, chaotic social system on the verge of social collapse.

Indigence and impoverished living conditions consign the family to an existence of deprivation, impotence, internalized rage, hopelessness, immobilization and fear.² With AFDC grants and food stamp allotments often "running out" before the end of the month, some parents turn to selling blood, or to illegal means of shoplifting diapers, clothing and canned goods, and in extreme cases, prostitution and peddling narcotics to help the family system survive.³

This behavior, though desperate, influences and eventually decreases the quality of life for the child, while increasing his or her potential for development delays—physical, cognitive and psychosocial—due to abuse, neglect or abandonment.⁴ The children maturing in these environments, where violence and adult discord are common, remain at

greater risk of a violent death, prison or life-long dependency on public assistance due to educational and vocational deficits.⁵ Finally, community environments developed to contain and isolate the poor are further marred by deplorable living conditions, and few opportunities for families to excel.⁶

"Communities limited in resources (jobs, education, housing, etc.) are unable to support families properly, and the community all too often becomes itself an active disorganizing influence, a breeder of crime and other pathology, and a cause of even more powerless."⁷

Clearly, society-at-large risks losing a great number of citizens who have the potential to provide a significant contribution to society if the opportunity existed. Since the present system is not geared to enhance family strengths, structure, or relationships, the family's quality of life—even on welfare—suffers immensely.⁸ With such psychosocial, socioeconomic, and ecostructural dynamics pervading the impoverished family, a welfare status further depletes the family of its ability to affect self-sufficiency and cohesiveness in its environment.

The Welfare Status

In their discussion on the black family, June, et al. espoused the general idea of the urban black family in a pathological crisis. Not because of a deviant cultural tendency, however, but the forced immobilization and social isolation separating families and cultural ties that would otherwise strengthen their status in society.⁹

As employment status enable family stability and lessens the likelihood of being on welfare, a welfare status is significantly associated with employment potential.¹⁰ Currently, the components of welfare do not help reestablish socioeconomic equilibrium among AFDC families. Rather the system perpetuates the breakdown of the family by 1) ignoring and devaluing the father; 2) diminishing the mother's control and subjecting her to a pseudo-caretaker role; and, 3) maintaining a service delivery that is heavily departmentalized and fragmented. The consequences of a welfare status on the family, especially the black family, is a choice between survival or loss of benefits.

In addition to the dynamics poverty imposes on the family environment, the family is further battered as evidenced in

the manner fathers are perceived and treated by welfare agencies. Often they are ignored, vilified or rarely attended to by welfare programs and staff.¹¹ The omission of the black father in the lives of his children is influenced by his economic viability.

Darity and Myers proposed that while the number of welfare recipients increased between 1955-1980, states allowed AFDC benefits to "lag behind" male earnings. "It is entirely plausible that welfare system changes in the 1960s failed to evoke changes in observable patterns of family formation until the 1970s."¹² Darity and Myers' assert that the destructive impact of the programmatic omission may have taken aware the "conventional family forms [that have] appeared to take root among members of the lower strata of the black population."¹³

The welfare program often penalizes black families who desire to keep the father in the household and maintain family cohesion. If the father takes a "provider role" while the family is receiving AFDC, the welfare program cuts benefits to the household depending on the father's income. Often, the cut in benefits can be almost 50%.¹⁴ Subsequently, the father no longer has an input in the development of his children, choice of schools, health care, or their future. For the family to survive, the father must relinquish his paternal role... to the welfare system.

In his study on "Racial Difference in Length of Welfare Use," Mark Rank contended that "black and white women with similar characteristics behave identically in their use of welfare.... [thus] the length of welfare use ultimately reflects the role of opportunity rather than race."¹⁵ Using a 2% random sample of 2,796 female-headed households, Rank found that white recipients were more likely to exit welfare than their black counterparts. The median length of time on welfare for white female-headed households was 21.6 months, whereas for black households, it was 45.2 months.¹⁶ Rank asserts that black women remained on welfare longer than white women because of socioeconomic/demographic characteristics (i.e. unemployment, high school dropout, two or more children) and lack of opportunity.

The economic insecurity black mothers face is due to lack of access to employment and educational opportunities that would move the family off welfare and toward self-sufficiency. Chabre determined that a link between economic dependency and family structure exists when opportunities

for employment are non-existent.¹⁸

"Although the current welfare system provides programs and social services that are designed to help women achieve economic independence by returning them to the labor force, it also provides certain incentives for low income women to become welfare clients and to remain in the client status."¹⁹

Chambre asserts that for women with children, welfare cash and non-cash benefits are competitive with salaries and wages, to take the place of the father's financial, social and parental role in the family.²⁰ Consequently, moving off welfare has a disastrous outcome for the family system if potential earnings are incomparable to the welfare benefits received.

The welfare program as it exists bears no connection to the family in its intervention strategies. Currently, family history and knowledge of the family's psychosocial/structural condition are fragmented between non-profit agencies and the welfare system sharing clients who move from program to program seeking assistance. This inconsistent service delivery has an injurious affect on the family system in need of efforts that facilitate increased cohesion to address causes rather than temporarily repair symptoms.

Recognizing the Need for Family-Focused Welfare

The problems faced by impoverished families will not change without some modification in the family's income level, the family's functioning and the welfare service delivery. A family-focused approach to income maintenance can facilitate change, with interventions made in the family structure to reduce economic deprivation and family isolation. By employing intensive case management, crisis intervention, parenting skill-building and advocacy for concrete services and resources, a family-focused service delivery is an indelible solution to improving the well-being of children, the economic status of the family, as well as familial relationships.

Family-focused welfare service delivery would promote self-sufficiency through intensive, home-based treatment. The continuum of family-focused welfare also incorporates mandates from the Family Support Act of 1988 to strengthen work incentives among AFDC recipients by providing training, education and advance-

ment opportunities that are goal-directed toward high-skill building, high-wages and a healthy family environment. Those problems related to employability, family finances, child welfare, family violence, substance abuse and other barriers are confronted, and the family has an increased potential and incentive to overcome them.

The difference between the current system and family-focused welfare is that the latter program acts on the premise that the AFDC family is a troubled system, requiring anticipatory, intensive measures to avoid social collapse of the family environment. Such a pro-active service delivery can change the manner AFDC families are serviced, strengthened and mobilized toward self-sufficiency.

Conclusion

The issue of welfare being family-focused and community specific is an essential element to any welfare reform. Not only should welfare benefits be comparable to an increased standard of living, but the programmatic components used to "lift the family out of poverty" must recognize the endogenic psychodynamics of isolation, immobilization and fear have on the impoverished family and how it significantly affects parental stability, leadership, control and relationships.

The current program fails to acknowledge the diversity of each AFDC family system, and its culture, familial history, family dynamics and access to the extended family systems. By not providing the family with the necessary material and psychological support systems to rebuild its socioeconomic status, the black family is left to its own devices to reestablish stability and cohesion among its members.

Job training, educational programs and child support enforcement are helpful ways to diminish poverty. However, allowing the welfare system to maintain its present programmatic, operational structure would clearly negate any reformative policies, and allow the system to regress to its present, fragmented state. Decentralization, increased professional standards and an ethical mission statement regarding the sanctity of the father's role are key issues that must be included in the policy.

In essence, as we raise the level of expectations for welfare families, the quality of services delivered must be raised to a new level of standards that restore and preserve America's vulnerable families. Without a family-focused welfare initiative, our nation faces the disastrous possibilities of maintaining a welfare system that fosters a refugee existence for millions of worthy, but indigent families...with dependent children.

THE CULTURE OF DEPENDENCY

LarStella Parker

I remember growing up when getting a welfare check was embarrassing. My classmates whose families received welfare were mocked. We even made fun of the people at the grocery store who used food stamps to make their purchases. In spite of the stigma of government assistance, however during the early 70's, the welfare system still had an innocence about it. In the minds of most common folks, welfare was a program developed to help the less fortunate in our country. It was a means of helping people get back on their feet after losing a job, a family member or to get through a tragedy. It was an assistance program for those who couldn't grasp an opportunity to advance their family from poverty. It was a national attempt to not allow night to fall while even one person living in America was hungry or without warm shelter.

At the time the statistics weren't yet out on the role welfare would play in the breakdown of the family. The charts didn't yet show the parallels of welfare and out-of-wedlock births, high divorce rates, low work morale, crime, drugs, and low scholastic achievements. This has changed.

Historical Background

Federal involvement in charity began seriously after the Great Depression. Early welfare in the United States was similar to the English system which left caring for the poor up to relatives, neighbors and religious groups. Generally, to discourage idleness, the needy were treated harshly

when government intervened and many were forced to live in institutions known as poorhouses, workhouses, or almshouses.

During the 1800's, local governments and private charities provided most of the country's welfare aid. The Civil War sparked the first federal public assistance program as the nation began providing for disabled war veterans, widows and children. Shortly thereafter, the demand for government action increased intensely, as ex-slaves in the south were forced into a new system without food, shelter, education or financial resources. Federally financed reconstruction efforts helped many of these four million new American citizens build a foundation for their new life-style based on their new circumstances.

As the nation regrouped, federal aid was limited and remained constant when addressing the needs of the poor. Much of government's efforts were invested in building a forceful national defense and a strong industrial base. By 1930, however, the outcry for public help heightened as the Great Depression that brought joblessness and poverty to millions.

The pain of watching thousands of Americans without adequate food and shelter forced an aggressive plan for national intervention. Thus, under the direction of President Franklin D. Roosevelt, the federal government took over much of the responsibility for providing welfare through the Social Security Act of 1935, which established the first permanent public assistance programs for dependent children, the blind, and the elderly.

For welfare recipients, the American

dream was slipping away. They were forced to report to social service agencies, lived in public housing, and were shunned by peers and relatives. Fathers left home to find work in other parts of the country. Many never returned; according to the U.S. Census Bureau the national divorce rate jumped 25% from 1940-1945, while at the same time marriage among women 16-19 declined. Many liberals attribute poor economic conditions to this family breakdown. Yet according to the Department of Commerce, in 1991, 44% of families living below the official poverty line were not on welfare and their marriages remained constant.

If relatives help each other, what evil can hurt them?

Congo

Between 1959 and 1973 poverty dropped substantially, from 22% of the population to 11%. Yet by the mid-1960's, during the same period that President Lyndon B. Johnson declared the "War on Poverty," marriage declined sharply among the relatively affluent while out-of-wedlock births steadily increased. Between 1960 and 1989, the rate of out-of-wedlock births among single women almost doubled and progress against poverty all but ended, while the gross domestic product continued to rise.

It is important to note that poverty levels remained constant during the late 1950s. By the early 1960s, however, the sexual revolution was dramatically changing moral attitudes towards marriage and family life. Out-of-wedlock birth rates jumped 38% during the 1960s. Some contend that the dismantling of traditional family ideals in the general society also contributed to the breakdown in the black family, while others insist that this rise in out-of-wedlock births is related to poverty.

Marriage rates among African-American women ages 24 - 29 had declined drastically by the mid-1960s. Between 1970 and 1980, when black labor force participation offered income parity with whites of the same educational background, marriage rates continued to decline and out-of-wedlock birth rates continued to increase. By 1985, children born out of wedlock had almost doubled and from 1985 through 1989, four short years, these births almost entirely offset the earlier 25-year decline.

So, even though many claim that

breakdowns in the traditional family structure are a result of the poor economic conditions of young black men, data from the U.S. Census Bureau prove that the rate of out-of-wedlock births rose before unemployment went up and earnings went down.

Not long after welfare statistics started charting failure rates, going to the government for public assistance became quite normal for millions of single, unmarried women. The option to receive a welfare check, food stamps and a medical card was an acceptable way of life. The fourth time I found myself pregnant without a husband, my first thought was to apply for Aid for Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). By this time during the early 80's, the welfare system had lost its innocence. L.A. County did not require knowing who the father was as a condition of assistance, and on the day my social worker was to visit my home to determine eligibility, she called and told me she was more interested in having lunch with her friends than coming over to check for a male present. Even the hospital didn't require me to identify the father.

Moral attitudes had changed so much since the 1960s that a discussion with the father about how to financially support the newly forming child never took place. Although we had both passed high school courses in sex education, obviously something was being missed in the curriculum. Values had changed so much that the options of marriage or adoption were the furthest thoughts from both our minds. Individual autonomy had taken such a grip that the option of moving back with a parent was laughable. Personal responsibility had declined so much that little time was spent pondering employment. Like others in the same situation, we had learned a new set of values. Working, getting an education, and building a family had been replaced by getting public housing, selling food stamps and medical stickers, earning extra income without jeopardizing other benefits, and getting free child-care without going to school or looking for a job.

Regardless of education or socioeconomic status, dependency on government assistance was on the rise for unmarried pregnant women. Behavior patterns changed so drastically that by 1990, although blacks only made up 12% of the general American population, 40% of those on welfare were African-American and 33% of all black children were on welfare.

Contrary to the claims of many black

politicians, who claim welfare dependency is the product of institutionalized racism that prevents young black men from getting jobs, the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that labor force participation rates of men by race and education in the years 1970 and 1988 only vary significantly among those who do not complete high school.

One Problem, Many Proposals

Liberals and conservatives generally agree that unemployment contributes to irresponsibility among young men. Liberals respond with affirmative action quotas and job training programs, while conservatives back changing moral attitudes and radically reforming welfare and the public education system

There are two main reasons I reject the liberal argument that stricter affirmative action laws and government-subsidized job training programs will remedy the welfare crisis affecting African-Americans. Number one, I believe that affirmative action has significantly hindered the economic potential of African-Americans by de-emphasizing entrepreneurial empowerment. By pushing the movers and shakers to obtain education and employment from white institutions, it has prevented black America from developing a financial foundation. Without this foundation, we have limited business structures through which to employ our youth. Thus, our youth have no understanding of their purpose and without this vision they are casting off all behavioral restraint. Inevitably, this irresponsibility is reflecting low work morale, intense racial tensions and increased criminal activity.

Secondly, I believe that government-subsidized job training programs are a distraction from the fact that the public education systems in urban areas have failed. Solutions such as busing not only break up neighborhoods, but imply to young people that quality belongs to

another race. Urban public schools have also turned from teaching to providing social services. Education is the surest path out of poverty, and urban schools desperately need reform, including public and private school choice.

In order to determine causes for and solutions to the welfare dependency dilemma, we must analyze trends in moral attitudes regarding marriage, sex and out-of-wedlock births. African-Americans in particular need to understand that the policies espoused by most black elected officials and civil rights leaders to promote self-sufficiency among welfare recipients are misguided. The root of the problems we are facing with welfare dependency go far beyond any outside, uncontrollable, racial forces.

The declining influence of religion, removal of school prayer and the principles outlined in the pledge of allegiance from American ideals has led our youth to disrespect any semblance of authority. This type of unfaithfulness has bred the lack of marital commitment we are witnessing today.

Until we revive some absolute moral and sexual standards by which to govern our nation, welfare to work programs, job training programs, affirmative action programs, civil rights bills, hate-crime bills, and gun-control bills will continue to fail. Even President Clinton's pledge to "end welfare as we know it" will still be subjected to the bureaucratic pressures that tend to marginalize the effectiveness of every government program. Many of the recipients they manage are second and third generation clients. More than 40% of never-married welfare recipients have received AFDC for more than ten years, as have more than 14% of divorced parents.

Honest dialogue for welfare reform cannot seriously take root until African-Americans admit some fundamental truths about black dependency and then begin to accurately address the reasons for these once embarrassing statistics.

A YOUTH PERSPECTIVE

Stuart DeVeaux

As a college student I am disturbed by the state of black America. New statistics are constantly being released showing the number of blacks incarcerated, living in poverty, on welfare, victimized by violent crime... and these numbers are always increasing. Many solutions have been offered, but the debate over our future has too often been reduced to a soapbox for competing ideologies. I believe that we need less government involvement and more community action to address these problems. Yet in trying to help save the black community, I have come under attack from people and groups who many of us once looked to for leadership.

Reverend Jesse Jackson, for instance, is highly respected by my peers, because he gained real power when he ran for President in 1984 and 1988. Even if he was not the best candidate, the black community came together behind him because we thought it was important for a black person to achieve a position of power. Even black Republicans voted for Jackson in open primaries, because they felt he would demonstrate the importance of the black vote. Soon after Rev. Jackson's second run, the Democratic National Committee nominated a black Chairman, Ron Brown, and the Republican party began to take the importance of the African-American vote seriously.

But is Rev. Jackson necessarily the best spokesman for African-Americans? Many young blacks have grown cynical about his habit of jumping in front of every television camera. Moreover, he often seems more concerned with his status in the (largely white) liberal power structure, rather than with the real needs of the black community. Is his recent campaign for statehood for the District of Columbia really about helping the city's black communities — or is it about giving Jackson (not a native of D.C., and with few local ties) a seat in the Senate? In fact, 1992 showed that Jackson may be as much a liability as an asset; it was not for nothing that Bill Clinton publicly criticized rapper "Sister Souljah", whom Jackson had supported, for her advocacy of black-on-white violence.

And what of the National Association

for the Advancement of Colored People? Throughout my life the NAACP has been the one institution that consistently stood for equal opportunity for African-Americans, but in recent years it too has lost touch with the needs of black communities. The NAACP leadership's recent endorsement of the gay rights agenda is a case in point. Homosexuality has never enjoyed wide support in the black community, particularly in the black churches which were the backbone of the civil rights movement.

The debate goes beyond whether homosexuality is acceptable behavior or not. Many of my peers, regardless of their attitudes towards homosexuality as such, felt that endorsing the notion that gay-rights and civil rights for African-Americans are equivalent went beyond the purpose of the NAACP. Again, does adopting the gay-rights agenda do anything for the black community — or is it meant to maintain Ben Chavis' status in the liberal establishment?

These leaders also have a disturbing reflex of defending anything done by an African-American, no matter how racially divisive or destructive to the black community as a whole. The NAACP, Rev. Jackson and Nation of Islam Minister Louis Farrakhan recently held a "summit" for African-American gang members. Although couched in anti-gang terms, sponsoring such a conference serves only to legitimize gangs as social institutions in the black community.

What are young African-Americans like myself to make of this? Does the leadership of the civil rights establishment care about those of us who are not homosexual, who aren't members of gangs, who are trying to better ourselves and to help our communities through our own initiative, rather than relying on handouts from the government?

To me, African-Americans at the grassroots have no representation. Due to the dominance of the current generation of leaders, the liberal establishment has taken us for granted, while conservatives have simply written us off. We need a new generation of leaders, people who can build on the victories of the past while looking toward the future.

Beyond Economics

CRISIS IN THE FAMILY

Council A. Nedd, II

Education, crime, drug abuse, illiteracy, violence: virtually every social problem challenging black America today can be traced to a crisis in the family. All our billions will be spent in vain if we fail to support and strengthen our most fundamental social unit, this foundation upon which all other social structures are built.

African-Americans survived slavery, Jim Crow, and white reaction to the civil rights movement. In spite of these obstacles, a few African-Americans throughout history have managed to prosper. Reasonable people will agree that it is completely inconsistent that in the 1990's, after all the progress we have made in terms of winning equality before the law, some of us are abandoning the one thing that carried us through the tough times: the family.

Greater even than the waste of money we see today is the waste of irreplaceable human potential and resources that this crisis engenders. This basic truth has been ignored for too long by reckless politicians promoting fiscal policies and social programs that have undervalued, and thus undermined, our families. Quite simply: any solution that fails to rebuild the family is bound to fail.

It is the family's primary responsibility to impel its members towards appropriate socialization. The family must teach the simple nuts and bolts of what is right and wrong and the simple rules of engagement. It must also provide security and comfort for its members. Historically, the black family has fulfilled this role. During slavery, when our families were forcibly broken up, something happened in our

subconscious that made us determined to try to keep our families whole at all costs. The impact of the deterioration of the black family can be seen across society. It is responsible in large part for the increasing disregard for human life. It is responsible for the steady decline in standardized test scores in the black community. It is responsible for downturns in the economy.

The causes of this trend can be traced to two important social developments of the 1960s: the first is liberalized social attitudes which dictated that actions once considered immoral, or simply wrong, are now acceptable under the guise of tolerance. The second is the construction of government anti-poverty programs that do not recognize or reinforce the family structure.

The African-American community as a whole favors some restrictions on abortion according to a national poll conducted in September 1993 by Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates (*see Appendix A*). This serves to confirm something that I have always felt — that African-Americans tend to be overwhelmingly pro-life. The National Center for Health Statistics reports that in 1990 births to unmarried women accounted for 65.2% of all births in the black community. This compares to just 21% in the white community.

I came to this conclusion several years ago as I noticed that overwhelming numbers of teenage African-American girls that I see walking around on the street pregnant. I applaud these girls and women for

opting to protect their posterity, however, an unwanted or unplanned pregnancy is a substantial burden, especially for girls or young women with limited resources, education and job options. We must ask why increasing numbers of young people are having babies. If we continue to ignore these important questions, we will never understand why two out of three black children today born without a father, compared to only one out of four just 30 years ago.

Today, some argue that a single parent can raise children as well as the traditional two-parent traditional family. This argument is commonly based on the desire to see a single mother "function" while raising a child, while ignoring the adverse effect of such an arrangement on a child's development. While single motherhood is often glamorized on television, the reality of the modern single parent family consists of latchkey children, retarded interpersonal skills, minimal quality time between parent and child, and a future in jeopardy. When a single parent leaves a child unattended in order to work, that child grows up without any guidance, except the guidance found on the street. Gangs can give a young person a sense of belonging, of membership, that a broken family cannot provide.

Politics is a major culprit in this cycle of poverty. A politician's overriding concern is the next election, and being re-elected requires a base of support. The most powerful tool local politicians have in building support is patronage; because impoverished African-Americans depend on the government for basic necessities, incumbents have a tremendous degree of control over their lives. An Alderman or Councilman can trade housing for political support — or threaten to withhold it if support is not forthcoming. Because of the power this gives them, those politicians have a vested interest in keeping the poor dependent on government largess.

In short, the welfare system weakens individuals and families, rather than building and supporting them. Single mothers in the inner city are not truly single; they are married to a welfare system that provides housing, health care (through Medicaid), food, WIC, AFDC and the Independence Card — just so long as they don't build a savings account or try to provide for their families. The government may serve as a provider, but a family is more than a series of transfer payments. Much of what is wrong in the African-American community stems from the fact

that the government cannot be a father.

Without adequate parenting, children cannot be properly socialized. That is, they cannot learn the basic rules which allow people to relate to one another in a civilized society; the work ethic, the value of education, respect for the rights of others. These children don't simply turn to crime; they have never been taught to do otherwise. Society is left to deal with individuals who never learned that you don't shoot someone over a pair of sneakers.

It has troubled me to see the casual manner in which the traditional civil rights leadership tolerates this violence and the decline in morality. There was a time when Rev. Jesse Jackson, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, the NAACP and other organizations supported to the time-honored traditions with which most African-Americans were raised. How is it that they can be silent on the collapse of the black family, yet embrace violent criminals as heroes? How can they entertain the notion, as the NAACP does, that gangs are actually "alternate family structures?"

Interestingly, the Nation of Islam is one of the few groups advocating the beliefs that most of us were taught in Christian churches. Its moral message is clear and simple; "We cannot drink alcohol, we cannot do drugs, we cannot have pre-marital or extra-marital relations and we will not date other men." This was the morality I was raised to believe in. Somewhere along the line it was abandoned as antiquated and archaic. Perhaps the epidemics of teen pregnancy, single motherhood, abortion, drugs, AIDS, and crime in African-American communities today should make us reconsider its timeliness.

The family, along with the church, has always been the bedrock upon which our communities, and our hopes for advancement and equality, rest. We cannot afford the cost — both human and material — of arrogantly casting it aside. Social policies which ignore the family, or worse, actively promote its dissolution, must be changed or eliminated. We must build incentives into the system to promote individual responsibility and strong marriages. We cannot simply pour more money into existing programs that have contributed to the destruction of the family unit in African-American society. The family is our future; we ignore it at our peril.

GOD AND THE GHETTO

Dr. Glenn Loury

It is now 25 years since the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders, popularly known as the Kerner Commission, issued its scathing report on the urban riots of the 1960s. The commission blamed white racism for the riots and concluded famously that "our nation is moving toward two societies, one black, one white - separate and unequal."

Much has changed in the intervening years. Indeed, many of the commission's recommended reforms have been adopted. Yet the problems of our inner cities seem as intractable as ever. This raises troubling questions about the Kerner Commission's conclusions, and forces us to think again about what must be done.

President Johnson created the commission after a spate of violent disturbances in cities across the country during the summer of 1967 left the nation in crisis. He ordered former Illinois Governor Otto Kerner and his associates to determine exactly what had happened in these riots why it had happened, and what should be done to prevent it from happening again.

Less than eight months later the commission issued its findings, declaring that the rage, alienation and hopelessness of the ghetto were the consequence of racial isolation, inferior education, limited economic opportunity and an attitude of indifference, if not hostility, toward blacks from the white majority. "What white Americans have never fully understood - but what the Negro can never forget - is

that white society is deeply implicated in the ghetto. White institutions created it, white institutions maintain it, and white society condones it."

In the quarter century since the appearance of this landmark document, much has changed. Federal programs of employment training, educational subsidy, housing assistance and welfare reform have been enacted. The courts and Congress have expanded civil rights protections. Employment opportunities for blacks as a whole have improved markedly, as have incomes and educational attainment. Blacks wield vastly more political clout today, at all levels of government, than was the case in 1968.

Yet it is arguable that conditions in some big city neighborhoods are worse now than in the late 1960s. The human tragedy that so moved the commission - drugs, gangs, violence, unemployment, failed schools, broken families, teen pregnancy, despair, alienation - are still to be observed in the black ghettos of the 1990s.

The reality is that the conditions of black ghettos today reveal as much about the disintegration of urban black society as they do about the indifference, hostility or racism of white society. Institutional barriers to black participation in American life still exist, but they have come down considerably and everybody knows it. Everybody also knows that other barriers have grown up in the urban black milieu in these last decades that are profoundly

debilitating.

The effects are manifest in patterns of behavior involving criminality, unwed childbearing, low academic achievement, drug use and gratuitous violence. These behaviors, which destroy a person's ability to seize existing opportunity, must be changed if progress is to come.

Here our social scientists, and our politicians, have failed us. For the longest time it was forbidden to speak of the unraveling social fabric of ghetto life. This has changed in the past decade, with the discovery of the black underclass, but the former conspiracy of silence has not been replaced with a meaningful discourse on how this broken world will be mended.

Liberals, like sociologist William Julius Wilson, have now acknowledged that behavioral problems are fundamental, but insist that these problems derive ultimately from a lack of economic opportunities and will abate once "good jobs at good wages" are at hand. Conservatives, such as political scientist Charles Murray, see the tragic developments in the inner cities as the unintended legacy of a misconceived welfare state. If the government would stop underwriting irresponsible behavior, they argue, poor people would be forced to discover the virtues of self-restraint.

These polar positions have something in common. They both implicitly assume that economic factors lie behind the behavioral problems, even behaviors involving sexuality, marriage, childbearing and parenting. Both points of view suggest that behavioral problems in the ghetto can be cured from without, by changing government policy, by getting the incentives right. Both smack of mechanistic determinism, wherein the mysteries of human motivation are susceptible to

calculated intervention. Both have difficulty explaining why some poor minority communities show a much lower incidence of these behavioral problems than others, and are apparently less influenced by the same economic forces.

Ultimately, such sterile debates over policy fail to engage the fundamental questions of personal morality, of character and values. We do not give public voice to the judgments that it is wrong to abuse drugs, to be sexually promiscuous, to be indolent and without discipline, to be disrespectful of legitimate authority, to be unreliable, untruthful, unfaithful.

The advocacy of a conception of virtuous living has vanished from American public discourse, especially in the discussion of race and social policy. For example, the institution of marriage has virtually disappeared from inner city black communities. The vast majority of poor black children are raised by a mother alone. But who will say that black men and women should get together and stay together more than they do, for the sake of their children? Who will say that young people of any race should abstain from sexual intimacy until their relationships have been consecrated by marriage?

These are, in our secular age, not matters for public policy. Government, it would appear, must confine itself to dealing with the consequences of these matters not having been taken up elsewhere.

Luckily, government is not the only source of authority. In every community there are agencies of moral and cultural development that seek to shape the ways in which individuals conceive of their duties to themselves, their obligations to each other, and their responsibilities before God.

The family and the church are primary among these. These institutions have too often broken down in the inner city; they have been overwhelmed by an array of forces from within and without. Yet these are the natural sources of legitimate moral teaching - indeed, the only sources. If those institutions are not restored, the behavioral problems of the ghetto will not be overcome. Such a restoration obviously cannot be the object of programmatic intervention by public agencies. Rather, it must be led from within the communities

If a man should rob me of my money, I can forgive him; if a man should shoot at me, I can forgive him; if a man should sell me and all my family to a slave ship...I can forgive him; if a man should take away the character of the people of my country, I never can forgive him.

The Black Prince
1800

in question, by the moral and political leaders of those communities.

The mention of God may seem quaint, but it is clear that the behavioral problems of the ghetto (and not only there) involve spiritual issues. A man's spiritual commitments influence his understanding of his parental responsibilities. No economist can devise an incentive scheme for eliciting parental involvement in a child's development that is as effective as the motivations of conscience deriving from the parents' understanding that they are God's stewards in the lives of their children.

One cannot imagine effectively teaching sexual abstinence, or the eschewal of violence, without an appeal to spiritual concepts. The most effective substance-abuse recovery programs are built around spiritual principles. The reports of successful efforts at reconstruction in ghetto

communities invariably reveal a religious institution, or a set of devout believers, at the center of the effort.

To evoke the issue of spirituality is not to deny the relevance of public action. There are great needs among the inner city poor, of the sort identified in the Kerner Commission's report, toward which public efforts should be directed. But if we do not want to be marking the 50th anniversary of the report's release with a reflection on the wretched conditions of America's ghettos, then we must be willing to cautiously and sensitively expand our discourse about this problem beyond a recitation of the crimes of white racism and public neglect. Some of the work that needs doing involves giving support to decent and virtuous people in these communities whose lives are a testimony to the power of faith.

Hubbell Trouble

Members of the African-American community were alarmed and outraged when President Clinton nominated a member of an all-white country club, Webster Hubbell, to the post of Associate Attorney General.

Hubbell, a partner in the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock, Arkansas, was a member of the Country Club of Little Rock for years. The club excluded blacks from its membership until December 1992, when it admitted one black member.

During the 1992 presidential campaign, then-Governor Clinton was harshly criticized for playing golf at the club. Clinton subsequently apologized, called his playing at the club a "mistake," and vowed not to play golf there again until the club was desegregated.

The nomination of Judge Kenneth Ryskamp to the federal appeals court was defeated by the Senate Judiciary Committee in April 1991 on nearly identical grounds.

"I see a serious double standard being applied here," said George Mason University Law School Professor Joseph Broadus, an African-American. "What does the appointment of this man say for the integrity and effectiveness of the Clinton Justice Department?"

Mr. Hubbell claims to have led an effort to recruit black members for the club. However, officials of the Little Rock chapter of the NAACP have sharply disputed Hubbell's claims.

Hubbell was confirmed by the Senate on May 28.

If white America is looking for someone to blame for the [Los Angeles] riots...let it look to the environment of greed and meanness that is the heritage of Reaganism.

John Jacob
President, National Urban League

REALITY CHECK:

Total black-owned business receipts in 1982: \$12.4 billion
Total black-owned business receipts in 1987: \$18.1 billion

Average annual growth rate for black businesses 1982-87: 7.9%
Average annual growth rate for white businesses 1982-87: 5%

Growth in gross sales, top 100 black-owned firms, 1985: 15%
Growth in gross sales, Fortune 500, 1985: 2.8%

Middle-class African-American population, 1980: 3.6 million
Middle-class African-American population, 1988: 4.8 million

Increase in real income in black households, by income category:

	<u>1985</u>	<u>1986</u>
\$25,000-\$34,999:	14.3%	14.7%
\$35,000-\$49,999:	11.8%	12.4%
\$50,000 and above:	7.5%	8.8%

Total black employment, 1982: 9.2 million
Total black employment, 1988: 11.4 million

Black employment rate, 1982: 49%
Black employment rate, 1988: 56%

Black teenagers added to job rolls, 1983-1988: 122,000
Decrease in black teenage unemployment: -20%

Black corporate managers and officers, 1980: 165,000
Black corporate managers and officers, 1985: 215,000
Percentage increase: 30%

Black professionals, 1980: 116,000
Black professionals, 1985: 189,000
Percentage increase: 63%

Black high-school drop-out rate, 1980: 23%
Black high school drop-out rate, 1985: 17.5%

The 1980's have been a decade of opportunity and blacks have been among the biggest beneficiaries. Much of the credit must go to Ronald Reagan, who initiated the policies that fostered the economic growth and job creation in the 1980's...

Joseph Perkins
Opinion writer, San Diego Union-Tribune

Crime

PERSONAL SECURITY AND THE BLACK COMMUNITY

Joey Merrill

Something odd is occurring right now in America — liberals, moderates, and conservatives are coming to the same conclusion: the criminal justice system is not working. The government is failing to keep its citizens safe and everyone agrees that the government should have a significant role in doing just that. Crime is rampant and people of all races are increasingly fearful. If the current state of crime in America has just arrived at the emergency room, the current state of crime for the black community is already in intensive care. Crime is getting worse and blacks are disproportionately involved with it.

The *Washington Post* reported in November 1993 that children in the Washington, D.C. metropolitan area are keenly aware of crime. Children chillingly speak of the war-like atmosphere which has replaced solid neighborhoods. One eight year-old girl stated, "I want to come outside and play and just run around. I'm scared to come outside. I can't go to the park. I just stay in house." A sage eleven year-old boy can occasionally go outside but noted, "If I hear shooting, I know when to go home." An 11 year-old girl caught the attention of America when she told President Clinton about her plans for her own funeral. The harsh reality is that Washington is not the only place in America that has these problems.

Despite the fact that the FBI's Uniformed Crime Report for the first six months of 1993 indicates that crime has

decreased 3%, public perception of crime is that it is on the rise. The FBI admits that the 3% decrease in crime is insignificant. In December 1993, National Public Radio featured a young, minority male (the most likely victim of violent crime) who advised that people are simply not reporting crime as much as they once did — that a malaise has set in. The December 1993 Gallup Poll found that 87% of Americans believe that there is more crime in the U.S. than there was a year ago. While both blacks and whites equally believed that crime is on the rise, blacks perceived more of an increase in their own neighborhoods. On the "fear index," Gallup found that one in four Americans is deeply fearful of crime — 85% are afraid to walk at night in their immediate neighborhoods. Gallup also found that the threat of violent crime is especially worrisome to all.

People are afraid for good reason. Since 1960, violent crime has increased threefold. According to the most recent Bureau of Justice Statistics' *National Crime Victimization Survey Report*, 34.7 million crimes were committed in 1991 (6.4 million were violent crimes). In one year (1990-1991), the number of violent crimes significantly increased by 11% and attempts of violent crimes increased by 10% as well.

A special report from the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that violent crime in the 1980s was between 4-9 times more frequent in the U.S. than in Europe. In the United States, a murder is committed every

21 minutes, a rape every 5 minutes, an aggravated assault every 29 seconds, and so on. The chart from *The Index of Leading Cultural Indicators* in Appendix C reflects the significant rise in total number of crimes and of total number violent crimes.

The New Kind of Crime

Beyond the threat of traditional crimes, people are especially fearful of random, "senseless," crimes. The German tourist killing, the killing of Michael Jordan's father, the six who died on the shooting spree on the Long Island Rail Road in December, drive-by shootings, carjackings, children being shot on playgrounds — the stories of random crime appear in the media every day.

Random crime is disconcerting not only because of its brutality, but also because it is not usually motivated by greed or the lack of a job. Senator Dan Coats of Indiana aptly explained this important change in the nature of crime to the Senate during the last legislative session: "Crime, it was once believed, was rooted in rational acts. Poverty prompted robbery, burglary, or car theft. Murder had a motive — premeditated — or resulted from the heated passion of the moment... We thought there was at least some rational link... But today, what we are witnessing is a new face of crime. Daily we read of crimes that defy any rational explanation and of perpetrators without conscience."

There is a strong correlation between the criminal theories of the 1960s and the rise in crime since that time. In the 1960s, the focus on crime shifted to identifying the root causes of crime and expanding the rights of the criminal. Many criminal experts came to the conclusion that crime was caused by society's inattention to those root causes. Thomas Sowell explains, "Like so many disastrous social trends, our skyrocketing crime rates began in the 1960s. Today it is hard even to imagine that crime rates ever had a downward trend, but in fact crime rates declined for decades before the 1960s. The murder rate in 1961 was less than half of what it was in 1933... Everything except the criminal is blamed for crime. Society is to blame, poverty is to blame, guns are to blame."

The Vigilante Society

Society has determined that the government can no longer effectively protect it, and individuals are taking matters into their own hands. The 1993 Gallup Poll on crime indicated this shift to self-protection: 43% had installed special locks, 38% have a guard dog, and for the first time in 35 years, a majority (51%) of households have a gun in the house. A Vermont company that sells Mace reports sales increasing ten-fold in one year. The company that produces a car theft device, the Club, can hardly meet market demand, growing in sales from \$22 million to \$107 million over two years. Citizens Against Crime reports that each week 15,000 people take their self-protection courses.

People are trying to protect themselves from random violence and from a criminal justice system that often seems to coddle criminals. This move to self protection was poignantly illustrated during the L.A. riots as Korean business owners held rifles on the roofs of their businesses. Beyond these measures, there is some evidence that a similar backlash to crime is occurring in the judicial system. For example, in 1992 a Bronx jury dismissed attempted murder charges against a man who shot his son's killer on the courthouse steps. The underlying theme of situations such as these is that people are rightly or wrongly taking back control.

Cost of Crime

Not only does society now feel the urge to protect itself (apart from dialing 911), we are also literally paying for crime. William Raspberry notes that the threat of becoming a victim to crime has inflicted so much fear that people are increasingly changing the way they live their lives. Working, taking classes, going to school events at night are simply no longer options for many people. These type of changes upset the natural incentives of the American system to improve self and family.

Beyond these indirect costs of crime, there is a very real economic cost of crime. *Business Week* estimates that crime costs America \$425 billion every year. The \$425 billion in losses are comprised of \$90 billion for the criminal justice system, \$65 billion for private protection measures, \$50 billion in urban decay, \$45 billion in property loss, \$5 billion in medical care, and \$170 billion in indirect costs of crime.

From an economic standpoint, industry must contend with the cost of keeping its businesses safe from crime: a "security tax" is imposed because of crime. The security tax is especially high in inner cities where violent crime rates are from two to seven times higher than in the suburbs — forcing business and jobs out of the inner city. After the killing of the German tourist, some Miami tourism businesses have experienced losses of up to 50%. However, the costs of crime not only have a toll on the inner city, as the manager of a Mobil station which suffered a carjacking in Topanga Canyon, California, explains: "The customers have not come back. Business is down as much as 30%. The people are in shock and they associate what happened with this place. Nothing like this has ever happened here before."

A 1992 Bureau of Alcohol, Tobacco and Firearms study of career criminals found that most commit an average of 160 crimes a year. With an average value of \$2,300 per crime (as estimated by the National Institute of Justice), one criminal's habits costs the U.S. about \$350,000 a year. A Rand Corporation survey estimated that an average criminal committed even more crimes (187-287 per year) — resulting in even higher costs to society.

Violent crime is especially costly. By using techniques from cost-benefit analysis of safety regulations, economists have determined that a murder costs about \$2.4 million. A rape costs approximately \$60,000 and an assault costs roughly \$20,000. *Business Week* reports that violent crime cost the United States \$170 billion last year. They note, "The rewards for hard work for the less-educated have fallen, while the payoff for crime has risen." The basic problem is that the incentives have become confused and crime does pay in America.

Violent Youth Culture

The most obvious example of the askew economic incentives is illustrated in the street-level drug dealer. For many young people, it simply makes more sense economically to sell crack cocaine while earning status on the street than to work at McDonald's. Brutality without conscience and a "live for today" attitude have become the status symbols for young people. Young men are taking what they believe will never be theirs — William Raspberry notes that what these kids need is a "step-by-step guide to this strange and wonder-

ful thing called middle-class existence." From disrespect for honest work to teenage girls having babies to demonstrate their power, a new subculture has emerged. While involving all races, this subculture has clearly taken its toll among the black community.

In a larger context, the entire American culture has an odd fascination with the horrendous as demonstrated in the celebrity of Amy Fisher, serial killers, and movies such as *Nightmare on Elm Street*. In terms of actual crime, sociologist Elija Anderson calls the violent youth phenomena the "oppositional culture" which emphasizes "gangsta bravado and gangsta respect." These kids are not just smoking cigarettes on the street corner near the soda shop or growing long hair and protesting. This youth "oppositional culture" is not just nonconformist, it is destructive.

Crime has no color, the criminal no race. He is the common enemy of society.

Kelly Miller
The American Negro
1908

Unfortunately, the "gangsta" existence is romanticized in much rap music and in today's culture. It is the kind of thing that leads to shooting people because "you felt like it." It is the kind of thing that makes athletic shoes or gang colors worth dying for. After all, rap star Snoop Doggy Dog is currently charged with murder and was convicted of selling drugs. Film and rap star, Tupac Shakur is currently charged with rape — ironically, he was nominated for a NAACP Image Award last year. There are clearly too many criminals who are freely given role model status and considered courageous for contending with their persecution in the "system."

Unfortunately, the results are not just a few papers on sociology — there is a real rise in violent youth homicides, especially involving black men. In 1992, there were 650,000 juvenile arrests for violent crime. The age group which is increasingly involved in violent crime is youth. As Robert Garton, a member of the Indiana Senate, notes "The F.B.I. reports that between 1985 and 1991, the number of 17 year-olds arrested for murder increased by 121%, the number of 16 year-olds by 158%, and the number of 15 year-olds by 217%." Young people are

angry and the younger, the angrier. They are also hopeless as demonstrated in many a popular song with lyrics like, "If we live to see tomorrow..." and music video illustrating youth funerals.

Again, it may be a question of incentives — for many youth, crime does pay economically and socially and there is little threat of real punishment. It is estimated that the juvenile system offers little punishment for the first three to four felonies that a minor commits. Furthermore, juvenile criminal records are sealed — never to bother them in their adult lives. Former Washington, D.C. Chief of Police Issac Fulwood aptly described the problem: "We would have rioted by now if whites had killed this many blacks. We have to say to these kids, 'You are not our brothers when you kill'."

Black People and Crime

Who is the victim and who is the perpetrator?

Crime is an issue for all Americans but it disproportionately affects and is affected by blacks. The shocking rise of black-on-black crime has opened the eyes of many black leaders. Representative John Lewis of Georgia says that inner-city crime is "the greatest threat to the black community since slavery." The real question now is how to fix this situation and that requires finding who is to blame. Jesse Jackson remarked in the *LA Times* that, "Young men in Bangladesh are more likely to reach the age of 40 than black males from Harlem." This may be the case, but the real question is who is killing them?

In 1993, racism is not the cause of most crimes against blacks. The perpetrator of crimes against blacks is not usually the KKK — it is more likely to be "your homie." Even Jackson admits, "Yet the jails are filled not with Klansmen who kill blacks, but with blacks who kill blacks." After years of blaming white racism for the ills of black society, the acknowledgment of black on black crime has come as a bitter pill. To further pour salt on the wound, the group that has monitored the KKK's actions, Klanswatch, announced in December 1993 that blacks actually commit more hate crimes. In fact, they predicted that 46% of all racially motivated hate crimes are committed by blacks. The *New York Times* reported, "But this year [1993], of the 24 racially motivated murders the group has identified, a black was the

perpetrator in 10 ... Of 18 racially motivated murders in 1992, blacks were the perpetrators in 11." The trend is clear, there is an increase in racially-motivated hate crimes committed by blacks.

A chart from Andrew Hacker's book, *Two Nations: Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal* can be found in Appendix C. The F.B.I. statistics used in this chart highlight the high amount of black arrests. Generally speaking, there are more blacks in the criminal justice system than other races (i.e. in state and federal prisons, probation, and parole). The *Statistical Record of Black America* notes that the 1989 criminal rate of involvement for those age 20-29 was 23% for black men — compared to the 10% for Hispanic men and 6% for white men. The numbers for women, though much smaller in proportion, are roughly the same. According to the 1989 *Profile of Jail Inmates*, black convicts were more likely to have committed violent offenses, compared to other races. In 1990, 50.8% of those murdered may have been black, but 53.9% of all murders were committed by blacks.

In 1989, the Bureau of Justice Statistics found that black households were more likely to be touched by crime (29%). Most media attention and even research have focused on how blacks are affected by crime (i.e., how blacks are victims of crime). The good reason for this is that blacks are disproportionately the victims of crime — especially violent crime. However, blacks are also disproportionately the perpetrator and this is an issue that most have not wanted to seriously consider. In 1986, the Centers for Disease Control found a startling fact: most blacks are killed by people they know (often family members) at home during a verbal argument.

Response by Black Leadership

The response to crime by the black leadership has maintained a long-standing dedication to focusing on the root causes of crime, rather than the responsibility the black community has to stopping black criminals. Deroy Murdock, a New York journalist, offers some sound advice for black leadership, "...Black criminals are hurting not just their victims but the reputation of black people as a whole. Too many young black men are dragging us all back to the bad old days when a black face was something which inspired white fear,

flight, and fists. If black criminals haven't figured this out, the rest of unarmed, upstanding black folks must explain to them how they systematically are undoing three decades of black progress."

Some black leaders are beginning to realize this problem. Jesse Jackson told *Newsweek*, "There is nothing more painful to me at this stage in my life than to walk down the street and hear footsteps and start thinking about robbery — then look around and see somebody white and feel relieved." Rev. Al Sharpton told the *New York Post* that he is changing his mind about the merits of the death penalty because of the random violent crime: "I think that in the area of crime, a lot of blacks are very conservative and that some of that has to do with the fact that many of them are victims of crime themselves." Of course, these meager realizations are still only rhetoric. Old public policy solutions of stopping black crime are still very much supported by the black leadership.

In fact, most of the actions taken by the black leadership regarding black crime still make exception for black criminals because they are black. On learning about the increase of racially-motivated hate crime committed by blacks, Reverend Joseph Lowery, head of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, commented: "People who deliberately set out to violate the rights of blacks, who take a guy out of a car and burn him, that's a hate crime. It's not the same thing as a guy who blows his stack or suffers a brain explosion and goes berserk." Of course, the black gunman of the recent Long Island Rail Road killings was out to kill whites, Asians, and "Uncle Toms." More confusion by black leaders has been demonstrated by the calls of Baltimore Mayor Kurt Schmoke and Surgeon General Joycelyn Elders to legalize and regulate illicit drugs. If these politicians were to ask police officers or black citizens about legalizing drugs, they would see that most think legalization would be very destructive. Recently, two black police chiefs (of St. Louis and Los Angeles) solidly criticized legalization on *Tbts Week with David Brinkley*.

Many black leaders' comments surrounding the Los Angeles riots emphasized their willingness to excuse criminal behavior. Representative Maxine Waters of California commented, "The anger you see expressed out there in Los Angeles in my district, this evening, is a righteous anger, and it's difficult for me to say to the people, 'Don't be angry.'" It is not clear that stealing VCR's is "righteous," but as

difficult as it may have been for Ms. Waters, a leader's job is to call something wrong when it is. The L.A. head of the NAACP, Joseph Duff, was protested and reprimanded for saying that the Reginald Denny beating was similar to a lynch mob and that the black assailants should be fully prosecuted for their actions. A national NAACP board member actually remarked, "We haven't seen any bodies of white men hanging from the trees..." Should we?

The Black Caucus of the U.S. Congress has not developed its own white paper or other such efforts on the subject of crime. The caucus has rallied behind Representative Craig Washington's crime bill. This bill fights crime in the typical Washington-gridlocked manner: extending habeas corpus, adding gun control measures. It is anti-death penalty, has measures to ensure no police brutality, ensures drug treatment and the like. Not only does it specialize in these jaded approaches to crime control, it also tries to ensure racial equity by eliminating "the disparity between sentences for possession of crack vs. cocaine." It even seeks to eliminate all existing mandatory minimum sentences. Rather than locking

The black community as a whole has to take a much harder line toward the criminals among us even though they may be thirteen, thirteen year-olds are murdering people.

Harry Edwards
"Hardline," *Detroit Free Press*
May 8, 1988

up rapists to prevent rape, it develops "treatment for convicted sex offenders" and develops "other projects that will increase the awareness of sexual assault prevention among racial, ethnic, cultural, and language minorities." Constituents of these black legislators may be better off if their representatives concentrated on stopping illegal drugs and other crime rather than focusing on the threat of racism. Is using or selling either crack or cocaine really acceptable to the black community?

Unfortunately, even some elements of the once-formidable black churches have joined in this moral relativism. Reverend Magora Kennedy, a New York black activist, said of black crime: "For the last 500 years, we were brought into this country for labor. After the so-called

freeing of the slaves, we were promised 40 acres and a mule. That never happened. So now into this day and time, our people are fed up." Reverend Cecil Murray of Los Angeles' First African Methodist Episcopal Church said the L.A. riots allowed black rage to come "out of the closet." Sadly, even men of God excuse evil and hold the black race to a different standard for committing crimes. Black leadership, political and social, must be held accountable for the impact (positive or negative) they have on their communities.

The Real Problem With Crime, White and Black

Make the Criminal Justice System Just

Before crime rates will begin to decrease, people need to have respect for the criminal justice system. It must be fair and effective — there are too many instances when it seems to be neither at this point. The 1993 Gallup poll on crime found that the vast majority of Americans believe that the courts do not deal harshly enough with criminals. This was the case for both blacks and whites — 87% whites believed this as did 77% of blacks. The poll also discovered that most people "favored" or "strongly favored" that parole should be more difficult to get for violent crimes (84% white and 74% black). In terms of violent juvenile crime, 74% of whites and 67% of blacks thought that youth offenders should be treated the same as adults in their sentencing. Clearly, penalties are not considered to be harsh enough.

In 1991, despite fiscal hard-times, New York City bought \$400,000 worth of art for a jail on Staten Island. Too many prisoners have color televisions, athletic equipment without those pesky athletic club monthly fees, and other niceties that probably do not belong in a place of punishment. Rather than working everyday like the rest of us, many criminals are afforded the opportunity to get their Ph.D.'s. The underlying message is that jail is not the worst place to go for a while.

Indeed, most prisoners go to jail only for "a while." In California, Texas, and most states, a criminal is likely to serve about 50% of the sentence for murder. The National Center for Policy Analysis (NCPA) in Dallas, Texas, predicts "expected punishment" by figuring the probabilities of being arrested, being prosecuted if arrested, being convicted if prosecuted,

and of going to jail if convicted. The NCPA's findings:

Crime	Expected Time in Prison
Murder	2.3 years
Rape	80.3 days
Robbery	27 days
Arson	12.5 days
Aggravated Assault	13.2 days
Burglary	5.4 days
Motor Vehicle Theft	3.8 days
Larceny-Theft	2.2 days

The NCPA estimates that in 1950 a criminal could expect at least 24 days in jail for committing a serious crime. In 1988, the criminal could expect about 8.5 days in jail. The F.B.I. also concluded that criminals are not serving their time:

Crime	Median Sentence*	Time Served*
Murder	15	5.5
Rape	8	3
Robbery	6	2.25
Assault	4	1.25

* In years

The cost of prison is high, but so is allowing criminals to roam freely. The Rand Corporation's findings on the economic costs of repeat offenders (as discussed earlier) found that a career criminal out of prison can cost society about \$430,000 a year. Further, repeat offenders are the norm, not the exception. The Bureau of Justice Statistics discovered that 69% of young adults released from prison were re-arrested in six years — after having committed an average of 13 new crimes. The use of parole, the kinds of jails we pay for, mixing violent and non-violent offenders in jail, and ignoring truth in sentencing must all be reconsidered to bring more justice to the system.

Rebuild the Moral Structure: The Work of Government and of Private Institutions

It has not been so long since former Vice President Dan Quayle was ridiculed for his stand on family values, and President Clinton has already admitted that Dan Quayle was right. There is now a consensus on the importance of morals

and personal responsibility: the 1993 Gallup poll indicated that 89% of the public believes a "lack of moral training in the home" is critical or very important to the increase in crime, 71% believe that the "absence of fathers in the homes of young people" is critical or very important in preventing crime. L.A. police chief Willie Williams stated that the lack of individual and family values causes urban gang violence. Indeed, many young people turn to gangs because there is a sense of family and order there.

There is mounting evidence on what every grandmother knows already: a lack of responsibility causes bad things. Dr. June O'Neill of Baruch College found in a recent study of welfare dependency that "a 50% increase in the monthly dollar value of combined Food Stamp and AFDC benefits led to a 117% increase in the crime rate among young black men." Some crime studies are indicating that there is more crime in neighborhoods with greater numbers of single parent families. Another study of black school drop-outs, demonstrated that dropping out of school most often leads to crime: an estimated 41% of 18-25 year old black dropouts and 75% of 25-34 year old black dropouts were under criminal justice supervision (incarcerated, on probation, or on parole). As Senator Coats stated, "Criminal acts are not primarily failures of society or failures of deterrence; they are failures of character."

The need of families and the media to address moral values as a solution to many problems in America is not a new one. In 1965, Senator Daniel Patrick Moynihan of New York predicted the breakdown of the black family via female-headed households, illegitimacy, welfare dependency, and the subsequent weakening of the black male. In 1967, Senator Moynihan reflected on his report: "I woke up a couple of nights later [after important statistics on unemployment and divorce were released] at four in the morning and felt I had to write a paper about the Negro family to explain to the fellows how there was a problem more difficult than they knew and also to explain some of the issues of unemployment and housing in terms that would be new enough and shocking enough that they would say, 'Well, we can't let this sort of thing go on. We've got to do something about it'."

Almost 29 years later, some common sense is beginning to emerge and the

absolute "rights" and "wrongs" that were apparent to our grandparents are slowly and cautiously being discussed. Jesse Jackson admits that personal responsibility is crucial: "In the end, only African-Americans can break this cycle of violence." Elaine Kamarck of the Progressive Policy Institute notes that a 1988 study of 57 neighborhoods found that "father absence was far more important than either race or poverty in predicting high levels of crime." The one root cause of crime for blacks and whites may very well be an impoverishment of morality.

Clearly, such a problem requires the action of communities and the individual. The government can provide leadership and should, at least, create legislation and regulations that are not harmful, if not helpful, to the formation of strong, stable families. Private institutions such as the media and grass-roots community efforts also have a responsibility in promoting what is socially acceptable and what is not. As a former Washington, D.C. police chief aptly summarized: "You can't rehabilitate people who have never been 'habilitated.' They [young criminals] are numb. They feel nothing, certainly not remorse. They have no values, no standards, no compassion. They don't know right from wrong."

Mark Blitz of the Hudson Institute asserts that perhaps one of the most important things citizens, the government, and the media can do is to establish the characteristics that make up a good citizen. President Clinton has called for the establishment of "personal security" (in terms of health care and crime). It may be the case that the best kind of security a citizen can have is the understanding of common expectations we have for each other. To re-establish the United States as a society with shared values may be the largest challenge for the upcoming years.

Simply put, in a society which permits everything (by using various excuses such as race), destruction is inevitable. The *Wall Street Journal* explains the challenge, "If America is to decline, it will not because of military overstretch, nor the trade balance, Japanese management secrets or even the Federal deficit. If a decline is underway it is a moral one. Not petty morality about nanny taxes, but the profound morality of whether a community can insist that its members bear certain responsibilities and enforce them when necessary."

I'M NOT A CRIMINAL, BUT I LOOK LIKE THE ONES ON TV

Deroy Murdock

Last Spring, Columbia Pictures released *Amos & Andrew*, a movie about a black Pulitzer Prize-winning playwright who moves into a summer home on a Massachusetts island. On his first night there, while installing his sound system, Andrew runs into big trouble when his new neighbors assume he's a burglar. "Oh my God! It's a black man," the women next door screams at her husband. "He's taking everything. Let's call the police!"

While *Amos & Andrew* is just a light Hollywood romp, the real picture is far more serious for black American men. Too many of us are running afoul of the law merely because we share one thing with too many common criminals - our skin is black.

On New Year's Eve 1992 John Hill, a 33-year old Los Angeles soda plant mechanic, found himself in a nightmare fit for the silver screen. He was scheduled to wed Jamie Blake that night. On his way to pick her up, Hill became ensnared in a police dragnet for a black carjacking and armed robbery suspect. Police held Hill for three hours until his bride confirmed his identity and innocence by phone. By then, their wedding chapel had closed. John and Jamie instead were wed in the precinct hallway by an LAPD chaplain while puzzled officers watched.

Olympic gold medalist Al Joyner had similar problems just after the L.A. riots. On May 8, 1993 at 9:45 A.M. he was stopped by an LAPD squad car on Sunset Boulevard. After following orders to leave his car, Joyner faced ten gun barrels trained on him from behind five patrol

vehicles. The cops told him he was a suspect in a hit-and-run incident but let him go after establishing his identity. Joyner feels lucky to have walked away from this episode unscathed. "In my situation, [the police] had guns out," Joyner recently told NBC's Faith Daniels. "If I would have done anything they assumed hostile, they would have had the right to shoot me." Joyner's experience is an ironic one given his meeting just two days earlier with then-President Bush at the White House to discuss the L.A. riots.

Edward Lawson, a black venture capitalist, was stopped 15 times in 18 months by the San Diego police, frequently at gunpoint, for what he calls "South African-style ID checks." Lawson too feels fortunate to be alive. "That I am here to tell you this story after that many interactions with that many armed people is a miracle in and of itself," he says. In response to a suit Lawson filed, the U.S. Supreme Court overturned California law 647-E which permitted such blanket searches.

If this new and frightening injustice is to be reversed, the police, the press, law-abiding blacks, and particularly the black criminal class must change their behavior.

It's easy for a civilian to say this, but cops simply have to be more discriminating about whom they stop and arrest. No doubt, the police have a vital job to do, and, as Elvis Costello once warned, "accidents will happen." Still, black men don't all look alike, and we certainly don't all act alike. Lawmen should look beyond mere flesh tones and focus more heavily on the actions, speech, and perhaps dress that

often distinguish lawful black men from black criminals - the same characteristics used to identify potential *white* criminals.

The media must also accept much of the responsibility for reinforcing the notion that black men mean trouble. In many U.S. cities the evening news features a parade of young blacks being led into precinct houses in handcuffs. These images are painfully reminiscent of ancient scenes of manacled slaves standing on the auction block. Of course, they were innocent victims while those in chains today are either actual or suspected thugs. The media should not ignore crime stories where blacks are suspects. Instead there should be balanced reporting on the black community. While the opening of a black bank or the naming of a black woman as a teacher of the year might not be as juicy as a drive-by shooting, black success stories are told so rarely they constitute news for many Americans.

Consider NBC "Nightly News" Spring '93 feature on the Soul Children, "a gang of good," as correspondent Mike Boettcher called them. These 107 "drug-free, serious-studying Chicago area youth," in Boettcher's words, are led by a choirmaster with the unlikely name of Walt Whitman. He inspires them to pursue clean and crime-free lives and offers them hope through song. In joyous contrast to pictures of black youth in ambulances, the Soul Children sway, clap, and smile with pride. "Educate our youth today," their sweet voices sing. "Education is the key."

Clearly, the most constructive thing the media could do in this connection is not to suppress stories of the thousands of black cops, police chiefs, and prosecutors who not only have avoided a life of crime but in fact are crime fighters. Hearing a law and order message out of black mouths should strike many Americans as refreshing, if not downright startling. Another important step in correcting this matter is for both black "leaders" and the black rank and file (who endure the brunt of the pain caused by black criminals) to denounce black hooligans rather than apologize for and try to "understand" them.

While he is no criminal, the case of 19-year-old Jamaican reggae singer Buju Banton illustrates this point perfectly. In October 1992 Banton released his tune "Boom Bye Bye" in which he advocated murdering gay men. "When Buju Banton arrives," the song goes, "Faggots have to run/or get a bullet in the head." The song continues, "Get an automatic or an Uzi instead... If a man makes a pass, he must

bleed." Mercury records spokeswoman Juanita Stephens let Banton totally off the hook for his venomous lyrics. "At the time of the release," Stephens told the New York Post, "Buju was 17 years old and 'Boom Bye Bye' was a product of his environment, not reflections of his personal convictions."

Ms. Stephens' remarks would seem out of the ordinary if not for the intellectual cover which is generously provided by black "spokesmen." For instance, New York black activist Rev. Magora Kennedy, speaking on the syndicated "Richard Bey Show" in October 1992, explained black crime as the inescapable result of historical forces: "For the last 500 years, we were brought into this county for labor," Kennedy said. "After the so-called freeing of the slaves, we were promised 40 acres and a mule. That never happened. So now into this day and time, our people are fed up."

Black elected officials have joined in the fun, too. During the L.A. riots, U.S. Representative Maxine Waters virtually gave rioters carte blanche when she said on ABC's "Nightline," "The anger you see expressed out there in Los Angeles in my district, this evening, is a righteous anger, and it's difficult for me to say to the people, 'Don't be angry.'"

While black politicians like Waters have tried to anoint the riots as some sort of popular political "uprising" against the white power establishment, a visit to my home town's charred neighborhoods last summer offered scant evidence that L.A.'s rioters were, in fact, revolutionaries. These destructive people, who were of all races but predominantly black and Hispanic, chose as targets of their "rage" 7-11 stores, video outlets, and auto repair shops. Largely untouched were police stations, post offices, and other governmental facilities which would have been torched in any true "insurrection."

And if young black men indeed regard crime as an act of social expression, why is it that 88% of the victims of black murderers are other blacks and not the "evil white oppressors?"

It is a national disgrace that many young black men still grow up in hellish environments. But that does not grant them a green light to spend a lifetime in open warfare against the lives and property of their neighbors. I have Jewish friends whose relatives were murdered in the Holocaust. Yet not one of them claims the right to commit carjacking to express his rage against anti-Semitism.

So long as law-abiding blacks defend the misdeeds of black hoods as an expression of "rage," they engage in complicity after the fact. The vast and silent majority of blacks who don't lift a finger against their fellow man should condemn black criminals and their violent "lifestyle" as inexcusable. Such statements will remind white cops and civilians alike that our community is not a dangerous and violent monolith.

The ultimate responsibility for all of this falls on those black men who break the law in the first place. While poverty and a lack of values and discipline at home and in school might contribute to their misbehavior, black criminals, like those of all races, do what they do because there are such limited consequences for their actions. The Dallas-based National Center for Policy Analysis estimates that when the probabilities of arrest, prosecution, conviction, and imprisonment are combined, a criminal could expect to serve just 1.8 years in prison for a murder committed in 1990. Robbery costs an average 23 days in jail while auto theft resulted in an average of 1.5 days off the streets.

Our crime-weary society can help itself by giving black criminals, and all others, the executions, long sentences, and unpleasant prison stays that finally may teach them that they cannot laugh about terrorizing the lawful. With more black (and non-black) criminals packed behind bars rather than loose on the streets, police and citizens alike will have fewer reasons to believe the vast majority of decent black

men are up to no good.

In addition to sticks, America's black communities need carrots too. An economic renaissance is desperately needed in neighborhoods where hope is an alien sentiment. Not even the L.A. riots managed to make enterprise zones a reality. While tenant ownership of public housing has occurred in Moscow, it's still a crack-pipe dream in Chicago's Cabrini Green. The empowerment and economic uplift of blacks in the inner city would do plenty to reduce black crime. All we need is for our black and white leaders to stop dithering and enact a free-market opportunity agenda.

Finally, and it is the height of naivete to believe they would care about this, black criminals are hurting not just their victims but the reputation of black people as a whole. Too many young black men are dragging us all back to the bad old days when a black face was something which inspired white fear, flight, and fists. If black criminals haven't figured this out, the rest of us unarmed, upstanding black folks must explain to them how they systematically are undoing three decades of black progress.

Just before the credits roll on *Amos & Andrew*, Andrew asks Amos a simple question which should resonate in the minds of police officers and both civic minded and criminal black people alike: "Don't you think I should be able to set up a stereo in my own home without being mistaken for a thief?"

Education

EMPOWERING PARENTS WITH CHOICE

Debra R. Cruel

There is a quiet revolution happening in America today. It is a revolution led not by policy makers, but by parents – parents who refuse to give up dreams they have for their children; parents who are fed up with the violence, poor academic performance and lack of values in some public schools; parents who still believe that a good education is the key to a future which might otherwise be unavailable. These are parents who are taking matters into their own hands.

A unique aspect of this "Parent Revolution" is that it is not based on politics, party affiliation, economic status or race. It is based on a principle: the principle that parents have the fundamental right and responsibility to govern the education of their children. These parents are frustrated by the public schools' inability to provide a quality education in a safe environment. They want government education policy changed. They want educational choice, or as some call it, parental empowerment. Simply put, they no longer want the government to decide where and how their children should be educated. For their children's sake, they want the power to make those decisions themselves.

Parents' Responsibilities

The crisis in American education and the public debates on educational choice have brought to the forefront a fundamen-

tal question about American education policy: who has the right, and the responsibility to educate children? All but the most committed technocrats would agree that parents fill this role. This principle has long been recognized in American law and society. It has been affirmed by the Supreme Court,¹ and in traditional and religious thought².

It is from parents that children learn speech and manners. Parents teach children how to walk, run and ride bicycles. Parents are expected to impart wisdom and knowledge. Until recently, parents were expected to prepare children both academically and vocationally. Nature itself dictates that the first and most important teachers are a child's parents.

Yet in practice, our public education system seldom recognizes this principle. Some administrators may admit some sort of role for parents as "partners" in education. A few rare educators may even dare to speak of parents as primary educators. By this, educators usually mean that parents teach basic skills but should leave higher order instruction to the professionals. Generally, however, it is difficult or impossible for a parent to assert any commanding role when their children are in public schools.

If we accept that parents have principle responsibility for the education of children, then it follows that those who assist parents in educating their children should serve as agents of the parents. Sadly, most educators do not think of themselves in

this way. Rather, they see themselves as agents of the state, working in the interests of children directly.

There are two problems with educators viewing themselves as agents of the state. First, it skews educators' view as to whom they are accountable. Were the schools not a government-controlled monopoly, teachers and administrators would be accountable to parents directly.

Second, it skews educators' view of the role of the state. The proper role of the state is to ensure that every pupil has an equal opportunity to learn and is not subject to discrimination in his or her access to education. The state has a vested interest in an educated citizenry, but that interest does not take precedence over parents' rights as primary educators and authorities. Nor does that interest require the state itself be the actual education provider. It is not the proper role of the state to transmit values or to direct socialization.

Some parents, of course, actually exercise their right to govern their children's education - parents with the economic means to opt out of the public system and obtain educational services privately. Even when these parents stay within the public schools, they can exercise more control over the education process simply because they have other options. Conversely, parents without the affluence to leave the public schools must accept the educational services offered to them by the state. They are virtually trapped. These parents must leave their children in the hands of the state and public educators, regardless of the outcome.

Our current education policy creates a class system in American education that is maintained and perpetuated by the government. Affluent parents control their children's education because they have access to options which others do not have. This class system could be easily dismantled by giving all parents the power to control the money spent on public education. This, in broad terms, is the remedy demanded by proponents of choice in education.

A second by-product of our current education policy is more subtle. The policy encourages parents to relinquish their responsibility for their children by taking away their power to make decisions.

For example, a friend of mine, a pastor, has a doctorate of divinity. Very much aware that the educational needs of children are not being met, he is considering starting a school for children. Yet when his son was failing math and the public school was unable to help, he blamed the school entirely and felt totally helpless in his quest to help his son. When I suggested that he simply get a math book and teach his son himself, he declared that teaching his son was the school's responsibility, not his.

Thus, while we agree in principle that parents are the primary authority over their children's education, we have undermined and ignored this principle in our public policy.

Policies to Encourage Parental Responsibility

Too often we make policy, including education policy, based on the strength of political lobbies rather than the interests of those affected. If, however, parents have the right to govern their children's education, then the only policy question becomes how to ensure that all parents can exercise that right.

School choice is the policy alternative that best encourages and supports this principle. Choice gives all parents control over the education system and restores them to their proper role as primary educators, regardless of income or status.

Some argue that we need choice in education because our public schools have failed. I submit we need choice as a matter of principle. Parents have the right to control their children's education and they need choice to do so. The failure of government-controlled schools is simply another compelling argument for this principle.

Choice in education is a simple, common-sense concept. Under our current system, the government taxes citizens to provide schooling for children. Children are assigned by the government to government schools based largely on geographically defined districts. Parents who wish to send their children to other schools, whether for academic, religious, safety or other reasons, must pay tuition in

addition to the taxes which support the public schools.

The most expansive form of school choice gives parents a portion of the money already allocated for a child's public education, typically in the form of a voucher. This voucher may then be used to offset the cost of attending the public, private or religiously-affiliated school the parents determine is best for the child. In short, choice takes decision-making power away from bureaucrats and gives it to parents.

Children and parents are the primary beneficiaries of a choice system. Children benefit because their parents are able to select the curriculum that best meets their children's needs and interests. Every child is a human being, and every human being is unique. Yet public education attempts to treat children as a massive whole that can be taught according to a single, standardized curriculum. In trying to serve everyone, the schools end up serving very few. Choice allows a diversity of approaches not possible in top-heavy bureaucratically designed systems.

This diversity of curriculum is increasingly important given the secularization of today's schools. Many parents feel that learning traditional religious values is an essential part of a complete education, and are offended by the absence and avoidance of any religious references in the public schools. They view these curricula as inadequate and contrary to their religious convictions. Those wealthy enough to do so can enroll their children in religious schools; low income parents, on the other hand, lack the resources to do so. Choice gives low income parents the ability to select a school that is in line with their religious convictions.

Parents have equally strong views about the level of discipline or structure they wish their children to receive. Some parents support school uniforms, others do not. Some prefer open and creative learning environments, others more traditional ones. Choice places parents in the position to choose what they believe will work best for their children. It also gives parents the power to alter their children's educational program if a particular pedagogical style or didactic technique is not working.

Under our current system, parents

who are trapped in the public schools have only two means of asserting control over their children's education. They may appeal to school authorities to alter or supplement the child's program of instruction. If this appeal fails, parents must seek to change the system politically. But that requires parents to identify candidates, work to get them elected, and wait for those elected officials to rise to a position where they can affect change. By that time, it may be too late; a child falling behind in the third grade cannot wait four or five years for a change in his or her schooling.

By the time the problem is detected and acted upon, a child may have become frustrated and lost interest in learning. Parents of all income levels need the power to vote with their feet if the school where the child is enrolled is not meeting the child's needs. Parents, because they are involved with all aspects of a child's development, are in the best position to monitor the progress of their children and make changes as needed. The question is not necessarily one of quality. A public school may have an outstanding academic record, yet still fail to meet the specific needs of an individual child. Not only are all children different, but children's needs and interests change as they grow.

Students who do not fit the cookie-cutter mold set up by the public schools are often written off as uneducatable. Yet there are hundreds of independent schools across the country which pride themselves on teaching those the public schools have not served.³ They succeed in the same communities where students are dropping out of the public schools in droves.

Some opponents of choice express concern that parents lack the capacity to choose proper education programs for their children. This argument is not-so-subtly patronizing; parents with money can be trusted to make decisions about their children's well-being. But when it comes to lower income parents...well, government knows best.

This argument is false. All parents, rich or poor, black or white, want what is best for their children. And, unlike an impersonal administration, they are not only in a position to know what is best, they have a direct incentive to act on that knowledge. Further, survey data shows that given adequate information, most

parents make decisions about education based on similar criteria.⁴ There will be, of course, a small percentage of parents who, because of drugs or other debilitating personal conditions, cannot effectively make choices for their children. But these are special circumstances which require special solutions. It is false to suggest that every family that cannot afford private education is broken and apathetic.

Nationally, 70% of all Americans⁵ and 85% of African-Americans⁶ favor school choice. It's not a black issue, nor a white issue. Republicans have no monopoly on choice, nor do Democrats. Business executives, parents, educators and stu-

dents have formed some of the most diverse coalitions ever assembled. Nineteen states have some type of citizen group which is organized to champion choice in education.⁷

African-Americans Favor Choice

Many African-Americans favor choice because of the tremendous opportunity it presents our community. Not only does it benefit children and parents in the ways mentioned above, it also gives pastors, entrepreneurs and other community

Not by Choice

The failure of Proposition 174, California's school choice referendum, in 1993 was a setback to those who hoped that African-American students would finally have an opportunity for quality education. Although choice would benefit students from all socioeconomic backgrounds, it is vital to the future of disadvantaged African-American families trapped in decaying schools.

Proposition 174's opponents, however, painted it as an attack on public education that would bankrupt the state and give taxpayer dollars to elitist, extremist and unaccountable new bureaucracies. These fear appeals were tailor-made to win over middle-class, predominantly white suburbanites. Although aware of America's educational crisis, they are largely satisfied with their own school systems (and generally exercised "school choice" already by moving to the suburbs). As John Miller of the Manhattan Institute characterized it, "The last thing these satisfied parents want is an education revolution."

The good news is that the death of school choice has been greatly exagger-

ated. Exit polls show that voters are fed up with schools that are out of control and support giving parents the right to take their kids out of bad schools and put them in good ones. Over 70% of Californians who voted on the referendum predicted they would vote for another school-choice measure in the future. Among those who voted against Proposition 174, minority and lower-income voters were the most likely to support a future school choice initiative. Significantly, voters were also far more likely to vote for a candidate who favored choice in education.

The challenge for school-choice supporters is to convince suburban voters that school choice is in their best interests; that it will save money without compromising the level of quality they feel their schools already maintain. School choice proponents need to work with business and taxpayer groups to show that school choice actually costs less than the status quo. These suburban voters are the key to giving disadvantaged African-American and Hispanic families the same opportunity for a quality education that their more affluent counterparts already enjoy.

leaders the opportunity to do something they've wanted to do for some time - develop new schools that meet the needs of the community.

The movement of African-Americans into non-government schools is a major social movement that has not been sufficiently reported by the news media. Approximately 250,000 African-American children attend non-government schools, and nearly one-fourth of these children come from families of less than \$10,000 [annual income]. The number of African-American students attending non-government schools nearly doubled between 1970 and 1980, whereas total enrollments in non-government schools remained a constant during that time.⁸

In spite of the overwhelming popularity of school choice among African-Americans, some civil rights leaders (and others) have expressed reservation that choice would allow schools to become re-segregated. While they are right to be concerned about the possibility of racial discrimination, all legitimate choice programs would be subject to the same anti-discrimination statutes as any other undertaking. Furthermore, it is false to assume that contemporary public schools are more racially integrated and ethnically diverse than their private or parochial counterparts. Often Catholic schools in urban areas offer more diverse student bodies than the public schools next door.⁹

Some are also concerned that minority students will be priced out of the private school market. Granted, some elite private schools may be beyond the reach of some low income families. But tuition at most Catholic schools is under \$2500.¹⁰ This is roughly half the average per-pupil cost of public schools. Certainly, a voucher, even for only part of that amount, would represent a tremendous opportunity.

"Our Schools"

I suspect some African-Americans are reluctant to embrace choice because of the special place public education has played in our history. We tend to think of public schools as "our schools." We are, therefore, reluctant to embrace alternatives. The problem is, they aren't "our schools"

anymore. We don't set policy or control the curriculum. Some parents even lie, telling school officials they live with friends or relatives in other districts, just to escape from "our schools." We've got to stop holding on to the public schools as our only option. School choice will give us the opportunity to create our own schools, and to select those that are best for our children.

Furthermore, school choice is too often characterized as a rejection of public education. Nothing could be further from the truth. Many parents are very pleased with the public education they are receiving. Likewise, I had my best learning experience in the Harrisburg city schools in Pennsylvania. I believe choice will only serve to improve public education. Choice will force public schools to adapt and compete, and that can only lead to improvement. Some particularly bad schools may be forced to close. But is it really better to lock children in schools which are inadequate or do not meet their needs than to close those schools down and send children elsewhere?

Tasks for Parents to Reclaim the Schools

Parents across the country are asking what they can do to ensure their children's educational future. The following are two of the most important lessons we can learn from parents who are giving their children opportunities for quality education in spite of tremendous obstacles.

We must reclaim responsibility for our children's education. While we want our children to attend good schools, it is not the school that is ultimately responsible for seeing that our children learn. We have to accept that responsibility ourselves.

A parent who personifies this lesson is Sonya Carson. Sonya's son, Ben, was a "D" student, at the bottom of his fifth grade class. Mrs. Carson, who had only a third grade education herself, began requiring her sons to read two books per week and limit their T.V. viewing time to two pre-selected programs per week. Today, Ben Carson is a pediatric neurosurgeon at

Johns Hopkins University hospital. He attributes his success to his mother's decision to take charge of his education. Others are following Sonya Carson's recipe for success. Children have formed Ben Carson clubs, committing themselves to reading two books and watching only two T.V. programs per week.

We must be involved in the policies that shape our children's education.

For better or worse, our public schools are controlled by the state. It is only by staying actively engaged in the public policy process that parents are empowered to control their children's education.

A parent who personifies this lesson is Wisconsin State Representative A. Polly Williams, the architect of the nation's first Parent Empowerment/Educational Choice program. Williams describes herself as a frustrated mother who felt that the public schools were not educating inner city children. She also believed that the schools paid more attention to political goals like integration and busing than to actual education. Her bold leadership helped to create a pilot program which provides a \$2,739 voucher to parents of up to 1000 youngsters from low-income households, to be used at the private non-sectarian school of the parent's choice.

Likewise, parents in California launched a ballot initiative for school choice. Parents in Illinois and California, with the aid of the Institute for Justice, a Washington D.C. based public interest law firm, sued their respective states on behalf of their children. Under these state constitutions, children are entitled to a quality education. The parents' suit argued that the public schools failed in this role and that their children should be awarded vouchers as a remedy.

The federal government should promote educational choice by providing a scholarship, in the form of a voucher, for a student to attend the private, public or religious school of the parents' choice. This will not only provide choice for all parents; it will prompt comparable initiatives at the state and local level.

Every state should also introduce and pass a full educational choice bill. Currently, 34 states have introduced some type of school choice legislation and at least 29 governors have expressed support for some form of choice-in-education program.¹¹

Local school systems should institute choice within school districts and, where possible, permit choice across district lines. Decentralizing reforms such as site-based management and charter schools should be fostered and encouraged.

And, as the basis for any school reforms, public policy must incorporate the basic principle that parents, not the state, have the right and the responsibility to control their children's education.

Conclusion

That parents have the right and responsibility to control the education of their children is a basic principle. We must ensure that this principle is the basis for our educational public policy. School choice is the policy alternative that best supports this principle, and it should be encouraged at all levels. Further, parents must reclaim responsibility for their children. They must be knowledgeable of and involved in the development of policies that empower parents and further the goal of educational excellence.

Values

DAN QUAYLE WAS RIGHT ON VALUES

Jackie Cissell

The institution primarily responsible for the survival and advancement of Black people from slavery to present times has been the extended family.

Robert Hill
December 1988

Newsweek magazine's August 30, 1993 issue blared with a cover story entitled "A World Without Fathers - The Struggle to Save the Black Family." This is a legitimate concern when 1990 statistics indicate that 54% of all black households are headed by a single woman. The black community suffers under the burden of an illegitimacy rate which exceeds 60%. In America today, 43% of all abortions are for black women, while black Americans constitute only 12% of the population. Murder is the leading cause of death among 15-24 year old black males. These powerful facts are fueling a new debate on the moral state of black America.

The social decay that continues to ravage black America is a relatively new phenomenon. Even during the rigors of slavery, 50% to 60% of black slave households consisted of two married parents caring for their own children. Despite living under the threat of family members being sold at any time, the family unit was preserved. When black slaves were freed, they immediately went in search of missing family members and sought ways to

legitimize their marriages. Clearly, the disjointed lives that now prevail in the black community is a departure from the heritage of black Americans.

After slavery, some blacks migrated to the North, yet the majority of former slaves settled in the turbulent South. Nevertheless, as of 1960, an amazing 78% of black households consisted of two parents. The black family remained in tact through both slavery and the Great Depression.

The dismantling of the black family was reflected in the 1970 census, which reported 64% of black households as having two parents. By 1980, the number dropped to 48% and by 1990, only 39% of black households consisted of two parents.

What destructive force entered the black community in the 1960s, and how could it have caused more social upheaval than either slavery or the economic hardship of the 1930s? While there are no simple answers, the previously alien doctrines of promiscuity, feminism, and the victimology syndrome must bear some of the blame.

Curiously, traditional civil rights organizations have proven to be either

unwilling or unable to advocate a return to the sound family structures of the past. For example, in 1993 the NAACP, the largest and oldest civil rights group in America, incorporated into its platform language that recognizes gangs as new family units.

The moral and spiritual base of the black community is, and always has been, the family. In his book *"The Strengths of Black Families"* Dr. Robert Hill names five strengths of black families: strong kinship bonds, strong work orientation, adaptability of family roles, strong achievement orientation, and strong religious orientation. Instead of capitalizing on these five points as the reason for the survival of the black race, many civil rights groups have chosen to align the struggles of black families with radical feminism, abortion rights organizations, and gay liberation. Former Vice President Dan Quayle generated a firestorm of controversy with his professions of the importance of family values.

One year after the former Vice President re-ignited America's discussion of values, *Newsweek's* August 30th issue argued that while government programs and black self-help are important, changes in societal values are critical. A poll cited by *Newsweek* asked, "Which one entity can do most to improve the situation for black families today?" 41% of respondents said black families themselves, and 25% said churches. Another 14% believed community organizations are the answer, while only 14% responded that government was the solution.

Newsweek examined another moral topic in the black community in its November 30 issue when it asked the question, "When is Rap Too Violent?" Although it was once taboo to criticize the music of black youth, persons of all races have blasted the glorification of violence and the degradation of women in the lyrics of these songs. Some radio stations are voluntarily refusing to play them. Rev. Calvin Butts, pastor of the Abyssinian Baptist Church in Harlem, held a rally last summer in which he destroyed offensive tapes and CD's. Even Rev. Jesse Jackson has joined the fight, making policing rap part of his campaign against black-on-black crime.

Black Americans are finding solutions

for other problems. Last spring a conference was held at Central State University in Ohio, entitled "Abstinence and African American Youth: The Best Choice Today for a Better Tomorrow." Columnist William Raspberry echoed this topic in an essay published on Nov. 30, 1993. Mr. Raspberry observed that traditionally the commitment of marriage carried the reward of sexual pleasure:

What sounds like a new insight used to be common knowledge. Boys always tailored their behavior — including their language and dress — to what girls found attractive. Even shocking things, we were careful to keep the shock within proper bounds. And what has any of this to do with crime and violence in the inner city? A.L.T. Allen's notion is that young women in low-income neighborhoods have neglected their power to control male behavior. If they could learn again what "everybody" used to know, they could break the violent young men to the domestic yoke. Maybe the breakdown of the family really does, as author Charles Murray suggests, lead to a culture in which rules of behavior are established by unsocialized adolescent males. Once you get to that point, is it possible to go back? It's a question we'd better start thinking about, for what happens in the inner cities — including violence, brutishness and the exploding out-of-wedlock birth rate — is frequently an early warning sign of what is coming for the rest of society.

It appears that the black family, once targeted for extinction, is coming full circle. Habits, mores and social policies alien to the historical traditions of black family life have been a resounding failure. The strengths of strong family bonds, strong religious orientation, and other factors clearly have been the reason for the black race has survived centuries of hardship and adversity.

When a friend has lost something of value, your first advice to them is to return to the place where they first realized they had lost it. We know that in abandoning our traditions we have lost something of immeasurable worth. Now is the time to begin retracing our steps.

Discourse

THE DEATH OF "RACE"

Kevin Pritchett

I'm sick and tired of...some of these African-Americans who somehow think that when you get a penny or two in your pocket, you forget your own people.

Commerce Secretary Ron Brown
National Urban League Convention, San Diego, 1992

The roadblocks in man's path towards the betterment of the world have usually been sundry intellectual fallacies, that knock us off course, lead us down the wrong road, or hold us in place, needlessly considering and combating.

A great fallacy of our century, Communism, whose soul was grimy faces of despair and resignation and whose outline was traced in blood, has been discounted. Those people who believed in the enlightened freedom of the individual, not impersonal forces, rose up against this intellectual scourge.

With the same vigor should another false idea be challenged: the intellectual fallacy of Race. The sentimental idea of Race has made cities burn, mothers lose their sons, and has cast the whole world into hundreds of opposing camps, eyeing each other warily.

This view of Race may come as a surprise to those of us, especially in Washington, who are used to considering domestic and foreign policy in terms of Race. It is at the very least convenient, a way to pigeonhole people and conflicts. But Race has gone beyond mere classification — and tenuous classification at that.

Race has become a way of thinking, a way of living, a way of being.¹ Melanin has become destiny.

Because of "racial pride," or perpetuation of some government program or consolidation of power by an elite, the color of one's skin has become a source of entitlement, superiority and coercion. Notice that these reasons buttress the Ben Chavis, Jesse Jacksons and Leonard Jeffrieses of the world as well as white Jim Crow touters: A racist is a racist, black or white.

Race has held America and the world back. It is a false notion under which people have been oppressed. It is a shame that we must continue to talk about "black America," when there is no such thing. In this brief and informal essay I will discuss why Race is false, and must be gotten rid of and fought against. When Race is dispensed with, we will all finally see that we are all human beings, worthy of the rights and responsibilities concomitant and coterminous with that state.

I first became enamored with the idea of race when I got to Dartmouth College in the fall of 1987.² I came to this Ivy League

school believing in the promise of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., who was and is my hero, who saw a land where character came before color.

But black students at Dartmouth lived apart in their own dormitory,³ and I was called an "Uncle Tom," "Oreo," and various other epithets because I had white friends — and this was before they even knew that I was conservative. Even more strangely, often during my college career I was accused of "not being black."⁴

I took for granted back then what it meant to be "black." I did, and still do to some extent, think about blackness in terms of culture: I attended black Pentecostal services in my youth; my mother used to like to cook soul food; many of my neighbors and friends listened to black music, some of which I enjoyed. I never thought that just because I was black predisposed me to anything. What I was taught was that all human beings were the same, no matter how high or how low.

But realized after a while that my fellow undergraduates of color—many from such elitist prep schools as Boston Latin, Exeter, Episcopal—believed that if you have a high level of melanin, you were supposed to be at least Democratic (preferably socialist), talk in slang, hate Whitey, and keep with the brothers and sisters. Along with this, being "black" meant agitating and proclaiming loudly how oppressed you were, while proclaiming your superiority. And this was at Dartmouth College.

Because I didn't do any of this, and — even worse — I spoke out against this narrow view, I was a traitor to my "race." So I began to think: What does it mean to be "black?"

Politics, prejudices, persuasions are the possessions of persons, not skins. Yet, black students at Dartmouth, some who were the natural sons of the civil-rights elite and almost all the intellectual heirs of this elite, said we were all tyrannized by our epidermises. We must be a certain way because we were black, and you were black if you acted a certain way.

And others tended to believe this. I remember some "whites" asking me why I didn't act "black." Their view of blacks became skewed by the skewed version presented by the "black community" at Dartmouth.

Another fundamental question is, what does "race" mean? A consultation of *Webster's Dictionary* gives several meanings, but the current meaning of race doesn't really fit any of these meanings.

Race today is a conflation of the biological and the definitional, not unlike the musings of some early 20th century German race theorists. Today, many people see race as deterministic, the main factor being one's skin color. What we are saddled with biologically — our skins — should determine how we act.

Common parlance should demonstrate this. Many people have said to me that I should be great at basketball because of my skin color, or at the very least like basketball. Never learning how to dribble and being partial to Australian Rules Football, I always confounded them. But it is regularly said that blacks have more rhythm, make better lovers, are "cooler," etc. because of their race. If melanin could do all of this, it's a wonder it hasn't been bottled up and sold in fine department stores.

But the ascribing of certain "positive" traits to race can have a nasty side. Blacks can run pretty fast, sure — especially if the cops are after them. Blacks might make better lovers, but they're insatiable sexual animals. Blacks are cooler, but this silkiness is that of a snake, which will bite you treacherously at any moment. The "positive" meaning of blackness can be turned on its head quite easily, and has been turned many times.

It is supposedly a "good" thing, blackness. But whatever good has been ascribed to meaningless melanin has to contend with the abuse, derision and opprobrium that has been heaped on skin color by past ages and this present age. Such a definition of self through skin color is dangerous, something I began to believe.

* * *

I began to discount the current meaning of race. I began to write articles, informed by this new way of thinking, for *The Dartmouth Review*, the weekly newspaper I edited.

If anything, I felt very much alone. Not only did blacks at Dartmouth believe in what I call "biological blackness," but, as I mentioned earlier, whites believed this, too. In my intellectual studies, though, I found more buttresses for my views, especially, I think, in the whole intellectual progression of modern Judaism since Spinoza, the main strain of this progression being the searching out of what it meant to be a Jew.

While I was discounting the idea of race, the rise of Afrocentrism on college

campuses came to the fore. At the City College of New York, the spectacle of Leonard Jeffries, a black history professor who characterized whites ("ice people") as inferior to blacks ("sun people") held sway on newspaper front pages for weeks. Textbooks claiming that ancient Africans — American blacks' kin — flew to work on gliders and discovered quantum physics centuries before Einstein were being used in Oregon public schools. At Dartmouth, a white professor of African history was hounded for not being Afrocentric enough and not having the "capability" to understand African history.

At Dartmouth, the slings and arrows flew, and I was charged with high treason against the brothers. I wasn't "down wit' da pro-gram," I was told by one radical student in the Afro-American Society. Death threats over the phone and intimidation didn't work, so gentle persuasion, and appeal to some sense of familyhood was used. I was asked to be in solidarity, to "come back into the fold." I did not heed.

I began to think, though, whether I had any connection with these people. Obviously there was no common class interest, as I came from the wrong side of the tracks, while most of the radical blacks

"Not by the color of their skin..."

On April 29, 1993 President Clinton nominated long time friend and Yale Law School classmate Lani Guinier to be Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights. At first glance a decision to be creditable, but in the end it was a decision Mr. Clinton would pay a political price for. Mr. Clinton ultimately withdrew her nomination on June 3, 1993, after a political firestorm erupted over Ms. Guinier's radical views on civil rights.

The eventual demise of Ms. Guinier can be found in the very writings which she claims portray a unbiased view on civil rights. The civil rights movement has always advocated the idea that every man, woman and child should be treated equally regardless of the color of their skin, and that each individual be able to pursue the "American Dream". However, Ms. Guinier painted a different picture. Consider the following:

* Ms. Guinier pits whites against blacks, claiming that each is out to seek its own "political agenda". Guinier even questions the "authenticity" of members of the African-American community. "Authenticity," she states, "reflects the group consciousness, group history, and group perspectives of a disadvantaged and stigmatized minority".

* Guinier claims the African-American

community is universal in thought.

"[B]lacks are ideologically homogeneous on many issues." Those members of the African-American community who are not on her ideological wavelength are simply not "authentic".

* Guinier favors the appointment of federal judges on the basis of race, as opposed to how they interpret the law.

* Guinier believes the Voting Rights Act grants a right to "politically relevant private resources" such as job training, day care, housing, health care, and even automobiles and telephones, anything that enhances participation throughout the political process.

Ideas such as these do not represent the views of mainstream America and in fact possess a discriminatory undertone of their own. President Clinton's withdrawal of Ms. Guinier, ultimately a good decision, represents what may have been a wake-up call to the administration on the importance of this post. The African-American community paid a price with Ms. Guinier's perception that she represents the views of the majority of African-Americans, and her ultimate withdrawal averted what would have likely been a damaging set-back to the progress the African-American community has made in civil rights.

at Dartmouth came from gold-gilded Zip codes. For me to go against the group was not only intolerable, but unthinkable. A united front was paramount; no dissent was allowed. This was not just at Dartmouth, but everywhere there is supposed to be this mystical group, "black America," with operational rules not unlike "all for one and one for all." This thinking squelches free thought, and has caused black "leaders" to defend mayhem, theft and murder, as long as they were committed in the name of black people.

Such professed solidarity has obvious effects. If all "blacks" are brothers, what's to separate the upstanding from the crooked? The professional from the perverted? Whites still flee from blacks in the dark, whether the blacks are wearing Armani or Adidas. To not allow blacks to be individuals, this sordid solidarity dooms us all.

In a speech to the students and faculty at the University of Missouri last year,

Separate and Unequal

The House of Representatives' Congressional Black Caucus practiced its own brand of discrimination in 1993 when it attempted to drive its only Republican member, Representative Gary Franks of Connecticut, from its ranks.

In July, the caucus voted to resolve itself into the Democratic Black Caucus at 12:30 P.M. during every scheduled Wednesday meeting. The move allowed Franks, who pays \$5,000 a year in caucus dues from his official expense account, enough time to eat his lunch before being forced to leave. "I guess 38 to 1 isn't an easy enough fight for them. They have to make it 38 to zero," remarked Mr. Franks.

The caucus was forced to reverse itself, however, after the public outcry that came soon after news of Mr. Franks' treatment made it beyond the Capital Beltway. A new Democratic Black Caucus now meets separately.

Professor Kwame Anthony Appiah, a Harvard professor, talked about, among others things, the nature and genesis of this false "racial unity."

Professor Appiah, a Cambridge-educated philosopher who is a long-time colleague of Henry Louis Gates, head of Harvard's African-American studies program, questions the Afrocentric movement and the current idea of race in general. In the speech, Appiah said current race theories can be traced to the 19th century writings of two black Americans, Alexander Crummell and W. E. B. Du Bois (the NAACP's founder).⁵ The racial solidarity that Messrs. Crummell and Du Bois posited "was founded not on any genuine cultural commonality but on the very European concept of the Negro...It is a founding principle that has turned out not to be true."⁶

Appiah said as much in his collection of essays which was released in 1992.⁷ Writing as a Ghanaian, Appiah's goal was to dispel the false view that many people, especially Americans of African descent, have of the African continent as one, big, happy family, as seen by these book passages: "Whatever Africans share, we do not have a common traditional culture, common languages, a common religious or conceptual vocabulary...We do not even belong to a common race."; "The very invention of Africa (as something more than a geographical entity) must be understood, ultimately, as an outgrowth of European racialism..."; "The very category of the Negro is at root a European product: for the 'whites' invented the Negroes in order to dominate them."

I bring up Dr. Appiah because he, more than anyone recently, has struck a blow against the biological racialism and romanticism that blacks have about "the motherland." We have in the expressions of racial solidarity and oneness just a contemporary continuation of an idea meant for the conquest of human beings. The creation of "subgroups," whether it be "Negro," "black" or "African-American" makes easier to not think of people as individuals but as members of a group that, depending on the times, is exalted, neglected or enslaved.

In the end, Appiah calls on us as human beings to meet the challenges and solve the problems of this current age, and disregard the false view of race. We can and we must.

It is reasonable that we begin casting aside the false view of Race, and work together. But atavistic forces are against the reasonable, and these throwbacks seek to aid the continued imposition of the false Race idea on America and the world.

The obvious suspects — the Rev. Al Sharpton is one — get a fair amount of play. But there is a hateful panoply of hooligans and thugs who are worth mentioning. Former Milwaukee Alderman Michael McGee, leader of a new Black Panther Party militia in the city, has promised bloodshed if blacks in Milwaukee don't get any "justice." Mr. McGee, along with 200 other representatives of the reconstituted Black Panther Party, had a Dallas rally in May, 1993 to call for the overthrow of the U.S. government. Tom Metzger, head of the White Aryan Resistance, spoke to the rally, and was "warmly received" when he talked about overthrowing the government "by whatever means necessary."⁸ This is not strange, though *prima facie* it does seem weird: the skinheads ebony and ivory are in league together for the clear purpose of tearing this country asunder.

In popular culture, Ice Cube, a rap superstar, released an album late last year called *Lethal Injection*. A main selection on the album, called "Cave Bitch," expounds upon the weird racial theories of the Nation of Islam, which teaches whites are inferior to blacks. The song excoriates white women, and whites in general. Ice Cube is the standard bearer for a whole crop of white-hating rappers.

The above is just a quick mention of some extreme elements who are fighting under the false banner of race. But it cannot be forgotten that the liberal elites and others are also fighting under the same perfidious banner. These elites in government, academia, and the media continuously seek to separate us, whether for good or ill, into color-coded boxes. These elites hold great sway. Great power has been amassed by the purveyors of the false idea of Race. The destruction of Race would rely heavily on challenging the power of an elite dead and alive who for decades, for centuries, have divided humanity into warring slivers. It is interesting, though not surprising, that those who tout the cause of liberalization in our society have been the most adamant defenders of Race. It is also amazing that in free societies Race counts for so much. But so-called liberals, when faced with the prospect of immense power, choose power

over freedom, and freedom in society is easily thwarted by false ideas and gullibility.

So what does count? The fault lines in society have nothing to do with Race, but have a lot to do with culture and class. The variety of human existence lies in the differences between individuals and individuals that choose a certain way of living or thinking. This variety also is nurtured by the different abilities of individuals, and the stations achieved through the exercise of these abilities.

Culture and class, though more substantial than skin color, count in life but are not the final arbiters of man's destiny. Especially in this country, many people have been able to transcend culture and class, many to positive effect. Besides the false race rhetoric, the racemongers point the finger at the deficiencies of our "racist" culture especially in this country, for the failings of blacks. The racemongers also assert that class plays a major role in the non-success of blacks, holding the "race" back. But with over 2/3 of blacks in the middle and working class, and blacks positively contributing and gaining from our "racist" culture, the touters of Race seem shrill and silly. Their days are numbered.

The day — and it must come soon — when we will all call each other by name instead of color will be a great day in history. Man, with the burden of Race, has nevertheless progressed. But to imagine a day without the strife, turmoil and divisiveness of Race would be to imagine a very bright time of hope and industriousness. Energy spent to oppress will be used to build; distrust will be replaced with a desire to work together towards a common goal; people held back because of the false idea of Race will become free of that shackle. The leap that mankind will make will bound us over one more mountain in the path leading to a better world.

But, unfortunately, we are beholden to today, and that better world is afar off. In some ways, the desire to be part of the group is understandable. To stand alone, to be responsible alone for one's direction, to experience days without solace or support and nights with no beacon: this is the life of the individual. This is not to totally discount the effects and power of the clan or the pressure of peers; but all of us sometimes look alone in the mirror, and some of us tremble.

It takes more courage to live as an individual than a member of the tribe.

ENDNOTES

African-Americans Need a Pro-Growth Economic Strategy

- 1 U.S. News & World Report, Dec. 20, 1993, citing figures of outplacement firm Challenger, Gray & Christmas, Inc.
- 2 See Employment and Earnings, Vols. 38-39 (1991-92).
- 3 Employment and Earnings, *supra*. note 1.
- 4 See generally Employment and Earnings, Vol. 39 (1992); Employment and Earnings, Vol. 40 Nos. 1-6 (Jan.-June, 1993)
- 5 Employment and Earnings, *supra*. note 1.
- 6 Employment and Earnings, Vol. 40 Nos. 1-2 (1993).
- 7 See generally Employment and Earnings, *supra*. note 1.
- 8 *Id.*
- 9 Employment and Earnings, Vol. 40, No. 9 (Sept. 1993)
- 10 Employment and Earnings, Vol. 40 Nos. 4-6 (Apr.-June, 1993)
- 11 Employment and Earnings, *supra*. notes 1, 9, 10.
- 12 *Id.*
- 13 Employment and Earnings, Vol. 40, Nos. 1-6 (Jan.-June, 1993)
- 14 *Id.*
- 15 See Constitution and General Rules of Order of Sleeping Car Conductors, effective April 1, 1925, Article XVI, p.26; Constitution of Brotherhood of Railway Carmen of America, August, 1921, Section G, Clause (a), p. 41.
- 16 See e.g. Current Population Reports, Series P-23, No. 42 The Social and Economic Statuses of the Black Population in the U.S., 1971 (U.S. Census Bureau 1972); See also Equal Employment Opportunity Report No. 1, Part 1 (EEOC 1966).
- 17 H.R. News (Society For Human Resources Management, November, 1993) at 19.
- 18 McCaughey, Wall Street Journal, November 22, 1993 at A14.
- 19 *Id.*
- 20 *Id.* See "AMA Backs Off Key Point In Clinton's Health Plan" (AP December 8, 1993) in while it is reported that the AMA opposes the employer mandate provision of the plan because it will hurt small business. Fewer than 10% of black-owned businesses employ more than 100 people.
- 21 Bonilla, Wall Street Journal, August 20, 1993 at A10.
- 22 *Id.*
- 23 *Id.*
- 24 H. R. News, *supra*., note 18.
- 25 *Id.*
- 26 *Id.*
- 27 H.R. 1804, S.846.
- 28 Wall Street Journal, December 14, 1993 at A2.

29 *Id.*

30 Bovard, *Wall Street Journal*, March 13, 1993 at A10.

31 A sterling exception to the rule that jobs programs have done little to improve black employment is the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944 ("G.I. Bill"). The benefits to black employment due to the bill have been impressive. See Newman, *The Black American Worker* *The Black American Reference Book* (1976).

32 Bovard, *supra.* note 31.

33 See also *Measuring the Effect of CETA on Youth and the Economically Disadvantaged* (The Urban Institute, 1984).

34 *Supra.* note 31.

35 *Id.*

36 See Topel, Murphy, Davis and Katz, *Sectoral Change and Worker Displacement* (National Bureau of Economic Research, 1990).

37 D'Amico, *The Extent and Pattern of Joblessness Among Minority Men* (SR1 International, 1989).

38 *Id.* See also Veum and Weiss, *Education and the Work Histories of Young Adults*, *Monthly Labor Review* (April, 1993) from the National Longitudinal Survey of Youth.

39 *Id.*

40 D'Amico, *supra.*, note 39.

41 Veum and Weiss, *supra.*, note 40.

42 *Id.*

43 *Id.*

44 The correlation with education is less clear for this employment category. *Id.*

45 See generally Steele, *The Content of Our Character* (1990).

46 While 77% of "black leaders" favor affirmative action, 77% of the general black populace oppose it. See Lichter, *Who Speaks For Black America*, *Public Opinion* (August/September, 1985).

47 "While doing little or nothing to advance the position of minorities and females, it creates the impression that hard-won achievements of these groups are conferred benefits. Especially in the case of blacks, this means perpetuating racism instead of allowing it to die a natural death", Sowell, *Affirmative Action Reconsidered*, *Reverse Discrimination* (1977) at 129.

48 See e.g. *New York Post*, April 17, 1992: 95% of 24,000 applicants received perfect scores on a firefighter exam.

49 See Niskanen and Moore, *May We Cut In, Mr. Clinton?*, *Policy Review* (Spring, 1993) at 9.

50 *Id.*

51 Williams, *The State Against Blacks* (1982).

52 Bovard, *Wall Street Journal*, March 5, 1993 at A10 citing Carlos Bonilla of the Employment Policies Institute.

53 See Moore, *The Effect of Minimum Wages on Teenage Employment Rates*, *J. of Pol. Econ.* (July/August, 1971) at 897-902; Feldstein, *The Economics of the New Unemployment*, *The Public Interest* (Fall, 1973).

54 (Will Provide)

55 See generally *Employment and Earnings*, Vols. 37-40 (1990-1993).

56 For example, suppose the employees of the "Widget Co." believe that workers with their level of skills and training in the widget industry should be paid \$10 an hour. The company maintains that \$8 is

more consistent with the current marketplace. Negotiations reach an impasse and the employees strike, asserting that the company's offer is below the prevailing market wage.

If the Widget Co. can easily hire permanent replacements at \$8 an hour, it is a good indication that the \$10 rate demanded by the employees exceeds the market rate for workers in the widget industry. The union must, therefore, make some movement in its bargaining demands or weather an unproductive strike.

On the other hand, if the Widget Co. cannot hire permanent replacements at \$8 an hour, it must give serious consideration to the higher union demand or risk going out of business. Under either set of facts, the company's labor costs will ultimately be competitive with the prevailing industry standards. The company will be less likely to be forced out of business due to artificial, non-competitive labor costs.

57 While unfavorable ramifications abound with its passage, the bill would do little to augment protections already available to striking workers. Indeed, the use of permanent replacements is currently limited by a variety of constraints—so much so that the opinion is rarely used.

Permanent replacements may not be used without financial peril if a strike precipitates or prolonged by the employer's commission of an unfair labor practice.

Economic strikers not guilty of strike misconduct may not be discharged by the employer and are entitled to reinstatement upon making an unconditional offer to return to work. In addition, employers may not discriminate against returning strikers with respect to wages, benefits, seniority or terms and conditions of employment. Strikers even retain voting rights in representation elections after the strike starts.

Moreover, the bill lags behind the evolutionary curve of labor bargaining tactics. In recent years, unions have increasingly employed a number of sophisticated alternatives to strikes which are sometimes more effective and carry fewer consequences for workers. Some of the alternatives include consumer boycotts, publicity campaigns and administrative actions through federal regulatory agencies.

58 For this reason, the Act is often referred to as the "Yuppie Leave" Act.

59 See Minority Report on H.R.1 (1993).

60 S.17; H.R. 224.

61 See Murray, *Losing Ground* (1984); Freeman, *Black Economic Progress After 1964: Who Has Gained and Why?* Studies in Labor Markets (1978); But see Heckman and Verkeke, *Response to Epstein* Yale Law & Pol. Rev. (1990).

62 See e.g. Williams, *The State Against Blacks* (1982); cf. Donahue & Heckman, *Continuous versus Episodic Change: The Impact of Civil Rights Policy on the Economic Status of Blacks*, 19 J. Econ. L.T. (1991).

63 See generally, Williams, *The State Against Blacks* (1982).

64 Niskanen and Moore, *supra*. note 52.

65 *Id.*

66 *Id.*

67 Hall, *Wall Street Journal*, December 9, 1993 at A12.

The Naked Causality of Welfare Dependency

1 Pinderhughes, 1982

2 Hines, 1989; NABSW, 1991; Dear, 1989

3 Dear, 1989

4 Carter and McGoldrick, 1989

5 Center for the Study of Social Policy, 1993; Wulczyn and George, 1992

6 National Commission on Children, 1991

- 7 Pinderhughes, 1982
- 8 Rector, 1992; Nichols-Casebolt, 1989
- 9 June, 1991
- 10 Chambre, 1977
- 11 Task Force on Permanency Planning, 1990
- 12 Darity and Myers, 1984, p. 774
- 13 Ibid, p.775
- 14 Rector, 1992
- 15 Rank, 1988, p.1080
- 16 Ibid, p.1087
- 17 Chambre, 1977, p.103
- 18 Ibid, p.106
- 19 Ibid

The Culture of Dependency

- 1 *The World Book Encyclopedia*, Copyright 1988, USA, World Book, Inc. A Scott Fetzer Company. Page 192, "The History of Welfare."
- 2 Ibid, Page 193, "The Great Depression."
- 3 Robert Mare and Christopher Winship, "Socioeconomic Change and the Decline of Marriage for Blacks and Whites," in Jencks and Peterson. *The Urban Underclass* (Brookings, 1991). page 183-4.
- 4 Department of Commerce, "Poverty in the United States, 1991, Series page 60, no. 181, tables C 14, 1992 *Green Book*, page 660, "Families in Poverty."
- 5 *Poverty in the U.S.: 1991*, Table 2, Economic Report of the President, February 1992.
- 6 *Reducing Poverty In America*, the American Enterprise Institute for Public Policy Research, the UCLA Center for the Study of Urban Poverty, Douglas J. Besharov, January 1993, page 2.
- 7 Ibid, page 18.
- 8 1992 *Green Book*, Section 7, "Welfare by Race", Table 29: Department of Health and Human Services unpublished data, D. Besharov, American Enterprise Institute, Jan. 1993.
- 9 David Eliwood, 1992 *Green Book*, D. Besharov, American Enterprise Institute, Jan. 1993.

Empowering Parents with Choice

1. Pierce v. Society of Sisters, 268 U.S. 510, 45 S.Ct. 571, 69 L.Ed. 1070 (1925)
2. e.g. Proverbs 22:6, "Train up a child in the way he should go and, when he is old, he will not depart from it." (KJV)
3. Blast and Wittmann, "The Case for Educational Choice", *Rebuilding American Schools*, Report No. 1, A Heartland Policy Study 27 (1991)
4. Hulsey, School Choice Programs: What's Happening in the States, The Heritage Foundation (1993), 2
5. Id.
6. Id.
7. Blast, 27.

8. Testimony by Henry Aschenbrenner, Deputy Executive Director, Pennsylvania Catholic Conference, before the Pennsylvania House Education Committee hearings on Educational Choice (September 1991).
9. Id.
10. Hulsey, 2.
11. Id.

The Death of Race

- 1 Just look at the proliferation of paraphernalia imprinted with slogans like "It's a Black Thang: You Wouldn't Understand." A failure or ability to grasp something epistemologically because of one's skin color is ludicrous on its face, but quite profitable to entrepreneurs.
- 2 Just as background: I grew up in Newport News, Va. and Alexandria, Va. in a poor family. I mention the last fact because many people I have met mistake me for some scion of a wealthy family—thus my conservative politics.
- 3 The hall was once called Cutter Hall. Now it is the El Hajj Malik El Shabazz Hall.
- 4 One of the more interesting incidences of this was a letter to the town newspaper, written by the white wife, Sarah Sully, of a black music professor, William Shadrack Cole. By the way, Professor Cole, teacher of Music 2, "Music in the Oral Tradition" (nicknamed "Clapping for Credit"), left the school a few years ago, after he was criticized for calling his students "honkies" and "m*th*r*f*ck*rs" and assaulting verbally and physically various Dartmouth Review staffers. Ms. Sully in her letter set up an interesting syllogism worthy of Abbott and Costello, or Beavis and Butthead: An Aryan by definition "uses his analytical faculties at every turn," said Ms. Sully. Kevin Pritchett uses his analytical faculties at every turn. Therefore, Ms. Sully concluded, *quod erat demonstrandum*, "Kevin Pritchett is not black." I am still after all these years trying to analyze her logic.
- 5 I think also, and Appiah mentions this in his book, that the current view of Race had its genesis even earlier. Jean-Jacques Rousseau's theory of history, expounded upon in works like the *Social Contract*, posited the idea of the noble savage, natural but wild, and superior than modern society's man. Africa as well as the Americas were looked to as places where the noble savage tribes — undifferentiated as individuals — still roamed.
- 6 Freeman, Gregory, "Blacks Can Find Source of Pride in U.S. History," *St. Louis Post-Dispatch*, April 4, 1993, Page 4B.
- 7 Appiah, Kwame Anthony, *In My Father's House: Africa in the Philosophy of Culture*. Oxford University Press, 225 pgs. 1992
- 8 Gillman, Todd J., "Panthers, Supremacists Call for U.S. overthrow; Dallas Rally Urges Revolution to Achieve Goals." *Dallas Morning News*, May 30, 1992, Page 37A.

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APPENDIX A: PUBLIC OPINION DATA

Key results of the Fabrizio, McLaughlin & Associates poll of African-Americans on current policy issues, conducted by telephone nationwide between August 24 and September 3, 1993.

Significant Data

Q: Here is a list of items recently prominent in the news. Would you tell me whether you approve or disapprove of the following?

	<u>App.</u>	<u>Disap.</u>
Eliminating parole for repeat violent criminals	59.4	37.4
Allowing parent to choose the schools their children attend	81.6	15.4
Establishing free enterprise zones where new businesses would be provided tax breaks and other incentives to create jobs and economic opportunity	85.2	11.0
Allowing voluntary prayer in schools	89.2	8.8
Requiring able-bodied welfare recipients to work for their benefits	91.2	6.4
Allowing taxpayer funding of elective abortions as part of a government-run national health care plan	34.0	58.8
Imposing the death penalty for convicted murderers	58.2	29.8
Requiring that school age children be taught homosexuality is a normal and acceptable lifestyle	30.0	64.0
Making English the official language of the United States	76.2	19.4

Q: Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

	<u>Agree</u>	<u>Disagree</u>
Many of our country's economic and social problems are as a result of the deterioration of the American family	69.6	22.0
African-Americans, Hispanics and other minorities should receive special preferences in hiring to make up for past inequalities	37.6	52.6
Government should play a role in strengthening traditional values	70.4	22.6

Q: If the country's only choice to solve the federal budget deficit was raising taxes or cutting spending, which would you choose — raising taxes or cutting spending?

Raising taxes	14.8
Cutting spending	73.4
Both (VOLUNTEERED)	7.4
DK/Refused	4.4

Q: Are you a member and/or supporter of the NAACP?

Yes, member only	8.8
Yes, supporter only	40.4

Both member and supporter	8.8
Not member or supporter	40.4
DK/Refused	1.6

Q: Do you pray daily, weekly or monthly?

Daily	80.8
Weekly	9.8
Monthly	3.4
Never pray/refused	6.0

Key Demographics

Q: Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling his job as President?

Approve	64.6
Disapprove	21.4
DK/Refused	14.0

Q: With which party are you affiliated?

Republican	13.4
Democrat	68.8
Independent	10.0
Other (Specify)	0.6
DK/Refused	7.2

Q: For whom did you vote in last year's election for President — George Bush, the Republican, Bill Clinton, the Democrat or Ross Perot, the Independent? If you did not vote, just say so.

Bush	9.0
Clinton	69.6
Perot	3.2
Did not vote	15.2
Other	0.4
DK/Refused	2.6

Q: What is the last grade of formal education you have completed?

Less than high school	19.0
High school graduate	32.6
Some college	25.2
College graduate	16.8
Post graduate	5.4
DK/Refused	1.0

Q: What is your annual family income — is it under \$20,000, between \$20,001 and \$40,000, between \$40,001 and \$60,000, between \$60,001 and \$75,000, or over \$75,000?

Under \$20,000	36.4
Between \$20,001 and \$40,000	28.6
Between \$40,001 and \$60,000	14.0
Between \$60,001 and \$75,000	4.0
Over \$75,000	3.4
DK/Refused	13.6

APPENDIX B: MEANS TESTED PROGRAMS AND OTHER WELFARE SPENDING

Cash Aid

- 01 Aid to Families with Dependent Children
- 02 Supplemental Security Income
- 03 Pensions for Need Veterans, their Dependents, and Survivors
- 04 General Assistance (cash component)
- 05 Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC)
- 06 Foster Care
- 07 Assistance to Refugees and Cuban/Haitian Entrants (cash component)
- 08 Emergency Assistance (EA) to Needy Families with Children
- 09 Adoption Assistance
- 10 Dependency and Indemnity Compensation (DIC) and Death Compensation for Parents of Veterans
- 11 General Assistance to Indians

Development Aid

- 01 Community Development Block Grant*
- 02 UDAG - Urban Development Block Grant
- 03 Economic Development Administration*
- 04 Appalachian Regional Development*
- 05 Legalization Impact Aid

Energy Aid

- 01 Low-Income Home Energy Assistance Program
- 02 Weatherization Assistance

Education Aid

- 01 Pell Grants
- 02 Head Start
- 03 Title One Grants to Local Education Authorities for Educationally Deprived Children, Elementary and Secondary Education Act*
- 04 College Work-Study program
- 05 Supplemental Educational Opportunity Grants
- 06 Vocational Educational Opportunities, Disadvantaged Activities
- 07 Chapter I Migrant Education Program
- 08 Special Programs for Students from Disadvantaged Backgrounds (TRIO Programs)
- 09 State Student Incentive Grants
- 10 Fellowships for Graduate and Professional Study
- 11 Follow Through
- 12 Nursing Loans and Grants*
- 13 Health Professions Student Loans and Scholarships
- 14 Even Start*

Food Aid

- 01 Food Stamps
- 02 School Lunch Program (Free and Reduced Price Segments)
- 03 Special Supplemental Food Program for Women, Infants, and Children (WIC)
- 04 Temporary Emergency Food Assistance Program (TEFAP)
- 05 Nutrition Program for the Elderly
- 06 School Breakfast Program (Free and Reduced Price Segments)
- 07 Child Care Food Program
- 08 Summer Food Service program for Children

- 09 Food Program For Needy Indian Families
- 10 Commodity Supplemental Food Program (CSFP)
- 11 Special Milk Program (free segment)

Housing Aid

- 01 Section 8 Lower Income Housing Assistance
- 02 Low-Rent Public Housing
- 03 Section 502 Rural Housing Loans
- 04 Section 236 Interest Reduction Payments
- 05 Section 515 Rural Rental Housing Loans
- 06 Section 521 Rural Rental Assistance Payments
- 07 Section 235 Homeownership Assistance for Low-Income Families
- 08 Section 101 Rent Supplements
- 09 Indian Housing Improvement Grants
- 10 Section 504 Rural Housing Repair Loans and Grants
- 11 Section 514 Farm Labor Housing Loans
- 12 Section 523 Rural Housing Self-Help Technical Assistance Grants and Loans
- 13 Section 524 Rural Housing Sire Loans
- 14 Section 516 Farm Labor Housing Grants
- 15 Section 533 Rural Housing Preservation Grants
- 16 Public Housing Expenditures by State Governments*

Jobs and Training Aid

- 01 Training for Disadvantaged Adults and Youth (JTPA II-A)
- 02 Summer Youth Employment Program (JTPA II-B)
- 03 Job Corps (JTPA IV)
- 04 Senior Community Service Employment Program
- 05 Work Incentive Program (WIN) and Job Opportunity and Basic Skills Training
- 06 Foster Grandparents
- 07 Senior Companions
- 08 Migrant and Seasonal Farmworkers Program
- 09 Indian and Native American Employment and Training Program

Medical Aid

- 01 Medicaid
- 02 Medical Care for Low Income Veterans Without Service-Connected Disability
- 03 General Assistance (Medical Care Component)
- 04 Indian Health Services
- 05 Maternal and Child Health Services Block Grant, Title V of the Social Security Act
- 06 Community Health Centers
- 07 Medical Assistance to Refugees and Cuban/Haitian Entrants
- 08 Migrant Health Centers
- 09 Medical Care for Poor Persons

Social Services

- 01 Social Services Block Grant (Title XX)
- 02 Community Services Block Grant
- 03 Legal Services
- 04 Emergency Food and Shelter Program
- 05 Social Services for Refugees and Cuban/Haitian Entrants
- 06 Title X Family Planning
- 07 VISTA
- 08 Child Welfare*
- 09 Title III Supportive Services, Older Americans Act*

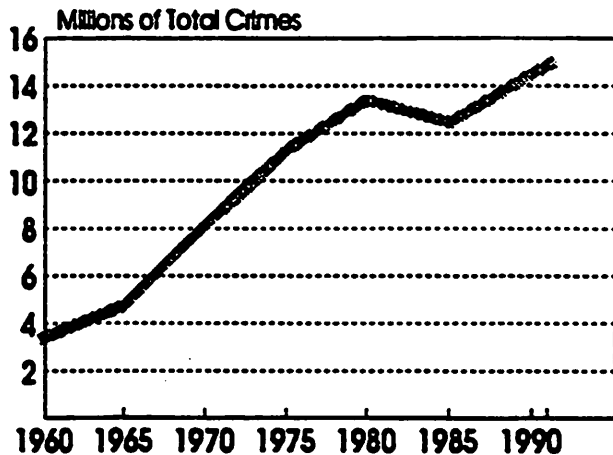
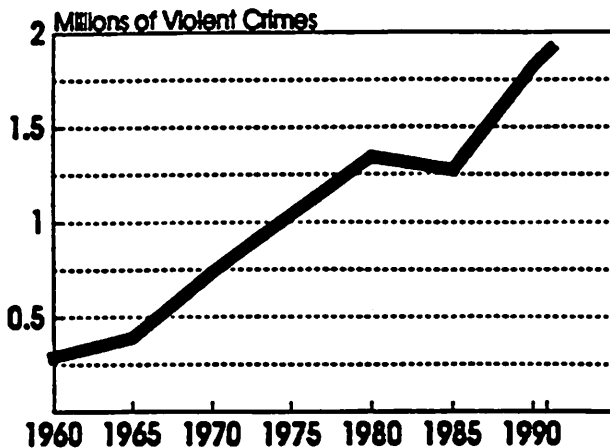
* Current Program not Included in Congressional Research Service List
Source: The Heritage Foundation

APPENDIX C: CRIME STATISTICS

ARREST RATES BY RACE (1990)		
Crimes	Black Share of all Arrests	Disproportion of Black Arrests
Robbery	61.2%	5.1
Murder and Manslaughter	54.7%	4.5
Gambling	47.5%	3.9
Rape	43.2%	3.6
Receiving Stolen Property	41.2%	3.4
Vagrancy	40.8%	3.4
Drug Violations	40.7%	3.4
Weapons Possession	39.8%	3.3
Prostitution	38.9%	3.2
Motor Vehicle Theft	38.4%	3.2
Aggravated Assault	38.4%	3.2
Forgery and Counterfeiting	34.0%	2.8
Disorderly Conduct	32.4%	2.7
Embezzlement	32.1%	2.7
Domestic Violence	30.3%	2.5
Burglary	30.1%	2.5
Vandalism	22.6%	1.9
Curfew and Loitering	17.7%	1.5
Driving While Intoxicated	8.7%	0.9

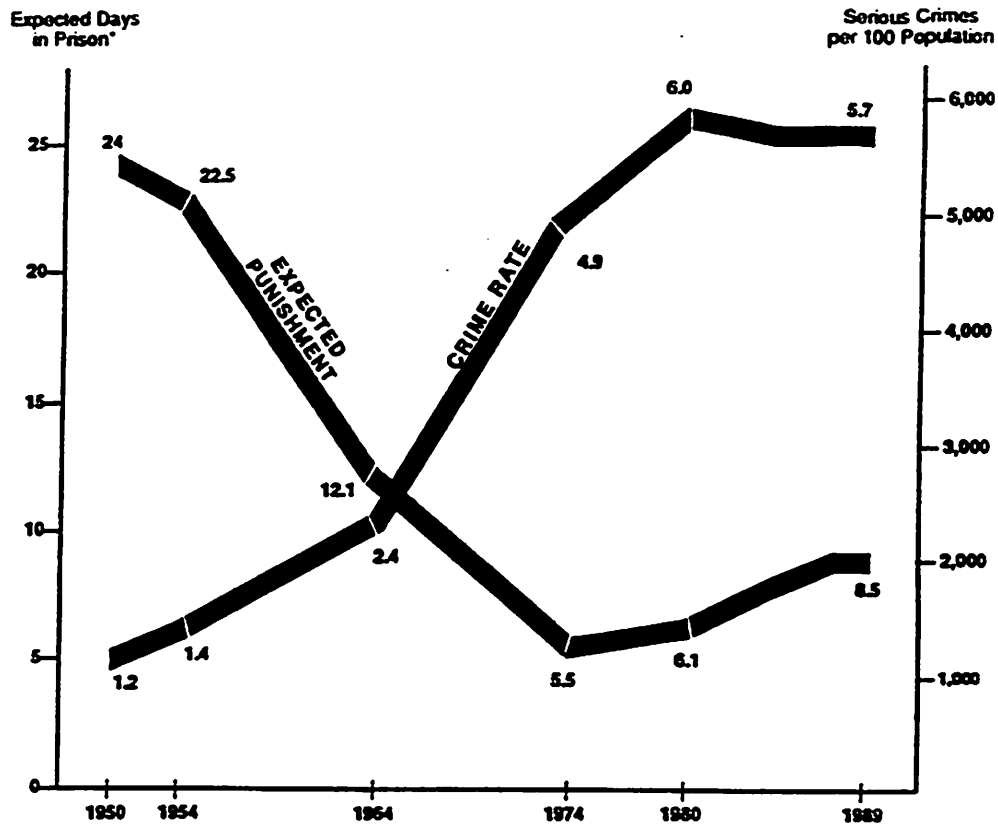
Source: FBI/ Two Nations, Black and White, Separate, Hostile, Unequal, Hacker, 1992.

Number of Crimes Committed



Source: FBI / The Index of Cultural Indicators, March 1993

CRIME AND PUNISHMENT



*Median prison sentence for all serious crimes, weighted by probabilities of arrest, prosecution, conviction and imprisonment.

Source: NCPA