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ROBERT C. LARSON

March 29, 1999

VIA FAX

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

As you know from recent news accounts, there is growing anger and anguish over the epidemic of police brutality and abuse against people of color in the United States. This problem knows no ethnic, socioeconomic or geographic boundaries. Minority Americans want, like all Americans, to live and work in safe communities. We support the police and believe the overwhelming majority of them want to do the right thing.

But people of color refuse to be treated as second class citizens by the criminal justice system. Nor do we intend to sacrifice hard-won constitutional rights that were gained through years of sacrifice and struggle. Law enforcement agencies at every level of government must protect all citizens from crime without undercutting the civil liberties of any citizens. Experience in communities across the country shows that public safety and civil liberties can co-exist.

On February 25th, a broad, multi-ethnic coalition of civil rights, civil liberties and community-based groups called upon you to lead the nation out of this abyss that is so perilous for people of color, and the entire country.

We are gratified that you heard our message. The new initiatives that you announced in your weekend radio address are, by and large, a welcome step in the right direction. We are pleased as well that Attorney General Janet Reno has accelerated the pace of her department's enforcement activities and reached out to engage civil rights and law enforcement groups in a search for solutions.

Yet there are miles to go before police misconduct is adequately under control and the tensions caused by it subside. Now

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that you are engaged, we wish to propose the following action agenda for your administration and for Congress. To produce significant and lasting progress, there must be concerted attention, aggressive enforcement and oversight, and systemic changes in law enforcement policy and practice. This action agenda will achieve those objectives.

The Problem

To recapitulate briefly, the problems of police misconduct fall into two basic categories:

- **Excessive use of force** that results all too frequently in brutality and/or fatalities at the hands of police. These outrages are often mismanaged, investigated without the requisite sense of urgency, and eventually disposed of in suspect ways that defy justice and common sense. These unjust outcomes fuel anger, turmoil and mistrust among minorities toward the entire criminal justice system.
- **Dragnet techniques** that ensnare minorities who've done little or nothing wrong. We speak of such police tactics as racial profiling, excessive stopping and frisking, traffic "safety" sweeps and use of trivial infractions as a ruse to troll for more serious offenses. These practices needlessly undercut civil liberties in the name of public safety.

African Americans aren't alone in suffering at the hands of overzealous and brutal law enforcement officers. Latinos, Asian Americans and Native Americans endure brutality and abuse as well. The offending agencies include state and local police departments, as well as U.S. Customs and the Immigration and Naturalization Service.

The Need for Leadership

We are gratified -- and relieved -- that the problem of police brutality and abuse has captured your attention. The initiatives you announced recently point in the right direction. But they are modest in our estimation. We seek a level of leadership and engagement that is commensurate with the severity and scope of a problem that has embittered America's minorities and tossed many communities into turmoil.

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We urge you and the Attorney General to provide high profile leadership and display genuine empathy for the victims of police misconduct. There must be loud and clear and recurring signals to the nation that police brutality and abuse are unacceptable and that you feel the pain suffered by the victims and their families.

Accordingly, we call upon you and Attorney General Reno to visit the actual sites of the most egregious and inexcusable incidents, meet with family members, and declare publicly that your administration will leave no stone unturned until justice is done.

Aggressive Enforcement

The measures you announced mostly point in the right direction. But they do not go nearly far enough. More specifically, we call upon your administration and Congress to take the following actions:

- Allocate at least \$20 million more – not merely \$1 million more, as you've proposed – to ensure that the Justice Department has the capacity to cope with the nature and national scope of the problem. Justice needs a dedicated team of investigators and prosecutors that can pursue the many complaints of brutality and abuse so swiftly and resolutely that the prospect of federal intervention itself is an effective deterrent to such behavior by law enforcement officers.
- The Justice Department should intensify and expedite its investigations into police department patterns and practices in communities that experience high incidences of brutality and abuse. The department should entertain appeals to reopen cases that may have been closed inappropriately.
- Each U.S. Attorney's office in the nation should be staffed by an attorney who focuses on civil rights and police misconduct cases.
- The House Judiciary Committee should convene formal hearings to receive testimony on the scope and breadth of police brutality and misconduct and formulate recommendations for legislation.

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- The White House should pressure Congress to enact the proposed Jonny Gammage Law. It would provide for independent federal prosecutors to investigate allegations of police misconduct where the use of deadly force by police results in injury or death of victim.
- Your administration and Congress should adhere to the Omnibus Crime Bill of 1994 by appropriating funds for the Justice Department to systematically collect and disseminate data on the incidence of brutality and abuse.

The federal government should not rely solely on enforcement and prosecution to combat police misconduct. Accordingly, we call upon your administration to institute the following sanctions for law enforcement agencies that are plagued by recurring patterns of brutality and abuse:

- Issue an executive order that federal law enforcement subsidies will be withheld from police departments that have an unusually high number of brutality complaints or a significant number of unresolved or pending complaints of brutality or excessive force. This and other sanctions could be imposed in a graduated fashion commensurate with the level of offensive practices and local willingness to address the problem.
- In the case of unrepentant police departments that fail to correct patterns of brutality and abuse, the Justice Department should institute legal proceedings to place the departments under federal receivership until they mend their ways.
- The Justice Department should require that all state and local police departments receiving federal law enforcement subsidies establish civilian complaint review boards that possess investigative and subpoena power.
- Your administration should allocate funds to support the efforts of community-based organizations to promote police/community trust and heal tensions. Grass-roots groups are invariably drawn into the strife to extinguish fires and foster trust. With federal support, they could be even more effective.

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Reforming Police Practice

Your announced plan to invest \$42 million in improving the caliber of local police forces makes eminent good sense. The better educated, trained and supervised police officers are, the better the job they will do and the fewer problems they'll have with those they protect.

However, we strenuously oppose your proposal for increased federal funding to hire even more police officers. America's criminal justice system is amply endowed already. The nation's prisons are saturated, filled as it is with thousands of non-violent offenders who pose no threat to society. By contrast, the federal government invests far too little in public schools and after-school programs that steer young people clear of crime in the first place. We urge you to beef up funding for prevention, instead of police.

We are deeply concerned that your plan does not adequately address the urgent need to reform the policies governing use of force and the dragnet practices that are explicitly or tacitly sanctioned by state and local police departments. In addition to increasing the capacity of Justice to investigate and sanction misconduct after the fact, we believe your administration must seek fundamental reforms in police policy and practice. Unless these tactics that treat minorities as second class citizens are addressed systematically, the deep-seated fear and distrust of police will continue to simmer and erupt.

Law enforcement agencies routinely deny the existence of policies and practices that result in brutality and abuse. They have little incentive to acknowledge them. If there's to be progress in police/civilian relations, we must move past stubborn denials to constructive remedies.

As the nation's chief law enforcement officer and the champion of racial harmony, you are best positioned to spearhead this process of ferreting out truth and restoring trust. Accordingly, we call upon you to convene a one-day White House Summit this spring. The Summit would serve several purposes:

- Shine the national spotlight on the problem of police brutality and abuse;

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- Underscore your determination to seek constructive solutions;
- Secure commitments from a cross-section of thoughtful leaders -- police chiefs, mayors and other elected officials, police union leaders, other representatives of the law enforcement community, and leaders of civil rights, civil liberties and community-based groups -- to work together in devising concrete and constructive solutions; and
- Launch a fast-track process that is directed by the Attorney General and that involves those who attend the Summit. We see this as a six-month exercise at most. Its purpose is to promulgate a set of best practice guidelines that law enforcement agencies will embrace and implement. The guidelines would be coupled with mechanisms for monitoring and enforcing compliance.

Following the Summit, the Attorney General would empanel three working groups comprised of representatives of the key sectors. Each working group would be given a specific assignment:

- One would function as a blue ribbon panel that conducts public hearings around the country to ferret out evidence of police brutality and abuse. Armed with subpoena power, it would take testimony, hold focus groups with young people and adults, and conduct surveys. The purpose of this exercise is to document the nature, scope and impact of the problem of police misconduct.
- A second working group would delve into the issue of unjustified use of force by law enforcement officers. Beyond the headline cases, how prevalent is the problem? What forms does it take? What accounts for the cases that result in fatalities, in severe brutality and abuse, and in intimidation? What sorts of situations seem to set policemen off? What lessons can be gleaned from law enforcement agencies that aren't riddled with allegations of brutality and abuse? How do they recruit and train officers? What kinds of supervisory, assignment and disciplinary regimens do they employ to keep things satisfactorily under control?

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From the evidence and information garnered through this exercise, the working group would devise a series of best practice recommendations that could be disseminated to law enforcement agencies for implementation. They would also be distributed to civilian police review boards, legislative and judicial bodies, community organizations and the media for purposes of monitoring the performance of police departments.

- The third working group would focus on the dragnet practices that ensnare so many innocent people and minor offenders and thus undercut their civil liberties. This panel would examine case studies of law enforcement agencies that have successfully reduced crime without relying beyond reason on these techniques.

More specifically, the working group would devise best practice guidelines in the following problem areas:

- Minorities complain bitterly that they are harassed by police officers who detain them for little or no reason and who then use that stop as a ruse to conduct a broader investigation. The working group would prepare guidelines governing when officers should and should not be allowed to go beyond the scope of the initial infraction.
- In the past, police were only supposed to stop people who were "suspects" or otherwise connected to specific crime. But under current practice, people can be stopped and even frisked if they are deemed "suspicious." Those who have done nothing illegal are then released because the police were "mistaken." This practice gives policemen carte blanche to abuse and intimidate.

The working group would devise guidelines, based on best practice in actual communities, that are aimed at promoting public safety without undermining the civil liberties of innocent civilians and trivial offenders.

- Once the findings and guidelines of the three working groups are completed, the Attorney General would compile them into a coherent set of recommendations. To assure that these recommendations don't gather dust on shelves once they are

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disseminated, the Attorney General should also devise mechanisms plans for monitoring implementation and prevailing upon recalcitrant police departments to comply. To be more specific:

- The Justice Department should publish an annual report on police misconduct. The report card would shine the national spotlight on specific police departments that have poor records on brutality and abuse.
- You should issue an executive order requiring police departments that receive federal law enforcement subsidies to endorse and implement the best practice guidelines or risk loss of federal funding. Similar directives could be issued to state police departments, INS and Customs.

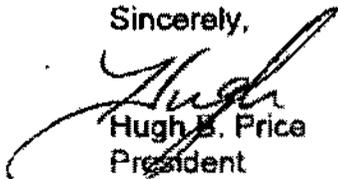
When the report of the Justice Department is prepared, we suggest you convene a second White House Summit in the fall. You would use that occasion to officially receive the report and announce your plans and timetable for implementing the various recommendations.

Mr. President – We wholeheartedly embrace your dream of One America. Transforming that dream into reality is what Urban Leaguers and the other groups in our coalition do day in and day out.

Yet the widespread and indiscriminate treatment of innocent civilians like suspects foments alienation along racial lines, perpetuates the treatment of minorities as second class citizens under law, and makes an utter mockery of your dream.

We implore you to spare no effort and expense in spearheading an aggressive drive to purge the nation's criminal justice system of bias, brutality and abuse.

Sincerely,



Hugh B. Price
President

cc. The Hon. Janet Reno
Charles Ruff, Esq.
Bruce Reed
Ben Johnson



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ROBERT C. LARSON

March 1, 1999

VIA FAX

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

Thank you so very much for your response to my letter. It was most welcome and timely. We did indeed have a productive meeting with Eric Holder, who, I'm proud to say, is a former student of mine at Columbia Law School. We agreed to touch base again early next week.

I thought I would share a few additional reflections. This letter is going through normal channels, by the way, and not being released to the media. As you may have heard from your staff, our press conference on Thursday was quite compelling. The breadth of groups that joined hands for justice was unprecedented in the recent annals of the civil rights movement. To an organization, they expressed hope that you would take a high profile leadership role in helping to resolve the nagging and at times highly volatile problem of police misconduct and abuse.

I think you would find the stories of those who "testified" at the press conference quite compelling. I realize that you probably lack the time to view the entire event. But there are several vignettes that I especially commend to you so that you will appreciate how widespread and how deep our concerns are and why they cry out for vigorous presidential leadership. In particular I would call your attention to the moving comments of:

- Betty Grimmatt, the mother of Deron who was killed by an avowedly racist Pittsburgh police officer.
- Donald Bowen, the CEO of our affiliate in Ft. Lauderdale, who spoke on behalf of an eyewitness to a police assault.
- Raul Yzaguirre, head of the National Council of La Raza, who shared many arresting anecdotes which illustrated that this problem is less noticed but no less pervasive in the Latino community.

President William J. Clinton

March 1, 1999

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- Karen Narasaki, executive director of the National Asian Pacific Consortium, who shared several riveting accounts of encounters between Asian Americans and police officers.

My point in pinpointing the remarks of these speakers is to highlight the anger and exasperation that minority Americans are feeling and to underscore the fact that the problem isn't confined to a senseless killing here and a brutal beating there. The concerns expressed on Thursday run the gamut from grossly improper use of deadly force to everyday encounters between aggressive police and innocent civilians.

According to *The New York Times*, over the last two years alone, the so-called street crimes unit of the New York City police has stopped and frisked about 45,000 people. Fewer than 10,000 were arrested. This means that some 35-40,000 civilians were stopped because the officers "mistakenly" thought they were carrying guns. As you can imagine, the corrosive effect of these kinds of low-profile encounters is incalculable.

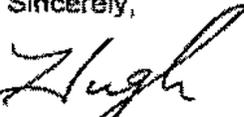
Last Friday, *Nightline* revealed the kinds of dragnet tactics that law enforcement officials use to ensnare innocents and bad actors alike. The ouster of New Jersey's top cop over the weekend serves to substantiate our contention that racial profiling has been an accepted practice along the state's highways.

Some critics see our call for a White House summit as an empty publicity stunt. Quite the contrary. I view it as an opportunity for you to affirm that this is a national problem that cuts across communities and ethnic groups. In addition, it enables you to force reluctant mayors and police chiefs to come to the table to begin fashioning new approaches that reconcile aggressive law enforcement with protection of civil liberties.

If I may make a suggestion, I would be more than delighted to participate in a small, off-the-record meeting with you to discuss what you and your administration might do to address these grievous injustices and objectionable practices. You may wish to invite others, like Karen and Raul, as well as a handful of thoughtful mayors and law enforcement officials. I know, for example, that Lee Brown cares deeply about this issue. In fact, he staged a conference on this very topic a couple of years ago.

Mr. President - we stand ready to help you move this ball downfield.

Sincerely,



Hugh B. Price
President



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ROBERT C. LARSON

December 21, 1998

VIA FAX

Ben Johnson
Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Ben:

I am aware from conversations with Congressman Charles Rangel and with Mike Smith of DOE that President Clinton is mapping several domestic initiatives that will help define his legacy. I was encouraged to share any ideas we have that he and the administration might wish to consider.

I forwarded the enclosed letter to the President today. I wanted you to have a copy right away as well. This represents our best real-world thinking about how the federal government can accelerate the pace of academic improvement among urban youngsters.

It's our strongly held view that vastly more attention must be paid to what transpires in the homes, schools and communities where values are shaped and youngsters are actually nurtured and educated. What with all the emphasis on tests, assessments and sanctions, we believe there's been far too little emphasis on the adults and the "delivery systems" that actually do the work of preparing our children. That's the basic impetus behind our policy recommendations.

I hope you find these ideas helpful in the administration's deliberations.

Sincerely,

Hugh B. Price
President



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ROBERT C. LARSON

December 21, 1998

VIA FAX

Eugene Sperling
Director of the National Economic Council
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Eugene:

I am aware from conversations with Congressman Charles Rangel and with Mike Smith of DOE that President Clinton is mapping several domestic initiatives that will help define his legacy. I was encouraged to share any ideas we have that he and the administration might wish to consider.

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I hope you find these ideas helpful in the administration's deliberations.

Sincerely,

Hugh B. Price
President



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ROBERT C. LARSON

December 21, 1998

VIA FAX

Maria Echeveste
Deputy Chief of Staff
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Maria:

I am aware from conversations with Congressman Charles Rangel and with Mike Smith of DOE that President Clinton is mapping several domestic initiatives that will help define his legacy. I was encouraged to share any ideas we have that he and the administration might wish to consider.

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December 21, 1998

VIA FAX

Mingon Moore
Director, Office of Public Liaison
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mingon:

I am aware from conversations with Congressman Charles Rangel and with Mike Smith of DOE that President Clinton is mapping several domestic initiatives that will help define his legacy. I was encouraged to share any ideas we have that he and the administration might wish to consider.

I forwarded the enclosed letter to the President today. I wanted you to have a copy right away as well. This represents our best real-world thinking about how the federal government can accelerate the pace of academic improvement among urban youngsters.

It's our strongly held view that vastly more attention must be paid to what transpires in the homes, schools and communities where values are shaped and youngsters are actually nurtured and educated. What with all the emphasis on tests, assessments and sanctions, we believe there's been far too little emphasis on the adults and the "delivery systems" that actually do the work of preparing our children. That's the basic impetus behind our policy recommendations.

I hope you find these ideas helpful in the administration's deliberations.

Sincerely,

Hugh B. Price
President

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ROBERT C. LARSON

December 21, 1998

VIA FAX

The Honorable William J. Clinton
President
The White House
Washington, DC 20500

Dear President Clinton:

I am writing at what I know is an agonizing time for you and your family. The Urban League movement is pulling for you to navigate the treacherous terrain ahead and to survive the assault on your presidency, which unquestionably has been good for this country and for the African-American community.

My good friend Congressman Charles Rangel has told me about the lengthy and stimulating meeting the two of you had recently about the challenges and imperatives of preparing America's young people for the future. I gather from him that you were quite intrigued by the ideas he broached. He also said you were quite complimentary of me and of the work of our movement. I was greatly touched and gratified that you think so highly of us.

I have been meaning to follow up on your meeting with Mr. Rangel. But to be truthful, I have been hesitant to intrude on your time. Nevertheless, I know how committed you are to equipping every American child with the academic and social skills needed to become successful, self-sufficient and law-abiding citizens in the century ahead. I also know that your commitment to children springs from the very marrow of your bones and from the centrality of education in your own life experience.

In my view – and, I'm certain, in Congressman Rangel's view – the greatest and most enduring legacy you can leave this nation is to advance a set of public policies and investments that propel our children successfully toward the 21st century.

I was astounded and alarmed to read just the other day that my own state of New York is the latest where outlays for prisons now

The Honorable William J. Clinton
December 21, 1998
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exceed expenditures on higher education. According to a RAND study that I read recently, as recently as 1995, the State of California spent twice as much on higher education as on criminal justice. By 2005, the ratio will have reversed!

If America persists in going down this path, we will cripple our economy, undermine our families and communities and, in the end, bankrupt our society – morally as well as financially.

To paraphrase the title of Spike Lee's film "Mo' Better Blues," one viable and low-cost solution to the Social Security crisis is "Mo' Better Workers." In other words, more workers who are well educated and highly skilled, and thus who earn more money and pay higher taxes.

The best place to find them is America's schools, not its prisons. Millions of eager yet ill-prepared youngsters with enormous untapped potential attend the nation's urban and rural schools. They are the vast reservoir of "Mo' Better Workers" just waiting to be nurtured and developed, if only we will invest in them.

As I discussed with Congressman Rangel, however, I'm deeply troubled by the near total emphasis in public debate and policy on standards, assessments and sanctions. Figuring out how to hoist youngsters up to those loftier standards is barely on the radar screen in most states.

To invoke an automobile analogy, it's as though we've promulgated the specs for a world class car, only to assume that this act alone will produce it, without attending adequately to the arduous task of retooling the manufacturing plants, assembly lines and factory workers who actually make the vehicles.

I urge you to use your bully pulpit repeatedly to help policymakers, the media and the general public see that we must invest in the "delivery systems," namely the schools, communities and families – in order for young people to meet the lofty expectations that we hold for them.

In this spirit, I would like to share the policy recommendations that I presented to Congressman Rangel. Some – and perhaps even

all -- all of them may have occurred to you already. In each instance, I assume that the federal government would have to figure out how to collaborate with states and local school districts in order to try to circumnavigate those ideological conflicts about federal control of local education. Here then are my suggestions:

1. It goes without saying that the Elementary and Secondary Education Act should be renewed. We are gearing up to work closely with your administration to protect this vitally important investment in public schools that serve America's neediest pupils.
2. The shortage of qualified teachers in urban schools is well documented by the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, among others. The problem is especially acute in disciplines like science and math. Children have little chance of meeting high standards in these subjects if there aren't skilled teachers to educate them. Adding 100,000 teachers to shrink class sizes is enormously important, but it may not quite reach to teacher quality question in key disciplines.

The federal government could provide matching funds to states to recruit, retool and train teachers for urban and rural school districts faced with these shortages. Go after new recruits, but also after military retirees and skilled workers who are laid off by corporations. Use the fast-track learning systems devised by the military to retool this vast corps of potential teachers. Supplement the salaries offered by school districts in order to lure them into this field.

3. Everyone agrees that school principals are critically important. One can only wonder, though, how many of them have "state-of-the-art" skills for running urban schools. Are they up to speed on research and best practice, on management and motivation, and on functioning like mavericks inside complex bureaucracies?

The federal government could provide matching grants for states to offer intensive training for current and future principals. Model the experience after those mid-career management training programs offered by leading business and public policy schools. Sending an army of fresh and refreshed leaders into urban schools could move the ball downfield. And it probably wouldn't cost all that much in the grand scheme of things.

4. Research shows that urban and minority kids fare better in smaller schools with no more than 800 or so students. Yet we continue to "sentence" them to attend massive, pedagogically obsolete schools with several thousand students. Most pupils, not to mention teachers, haven't a prayer of succeeding in these settings.

Federal investments to refurbish school infrastructure should be guided by this body of research. Perhaps Washington could join with the states to create a matching fund for decommissioning obsolete schools (the way we do military bases and massive housing projects) and for building or leasing smaller, state-of-the-art schools. This fund might also be utilized to help subdivide big schools into smaller, more autonomous units.

5. By many accounts, schools of education typically fall short when it comes to equipping their graduates to teach urban kids. There's a mismatch between curricula and faculty, on the one hand, and the needs of urban youngsters, on the other.

Perhaps the U.S. Department of Education could administer a matching fund to support the establishment of 21st century schools of education that are genuinely attuned to the unique educational and developmental needs of urban and rural youngsters. A series of challenge grants could really shake up the system and send strong signals about the caliber of teacher education that is needed and expected in this day and age. I strongly suspect that some exciting new models of teacher education would surface quickly in response to such a stimulus.

6. The evidence is abundantly clear that constructive after-school programs pay huge dividends to youngsters and to society. Young people who routinely participate in such programs tend to perform better in school and steer clear of such deleterious behaviors as violence, crime and sex.

You have succeeded in placing this under-appreciated issue on the national agenda. Now that a beachhead has been established in the federal budget, is it possible to pull out all the stops and go for scale? Can the federal government create a sizable matching fund to induce states to invest in this arena? The beneficial impact would be swift and it would help boost the academic achievement and social development of urban youngsters.

7. Some urban school districts have really begun to push the achievement envelope, with encouraging results. For instance, the College Board, under Don Stewart's leadership, launched Equity 2000 some years ago. They prevailed upon six urban districts to require that all pupils take algebra – and then figure out how the schools should deliver for the children. These districts have put their teachers, principals and guidance counselors through intensive professional development. They've instituted after-school and summer academies to shore up students who are struggling. And so forth.

Though the districts don't have perfect batting averages by any means, the evidence thus far is enormously encouraging. I'm immensely impressed by the following statistics on the impact of Equity 2000 across the six pilot districts from its inception in 1991 through 1997:

- 9th grade enrollment in Algebra 1 or higher increased from 50 percent to 87 percent of all students.
- It jumped from 45 percent to 86 percent of African American pupils.

- And from 40 percent to 87 percent of Latino students, 63 percent to 95 percent of Asian students, and 59 percent to 85 percent of white students.
- Enrollment in Geometry or higher soared from 39 percent to 67 percent of students in the pilot districts. The lift occurred among all students and the proportions were actually highest among African-American and Latino youngsters.
- Although the passing rates declined a bit, vastly more youngsters were enrolled in Algebra and Geometry by 1997.
- As a result, nearly four thousand more 9th graders actually passed Algebra by the end of 1997 than were even enrolled in the course at the start of Equity 2000 in 1991.
- Much the same is true of Geometry.

I could readily imagine the federal government establishing an incentive fund, matched by states, to support comprehensive strategies like this by districts that are determined to lift the level of student achievement. Give them the flexible supplemental funds to address the various facets of what must be done in a coherent way. If a cross-section of urban districts really managed to move the needle, that'd be an invaluable contribution by Washington to the cause of improving achievement.

8. Lastly, you could look at utilizing a military model to reach youngsters who've dialed out of traditional schools. When you and I were growing up, the Army routinely rescued thousands of aimless young-men from the streets. Later on, the military went upscale and stopped recruiting school dropouts. This cut off a well-worn escape route for young people who needed an alternative path.

For years I tried to figure out how to get the military back in the business of helping to develop youngsters who weren't

being reached by the schools. I came up with the idea of trying to get one of the branches to operate a domestic youth corps for school dropouts. It would operate on military bases, with all of the structure and training of the military, except that participants would perform community service instead of prepare for combat.

In early 1989, while I was with the Rockefeller Foundation, I broached this idea to General Herbert Temple, head of the National Guard, and Dan Donohue, director of the Guard's Public Information Bureau. Several sentences into my pitch, they said they got the concept and would do it.

Dan took my nugget of an idea and has since transformed it into a gem of a program, known as the National Guard Youth ChalleNGe Corps. It has become one of the most potent interventions I know of for rescuing teenagers who've dialed out, but haven't yet gone completely over the edge, deep into the criminal justice system.

Enlistees spend 22 weeks on a military base in basic education and training. There they are subjected to the rigorous regimen you'd expect of a military operation. Dan and his colleagues have designed an elaborate human development curriculum that draws heavily on their track record of molding recruits into functional and effective members of the military. The curriculum covers such topics as:

- Leadership and, every bit as important, "followership"
- Community service
- Job skills
- Academic excellence
- Responsible citizenship
- Life coping skills

- Health, sex education and nutrition

The impacts documented to date are quite impressive. According to the National Guard:

- The Challenge Corps has graduated 13,000 young people in six years.
- 9,330 of the grads have obtained their GED.
- That's a GED attainment rate of over 70 percent, which about equals the national average.
- The retention rate is 91 percent for the most recent class. That actually exceeds the national high school completion rate.
- An assessment of the 5,000 most recent grads as of June 1995, shows that 43 percent of them were employed, 22 percent were attending college; 14 percent were pursuing vocation education, 12 percent had returned to high school, and nearly 9 percent were in the military.

These statistics are especially striking because the Challenge Corps deals only with school dropouts and expellees.

The federal government could ramp up funding in a big way and challenge the states to follow suit by putting some of their burgeoning criminal justice budget into the pot. That way, the Corps could really go to scale. The underutilized military facilities exist, so this expansion could be implemented in a hurry.

There are variations on the basic concept that the National Guard is open to exploring as well, including:

- The National Urban League and the National Guard are discussing the feasibility of creating an intensive, but non-residential model, also for dropouts. This would fortify their academic and social skills, and equip them to enroll in post-secondary education and/or enter the labor market.

The Honorable William J. Clinton
December 21, 1998
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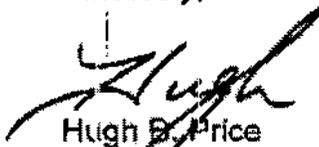
The Guard would offer its core academic and developmental program, while we offer intensive mentoring, guidance and placement services. We have broached this idea to Secretary of Labor Alexis Herman and will follow up this week with a concept paper.

- Charter schools and other forms of alternative schools can be created in the image of the Challenge Corps. For instance, just this fall, our local Urban League and the Massachusetts National Guard opened a charter school in Springfield. The Guard is eager to create some non-residential Challenge Academies that adhere to essentially the same philosophy, curriculum and regimen. The Academy would run from about 7:00 AM in the morning until 8:00 PM or so in the evening. These schools could be seeded with joint federal/state support and financed on an ongoing basis with support from the school district, coupled with supplementary aid from the state.

I hope these policy notions will prove useful in your deliberations. Needless to say, my colleagues and I are available for follow-up discussions with you or members of your administration if that would be helpful.

Thanks for hearing me out. Once again, we are pulling for you and praying for you.

Sincerely,



Hugh B. Price
President



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February 21, 1997

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ROBERT C. LARSON

President William J. Clinton
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing on behalf of the entire Urban League movement to salute you for your leadership in recent weeks on two issues that are of vital interest to those we serve. These are: (1) the national imperative to improve K-12 education in our country; and (2) the importance of a balanced approach to combating youth crime.

On the matter of education, we welcome both your legislative program and your aggressive use of the bully pulpit to educate, and if need be browbeat the American people on the urgent need to upgrade our schools. While specific legislative initiatives invariably spark debates over both scope and details, we also believe that the job of elevating the quality of education won't happen until the American people resolve that it must be done. This is why we commend you for the public awareness and mobilization campaign that you have mounted. And we urge you to stay the course until everyone gets the message. By the way, we have praised your efforts in my newspaper columns and radio commentary.

The National Urban League intends to do its part. We recently released the enclosed position paper and conducted an Urban Policy Forum, broadcast on C-SPAN, which was based on this paper. In mid-March we are convening a summit of leaders of major African-American church denominations, social and civic groups, and professional associations.

The first goal of the summit is to make certain our leaders understand that the academic bar for success in life has been raised

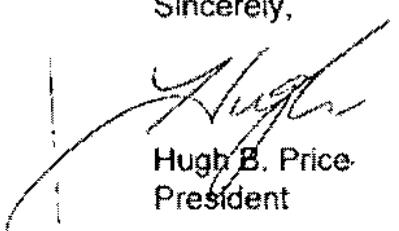
President William J. Clinton
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Page 2

and tell them what is known about how to lift our children over the bar. Our second objective is to discuss what these groups can do and then decide what we will do, individually and collectively, to promote the academic and social development of our children. As you can see, our efforts are fully in synch with your message.

The second initiative we wanted to congratulate you on is your insistence that society pursue a balanced approach to curbing youth crime. The agenda you laid out the other day stressed prevention as well as punishment. There is so much emphasis these days on getting tough that even thoughtful people often lose sight of the fact that adolescents also need tender loving care to lead them out of harm's way. The Boston case study offers the latest evidence of the benefits of a complementary approach. As with education, we hope you will continue to use the bully pulpit to help the American people see that it's in our self-interest, as well as young people's interest, to invest in prevention and employment programs for youth.

Again, we salute you for your leadership and urge you, in the words of E. Frederic Morrow, a late mentor of mine and author of *Black Man in the White House* (he worked for President Eisenhower), to "keep on keepin' on."

Sincerely,



Hugh B. Price
President

cc. The Honorable Richard Riley
The Honorable Janet Reno
Bruce Reed
Eugene Sperling

Hugh B. Price
President
National Urban League
February 14, 1997

THE "NO EXCUSES" ERA OF URBAN SCHOOL REFORM

It's showtime for urban public education in America. Time for the educators and elected officials responsible for urban schools to educate every child to world class standards. No excuses.

It's time for parents to get involved and ensure that their youngsters come to school ready to learn. Time for community groups and employers to create a climate of support and opportunity that steers young people clear of destructive temptation and toward lifelong success. No excuses.

It's time for students themselves to believe and behave as though academic achievement matters -- because it does more today than ever before. No excuses.

Now is the time for all adults to make this "showtime" a reality for every child regardless of ethnicity or socioeconomic circumstance. No excuses.

There are no longer any excuses for the failure of inner-city students to achieve. The landscape of urban public education is dotted with teachers, classrooms and even entire schools that deliver the goods. The needed innovations have been designed and field-tested, and are now ready for mass market. It's time to put them to widespread use. No excuses.

We of the National Urban League are not naive about the challenges ahead in lifting the achievement levels in entire urban school systems. But this much is known from research and real-world experience: If we adults -- educators, elected officials, parents, employers and community groups -- will only do what we're supposed to do for the children, then they will do what we expect them to do.

Masai warriors in Africa have a greeting that Americans ought to embrace. "Kasserian ingera", they always say when passing one another. It means: "And how are the children?" Their traditional response is: "All the children are well." The job of making American K-12 education in the U.S. world class will be done when the Masai greeting becomes our credo -- in word and deed.

In his State of the Union address this year, President Bill Clinton issued a "call to action" to make American education the envy of the world. This is the urgent domestic challenge facing the nation. And the stiffest -- and most compelling -- task is to lift inner-city and rural youngsters, who chronically lag way behind, to world class standards.

The Standards Movement

Why our sense of urgency? Just consider this assignment:

"Compare a frequency distribution of salaries of women in a company with a frequency distribution of salaries of men. Describe and quantify similarities and differences in the distributions and compare them."

That sounds like an assignment straight out of a college statistics course. Actually it's illustrative of the kind of analysis that 10th graders must be capable of doing under the tough new academic standards imposed by New York City Schools Chancellor Rudy Crew. He's also insisting that 8th graders read 25 books a year and keep track of them in a logbook.

These lofty academic standards mirror those being imposed by states and school districts across the country. But education isn't the only target of the movement to lift Americans to world class achievement levels. The U.S. auto industry offers another illustration.

The Big Three expect to hire 173,000 new auto workers over the next seven years. These jobs will pay up to \$70,000 with overtime. In other words these are "good jobs". But to get one of those jobs as an auto worker, applicants must pass a reading test, math test, spatial relations test -- and a drug test.

According to Richard Murnane and Frank Levy, co-authors of *Teaching the New Basic Skills*, a comparison of eligibility cut-off points of employers' tests with high school students' scores on national standardized exams reveals the alarming reality that:

"(C)lose to half of all 17-year-olds cannot read or do math at the level needed to get a job in a modern automobile plant."

And that's merely the beginning of the selection process. Those who pass the initial battery of tests are then assigned to a team with several other survivors. The team is given a description of a portion of the assembly line in an auto factory, along with job descriptions for those on that section of the line. The team has several hours to come up with ways of improving the productivity of that segment of the manufacturing process. Those that come up with solid recommendations will be offered jobs.

This is what one needs to know and be able to do just in order to land a job as an auto worker. We're not even talking about what's required to become an auto executive, auto dealer, auto salesperson or auto parts supplier. Obviously this is a far cry from hoisting bumpers, bolting on fenders and performing the exact same task for an eight-hour shift.

As the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future observed in its report, released last fall, entitled *What Matters Most*:

" There has been no previous time in history when the success, indeed the survival, of nations and people has been tied so tightly to their ability to learn. Today's society has little room for those who cannot read, write and compute proficiently; find and use resources; frame and solve problems; and continually learn new technologies, skills, and occupations. The economy of high wage jobs for low-skilled workers is fast disappearing. In contrast to 20 years ago, individuals who do not succeed in school have little chance of finding a job or contributing to society -- and societies that do not succeed at education have little chance of success in a global economy. "

The correlation between education and income is crystal clear -- and applicable to every ethnic group. According to the Education Trust, earnings rise in lockstep with education levels.

These are the new rules for surviving and thriving, individually and as a people. African-American children, like all other American children, must be equipped and empowered to play by these rules. If we in the black community allow our youngsters to become drags on the economy and drains on society, then we as a people will as well. That's the bottom line of why the National Urban League slogan is: **Our Children = Our Destiny.**

In the spring of 1996, nearly a hundred governors and corporate executives convened for a National Education Summit. They met to rev up the movement to make certain that America's children meet world class academic standards. The trouble is that all the talk was of standards, assessments and sanctions for schools and schoolchildren who fail to measure up.

Standards are only half the story, and the easy half at that. Children have little chance of clearing the higher academic bar if we concentrate only on how high it has been set. The crucial, but as yet unanswered question is whether the adults in children's lives will do what's necessary to equip them to clear the bar. This is especially true of low-income urban and rural communities where so many children start out in a big hole because of lousy schools. That's the urgent task to which all who care about America's future must now turn.

Vital Statistics

For years the news about the achievement levels of minority students has been encouraging, if not earthshattering. While achievement levels among white students remained relatively flat over the past 30 years, minority students registered significant gains and steadily closed the gap. High school completion rates are roughly equal for black and white students. This progress, when coupled with the commitment of universities and employers to inclusion through affirmative action, has contributed to the marked growth in the black middle class.

Sadly, this momentum has stalled and even retreated. According to the Trust's *Education Watch: The 1996 Education Trust State and National Data Book*, the achievement gap is widening again. With standards on the rise, this regression could not come at a worse time. It punctuates the need to accelerate the pace of improving the academic performance of urban school children.

Meeting the Standards

In the 1970s, many skeptical scholars considered urban schools largely a hopeless cause. James Coleman of the University of Chicago, for instance, had all but written them off, doubting that much could be done to improve the achievement levels and life prospects of low-income children.

Unwilling to accept this bleak prognosis, a number of urban school reformers set about to try to prove Coleman wrong. The pioneers over the years have included Ron Edmonds, James Comer, Ted Sizer, Bob Slavin, Henry Levin and Jeff Howard, among others. They were joined in this noble quest by scores of principals and teachers toiling away at the process of change in inner-city classrooms and schools across the country.

Encouraged by the commitment of leadership groups like the Business Roundtable, the Committee on Economic Development and the Council on Aid to Education, corporations took up the challenge as well by adopting schools, instituting career academies and negotiating compacts with school systems to hire their successful graduates.

The jury remained out for more than a decade as the reformers toiled away, tested and refined their approaches, warily and worriedly collected data, and cautiously began reporting their results. Though hardly unanimous, the verdict on many urban school reform efforts is heartening.

We now know, beyond a shadow of a doubt, that inner-city youngsters can achieve at, and even above, the national norms. This isn't to say, of course, that all of them actually manage to, much less that most urban schools currently are capable of

accomplishing this result.

But what we do know from research and experience provides abundant cause for hope, in sharp contrast to the state of knowledge in Coleman's era. For instance, Samuel Stringfield, a research scientist at Johns Hopkins University, conducted a three-year study of ten urban school reform efforts financed under the federal Title I program for schools serving poor youngsters. These include many of those noted initiatives mentioned earlier, as well as the lesser known, but no less significant work of deeply committed, everyday educators.

As reported in *Education Week*, the bottom line of Stringfield's study is that: "(S)tudents who have been placed at risk of academic failure are capable of achieving at or above national averages." Gains realized in both nationally acclaimed reform programs and locally conceived projects were dramatic. But the author hastened to add that progress was neither easy nor automatic. It depends on the commitment of educators to the approach. As Stringfield noted, "If you don't implement the program, it's like having a medicine that just sits in the medicine cabinet."

The Education Trust cited additional examples in its report. Take Waitz Elementary School in Mission, Texas. It's a town of poor Latino families who live in hard scrabble colonias, namely communities without paved streets, running water or adequate sewage. Yet 93.5 percent of the town's school's 4th graders passed the state's English proficiency exam, 96.5 percent passed the math portion and 98.3 percent passed the writing exam.

Billydee Flynn's academic life has been turned around by a school -- the Science Skills Academy in Brooklyn -- whose principal, Michael Johnson, and faculty fiercely believe that all of their students can achieve. Billydee lives in Bedford Stuyvesant with his mother, who's on welfare. When he entered, Billydee scored in the 26th percentile on the citywide reading test. He has since soared to the 85th percentile. Now a 12th grader, he recalls:

"That first year was tough. Mr. Johnson was always on my case. Teachers here are more dedicated. In other schools, you don't get much homework. I worked really hard to pass my Regents tests last year, and all that homework really helped. I did well, and it was like the reward after the race. I'm taking physics now, and some of the problems are college level, and they are an insult to my intelligence."

The heartening news even extends to some school districts as a whole. Six urban school systems -- Providence, Ft. Worth, Prince Georges County, Milwaukee, Nashville and San Jose -- have participated over the last half dozen years in the Equity 2000 initiative of the College Board.

These districts agreed to operationalize the principle that all children can learn. More specifically, they decreed some six years ago that all of the 9th graders in these genuine urban districts would take algebra. No more "dummy-down" math courses for their middle schoolers.

To back up this bold and brave proclamation, the districts then set about figuring out over the next six years what needed to be done to structure the schools and equip their teachers and principals, attitudinally as well as pedagogically, to deliver on this risky promise to the children.

Educators and guidance counselors were immersed in professional development experiences designed to demonstrate that all children, even poor minority children, are capable of achieving at much higher levels. Teachers in particular learned new instructional methods, such as cooperative learning, and fortified their own mastery of subject matter. The schools instituted after-school and summer enrichment programs for youngsters who needed an extra boost. The operating ethos was to do whatever was necessary to lift all students over the bar, and not to be content if many fall short.

Though it hasn't been easy, Equity 2000 has proven its point. The preliminary findings reported last fall by the College Board show that urban children are capable of taking and passing algebra if given the access to challenging course and the support they need to succeed. As of 1991-92, namely before the initiative began, enrollment of 9th graders in Algebra I and higher across the six districts ranged from 31 to 69 percent. Under Equity 2000, enrollment soared to between 61 and 100 percent by 1994-95. Enrollment of 10th graders in geometry jumped from 26 to 53 percent over the same period.

Pass rates in algebra across the districts dipped slightly, from a range of 62 to 88 percent in 1991-92, to a range of 53 to 80 percent in 1994-95. This decline masks the very good news that because of dramatically increased overall enrollment in these tougher courses, many youngsters who would never even have taken algebra, are now passing.

Thus, a no-nonsense, district-wide commitment to higher achievement for all children, coupled with intensive professional development and flexible support for faltering students, made the difference. Having mastered algebra and geometry, inner-city youngsters whom James Coleman would have written off now have a crack at higher education and high paying jobs.

As New York City Schools Chancellor Crew puts it so pithily, "If it can happen in one place, it can happen in many places." We know the ways to lift urban youngsters over the loftier academic bar. All that's missing are the wherewithal and the will.

The "No Excuses" Era of Urban School Reform

Promulgating world class academic standards -- and the expectations that go with them -- is a necessary first step. But it will ultimately be an exercise in futility if we don't attend simultaneously to what must happen in the schools, neighborhoods and homes where children are nurtured and educated. Nor will escapist slogans like vouchers solve the problems of urban education. There simply is no substitute for the nitty gritty work of reviving, refitting, rebuilding and, if need be, replacing and building anew the essential institutions where education and development occur.

The urban school improvement movement has yet to match the quickened pace of the standards movement. This is certain to produce casualties in the inner cities of America unless parents and community groups rally quickly and forcefully to insist that the quality of urban education be aligned with the rigorous new standards. If it does not, then Coleman's dire thesis will prevail, for want of execution instead of evidence. That would be profoundly unjust to inner-city children and incalculably wasteful of human potential and societal resources.

That is why we of the National Urban League movement say it is time, after two decades of R & D, to enter the "No Excuses" era of urban school reform. It is time that we as parents and as a people stop accepting excuses from educators and elected officials about why our children don't achieve. Research and experience demonstrate that they can.

What is the duty of school systems and of states, which ultimately are responsible for education? In other words, what should parents, employers and community groups expect of educators, elected officials, school administrators and school boards?

1. Quality pre-K education

Pre-school preparation is critically important. Years of research and evaluation, starting with the celebrated High Scope assessment of the Perry pre-school program in Ypsilanti, Michigan, demonstrate that academically and developmentally appropriate pre-school programs help get low-income toddlers to the starting line on time.

This is the fundamental premise of Head Start, which has long enjoyed substantial bipartisan support. The issue these days is not whether pre-school education for urban youngsters works, but whether the resources will be appropriated to make it universally available.

Quality pre-K experiences alone won't inoculate children against the risks of poor education and chaotic neighborhoods as they grow up. So there must be sustained attention to the quality of their academic and social development all the way through

adolescence.

2. Teachers and teaching

All children, regardless of socioeconomic circumstances, are entitled to be taught by fully competent and caring teachers in schools headed by principals who have strength and vision. Equity in this regard is all the more compelling because of the riskier stakes posed by the higher standards.

According to the National Commission on Teaching and America's Future, research shows convincingly what should go without saying: What teachers know and do is the most important influence on whether students learn. If children are to have a chance of achieving at higher levels, urban youngsters need teachers who focus on student learning, who know their subjects and effective teaching methods, who understand child development, and who genuinely believe that their pupils can achieve.

Yet in its report last fall, the Commission found that urban teachers are far less prepared to teach their subjects than their suburban counterparts. Children in schools with highest minority enrollment have a less than a 50-50 chance of getting math or science teachers who hold licenses or degrees in the field.

According to the Education Trust, 86 percent of science teachers in predominantly white schools are certified in their subject, whereas only 54 percent of science teachers in predominantly minority districts are. Compounding the problem, in New York City at least, is the practice of allowing failing inner-city schools to become what the Educational Priorities Panel calls "retirement homes for inept teachers who aren't wanted elsewhere."

It is incumbent upon school districts and, ultimately, their state overseers to put qualified teachers in every classroom. As the Commission argues, this will require, modernizing teacher education, stiffening recruitment and hiring standards, closing temporary certification loopholes, and taking teacher professional development seriously. We must restore the luster of K-12 teaching as a noble and respected field, so that abler people are attracted to the profession.

And it means casting aside any tolerance for unqualified educators, whatever their complexion. This may prove uncomfortable because, in the near term, it could place some well-meaning but ill-prepared minority teachers at risk. But urban youngsters taught by poor teachers face the far greater risk, and over their entire lifetimes.

3. Challenging courses

Inner-city children have the same right as more advantaged children to take rigorous courses that enable them to succeed academically and in life. Youngsters who are

stranded in academic tracks that aren't aligned with the higher standards have little hope of ever meeting them. A math standard geared, for instance, to proficiency in algebra and geometry is hopelessly out of reach for students who never take more than basic math. Students who, for reasons of financial expediency or teachers' impatience, are needlessly derailed into special education have little chance of rejoining the main academic track.

As will come as no surprise, the Education Trust found that poor and minority students are more likely to be trapped in undemanding courses with low standards of performance. Only one in four students from low-income families even takes a college prep sequence of courses. But they are overrepresented in less challenging general and vocational education courses. Roughly 55 out of every 100 white and Asian students complete Algebra 2 and geometry. But only 35 percent of African American and American Indian seniors do. One out of four white seniors takes physics; only one in six black and one in seven Hispanics complete this course.

Equity 2000 and other research cited earlier demonstrate convincingly that inner-city children can master more challenging course work. What's required is an unequivocal commitment by local school districts that all children will gain access to more rigorous courses. This policy must then be reinforced by intensified professional development for educators and guidance counselors, as well as by enrichment programs for youngsters who need extra help.

4. Schools that are organized and outfitted for learning

Children who attend schools that are chaotic, unsafe, overcrowded, dilapidated and anonymous have many strikes against them to start with. By contrast, research shows that schools which are properly organized and outfitted for learning increase the odds for success. Smaller schools and classes make a difference by promoting intimacy and attention. Safety enables teachers and children to focus on the task at hand instead of fearing constant disruption and occasional danger.

Books, other materials and, these days, computers are indispensable instructional tools. Well-maintained schools convey an aura of order and mission orientation. Thus, though money isn't everything, adequate financing is essential if inner-city children are to have a fair shot at meeting the loftier standards.

Led by the principal, the school should function as a learning community with goals, game plans for meeting them, and mechanisms for continuous assessment of its own progress and performance.

Parents must be welcomed as partners in the educational enterprise, provided they understand the boundaries of appropriate involvement. These are some of the overt and

implicit lessons from how effective inner-city schools operate. Michael Johnson, principal of the successful Science Skills Academy in Brooklyn, perhaps put it best. All educational decisions in his school are guided by a fundamental philosophy: "Would you want this for your child?"

5. After-school and summer programs

Some cynics dismiss after-school and summer programs for youth as mere babysitting or, worse, "social programs" unworthy of public investment. But the truth of the matter is that when youth development programs are well-conceived and run, they are anything but an extravagance.

In its report entitled *A Matter of Time*, a Carnegie task force noted that about 40 percent of adolescents' time is discretionary and unsupervised. Many parents these days, especially single mothers, work several jobs so that their families can survive financially. They simply aren't home in mid-afternoon or during the summer when their youngsters are out of school.

Unlike their suburban counterparts, these parents seldom earn enough to pay for privately-run enrichment programs. Most urban school systems are too strapped financially to provide the rich array of extra-curricular activities that they offered a mere generation ago. Many inner-city settlement houses and Boys and Girls Clubs, assuming they're even still on the scene, are too under-funded and physically dilapidated to provide safe havens and constructive activities for all the children who need them. Municipal park and recreation departments are but a shadow programmatically of their former selves.

Yet we know from evaluations and experience that involvement in such programs can boost student achievement because youth workers closely monitor the students' academic performance and interface with parents and teachers when intervention is indicated. What's more, time is routinely allocated for youngsters to complete homework assignments and participate in academically enriching activities such as visiting museums.

Saturday Academies are one of the key ingredients in Equity 2000, especially for youngsters who need reinforcement. With their emphasis on structured group activities, these programs cultivate the team skills that will eventually be needed to perform well in the second phase of the auto industry's screening process. A rigorous evaluation of the Quantum Opportunities Program in Philadelphia found that:

"Of the 100 teenagers in the experiment, many more improved their basic skills, graduated from high school and went on to college than a randomly selected control groups of their peers. And fewer babies."

Studies by the RAND Corporation and by Richard Mendel, author of *Prevention or Pork? A Hardheaded Look at Youth Oriented Anti-Crime Programs*, indicate that youth development programs also curb teen crime by offering otherwise idle and unsupervised adolescents alternatives to the streets and to gangs. These programs operate precisely during the peak hours for teen violence and sexual activity, namely the hours immediately after school through early evening.

Thus society has a major stake in making certain that inner-city youth are engaged with caring adults in constructive programs after school and over the summer while their parents are off earning a living. Once upon a time taxpayers routinely financed such programs along with private donors. Churches, Urban Leagues, Boys Clubs and YWCAs, among other nonprofits, must share the load, as they always have, with private and volunteer support. But the public sector must resume its responsibility for this indispensable public service if the needs of all youngsters -- and of society itself -- are to be served.

Obligations and Sanctions

The responsibility rests squarely with those in the public sector to provide these ingredients for student success. It rests with teachers, principals and guidance counselors; with school administrators and school board members; with state education agencies, legislators and governors; and with Congress and the President of the United States. All have it within their power to formulate the policies, institute the reforms and allocate the resources needed to improve urban education.

Public officials should be encouraged and supported to do what is educationally and developmentally sound for children. All children, regardless of socio-economic circumstances, have the right to expect that of adults. Thus, measures -- such as those described above -- that are aimed at improving schools deserve the enthusiastic support of the consumers of public education, namely parents, community leaders and employers.

But consumers must not become complacent in the face of protracted school failure. If school performance doesn't improve after a reasonable period of time, then more aggressive measures are indicated, for the sake of the children and society itself.

It is shortsighted and unacceptable for educators and elected officials to impose loftier standards, and then shirk responsibility for providing the resources and quality of schooling required for youngsters to succeed. Nor is it acceptable for employers to weed out and wall off inner-city youngsters from opportunity. Given the changing demographics, the American economy needs all hands on deck, not behind bars.

1. Report cards

Appraising the performance of schools is an appropriate place for the process of accountability to begin. New York State recently issued report cards on how city schools are faring. While this tool must be finetuned, the idea is inspired and constructive.

Parents and community groups could complement this process with report cards compiled from their perspective and focused on what they deem important. The indicators of interest to them might include:

- whether parents are welcomed by faculty as constructive partners in the educational enterprise and informed about what they can do in school and at home to be supportive;
- whether parents believe their children are sufficiently challenged academically and whether they believe that their youngsters' teachers believe their children can achieve;
- whether youngsters are given enough homework;
- whether there are enough after-school and summer programs in place that provide constructive activities and caring adults; and
- whether the school plant is in good repair and appropriately furnished.

The tabulation and publication of these parent assessments of schools could be powerful, just as the Zagat Restaurant Guide, which compiles customers' impressions, has become the most influential rating system for restaurants. The rankings in Zagat matter enormously to patrons and restauranteurs alike.

2. Reconstitution and other aggressive remedies

Some communities are resorting to more pointed remedies for school failure. In San Francisco, the superintendent has the authority under a court decree to remove the principal and teachers in a demonstrably failing school that has not improved after a reasonable period of probation. The superintendent then appoints a new faculty that is committed to an 11-point program of reform, including extensive staff development, technological support and reduced class sizes.

This stiff remedy, known as reconstitution, is the education equivalent of a Chapter 11 workout in a business bankruptcy. As Superintendent Waldemar Rojas notes, "The process of reconstitution is not for the faint of heart. It is a dramatic and radical tactic for dysfunctional institution." While the superintendent triggers the process in San Francisco,

parents as interested parties should consider suing to invoke it if a district fails to act in the face of chronic dysfunction.

Examples of even more radical interventions include state takeover of the Jersey City and Newark school systems, appointment of independent overseers to supercede the school board in Washington, D.C., and assertion of outright mayoral control over the Chicago school system. Rudy Crew, chancellor of the New York City schools, intends to tie school administrators pay to the performance of their schools. While the results of school reconstitution are encouraging, these more radical measures are unproven. But they are illustrative of the remedies that may have to be resorted to in cases of chronic school failure.

3. Alternative delivery modes

Just as Americans discovered that different types of vehicles are quite capable of transporting them from one end of the New Jersey Turnpike to the other, one size needn't fit all in public education. There should be options available, provided all are subject to public oversight and scrutiny. At the high school level, for example, New York City has a proud tradition of highly competitive schools, theme schools, innovative small schools that in effect are charter schools, and so forth. These options enable parents and students to see which educational setting fits best. The ability of parents to shop within a public systems helps keeps traditional schools on their toes.

The National Urban League vigorously opposes vouchers and other measures that would subsidize the ability of parents to exit the public schools. This would further undermine the sense of shared societal responsibility for educating all children. Vouchered schools do not play by the same rules governing admissions, discipline and expulsion. This is unfair to their public competitors. What's most offensive, vouchers could subsidize the flight of white students. The persistence of unofficial segregation is problem enough in public education without underwriting it with taxpayers' money.

Our bottom line is that the customers of public education -- parents, employers and community -- should no longer accept excuses from educators and elected officials for the failure of urban children to achieve. If support and suasion and ranking systems fail to improve schools, then stiffer measures must be invoked -- for the sake of the children. As San Francisco's Bill Rojas puts it bluntly, "You can get more with a kind word and a gun than with just a kind word."

Reviving the "Village"

Refusing henceforth to accept excuses isn't all we must do if our children are to succeed. We in the African-American community must also stop making excuses for the failure of our children to achieve. If educators and elected officials are to be held

accountable, it's only fair that we uphold our end of the bargain. Social progress is the product of a compact between society and its citizens. This compact lays out mutual expectations and obligations. Education cannot and should not be left solely to educators.

Where and how must parents and community organizations weigh in? The obvious place to begin is for individuals of child-bearing age not to bring children into this world until they are mature enough to love, nurture and provide for their offspring. The alarming incidence of out-of-wedlock teen births undermines the viability of our community by creating households, often headed by lone teen mother, which lack the education and earning power to escape poverty. Though there are heroic exceptions, this is profoundly unfair to their own flesh and blood because it severely handicaps the children from the outset.

Once our children are of school age, we owe it to educators to send them to school in a proper frame of mind to learn and to provide supportive environments at home. We also owe it to teachers and children to support efforts to make certain that schools are physically safe. Chaos and fear aren't conducive to learning.

When inner-city neighborhoods were healthier than they are now, employers large and small were an essential part of the equation. Shopowners hired local youth to work after school and weekends. They were an integral part of the adult community that set and reinforced norms, and kept a watchful eye on how young people behaved.

Factory owners in the neighborhood routinely hired second and third generation workers from the same families. Far less selective than now, the Army once actively recruited from inner cities. It welcomed -- or at least drafted -- high school dropouts who were at loose ends.

The traditional opportunity structure for inner-city youth has shriveled up. A survey by the *Wall Street Journal* revealed that immigrant merchants in these very neighborhoods are reluctant to hire local youth, especially black males. The factories have long since vanished. Thus, many employers have moved from the village, physically or psychologically.

For these reasons and more, the village must be revived. Dr. James Comer speaks poignantly of the adults in his childhood who were "locked in a conspiracy" to make certain he succeeded. The villagers must be summoned back to duty if urban children are to have a chance.

1. Parent engagement

Parents and community organizations are essential to the educational process. This is the basic message of years of research, conveyed most recently in an illuminating and

instructive book by Laurence Steinberg, entitled *Beyond the Classroom*. The author argues that for all the changes needed in classroom instruction and school operations, children will have trouble succeeding if parents and community groups fall down on the job.

The reality is that not everyone is equipped or has the time to help their children with homework. Parents who aren't schooled in the "new math", for instance, could do more damage than good by looking closely over their youngsters' shoulders and helping with answers.

Besides, *Beyond the Classroom* tells us that this isn't even the most important role for parents to play. Instead, Steinberg observes that:

"(T)he type of involvement that makes a real difference is the type that actually draws the parent into the school physically -- attending school programs, extra-curricular activities, teacher conferences, and "back to school" nights."

Why does this kind of participation matter so much? Because it sends a clear message to teachers and children alike that achievement matters to that parent. Showing up at school takes more effort than supervising homework or shutting off the television at home. Appearing on "meet-the-teacher" nights and in between lets everyone know that the parent is on the case. It signals to the teacher that the parent is keeping an eye on how well the school is doing by his or her child and that the parent will likely intervene -- with the teacher or, if need be, with the principal -- if all isn't going well.

Unfortunately, too few parents participate regularly in school functions. The level of participation, such as it is, tapers off even more after the elementary school years, which couldn't be a worse time for parents to lose interest. Parents eschew participation because they're working, tired, indisposed, uninterested or perpetually distracted by some other intrusion on their time.

We had better heed the clear message of *Beyond the Classroom*. The children of engaged parents fare far better in school than those whose folks aren't.

2. Counterproductive peer culture

Beyond the Classroom contains another message that we ignore at our children's -- and our people's -- peril. Pressure from peers not to achieve can undermine the best efforts of teachers and parents. This is an especially severe problem among African-American children. It influences them no matter how much their parents make.

For reasons that aren't evident, black youngsters, more so than others, are susceptible to the pernicious message that achievement is tantamount to acting "white." Steinberg says this vulnerability to peer pressure peaks around the 8th grade, just when black children are most impressionable and have begun to search for their own identity.

Sadly, that's about the time when parent involvement begins to subside.

What's perhaps worse, many African-American children operate under the delusion that they'll be able to get ahead even if they don't do well in school. With technology replacing marginally skilled workers with laptops and robots, and with affirmative action under sustained assault, this delusion is a surefire recipe for economic disaster for our children and for our people.

The negative pressures can even reach the point that achievers try to mask their intelligence. At Ballou High School in Washington, DC, for instance, achievers were so embarrassed and intimidated that those who'd won academic honors were afraid to attend the awards assemblies to receive recognition.

This is precisely why the Urban League movement has decided to celebrate youngsters for "Doing the Right Thing." We premiered this nationwide recognition initiative last September 21st. Working with PTAs, school officials, churches, fraternities, sororities and civic groups, Urban League affiliates all across the country staged block parties, assemblies and even parades right through downtown. This nationwide celebration will be held on the third Saturday of September every year.

The Urban League celebration transmitted a loud and clear message to youngsters who are "Doing the Right Thing" that we love and support them. Thanks to the voluminous media coverage we generated, these high profile events showed that our children are assets, not liabilities, to society.

Our aim is to instill in all children the kind of attitude expressed by Cambria Smith, a 10th grader from Bedford Stuyvesant, whose academic potential was unleashed when she enrolled in Brooklyn's demanding Science Skills Center. Of her new school, she said:

"I didn't want them (friends from her old junior high school, which she called rowdy and unchallenging) following me. I told my friends, 'Goodbye!' I was ready to meet new people, have different experiences. People here are academically successful. I like that. They aren't ashamed to be smart."

3. Bridging adolescence and adulthood

Many promising mechanisms exist to transition young people from school to work and/or higher education. So-called "career academies" offer one example. These are academic curricula designed in the image of a sector of the local economy, such as the finance or hospitality industry. High school students gain exposure to the academic disciplines required to succeed and, through summer internships in such businesses, build relationships with mentors inside the firms who can ease their entry upon graduation. The less intensive but no less beneficial Career Beginnings program is another promising

intervention.

Youth who've actually dropped out of school need more concerted help to rescue them from the streets. Several years ago, the National Guard instituted a residential youth corps for dropouts which is situated on military bases. A intensive, five-month training experience is followed by a one-year mentoring relationship with a National Guard member. The program features eight core components: leadership/followership; community service; job skills; academic excellence, with emphasis on obtaining a high school degree or equivalent; responsible citizenship; life-coping skills; health, sex education and nutrition; and physical fitness.

An assessment of the 5,000 most recent graduates of the Guard's Youth Challenge Corps reveals that 43.3 percent were employed, 22.4 percent were attending college, 13.8 percent were pursuing vocational education, 11.9 percent had returned to high school, and 8.6 percent were serving in the military.

These programs and others demonstrate conclusively the benefits of bestirring ourselves to connect isolated young people to the worlds of higher education and work. It is incumbent on employers and the military, which have much to give, to give much more to help inner-city youth enter the mainstream.

World Class Urban Schools -- A National Imperative

The thrust to improve America's schools by lifting educational standards is occurring just as the trend toward devolution of domestic issues, like education, is really catching hold. This has triggered a debate over whether improving education is appropriately a national imperative. Or, by contrast, whether this is essentially a local matter best left to school districts and parents. The federal government and, some would even say, the states ought not meddle by imposing standards.

Some ardent advocates of devolution would withdraw inside their hermetically sealed compounds. They say we no longer need government, save to secure our borders from invasion. Let communities and the people who comprise them rule their own lives with minimal interference from government. What possible stake, they ask, do suburbanites have in the education of inner-city children and the quality of urban schools?

In this instance, infatuation with devolution could undermine America's competitiveness and social cohesion. In the agricultural era, America needed natural resources and dirt cheap, even slave, labor, to operate farms. The industrial age placed a premium on manufacturing prowess and on workers who themselves functioned like machines.

The world has entered the information age. A developed nation's competitive advantage depends increasingly on the intelligence, imaginativeness, industriousness and

flexibility of its entrepreneurs and workers, namely its human capital. The more highly developed our entire population, the more robust -- and dominant -- our economy.

Auto manufacturers expect the same skills of auto workers these days whether they're employed at a Ford Taurus assembly plant in Atlanta, a Buick LeSabre plant in Flint or a Toyota plant in Georgetown, Kentucky. Whether the workers were actually reared and educated in those communities. Or whether they were educated elsewhere before moving there. A competitive automobile industry depends on competitive workers wherever the plants are located and wherever workers are educated. The same is true of firms in every other sector of the economy. There simply is too much at stake -- for our children and for society -- for the quality of American education to be left to chance or entirely to local discretion.

The evolving demographic trends in America are telling as well. Whites will drop steadily as a percentage of the population in the decades ahead, while Latinos soar, Asians climb and African-Americans inch up. By the middle of the next century, the U.S. population will be almost half non-white.

America's future entrepreneurs and workers will increasingly be drawn from the very urban schools that devolutionists say aren't their or society's responsibility. How shortsighted, indeed economically suicidal, it is to shortchange these inner-city youngsters. Those who are prepared to compete in the global economy will succeed, and will help carry society on their backs.

By 2010, there will be three workers for every Social Security recipient. This contrasts with a ratio of 16 to 1 in 1950. If a significant portion of these future workers, half of whom in time will be minorities, are undereducated and unproductive, then the security and quality of life for America's retirees will suffer.

Poorly educated youngsters face futures of poverty or prison, with only a shredded safety net to cling to. Sad as it is to say, they'll become the flotsam and jetsam of American society, at considerable perpetual cost to themselves, their communities and, admit it or not, society at large. As the Commission on Teaching and America's Future noted:

"Tens of thousands of people not educated for these demands (of the information age economy) have been unable to make a successful transition into the new economy. A growing underclass and a threatened middle class include disadvantaged young people who live in high-poverty communities as well as working-class youth and adults whose levels of education and skills were sufficient for the jobs of the past but not for those of today and tomorrow. Those who succeed and those who fail are increasingly divided by their opportunities to learn."

Investing in the education of those who'd otherwise be written off pays handsome dividends for everyone. Nancy Cole, president of the Educational Testing Service, tells the inspiring and instructive story of Tommy Johnson, who lived in a small rural town in the deep South. He applied to Lincoln University some years ago. His composite SAT scores and high school grades were so subpar that the university put his application on hold.

Tommy called the college every week to see if he'd gotten in. School officials implored him not to run up his parents' phone bill. They learned that he was raising the money by collecting soda bottles and turning them in for deposit refunds. Impressed by his drive, the college decided to take a chance and admit him.

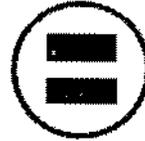
It seems Tommy's entire K-12 "school system" had only 200 students, only one science teacher, and no microscopes or test tubes. No wonder he was way behind and had performed so miserably on standardized tests. He blossomed at Lincoln and became one of its best math and science students. Following college, Tommy Johnson graduated from the University of Pennsylvania Medical School. He now practices medicine and runs a medical clinic in North Carolina.

This moral about the payoff from educating those who supposedly don't measure up is repeated in the stories of thousands of students who attended the City University of New York courtesy of "open admissions." In the early 1970s, CUNY opened higher education opportunities to students who, under the traditional standards, weren't considered college material.

It turns out that half of the students so admitted eventually obtained B.A. degrees and many went on to earn masters' degrees. Many students took more than four years to get their degrees. But so what? Society will still receive over four decades of more productive output from them.

During one year alone, these CUNY grads earned \$67 million dollars more than they would have had they not gone to college. And they've earned an estimated \$2 billion more over their lifetimes. In the bargain, New Yorkers got neighbors who can share more of the tax burden and local businesses got more productive workers. One "open admissions" student, Ivan Seidenberg, who worked as a telephone linesman while in college, has even soared to become CEO of NYNEX, one of the Baby Bells.

These stories of resilience and unleashed potential explain why that poignant Masai greeting, "Kasserian ingera," resonates so powerfully. Let every American vow that by the onset of the millennium, we, too, will be able to reply: "All the children are well."



National Urban League, Inc.

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February 19, 1997

Bruce Reed
Domestic Policy Council
The White House
1600 Pennsylvania Avenue, NW
Washington, DC 20500

Dear Bruce:

I wanted to follow up quickly on the promising idea that we discussed when we met. It's the notion of involving President Clinton in the launch of Year 2 of the National Urban League's nationwide celebration of youth who are "Doing the Right Thing." Just so you are aware, I am sending similar letters to Richard Riley and Eugene Sperting.

Last September 21st, Urban League affiliates all across the country staged high profile events to celebrate young people who are excelling in school, providing leadership in their schools, serving their communities and otherwise "doing the right thing." Working with PTAs, churches, civic groups and others, our affiliates staged block parties, assemblies and even parades to recognize these successful youth who are playing by the rules.

As you can see from the enclosed newspaper clips, our initiative really resonated in the communities we serve. We believe that's because it addresses a hunger among young people for recognition and a desire for the media to portray more positive images of urban youth.

NUL's celebratory events derive from our determination to counteract the negative, anti-achievement peer culture in the minority community. As you can see from the enclosed NUL position paper, this is a major plank of our agenda to improve urban education. The

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Bruce Reed
February 19, 1997
Page Two

importance of combatting this peer culture was also addressed by Professor Laurence Steinberg in his important new book, *Beyond the Classroom*. He played a prominent role in our recent C-SPAN forum on education.

Now to our idea. We are eager for President Clinton to help us launch this year's celebratory initiative by the National Urban League. We envision a press conference to be held this spring on a date that works for him. The ideal site is the Baltimore Urban League, which is housed in a restored church originally built by slaves in 1839. There's a section of the underground railroad in the basement. The enclosed postcard will give you a sense of this historic space.

The Baltimore Urban League would stage a mini-celebratory event for local youth. President Clinton would speak and hand out awards. The ceremony would be held in the worship hall that is pictured on the postcard. On this occasion I would join the President in announcing the national celebration, to be held this year on Saturday, September 20th.

This event would enable the President to address, in a high profile way, a critically important aspect of his education agenda. His prominent and "live" involvement in this event would give our efforts to promote a positive peer culture an enormous boost.

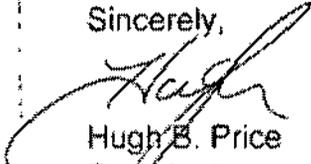
As I trust you can see, the venue is a natural for the media. Mayor Kurt Schmoke, Roger Lyons (CEO of the Baltimore Urban League) and I could take President Clinton and the press on a tour of the lovingly restored facility. With cameras rolling, Mr. Clinton could even peer into the accessible section of the underground railroad.

Optimally, Mr. Lyons would like four weeks lead time to organize the mini-celebratory event at his headquarters. He indicated that he can do it with a bit less advance notice if need be. But since this event would be staged specifically for the President, we would need a firm commitment from the White House, as well as a few weeks to work with. For now, I will assume that you are the point person in the White House with whom we should work.

Bruce Reed
February 19, 1997
Page Three

We stand ready to work with you on this exciting event and look forward to your response. Thank you in advance for your consideration.

Sincerely,



Hugh B. Price
President

cc. The Honorable Richard Riley
Eugene Sperling



National Urban League, Inc.

TESTIMONY

of

DOUGLAS G. GLASGOW
VICE PRESIDENT FOR WASHINGTON OPERATIONS
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Before the

COMMITTEE ON FINANCE

on

WELFARE REFORM

Room 215
DIRKSEN SENATE OFFICE BUILDING

October 28, 1987

SUMMARY OF KEY POINTS

- The National Urban League's perspective on welfare reform is framed by seven guiding principles which stem from its rich historical and current experience in serving poor families.
- We must be successful at improving the lives of at least one-third of America's poor who comprise the AFDC population, if we wish to begin addressing the problems of overall poverty and unemployment in this country.
- S. 1511 takes a positive step towards strengthening families by mandating the AFDC-UP program for all states. The Urban League urges adoption of this provision.
- The Urban League recommends inclusion of language in S.1511 that would place community based organizations at the planning/program design and service delivery levels of education, training and employment programs.
- The National Urban League prefers placing primary national emphasis on improving the labor market system (and the means of getting into and staying in that system) as the first avenue by which parents can support themselves and their children. S.1511 instead feeds into the distorted and disruptive public perception that all poor fathers are assumed unwilling to support their children by placing its first emphasis on the child support collection system.
- S. 1511 must make major improvements in its "JOBS" program by: assuring that states provide at least basic education, skills training, and other employment related services; placing emphasis on voluntary rather than mandatory participation; providing clear and strong federal directives and performance standards for meeting the needs of the long-term and those at risk of becoming long term AFDC recipients; and providing satisfactory guarantee that appropriate, safe and quality child care be available to "JOBS" participants.
- Less than one year extended child care, medical and transportation assistance following placement in unsubsidized (low paying) employment sets the stage for repeated spells of AFDC. S. 1511 must continue to move in the direction of one year extensions for these important services and delete those provisions that deny extended day care and medical assistance to persons sanctioned in the prior year despite their leaving AFDC in good standing.
- The Urban League recommends deletion of S. 1511's Title VIII- Waiver Authority.
- The National Urban League does not consider the AFDC Employment and Training Reorganization Act of 1987 (S.1655) a "welfare reform" bill and urges its rejection.

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE PRINCIPLES FOR WELFARE REFORM

- (1) The primary objective in reforming our system of social welfare must be to strengthen the family.
- (2) Program interventions must be designed to insure that poor families and individuals needing and seeking work have equal access to income through viable employment, thus enabling their capacity to participate fully in society.
- (3) Families and individuals having multiple barriers to employment such as a lack of education, skills training, work experience, and long term spells of poverty and unemployment must be targeted for intensive services that facilitate their transition to the labor market.
- (4) To insure permanent entry or reentry into the labor force, special emphasis must be placed on the critical transition stage from public assistance to employment. Support services such as child care, transportation, extended medicaid coverage and income disregards must be provided.
- (5) A system of social welfare benefits must be economically just and promote the strengthening of families.
- (6) A comprehensive continuum of service delivery systems must be utilized in national and local plans for improving the lives of poor families and individuals. Along with federal, state and local private agencies, community based organizations must be strategically involved in both planning and service delivery levels.
- (7) As a nation, we must never be hesitant or timid in utilizing our federal resources effectively to improve the life conditions of families and individuals living in poverty.

Mr. Chairman and members of this committee, as Vice President of the National Urban League responsible for Washington Operations, I appreciate this opportunity to offer the Urban League's approach and recommendations pertaining to proposals for welfare reform under consideration by this committee, particularly S. 1511 as introduced by Senator Moyrhan.

Our perspective on welfare reform is framed by seven guiding principles which stem from the Urban League's historical and current experience at identifying and meeting social service and economic needs of primarily poor individuals and families. Key areas of longstanding service include education, job training and other employment related services. Established in 1910, the National Urban League is a private, nonprofit, interracial community service organization with 112 affiliates in cities throughout 34 states (including the District of Columbia). Through various programs of direct services, research and advocacy, the Urban League Movement is committed to securing full and equal opportunity for minorities and the poor.

Before I proceed with our specific comments and recommendations for S. 1511, I must first stress that the National Urban League, in its extensive work on welfare reform with members of both houses of Congress, has repeatedly emphasized the need to address the broader issues of poverty and unemployment in this country. In prior testimony before various committees and subcommittees of the House and Senate, we provided extensive analysis and perspective on these two national problems, including the growing phenomenon of the working poor, their disproportionate impact upon Black Americans, and outlined remedial strategies for their resolution. The National Urban League fully intends to keep these issues before the nation and the Congress, and is committed to fashioning creative, humane, and effective plans for their solution.

The Urban League is encouraged that both houses of Congress have recognized the need to address the problems of at least one-third of America's poor, namely the parents and children who are recipients of the Aid to Families with Dependent Children program (AFDC).

Indeed, we must and can be successful with this population of poor. To strengthen families both economically and socially, welfare reform proposals must reflect what we have learned about AFDC through research and direct field experience. For example, we know that AFDC recipients:

- want to work to support themselves and their children;
- are comprised primarily of children who need the same protection and care as non-poor children;
- differ in the amount of time spent on AFDC;
- that the approximate one-quarter of AFDC recipients who are long-term consume about 60% of AFDC resources and need various educational, training and employment services;
- that recipients at risk of becoming long-term are young unmarried women with young children;
- that recipients need critical supportive and transitional services such as child care, medical care, and transportation to facilitate their movement into permanent, unsubsidized jobs; and
- that 2-parent AFDC families tend to move off AFDC more readily than single parents.

It is therefore imperative that we incorporate what we know about the realities of AFDC poverty into our proposed solutions and invest our limited resources accordingly:

In light of what we know about AFDC recipients and using the Urban League's seven principles for welfare reform as our guide, I should like to highlight the following comments on and recommendations for S. 1511.

- o First, we are encouraged that Senator Moynihan's bill has taken a positive step towards strengthening families by mandating the AFDC-UP program for all states and allowing for state improvements upon current AFDC-UP law. We urge adoption of this provision.
- o Second, we are pleased to learn of Senator Moynihan's intention to include language in S. 1511 that would place community based organizations at the planning/program design and service delivery levels of education, training and employment programs. This is especially important if we wish to utilize the entire continuum of service delivery systems available to us in implementing welfare reform. We urge that S. 1511 be amended to adopt such language.

However, the National Urban League is deeply concerned about those provisions of S. 1511 which are not compatible with the principles we consider to be high priority. Principle (2) addresses the issue of parental support for their children through equal access to income through viable employment. The National Urban League prefers placing primary national emphasis on improving the labor market system (and the means of getting into and staying in that system) as the first avenue by which parents can support themselves and their children. By placing first emphasis on the child support collection system, and by particularly proposing immediate mandatory automatic wage withholding, S. 1511 feeds into the distorted and disruptive public perception that all poor fathers are assumed irresponsible and unwilling to support their children. The impact of this message is especially detrimental to Black Americans, in light of the fact that Blacks remain disproportionately poor and disproportionately unemployed. A close examination of recent child support data reveals that:

- o In 1985, the presence or absence of child support was not a major determinant of whether the family existed in poverty. On average, Black and white poor households who did receive child support remained poor after the receipt of child support (\$5,005 white/\$5,403 Black).
- o Black males whose economic circumstances permit them to enter into child support agreements (i.e. allow for awards) perform as responsibly as their white counterparts in adhering to such agreements. Of the 8.8 million female-headed households in 1985 with children under 21 with an absent father, approximately 26.2% (2.3 million) were Black, with 70.6% of the white and 36.3% of the Black such households having been awarded child support. Nearly the same proportion of Black (72%) as white women (74.6%) received child support in 1985.
- o Additionally, based upon our analysis of 1985 child support and other income related data, as well as findings from studies prepared for HHS by the Bush Institute of Child and Family Policy in 1985, national child support collections would be greatly increased if more emphasis were placed on higher income fathers.

Therefore in order to convey a more realistic national policy on parental support for children, the Urban League recommends that S. 1511 place its "JOBS" program as Title I, delete immediate mandatory automatic wage withholding, and add language to its child support provisions that also emphasizes the need to increase collections from higher income parents.

Urban League principle (3) states that "families and individuals having multiple barriers to employment such as lack of education, skills training, work experience, and long term spells of poverty and unemployment must be targeted for intensive services that facilitate their transition to the labor market".

S. 1511 fails to meet this most critical principle and must be amended to correct the following deficiencies:

- o Establishment of a "JOBS" program without any assurance of key federal standards: states are allowed virtually complete flexibility in the choice and scope of employment related services; S. 1511 therefore does not assure that states provide at least basic education, skills training, and other employment related services for those recipients who need these services, leaving the door open for states to choose only current law workfare (CWEP) and/or job search programs as the only state "JOBS" programs. A 1987 report by the U.S. General Accounting Office (GAO) confirms our ongoing concern that states, for the most part and provided with limited resources (as seems inevitable under deficit reduction) would continue to offer very limited employment services;
- o S. 1511 emphasizes mandatory rather than voluntary participation requirements when we know that AFDC recipients want to work and need not be coerced to improve the quality of their lives;
- o S. 1511 also fails to provide clear and strong federal directives and performance standards for meeting the needs of the long-term and hard-to-employ AFDC recipient, a population of special concern to the National Urban League and, as studies have found, often screened out of most employment programs. We find that S. 1511's fiscal incentive for targeting the long term AFDC recipient and the young at-risk of becoming long-term is insufficient in emphasizing and directing states' need to specifically serve this population. Additionally, S. 1511's fiscal incentives for targeting could be easily diluted by the bill's inclusion of parents in two-parent families as part of this target population.
- o Additionally, S. 1511 does not provide satisfactory guarantee that appropriate, safe and quality child care will be available to mandatory "JOBS" participants.

This is especially critical for very young children who need constant supervision and care. Poor families must not be forced to choose between a threat of loss of income through abusive sanctioning at program implementation levels or placing their children at risk in child care arrangements that could bring them physical and/or emotional harm.

In principle (4) the Urban League stresses the importance of providing certain services for that critical transition stage from public assistance to employment. The need for extended child care, medical assistance, transportation and income disregards have been repeatedly documented through Congressional testimony and reflect the recommendations of those service providers who work directly with poor and low income families, as well as AFDC recipients themselves. Less than one year extended child care, medical and transportation assistance following placement in unsubsidized (low paying) employment sets the stage for repeated spells of AFDC. In light of the current fiscal climate, the Urban League is encouraged that Senator Moynihan's bill does provide for 9 months of extended child care on a sliding scale fee and we would urge consideration of further extending this service to at least one year. We would further recommend extended medical coverage (without states' imposition of a premium on the recipient) for at least one year. Additionally, S. 1511 must be amended to delete those provisions that deny extended day care and medical assistance to persons sanctioned in the prior year despite their leaving AFDC in good standing.

Our final priority principle (5) stresses that "a system of social welfare benefits must be economically just and promote the strengthening of families". The National Urban League is deeply concerned that this principle will be particularly violated by the provision in S. 1511 that proposes expanded waiver authority to states. It is our view that this provision essentially paves the way for eventual abandonment of 50 years of federal responsibility in social welfare and employment related programs. Critical to the constituency of the Urban League is the fact that, through this provision, the Secretary of HHS could ignore a state's noncompliance with civil rights laws and choose to continue funding a project despite state violations. Black and other minority Americans know only too well the experience of being "defined out" when eligibility rules for various programs are being formulated. The Urban League therefore recommends deletion of S. 1511's Title VIII-Waiver Authority.

In conclusion, I should like to comment briefly on S. 1655, the AFDC Employment and Training Reorganization Act of 1987, introduced by Senator Dole. The National Urban League does not consider S. 1655 a welfare reform bill. Instead, through its hollow and punitive provisions on employment training, child care, mandatory participation requirements, state participation performance standards, and unlimited waiver authority, S. 1655 represents a detrimental approach to and a dangerous detraction from national efforts to permanently move families and individuals out of poverty. The Urban League urges rejection of S. 1655.

Thank you for the opportunity to testify on this most important issue. The National Urban League stands ready to work with this committee in fashioning a just, humane, and effective welfare reform bill in the days ahead.



National Urban League, Inc.

TESTIMONY

OF

DOUGLAS G. GLASGOW
VICE PRESIDENT FOR WASHINGTON OPERATIONS

NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

BEFORE THE

HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

ON

WELFARE REFORM

Room 2175

RAYBURN HOUSE OFFICE BUILDING

APRIL 29, 1987

TESTIMONY OF

DOUGLAS G. GLASGOW
VICE PRESIDENT FOR WASHINGTON OPERATIONS
NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE, INC.

Before the
HOUSE COMMITTEE ON EDUCATION AND LABOR

on
WELFARE REFORM

Room 2175
Rayburn House Office Building

April 29, 1987

Chairman Hawkins and other distinguished members of this Committee, as Vice President for Washington Operations of the National Urban League, I am appreciative of the opportunity to testify before this special Committee in light of its long tradition of involvement in, and contribution to the educational, training and employment needs of all Americans. The issues before us today, namely poverty, unemployment, and a resurgent call and emerging consensus for reform of this nation's social welfare system, require special insight and foresight from national leaders if we wish to assure this nation's current and future social and economic health.

The National Urban League is pleased to offer a distinct type of testimony, stemming from our experience and perspective as a community based organization that has traditionally taken a holistic approach to addressing problems of families and individuals who lack income, are unemployed and in poverty. Established in 1910, the Urban League is an interracial, private,

nonprofit community service organization with 111 affiliates in cities throughout 34 states (including the District of Columbia), four regional service centers, headquarters in New York City and a Washington, D.C., policy and research department. Through various programs of direct services, research and advocacy, the Urban League Movement is committed to securing full and equal opportunity for minorities and the poor.

HISTORICAL EXPERIENCE

Poverty, unemployment, and welfare reform issues are not new to the Urban League. Through our ongoing work within communities, we have obtained first hand experience at identifying and meeting social service and economic needs of primarily poor individuals and families, particularly in areas related to education, job training and employment placement. In 1965, the Urban League, along with the Child Study Association and the Family Service Association of America, conducted a nationwide demonstration program called "Project Enable" which utilized parent education and discussion groups as well as community organization strategies to improve conditions for poor families. Many of these families were participants in the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. "Project Enable" resulted in the development of new manpower resources, experience, and skills for better delivery of services to poor families and positive attitudinal and behavioral changes on the part of community institutions, as well as participants.

Knowledge was also gained about the interactional dynamics that operate between institutions and persons in poverty.

From 1972-1975, the Urban League conducted a research demonstration program entitled "Work Evaluation-Work Adjustment", which examined whether conventional rehabilitation techniques could be used to mitigate social barriers to employment for socially disadvantaged persons. The program assisted primarily mothers in developing and maintaining appropriate employment behavior, and assisted employers in changing their attitude towards this population.

In 1975, the National Urban League published its proposal for a major overhaul of our national income maintenance system that aimed to prevent and eradicate poverty through a combined strategy incorporating the concepts of a basic universal income floor, full employment, and national health coverage.^{1/} The League has persisted in its advocacy for a public assistance system that is adequate, equitable and universal. Concomitantly, our efforts have continued towards insuring that existing social welfare and employment programs be made as effective as possible for the population they do serve. In 1982, sixteen Urban League affiliates, in conjunction with other geographically close affiliates, conducted public hearings that assessed the impact of AFDC program cuts implemented through the Omnibus Budget Reconciliation Act of 1981 (OBRA). More than 300 witnesses representing a cross-section of AFDC recipients, human service providers, grass-roots organizations, and community groups

presented sobering testimony to the tremendous hardship imposed upon innocent people by a misguided policy that levied cuts in AFDC. These hearings highlighted the problems encountered by AFDC recipients who sought economic independence through employment, especially in the areas of securing health and child care.

Unwavering in our commitment to the principle that all Americans have a right to a job, and faced with the constant reality of disproportionate Black and other minority unemployment and poverty, the National Urban League adopted a formal policy position in 1984 that called for full employment with parity and offered specific recommendations for achieving this national goal. During the same year, the League also launched a welfare-policy research initiative aimed at developing a creative and effective approach to reforming the controversial Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) program. In 1986, the Urban League's welfare initiative, in coordination with the Opportunities Industrialization Centers (OIC) and Senator Arlen Specter, was translated into a legislative package that sought to remove employment barriers of the long term AFDC recipient and long term unemployed, and facilitate their transition into the labor market through community-based outreach and feeder systems.^{2/} This legislative package was re-introduced in the 100th Congress on January 6, 1987 (S.280/S.281) and will be further discussed in a later section of this testimony.

POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT: NATIONAL PROBLEMS THAT MUST BE ADDRESSED

As Congress and national advocates proceed with welfare reform efforts, it is imperative that we keep before us the magnitude and the nature of the problems we purport to address, namely poverty and unemployment, so as to insure that the solutions we propose for their resolution are indeed effective. As a community based organization that advocates at the national level; the National Urban League cannot escape the daily impact of poverty and unemployment upon our constituency. Because we are community based, the Urban League movement is in a strategic position to understand not only the dimension of these problems, but also the context of social and economic need.

Interpreting the Numbers

In a nation such as ours, with its resources and technological advancement, it is totally unacceptable that our national leadership tolerates a national poverty rate of 14 percent and identifies economic recovery with a national unemployment rate of 7 percent. "What used to be labeled 'recession-level' unemployment is now described as 'full employment'."^{3/} A national poverty rate of 14 percent in 1985 translated into over 33 million people who lived below the federal poverty level (a rise of 4 million since 1980) with more than one of every five American children being poor.^{4/} The 7 percent unemployment rate is a conservative figure. In addition, to 8.3 million who are officially unemployed, 1.2 million are discouraged workers who want to work but cannot find jobs and

have given up the search, and approximately 5.5 million who are part-time workers because they cannot find full-time employment.^{5/} Additionally, the measure of unemployment has been biased downwards since the 1983 decision of the Department of Labor to count as employed, members of the Armed Forces on bases within the United States. (In its Quarterly Report on the social and economic condition of Black Americans, the National Urban League has long included, in its Hidden Unemployment Index, discouraged and part-time workers to obtain a more realistic picture of the unemployment problem.)

Contrary to public perception that the "reminization of poverty" argument is the key explanation for increased poverty, "...changes in family composition have not been the primary cause of the increase in poverty since the late 1970s."^{6/} Among the conclusions from a recent staff study prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of the U.S. Congress, it found that:^{7/}

- o The post-1979 increase in poverty has been largely the result of weak economic performance--especially high levels of long-term unemployment and falling wages--and changes in social welfare policy;
- o The greatest increases in poverty during this period were for persons living in married-couple families. There are 3.13 million additional persons living in married-couple families in poverty and 2.19 million additional persons living in single-parent, female-headed families in poverty since 1979; and
- o Persons in married-couple households account for 44.9 percent of the increase in poverty since 1979 (while) persons in single-parent, female-headed families account for 31.5 percent of new poverty over the same period.

Highlighting these facts is not meant to deter the concern that must exist and the actions that must be taken to address the high levels of poverty among single female-headed households (over one-third or 34 percent of all persons living in female-headed families are poor, compared to 9.3 percent of persons in other families).^{8/} Rather, these data serve to restore proper dimension and avoid distortions about the causes of poverty in order to formulate more enlightened policy decisions about courses of action necessary to reduce poverty in this country.

The Cost of Unemployment

Poverty, therefore, is a direct consequence of weak labor market performance. Additionally, and of critical importance, weak labor market performance is also directly linked to behavioral factors which are attributed to poverty. Thus, the implications of high rates of unemployment become more meaningful when we examine their human and social costs. For example:

- o Each 1 percent rise in unemployment produces a 5.7 percent increase in homicides, a 4.1 percent increase in suicides, a 4.0 percent increase in prison admissions, and a 1.9 percent increase in the overall mortality rate.^{9/}

The economic costs are also unsettling:

- o By not operating at 3 percent unemployment in 1984 we collectively lost \$407 billion in output--nearly \$4,700 per household. The loss for the entire 1980 to 1984 period was \$2 trillion of output, an amount equivalent to half a year's national output.^{10/}
- o For every one percent of unemployment, America loses at least \$100 billion in unproduced goods and services, and the federal treasury loses \$30 billion in lost tax revenues and extra welfare and unemployment compensation costs.^{11/}

The American "Job Machine" and the Working Poor

Weak labor market performance is not only manifested in unemployment and its attendant problems. Although our national leadership boasts of creating some three million jobs over the course of the year, it failed to note the growth in part-time positions and the destruction of high-paying manufacturing jobs and their replacement by low-paying retail and service industry jobs.^{12/} According to the findings of a recent study prepared for the Joint Economic Committee of Congress, of the 8 million new jobs created between 1979 and 1984, 58 percent paid annual wages of less than \$7,000, supporting the conclusion that "...the net additions to employment being generated in the U.S. since the late 1970s have been disproportionately and increasingly concentrated at the low-wage end of the spectrum."^{13/} Given these negative changes in the job market, it is no small wonder that in the current economy, even if one works, there is no guarantee of escape from poverty. Recent Congressional testimony by the American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations (AFL-CIO) documents the increasing erosion of wages and the effect of part-time work:

- o In 1984, there were more than 9 million people living below the official poverty level who worked for at least part of the year, and nearly one-third of them were working full-time year round... Furthermore, about one out of every six families in poverty had two workers in the labor force. Even the minimum-wage worker lucky enough to get a full-time, year-round job earns less than \$7,000 a year--36 percent below the current poverty line of \$11,000 a year.^{14/}

In sum, a national overview of U.S. poverty and unemployment reveals "six years of supply-side economics (that) have...proven disastrous. Not only has supply-side policy worsened the condition of the poor, it has fostered segmentation of America into two societies - one rich and prospering and the other becoming poorer...".^{15/} This polarization is evidenced by the fact that between 1979 and 1985, income losses widened where the bottom 60 percent of families saw declining shares of income with by far the largest gains going to the richest 20 percent.^{16/}

Poverty and Unemployment: Impact Upon Black Americans

While national poverty and unemployment rates are unacceptably high for the country as a whole, the disproportionate impact on Black Americans is devastating. Black Americans remain disproportionately poor and disproportionately unemployed. In 1985, more than 31 percent of Black Americans were poor, where Blacks were still almost three times more likely than whites to be below the poverty level.^{17/} About one-half of Black children were poor in 1985.^{18/} For Black workers, unemployment remained at depression-level rates of 15 percent (NUL's Hidden Unemployment Index places the 1985 rate for Black workers at 26.6 percent), with rates for inner-city teenagers above the 50 percent mark.^{19/}

Black American poverty continues to be clouded by the effects of racial discrimination. Distortions in the media and by self-appointed "experts" on the complex issues that surround Black poverty have failed to comprehend and portray the realities

of Black poverty as it is impacted by racial factors. According to the State of Black America 1987 report, the feminization of poverty concept obscures the continued importance of race in general as a causal factor in the determination of poverty:

- o At every level of education and across all family structures, the proportion of Black Americans in poverty exceeds the proportion of white Americans in poverty. The poverty rate among Black families headed by both a male and female exceeds the rate of poverty among white female-headed families. The poverty rate among Blacks with one or more years of college exceeds the poverty rate of whites with 8 years of education. The poverty rate of Blacks who worked full-time is 3 times higher than that of whites who worked full-time. The poverty rate of Black households with only two persons is nearly equal to that of whites with 7 or more persons.^{20/}

Additionally, over-emphasis on the notion of feminized poverty, "dichotomizes the status of Black males and females in poverty and feeds practices that separate their plight."^{21/} A central weakness of this concept "may be that it diverts attention from the staggering dislocation and disconnection of Black males from the labor market, income, and concomitantly, from the family,"^{22/} and does gross injustice to the historical role played by Black women in providing essential income for Black families when Black males were unemployed or underemployed.^{23/}

Complacency about Black unemployment stems from "a growing tendency to believe that the problem may be intractable," centered in a perceived expansion of the 'underclass' segment of Black America whose members are (viewed as) neither receptive to nor apt to benefit from efforts to promote self-sufficiency."^{24/}

Recently, the Research Department of the National Urban League examined the nature of Black unemployment and dispelled prevailing notions that the Black unemployed are a largely homogeneous population beyond help. A summary of the major findings from our report show that neither a lack of investment in education nor the decline in the manufacturing sector fully account for the disproportionate unemployment of Black Americans:

- o In terms of racial comparisons, the gap between Black and white unemployment rates is greater at the higher education levels. Thus, the jobless rate of Black college graduates in 1984 was 2.5 times that of their counterparts, while the rate of Black high school dropouts was only 1.8 times the rate of white dropouts. These findings evidence the continued impact of racial discrimination in the labor market.
- o Further evidence of continued employment discrimination against Blacks is suggested by comparisons of Black and white jobless rates within different occupational categories. In particular, the unemployment rate of Black blue collar workers in 1984 was 1.8 times that of their white counterparts, while Black white collar workers were unemployed at 2.6 times the rate of their white counterparts.25/

It is therefore imperative that the formulation of policies designed to address issues of Black poverty and Black unemployment be based on accurate knowledge of the nature of both problems, lest we continue seeking solutions misguided by distortion of facts and outright disinformation about Black family life in America.

Placing Welfare Reform in Perspective

Preliminary to the formulation of public policy measures designed to "reform" existing "welfare" programs is the need for further clarity relative to the nature and dimensions of poverty and unemployment. In particular, Congressional committees having jurisdiction over various welfare programs, and the general public must begin the debate by delineating not only the major issues, but the subissues as well. Ultimately, interventions must be designed which directly flow from accurate analyses.

First, it should be noted that the welfare reform debate has truncated around the axiological issue of dependency, rather than the economic issue of poverty. Thus, one must ask, "What proportion of the poor are dependent?": In 1985, 33,064,000 Americans were poor;^{26/} and yet, the AFDC program serviced 10,800,000 individuals^{27/} or only 33% of American poor. Additionally, 64% or 7 million "dependent" poor were children.^{28/} Therefore, only 12% of America's total poverty population can be classified as adult recipients of AFDC.

Secondly, the issue of welfare reform has come to be viewed as a "Black" issue, making it critical that we examine the linkages between poverty, dependency, and race. In 1967, 8,486,000 Black Americans existed in poverty out of an overall poverty population of 27,769,000.^{29/} Thus, Blacks comprised 30.5%, or nearly one-third, of America's poor. In 1985, 8,926,000 Black Americans lived in poverty and constituted 26.9%

of America's poor.^{30/} When we compare the data of 1967 with that of 1985, we find that Black Americans, while constituting a smaller proportion of the nation's poor in 1985, nevertheless, remain disproportionately the population that carries the heavy burden of poverty. Further, and important to the members of this committee, while Blacks in poverty have increased from 1967 to 1985, overall poverty has increased in America, with the higher rates of increase occurring among white Americans. Notwithstanding the more rapid occurrence of poverty among white Americans, Blacks continue to be disproportionately represented amongst America's poor.

The disproportionate representation of Blacks among the nation's poor, is of course, reflected in the disproportionate representation of Blacks amongst AFDC recipients. In 1973, (the first year for which comparative data is available) Blacks constituted 45.8 percent of all AFDC recipients, and whites 38.0 percent.^{31/} In 1984, we find that the proportion of AFDC recipients who are Black is approximately equal to the proportion that are white (41.9% and 41.3% respectively).^{32/} It is important to point out here that the proportion of AFDC recipients who are Black has actually decreased.^{33/} In contrast, white Americans' share of AFDC dollars has been steadily increasing.^{34/} Hence Mr. Chairman, close and careful scrutiny of the data discloses that welfare reform, no matter how important, it not alone a Black issue. Our effort to reform the AFDC program is an initial and crucial step in the process of attacking hard-line poverty and must prove successful, for it has

serious implications for millions of poor Americans, among which Blacks are a disproportionate number.

Notwithstanding the above, this discussion raises the issue of the correlates of both poverty and dependency and raises such questions as - "To what degree are those in poverty poor because they are nonparticipants in the labor market?" - "To what degree is poverty related to a failure of labor markets?" - "To what degree is poverty related to a willingness to work but for the absence of marketable skills?" Similar queries must be posed relative to dependency. Once again, it is perhaps helpful to reiterate data on these issues. Approximately 50% of all poor family heads now work at some point during the year.^{35/} Similarly, 49% of all poor female-headed families worked during 1985.^{36/} Indeed, in 1984 a greater proportion of poor Black female-headed households worked full-time than did white female heads of households (14% and 11.8% respectively).^{37/} Therefore, poor Americans do indeed engage in labor market activities. However, there has occurred a decrease in the labor market participation of AFDC recipients. In 1975, 16.1% of AFDC mothers were employed full- or part-time, whereas in 1984 only 4.8% of AFDC mothers were similarly employed.^{38/} This trend can be explained in part by the fact that in 1975, 34.6% of AFDC mothers had children who were not of school age, whereas in 1984, 42.6% of AFDC mothers had children below school age.^{39/} Such data can also be explained in terms of the differential labor market conditions which prevailed during these two periods.

Increasingly, evidence is accumulating that labor market conditions may be a critical factor in both poverty and dependency. In 1979, 41,695,000 persons were poor before any government transfers.^{40/} In 1985, (despite the recovery) this number was 50,462,000.^{41/} Since 1979, the number of working poor has increased by 40%,^{42/} and the economy (as previously detailed in this testimony) has experienced an increase in low-wage jobs. And in 1984, it has been reported that a mere 48% of white males and 27% of Black males aged 20-24 earned sufficient income to support a wife and child at an above-poverty level standard of living.^{43/} It thus appears that labor market failure does, in part, explain poverty and welfare dependency.

Two issues of particular interest to public policy makers and guiding Congressional activity relate to AFDC duration and public expenditures for the AFDC program. Based on extensive review of the research pertaining to AFDC duration we find: that about half of the recipients only stay on the program for about two years (the median number of months on AFDC since their most recent opening is approximately 26 months);^{44/} that more than half of all recipients who ever use AFDC (including those who have multiple or repeat spells of AFDC use) receive it in 4 years or less; and that only one-fourth of AFDC recipients receive it in 10 or more years.^{45/} The one-quarter of AFDC recipients who are considered the "long-term" users consume approximately 60 percent of the resources for this program.^{46/} According to the research, factors contributing to long-term AFDC use include

lower levels of education and less employment experience; and those particularly "at risk" of becoming long-term recipients are young never-married women who enter AFDC when their child is less than three years old (over 40% of this group will spend approximately 10 years on AFDC).^{47/} Contrary to public and often political perceptions that AFDC recipients are responsible for a large percentage of federal expenditures, in actuality AFDC's total \$14.8 billion cost in FY1985 (where only a little more than half of this total are federal dollars) represented less than one percent of total federal government expenditures.^{48/} Additionally, in 1984, although most families on AFDC received food stamps, they comprised less than half of all food stamp households; AFDC recipients accounted for only approximately one-quarter of total Medicaid expenditures in 1984, and fewer than one in four AFDC families received housing assistance.^{49/}

In sum, placing "welfare reform" in perspective means that we must be insightful about what we truly mean by "reform," i.e., exactly "what" are we reforming, and for which populations? Equally important is whether policymakers and national leaders will make the conscious choice of excluding two-thirds of America's poor from the welfare reform debate and thus refrain from adopting creative measures that will raise their standard of life above the devastation of poverty.

RECOMMENDATIONS OF THE NATIONAL URBAN LEAGUE (NUL)

NUL Principles and Legislative Activity

The following basic principles, which serve as our guide for evaluating the potential for positive impact of various "welfare reform" endeavors that seek to reduce poverty and unemployment, reflect the National Urban League's traditional holistic approach to addressing these problems especially as they relate to the disproportionate numbers of poor and unemployed who are minorities. These principles essentially warrant a coordination of all programs and other national interventions that, taken together, would emerge as a comprehensive national proactive policy towards the need to reduce poverty and increase viable employment for the millions of Americans ready and able to work.

1. The primary objective in reforming our system of social welfare must be to strengthen the family.
2. Program interventions must be designed to insure that poor families and individuals capable of working have equal access to income through viable employment, thus enabling their capacity to participate fully in society.
3. Families and individuals having multiple barriers to employment, such as lack of education, skills, training, work experience, and long term spells of poverty and unemployment must be targeted for intensive services that facilitate their transition to the labor market.
4. To insure permanent entry or re-entry into the labor force, special emphasis must be placed on the critical transition stage from public assistance to employment. Support services such as child care, transportation, extended Medicaid coverage and income disregards must be provided.
5. A system of social welfare benefits must be economically just and promote the strengthening of families.
6. A comprehensive continuum of service delivery systems must be utilized in national and local

plans for improving the lives of poor families and individuals. Along with federal, state, local and private agencies, community-based organizations must be strategically involved on both planning and service delivery levels.

7. As a nation, we must never be hesitant nor timid in utilizing our federal resources effectively to improve the life conditions of families and individuals living in poverty.

In June of 1986 and in the early months of this 100th Congress, the Urban League, in coordination with OIC and certain members of Congress, took the opportunity to translate four of these principles (1,3,4, and 6) into bipartisan legislation. The "Opportunities For Employment Preparation Act" and the "Aid to Families and Employment Transition Act" (co-sponsored by Senators Specter and Moynihan, and Congressmen Bill Gray and Jack Kemp in 1986) essentially focused on the use of community based organizations to improve the implementation of pre-employment education and training services for the severely economically disadvantaged under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). ^{50/}

These proposals also provided for critical employment transition services (such as extended Medicaid, income disregards, and child care) for recipients of AFDC. Populations specifically targeted for community based services included long-term AFDC recipients and the long-term unemployed. Long-term unemployed individuals were an important feature of this original legislative package because they are often ignored and rejected by our social and economic systems. They include persons who usually are ineligible for basic income and supplemental programs such as AFDC, food stamps, and subsidized housing and who experience out-

right "dislocation from the labor force and disconnection from the institutions that act as feeders to labor force participation."^{51/} The exact number of individuals who comprise this population is difficult to quantify precisely because they are disconnected from institutions who could count them.

At the opening of the 100th Congress, the National Urban League, OIC, other community based organizations and Senator Specter joined forces with Senator Kennedy's welfare initiative, the "Jobs for Employable Dependent Individuals Act" (JEDI). The JEDI bill, which passed the Senate on April 2, 1987 with overwhelming bipartisan support, includes key provisions that incorporate important principles supported by the Urban League:

- o targets the long term AFDC recipient for specialized outreach, training and employment placement services;
- o uses existing resources to provide a fiscal incentive to states through the provision of financial bonuses for the successful training and placement of the long term AFDC recipient;
- o recognizes the important role that community based organizations play as feeder systems in outreaching and servicing this targeted population;
- o provides for the targeting of existing and unused federal funds for the needs of the hard-to-serve; and
- o strengthens JTPA performance standards to reduce "creaming" of the most job ready.

The JEDI bill, now before this Committee, should be supported for its creative approach to the use of existing federal resources for specially targeted populations and its

bipartisan appeal. However, we also recognize that in addition to the fiscal incentives offered to states through the JEDI bill, service delivery mechanisms that offer supportive benefits, education, training, and employment placement services must be strengthened and their funding increased if we wish to make a genuine commitment to succeeding with this population. Otherwise, the JEDI initiative may not be as effective as is expected. We believe that House committees having jurisdiction over the key programs of AFDC, JTPA, Vocational Education and other such programs can come together to fashion a comprehensive service delivery mechanism that utilizes federal, state, private and community based resources and organizations to meet the pressing needs of long term public assistance recipients and those at risk of becoming long term. Through our own programmatic experiences, the National Urban League knows that these populations, can be trained and can become active participants in the labor market. (See Appendix for a sampling of NUL's employment programs and activities.)

Recommendations For: The "Fair Work Opportunities Act" (H.R.30)
And The "Family Welfare Reform Act" (H.R.1720)

These two legislative proposals represent an important first step by members of Congress to translate the concerns raised throughout the welfare reform debate, intensified in the last year, into concrete action. It is important to note that both these proposals are targeted to approximately one-third of the poor in this country, and hence represent a very important beginning at eroding unacceptable levels of overall poverty and

unemployment. Indeed, we must make every effort to be successful with this target population, particularly since the degree of our success will send a powerful message to the general public about the extent to which our national leaders are truly committed to addressing the needs of families and individuals who are most vulnerable to negative economic forces.

In addition to our prior and more extensive input into both of these legislative proposals now before this Committee, the Urban League is appreciative of the opportunity to offer additional comment in the following areas:

(1) Target Populations and Participation Requirements

Given the likelihood of limited federal and state resources for employment-related programs, we would recommend that long term AFDC recipients and recipients "at risk" of becoming long term, (who are likely to benefit the most from these programs, based upon the research^{52/}), be targeted for services through aggressive outreach and voluntary participation. In light of the data and research that dispel the myths surrounding AFDC recipients' desire to work, limited resources should be directed to participants who volunteer their participation in work-related programs. We would therefore urge that provisions for mandatory participation be removed from both H.R.30 and H.R.1720. We support the special emphasis, in both bills, placed on AFDC recipients who are the more difficult-to-employ.

(2) Service Delivery and Private Sector Involvement

Based upon our own programmatic experiences relative to preemployment training, we support the comprehensive "menu" of services that would be offered in both H.R.30 and H.R.1720, especially those services that emphasize basic and remedial education, and important preemployment skills and on-the-job training. In addition, funding and directives must be provided to states insuring that front line staff or case managers be trained to deliver these services effectively and humanely. We would further recommend (as proposed in H.R.30) that limited resources not be utilized for community work experience programs (workfare).

(3) Involvement of Community Based Organizations

Absent, from both H.R.30 and H.R.1720 is the inclusion of community based organizations (who possess expertise in reaching out and training the hard-to-employ) as active partners in the planning and service delivery of employment programs for AFDC recipients. We would therefore recommend that language be added in both proposals that would include community based organizations in program planning and service delivery to insure a more comprehensive and effective approach to program implementation.

(4) Support and Transition Services

Research and overwhelming testimony on welfare reform repeatedly document the need for important child care, health, transportation services, and income disregards to facilitate an effective transition of AFDC recipients into the labor market.

where, for some, the income levels still are not adequate to meet these critical needs. Information on the Massachusetts "ET" and the Maine Welfare Employment, Education and Training (WEET) programs suggest the need for at least one year of extended Medicaid, child care and transportation services once the recipient becomes employed. We would therefore recommend that both H.R.30 and H.R.1720 strengthen their provisions relative to support and transition services by providing for at least one year's extension of Medicaid coverage after employment begins (if no health coverage is available through employment), and for at least one year of child care and transportation assistance. We would further recommend that the income disregards outlined in H.R.1720 be adopted, as they offer improvement upon current law.

(5) Job Development

More emphasis should be placed in both H.R.30 and H.R.1720 on establishing an effective job development program to avoid the result of transferring families from one state of poverty into another. We support the development of jobs and job placement that would result in viable employment. This would require that emphasis be placed on cultivating jobs and placements that would elevate AFDC families above the federal poverty level.

(6) Performance Standards

Both H.R.30 and H.R.1720 must insure that provisions for performance standards include measures that protect against "creaming" of the most job-ready by providing for measures that

specifically insure the inclusion of the hard-to-employ for targeted preemployment services. Performance standards should include, in addition to job placement, such measures as the attainment of elementary, secondary and post secondary school completion or the equivalence; attainment of recognized employment competencies; and enrollment in other training programs or apprenticeships.

(7) Administration and Coordination

In light of research on the state experiences with welfare-to-work programs for AFDC recipients,^{53/} it appears that a positive approach for reform of AFDC work programs would include: creation of a comprehensive federal education, training and employment placement program that is steadily and adequately funded, with an administrative structure that avoids duplication of services and complex regulations. Such a program would provide for effective service coordination among those state, private and community based agencies and programs that possess the expertise to educate, train and provide employment placement services to AFDC recipients, particularly the most difficult-to-employ. The administrative and coordination structure proposed in H.R.30 represents a solid attempt at essentially "marrying" federal/ state labor and income maintenance services in a manner that will be more responsive to the education and employment needs of AFDC recipients by resting federal responsibility with the Department of Labor whose major focus and expertise lie in employment related programs. Additionally, under H.R.30,

governors would be allowed the flexibility to determine which state agency would be best suited for meeting preemployment education and training for AFDC recipients, with specific federal directives for the coordination of related state programs.

(8) Expenditures for Welfare Reform

When we compare the costs of already underfunded public assistance and job training programs with the costs of unemployment and the related social and economic costs associated with poverty, there should be no hesitation on the part of this Congress to invest in at least the education and training of those in poverty and the unemployed. We are deeply concerned that the initial \$11.8 billion investment made by H.R.1720's approach to improving the AFDC program has already been eroded to \$5.5 billion over five years. This is a paltry sum when we compare this to the \$2 trillion of lost output between 1980 and 1984 by not operating at 3 percent unemployment. Clearly then, investing in the employability of the AFDC population would represent at least a beginning in the recapture of lost input.

CONCLUSION

We have a tremendous opportunity, during these months of renewed debate on these issues, for bipartisan leadership in meeting the first challenge, namely addressing the needs of one segment of our poverty population, those on AFDC. This nation possesses the knowledge and the resources at the federal, state, and local and private levels to meet this challenge. The National Urban League calls for national leadership, commitment

and bipartisan political will to begin to rectify a social and economic situation that should be non-existent in this wealthy nation. Thank you.

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APPENDIX

Public, Private and Volunteer Partnerships Can Work Effectively In Assisting Families and Individuals Achieve Economic Independence

Community based organizations such as the National Urban League possess the field experience and capability to provide pre-employment education, training, and job placement services to persons who must overcome certain barriers to stable employment. The following sampling of programs operated by the National Urban League serves to illustrate how we deliver these services:

o Community Based Organization Partnership Program

Provides technical assistance to Urban League affiliates operating employment and training programs funded primarily under the Job Training Partnership Act (JTPA). As of December 1986, close to 75 League affiliates (approximately 67%) operate JTPA funded projects with an aggregate budget of close to \$25 million.

- o In 1985, approximately 26,000 participants were served. Success stories coming out of the JTPA programs were many. One of them involved a young woman who turned to the Urban League of Fairfield County (Stamford, CT) for assistance in improving her job skills. She was enrolled in word processing and clerical skills training classes, completed the course, and was hired as a temporary

data entry employee with an employment agency. Through her own self-motivation, she taught herself to use a digital computer and because of her performance the firm hired her on a permanent basis as an assistant programmer and is financing her continuing education at a local technical college. More incredible was the fact that the young lady was pregnant at the time she was accomplishing these feats.

- o Skills Training Centers - As of July 1986, skills centers were operating in 32 Urban League affiliate cities, offering courses in programming, clerical/secretarial, computer operations and word processing at no cost to high school graduates. In addition to these core services, each center offers a variety of other training-related services: e.g., at our New Orleans center, basic academics, remediation and counseling are offered in addition to word processing.

The centers are operated in cooperation with IBM and other corporate and private support. A majority of the programs also participate in some JTPA ventures. Over its several years of existence, more than 5,000 students have completed the program with a remarkable placement rate of

more than 80%. In the 1984/85 program year alone, 1,611 students were enrolled in the centers, 1,244 graduated and 1,049 were placed in jobs for an astounding 84% placement rate. All of the centers are located in urban areas of high unemployment and the students come from the ranks of the unemployed or the underemployed. IBM or another sponsoring group provides equipment, instructors and supplies. The local affiliate provides outreach to students, the administrative structure and supportive services. Each center has an advisory group comprised of local business representatives who assist in securing funds for administrative staff and job placement for graduates, as well as providing executives-on-loan to serve as classroom instructors. Chart A shows how a number of benefits flow to the community because of the centers.

- o Comprehensive Competencies Program - Relatively new, this program is targeted to young people out-of-school and is designed to increase their employability. Initiated with a grant from the Ford Foundation, this program is aimed at helping an individual develop competency in academic and other areas where he or she is deficient. This program is composed of two components, academic and functional. The academic component consists

of courses in reading, language skills, writing, math, social sciences, etc. from the elementary to the college preparatory level. Job preparation--resume writing, conducting job searches, handling job interviews, development of proper work habits--is the focus of the functional component. As of 1985, programs were operating in five League affiliates--Peoria, IL; San Diego, CA; Tacoma, WA; Washington, DC; and Rochester, NY.

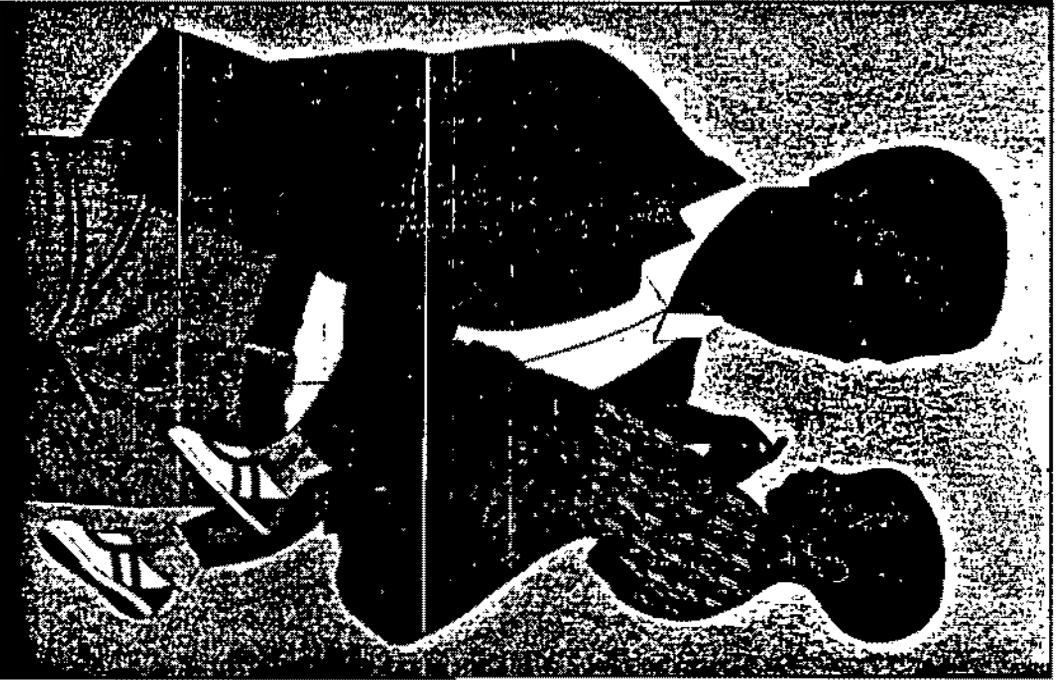
CHART A

AN INVESTMENT IN FAMILY STABILITY

<u>FINANCIAL SUMMARY</u>	
<u>RETURN ON INVESTMENTS</u>	
<u>URBAN LEAGUE SKILLS TRAINING CENTERS</u>	
1984/85	
94%	<u>Placements Rate</u>
	1049 Placements 1244 Graduates
\$ 3,133	<u>Average Cost per Placement</u>
	\$3,266,360 Cost of Training 1,049 Placements
\$ 12,084	<u>Average Salary after Placement</u>
	\$12,576,278 Total Salaries 1,049 Placements
\$ 8,971	<u>Average Net Gain per Placement</u>
	\$12,084 Average Salary - \$3,113 Average Cost per Placement
JR	
288%	<u>Return on Investment</u>
	\$8,971 Average Net Gain \$3,113 Average Cost per Placement
\$2,474,649	<u>Total Cost of Public Support</u>
	(601 Reported vs. 1049 Placements -57%)
\$3,194,082	<u>Total Amount Returned to Government</u>
	+ \$1,225,474 Federal Income Tax + \$1,693,454 Social Security (FICA) + 220,023 State Income Tax + 55,133 City Income Tax
\$10,328,323	<u>Total Amount Returned to Economy</u>
	+ \$12,576,278 Total Salaries - \$2,247,955 Amt. Returned to Govt. (less employers' FICA)
\$12,731,094	<u>Total Net Gain to Public</u>
	+ \$2,474,649 Cost of Public Support + \$3,194,082 Amt. Returned to Govt. + \$10,328,323 Amt. Returned to Economy - \$3,266,360 Cost of Training

Chart Source: Honoring Yesterday, Challenging Tomorrow, - Annual Report 1985, National Urban League, Inc., New York, New York.

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Toward Economic Self-Sufficiency: Independence Without Poverty

Lynn C. Burbridge, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

Much has been written in the past two decades about the need for poor women to attain economic self-sufficiency, free from dependency on the U.S. social welfare system. African-American women, either explicitly or implicitly, have been the target of much of this literature.¹ Although the welfare system was originally designed to help women remain at home with their families whenever they were without a male breadwinner, this is no longer the case.² Staying at home and raising one's children are not considered "real" work, and those who do so are often considered irresponsible and feckless, at least if they are poor. While many have appropriately criticized the hypocrisy of conservatives who have insisted that welfare recipients work while extolling the virtues of remaining at home in the name of "family values" for white, middle-class women, one cannot deny overall changing expectations regarding women and work. The irony, of course, is that African-American women have historically had a much stronger attachment to the labor force than any other group of women and continue to work in great numbers, including those who are public assistance recipients.

In examining the issue of self-sufficiency for African-American women, this chapter begins with three fundamental premises. First, economic independence is meaningless if one is in poverty, particularly if one is responsible for the well-being of children as well as one's own self. Poverty makes women and families vulnerable to a variety of social ills, regardless of their dependence on or independence from social welfare programs. The relationship between poverty and "rotten outcomes" has been well-documented.³ Thus, the concept of self-sufficiency has to be broad enough to include economic well-being as well as economic independence.

Second, it is argued that African-American women desire and seek economic self-sufficiency. African-American women have ambitiously pursued economic opportunities when they have been presented to them and will continue to do so as long as these opportunities are available to them. There is little to suggest that black women do not want to work in the labor market when, in doing so, it does no harm to them or their children. If a recent poll is any indication, all women, including those of African descent,

value having a job and money of their own.⁴ The problem involves providing options that will lead to true self-sufficiency, to independence without poverty.

Finally, it is argued that African-American women face increasing barriers to their hopes for economic self-sufficiency. Not only have the wages of African-American women stagnated, but also black women have been confined to sectors of the economy characterized by unstable employment or slow growth. Further, there are indications that discrimination against black women increased in the 1980s. These barriers, combined with the deteriorating economic situation of black men, are making it difficult for African-American women to achieve self-sufficiency either singly or in combination with their male counterparts.

GAINS AND LOSSES

While some of the economic literature have focused on the problems faced by many poor black women, other books and articles have noted the extraordinary occupational gains they have made, particularly since World War II.⁵ Black women would appear to be between the proverbial rock and a hard place: described as both doing extremely well (especially when compared to black males) and as doing extremely poorly (especially with respect to welfare receipt). Both scenarios are correct to some extent; there have been many important breakthroughs for some African Americans—both male and female—and severe disappointments for others. Yet most African-American women have been marginalized in the U.S. economy, including the more successful professionals. In this section, some of the gains and losses experienced by African-American women are discussed. This will be followed by an examination of the relationship of black women to the social welfare system and implications for public policy.

Occupational and Wage Gains

The National Research Council's examination of black economic progress indicates that African-American women of the 1980s shared a common characteristic with African-American women of the 1930s: their relatively lower earnings when compared to African-American men and to white men and women.⁶ But while black women remained at the bottom of the pile, they made tremendous earnings gains relative to other groups. Their weekly wages went from 41 percent of white women's weekly wages to 97 percent in the mid-1980s; from 57 to 78 percent of black men's weekly wages; and from 27 to 53 percent of white men's weekly wages.

Much of this wage growth was driven by dramatic changes in the occupational distribution of black women. As indicated in Table 1, the occupational distribution of white women changed very little between 1950

and 1980, in spite of the fact that labor force participation rates have increased by over 50 percent for this group. For black women, the changes have been dramatic. But this change primarily involved a shift from the low-wage services, particularly private household services, to the low-

Table 1
Change in Occupational Distribution of
Black and White Women, 1950-1980

Occupation	Distribution in 1980		Change 1950-1980	
	White	Black	White	Black
Professional/				
Technical	18.2	14.9	4.9	9.9
Managerial	7.3	3.7	2.6	2.4
Clerical	36.0	28.8	5.7	24.8
Sales	7.2	2.8	-2.2	1.5
Craft	2.0	1.8	.4	1.2
Operatives	11.9	17.8	-7.9	3.3
Laborers	1.2	1.8	.5	.3
Service	17.2	30.8	1.8	-29.6
Farm Related	.8	.4	-2.1	-5.0

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, 1950 and 1980 Census of the Population.

Note: Estimates were made for 1980 occupations to make them comparable to 1950. Figures may not total 100 percent because of rounding.

wage, female-intensive administrative support occupations that are and have been dominated by white women.

Among those black women who have not completed high school, service work still dominates. Sixty percent of black women without a high school diploma are in service occupations, compared to 33 percent of similar white women, 18 percent of their black male counterparts, and 10 percent of white men without high school diplomas. According to Julianne Malveaux, an analysis of detailed occupations indicates even greater segregation among black women.⁷ Forty-one percent of black women in service occupations

can be found in only four types of jobs: chambermaids, welfare service aides, cleaners, and nurse's aides. Thus, dropping out of high school severely limits the opportunities of African-American women.

Nevertheless, labor force participation rates of black women have climbed 19 percent since 1970 (to 59 percent), compared to a 7 percent decline of labor force participation among black males (to 71 percent). Further, because of earnings gains of black women, coupled with the slowdown in black male wages, the earnings of African-American women have come to represent an increasing proportion of family income: in two-parent, two-earner families, a wife's earnings now represent 50 percent of black family income, compared to 40 percent of Hispanic family income and 35 percent of white family income.⁸

In documenting these gains, however, some important caveats are in order. First, there is evidence that earnings gains of African-American women dissipated over the 1980s, and black women's wages have begun to diverge from white women's wages after years of convergence. A study by Elaine Sorenson indicates that the probable explanation for this change is discrimination, since neither changes in human capital nor in the industrial structure were sufficient to explain this new trend.⁹ Second, by other measures, they do considerably less well than white women: they have considerably less total income and wealth, even when their labor earnings are similar; their unemployment rates are two-and-a-half times that of their white counterparts; and they must work longer hours in order to achieve earnings parity with white women.¹⁰ Finally, the gains of African-American women have been limited to certain sectors of the economy. Research indicates that 80 percent of professional black women work for either the government (federal, state, or local) or the nonprofit sector.¹¹ Even the most skilled of African-American women have been locked out of the private, for-profit sector.

Constraints and Losses

Unfortunately, the gains made by black women have been counterbalanced by the tremendous growth in female-headed households, resulting in many African-American women being left alone to fend for themselves and their families. The growth in black female-headed households is often cited as one of the most significant demographic phenomena of recent decades and as a reason for the failure of black family poverty rates to decline significantly. In 1989, almost 44 percent of black families were headed by a woman with no husband present. Black female-headed households have increased over 134 percent since 1940 and by 70 percent since 1965. In comparison, only 13 percent of white families are headed by females with no husband present (although this, too, represents a significant increase).¹²

This trend is largely explained by a rise in divorces and separations and an increase in out-of-wedlock births, particularly among very young women. One of the most striking numbers often cited is that as many as 68 percent of births to black women between the ages of 15 and 24 are outside of marriage. There is also a larger proportion of women forming independent households than in the past. (In other words, women with children and no husbands are more likely to form their own households rather than live with parents or within the context of the extended family.) The growth in black female-headed households has occurred in spite of declining overall fertility rates.¹³

While some have attributed the increase in female-headed households to AFDC receipt, most studies do not find a statistically significant relationship.¹⁴ In those studies in which a relationship between female headship and AFDC receipt is found, the effect is usually small and weak.¹⁵ Some that have focused on illegitimacy also find no relationship between out-of-wedlock births and AFDC receipt.¹⁶ Although still a hotly debated topic, it appears that if there is an impact, it is more than likely extremely small.

While there has been a resurgence of interest in the impact of male joblessness on family structure,¹⁷ the idea is not altogether new.¹⁸ Statistical studies have consistently found a relationship between male joblessness or low wages on marital dissolutions or nonmarriage. This result has been found using individual or geographic data.¹⁹ The study by Ross and Sawhill is instructive in that they found no "pure income effect"; rather, fluctuations in income were important.²⁰ In other words, income instability has a major impact on marital instability.

William Wilson's recent book places great emphasis on structural economic transformations affecting the availability of jobs in the inner city.²¹ He focuses on the loss of manufacturing employment and the spatial mismatch of jobs—blacks do not reside where the jobs are being created—as an important explanation of changes in the inner city, including increases in female headship.

While the poor labor market performance of many men has been cited as a cause of marital instability, the increasing opportunities for women have been cited as well; in other words, women are now better able to "opt out" of a bad marriage. Many studies have found that with greater opportunities for women, there does appear to be more female-headed households.²² It is not clear, however, what the direction of causality is; it may be that greater marital instability is causing greater female labor market participation.²³ Generally, however, these impacts are found only for white women. Black women, it seems, more often work to supplement their husbands' incomes rather than to have a cushion when a marriage falls apart.

A related issue is the low male-to-female sex ratio among blacks which William Wilson—one of the principal proponents of this view—discusses extensively in his book.²⁴ The discussion not only focuses on the absolute

number of black males, but also on the availability of "marriageable black males." In other words, not only are there fewer black men because of high mortality rates, but also high rates of unemployment, incarceration, and substance abuse reduce the number that are really eligible for marriage. A study by Darity and Myers, using time-series data, finds that the formation of female-headed households shows a statistically significant relationship to the male-female ratio, the female age distribution, and the nonwhite male mortality rate.²⁵

Whatever the reason, fewer African-American women are marrying. Table 2 gives the expectations of marrying for different cohorts of women. African-American women born in the early 1950s have significantly less likelihood of marrying than those born in the late 1930s. African-American women born in the 1950s with less than a high school education have the least likelihood of marrying: 69 percent compared to 84 percent of those with more than a high school education. While there have been declines in the percentage of white women ever marrying, the decline has been considerably less: 90 to 93 percent of those in the 1950s cohort are expected to marry. Further, a recent study by Hatchett found significant differences between black men's and women's attitudes toward marriage. Black women were

Table 2
Expectations to Ever Marry, 1985

	Date of Birth			
	Late 1930s	Early 1940s	Late 1940s	Early 1950s
Black Women				
Less than high school	84.3	82.4	75.2	68.9
High school	88.8	88.6	79.2	77.8
More than high school	98.5	95.4	92.3	83.7
White Women				
Less than high school	95.1	94.8	92.7	91.3
High school	96.9	97.1	95.8	92.9
More than high school	94.0	96.8	95.2	90.1

Source: Estimates derived from Nell G. Bennett, David E. Bloom, and Patricia H. Craig, "The Divergence of Black and White Marriage Patterns," *American Journal of Sociology*, 95(3), 1989.

more likely to value financial security as a reason to marry, while black men were more likely to emphasize the socio-emotional aspects of marriage.²⁶ These differences between African-American men and women further complicate the picture.

The decline in marriage not only has consequences for African-American women, but also for their children. Child poverty rates are very high in female-headed households: 47 percent for whites and 72 percent for blacks (Table 3). Among single-parent families headed by a woman without a high school diploma, childhood poverty is virtually guaranteed: 87 percent for blacks and 77 percent for whites. Thus, limited education not only lowers opportunities for women but also jeopardizes the well-being of their children.

Differences in long-term poverty are even more dramatic. One national study has found that, on average, a black child can expect to spend five of

Table 3
Child Poverty Rates by Family Type,
Race, and Education: 1982-1983

	Black	White	B/W Ratio
Married-couple families	20.9	11.3	1.85
Father's education only:			
Failed to complete high school	39.6	29.0	1.37
Completed high school	13.1	7.3	1.79
High school diploma only	17.5	10.1	1.73
Completed some college	6.9	4.8	1.44
Father and mother's education:			
Neither completed high school	44.9	36.8	1.22
Only mother completed high school	32.8	18.6	1.76
Only father completed high school	29.7	18.6	1.60
Both completed high school	11.1	6.2	1.79
Single female-headed families	71.5	47.4	1.51
Mother's education:			
Failed to complete high school	86.8	76.8	1.13
Completed high school	61.6	34.4	1.79
High school diploma only	67.6	41.0	1.65
Completed some college	47.3	22.7	2.08

Source: Committee on Ways and Means, U.S. House of Representatives, *Overview of Entitlement Programs: 1992 Green Book* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1992).

his or her first 15 years in poverty compared to 0.8 years on average for a white child.²⁷ These figures are particularly compelling when one considers Marian Wright Edelman's statement that "poverty is the greatest child killer in the affluent United States. . . . [M]ore American children die each year from poverty than from traffic fatalities and suicide combined."²⁸

In addition, a life of single parenthood or low earnings has consequences for black women when they pass their childbearing years. Older black women are more likely than any other group to be poor or near poor (Table 4): 50 percent of older African-American women are poor or near poor, followed by black men (39 percent), Hispanic women (38 percent), Hispanic men (27 percent), white females (21 percent), and white men (10 percent). The most impoverished group, black women, has poor or near-poor rates five times that of the most advantaged group, white males.

Poverty rates are high for older black women in spite of evidence of a great commitment to the labor market because of lower earnings in their prime-age years and insufficient pension coverage in the jobs they have

Table 4
Percent of Elderly Who Are
Poor or Near-Poor, 1990

	Black	White	Hispanic
Females			
65 and over	49.6	20.9	38.2
65 to 74	45.3	15.8	35.0
75 and over	55.8	27.8	44.5
Males			
65 and over	38.5	10.2	27.0
65 to 74	34.7	8.5	26.0
75 and over	46.4	13.2	29.2

Source: U.S. General Accounting Office, *Elderly Americans: Health, Housing, and Nutrition Gaps Between the Poor and Nonpoor*, GAO/PEMD-92-29, June 1992.

held. Since minority men also experience low incomes and often die younger than white males, minority women had fewer opportunities than white women to enhance their earnings with those of a male partner with greater earnings potential. Thus, savings, social security benefits, and the accumulation of assets were much lower.

In addition, the black aged also provide support to their families: they are more likely to take in grandchildren, nieces, nephews, and other family members.²⁹ While this may provide them a greater sense of purpose, it also may add more stress and stretch the already limited incomes of many of these seniors. Households headed by a woman 65 years old or over, with no spouse present and with children under the age of 18, have poverty rates of 48.4 percent for blacks, 35.4 percent for Hispanics, and 23.5 percent for whites.³⁰

Although African-American women from the "baby boom" generation will have higher earnings than the current generation of older black women, they will still have less access to wealth and pension income than their white counterparts because of the kinds of jobs they have and the fewer marriage opportunities available to them. Since marriage rates have declined so precipitously, black women will increasingly have to rely on their own incomes for savings, contributions to social security and pension income, and the accumulation of assets.³¹ This will counterbalance many of the gains they have made in earnings.

BLACK WOMEN AND THE SOCIAL WELFARE SYSTEM

Because of the problems African-American women have encountered in terms of occupational segregation, low earnings, and declines in marriage, they are more likely to have to fall back on the social welfare system in times of economic distress. The income support system helps poor, black women with families through Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC)—particularly single-parent families—and provides supplemental social security (SSI) to older black women who were never able to accumulate the needed assets to retire graciously. In addition, many African-American women depend on the social welfare system for jobs in both the government and nonprofit sectors; this is particularly true if the "social welfare system" is interpreted broadly to include both health and human service fields, where there is a preponderance of black women. The great irony of the past 45 years is that African-American women have struggled so hard to make such dramatic gains in earnings and occupations, only to find themselves overwhelmingly marginalized in U.S. society.

Welfare Receipt

Although women of all races receive welfare, in the minds of many, dependence on welfare has been overwhelmingly and erroneously associated with African-American women. The derogatory attitudes many hold regarding welfare are often synonymous with derogatory attitudes towards black women. Nevertheless, African-American women are disproportionately reliant on welfare benefits. Forty percent of families receiving wel-

fare are black, although blacks are only 12 percent of the total population.³² The proportion of welfare families that are black has declined 13 percent since 1969. Nevertheless, at this rate of decline, it would be the year 2108 before the percentage of black welfare recipients was equal to the percentage of blacks in the total population (assuming that the black population stabilizes at 15 percent of the total U.S. population).

While many in the African-American and wider communities would like to see black welfare receipt drop more quickly than this, efforts to reduce rates of welfare receipt have not been entirely successful. While few studies have focused specifically on African Americans, an examination of evaluations of welfare-employment programs will give a sense of the difficulties involved in reducing welfare dependency.

Welfare-Employment Programs

Since 1967, states have been required to operate welfare-employment programs for recipients of AFDC. From the original Work Incentive (WIN) program to the current JOBS program, these work-welfare programs have gone through a variety of changes: strengthening mandatory participation requirements, emphasizing and then de-emphasizing the importance of intensive training and services, and, perhaps more importantly, experiencing fluctuating funding levels. Throughout the history of welfare-employment programs, evaluations have been conducted of their effectiveness. Table 5 presents results from studies of the 13 welfare-employment programs conducted by the Manpower and Development Research Corporation (MDRC) in the mid-1980s and the results from a study of the ET Choices program performed by the Urban Institute.³³

The table presents characteristics of and outcomes from these programs.³⁴ It indicates that the net gains for participants in these programs tend to be very small. Further, increases in employment are often offset by reductions in AFDC benefits, leaving many poor families still poor. The table also indicates little or no relationship between program outcomes and the mandatory nature of the program or its employment of sanctions. The most stringent programs produced a mix of outcomes, as did the least stringent programs. There is no evidence from the evaluations that workfare programs (requiring recipients to work off their grants) or those imposing strict sanctions for nonparticipation produced better results in the form of increased employment or reduced cost to taxpayers than did other types of programs.

Even high-intensity training programs, which overwhelmingly result in greater earnings for those in the program, do not necessarily translate into high welfare savings, at least in the short run. This reflects the difficulties low-income women face in making enough income from paid work in order to achieve permanent self-sufficiency from welfare, even when they make a

Table 5
Characteristics of Work-Welfare Programs

PROGRAMS	PROGRAMS			ANNUAL IMPACT AT FOLLOW-UP PERCENT DIFFERENCE IN:	
	Job Search	Workfare	Intensive Training	Earnings	AFDC Payments
Mandatory Programs					
<i>With High Sanction Rate</i>					
Cook County WIN Demonstration	X	X		1%	-1%
San Diego I	X	X		23%	-8%
San Diego II (SWIM)	X	X	X	21%-29%	-8% to -14%
<i>With Low Sanction Rate</i>					
Arkansas WORK Program	X	X		23%-33%	-13% to -19%
Baltimore Options	X	X	X	10%-17%	-2% to 0%
Louisville WIN	X	X		18%-20%	-3% to 10%
Lab I					
Louisville WIN	X			43%	-2%
Lab II					
West Virginia		X		4%	0%
CWEP					
Virginia ESP	X	X	X	5%-14%	-2% to -9%
Voluntary Programs					
Maine OJT		X		8%-38%	-1% to 4%
New Jersey OJT			X	14%	-6% to -11%
National Supported			X	23%-327%	-10% to -39%
Work Demonstration ET Choices*	X		X	32%	-8%

Note: Ranges indicate the lowest and highest impact for various years studied. The ET evaluation figures represent the percent difference between participants and a nonparticipant comparison group over the period of study (6 months to 2 years).

* Impacts presented based on six months follow-up period.

† Results available only from second year of follow-up.

‡ Measurement used to calculate welfare reductions is not comparable to other evaluations.

Sources: Daniel Friedlander and Judith M. Gerson, "Are High-Cost Services More Effective Than Low-Cost Services? Evidence from Experimental Evaluations of Welfare-to-Work Programs," paper prepared for Evaluation Design for Welfare and Training Program Conference in Airlie, VA, April 1990; and Demetra Nigmatovic et al., Evaluation of the Massachusetts Employment and Training Program (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1991).

strong commitment to the labor market. These results may also reflect the short time frame used for all of these studies; a longer follow-up period could possibly produce more unequivocally positive outcomes. The one high-intensity program targeted on those with little labor market experience—Supported Work—produced the most dramatic results in terms of increased employment and in terms of welfare savings, however. While costly, intensive training programs like the Supported Work Demonstration can produce dramatic increases in employment and the most welfare savings. The supported work component in ET Choices also showed large reductions in AFDC payments and large increases in employment.

Not obvious from this table is the fall-off in employment and earnings that is often found in follow-ups of many welfare-employment programs. In addition, while welfare savings have come from reductions in the number of months spent on welfare, many families eventually return to the welfare rolls. This reflects the extraordinary problems involved in producing long-term self-sufficiency for women confined to the low-wage labor market. They are in jobs that are unstable and that do not pay enough to support themselves and their families and where there are few benefits, particularly health insurance.

Work by Mary Jo Bane and David T. Ellwood documents the fragility of periods of self-sufficiency for women who have received welfare.³⁵ Thus, findings of little impact on caseload size, in spite of gains in employment and reductions in welfare spell lengths, could reflect returns to welfare by those whose earnings made them ineligible in the short run. It should be noted again, however, that an intensive program like the Supported Work Demonstration resulted in sizeable decreases in welfare expenditures. Most important, those in the treatment group had a 14 percent decrease in receipt of any welfare during the third year of the program.³⁶

None of the studies estimated reductions in poverty as a result of welfare-employment programs. The authors of an MDRC summary of the studies state, however, that there is little evidence welfare-employment programs reduced poverty.³⁷ Even in programs like Supported Work, which had a substantial earnings impact, studies found that earnings gains were virtually offset by benefit reductions. While high-intensity services tend to result in more job stability and better job quality for recipients, these jobs alone do not reduce poverty.

Unfortunately, only one study is currently available which examines the impact of post-secondary education on welfare recipients, and it focuses on a small sample of AFDC recipients in New York.³⁸ All of the four-year college graduates interviewed (100 percent) were able to get off welfare, compared to 81 percent of the two-year graduates. Since the New York study was based on a small, nonrepresentative sample, much more research is needed on the effect of education programs—from basic skills to college—in order to assess their effectiveness.

While welfare-employment programs—taken as a whole—have been less than successful, there is considerable evidence that most welfare recipients are either receiving welfare for a short period of time (1-2 years) or would be willing to take jobs if they could provide a decent standard of living for their families.³⁹ The Urban Institute study of ET found that in 1987, nearly 70 percent of all adults on AFDC volunteered for the ET program; this was higher than the national average. In addition, a study by Hartmann, Spalter-Roth et al. found that a significant proportion of welfare recipients already works in the labor market, either directly combining work with welfare or cycling between welfare and work.⁴⁰ Where studies examined racial differences, there was no evidence that African-American women were any different than other women in this regard. The study by Bane and Ellwood found that the primary reason minority women have longer spells on welfare than white women is because minority women are less likely to marry, not because they are less likely to take jobs in the labor market.⁴¹

Employment

Beyond the issue of welfare, employed African-American women may be overly reliant on jobs within the social welfare system and on other government and nonprofit jobs. This has been driven largely by discrimination against African-American women in the for-profit sector, combined with the tremendous growth in expenditures for health and human services—as directly provided by the government or via nonprofit intermediaries.⁴² (This is not to discount the strong commitment of African-American women to public service as well.) But recent trends suggest an increasing emphasis on cost containment within the government as well as efforts to encourage private-sector initiatives—particularly in the past 12 years. Even with a new administration, budget deficits and concerns about cost will limit the extent to which black women can rely on government jobs for upward mobility.

Occupational trends indicate that only the health fields will provide significant opportunities for women in traditionally female jobs.⁴³ But spiraling health costs, government cost containment strategies, and a continuing backlash to government spending will encourage the utilization of cheap labor. The number of less-skilled health workers—home health aides, licensed practical nurses, and nursing and psychiatric aides—is expected to grow more than the number of registered nurses, for example. The lowest-paying health occupation—home health aides—is one of the fastest growing occupations in the country. (On average, home health aides make less than poverty-level wages.) Those in low-skilled occupations will have greater difficulty increasing their earnings, particularly if—as the incoming Labor Secretary Robert Reich has argued—declines in the manufacturing sector will increase the number of workers competing for these jobs.⁴⁴

Thus, unless African-American women can find greater opportunities for advancement in the private, for-profit sector, they may see their past gains eroded. Even those who are highly skilled may discover that they have been cut off from the mainstream, with serious consequences for their earnings and potential for advancement.

In discussing welfare recipients and African-American women employed in health and welfare fields, it was not the intention of this paper to ignore black women productively working in other sectors. The purpose is to demonstrate the restrictions many African-American women face in their efforts to achieve economic self-sufficiency. If black women are to be subject to exhortations to become more independent, the limited opportunities available to them cannot be ignored. The only way of achieving independence without poverty is to expand the range of options available.

IMPLICATIONS FOR PUBLIC POLICY

Taking independence without poverty as the theme of this chapter, what can public policy do? Clearly a range of policy efforts is needed. Policies are required to increase the human capital of those who do not have the education and training needed to obtain decent jobs. Policies are needed to expand the number and range of jobs that are available. And policies are needed to reinforce the social welfare system to ensure that families that encounter economic distress are able to stabilize their situation and move on.

Increasing Human Capital

There can be little doubt that African-American women can benefit from renewed efforts to increase the human capital of the American population. The new administration's emphasis on education and training is encouraging. But it is important to note that studies indicate that the greatest benefits went to those who received long-term training. Among those with limited experience in the labor market, Supported Work—intensive counseling combined with supervised work experience—produced the greatest benefit. Even with Supported Work, however, many recipients were able only to reduce their dependency on welfare, not to end it. Among those with a high school education, complete dissociation from the welfare system often required a four-year college degree.

Thus, the new administration's emphasis on a two-year limit on welfare is of concern since it often takes longer than two years to obtain the human capital necessary to obtain self-sufficiency: independence without poverty. While it is possible to force women into low-wage jobs that will keep them and their families in poverty, such efforts—in the long term—will not be beneficial to them, their families, or society as a whole.

In all fairness, there are many in the new administration who acknowledge the importance to the country of having a highly educated work force with access to well-paying jobs and who promote efforts to provide more education opportunities to those who have had little access to them in the past.⁴⁵ Nevertheless, welfare recipients often get lost in the shuffle when real policy decisions are made about how to earmark scarce dollars.

Expanding the Availability of Jobs

Another area of concern surrounding the new administration's welfare proposals is the emphasis on replacing welfare with access to public service jobs. There can be little doubt that public service jobs are of great value and that public job creation is an important public policy tool. But it has also been pointed out that black women—even highly skilled black women—have encountered serious difficulties obtaining employment outside of the public and nonprofit sectors. Unless job creation is combined with efforts to assist welfare recipients in making the transition to unsubsidized jobs in the private sector, the result may be to replace dependency on welfare benefits with dependency on public jobs.

Thus, the self-sufficiency of African-American women depends on strenuous enforcement of antidiscrimination laws that will open doors for them to move beyond the sectors within which they have been confined because of their race and their sex. Otherwise, black women will continue to "bunch up" in relatively few occupations and industries.

Beyond this, expanding the availability of unsubsidized jobs to many black women will entail the revitalization of many of the communities within which they live. Too often welfare policy has been considered separately from economic development policy when there are clearly benefits from one that can accrue to the other.

Reinforcing the Social Welfare System

Even if many poor women are able to obtain an education and training, and even if African-American women can obtain greater access to more and better jobs, there will still be a need for a social welfare system that provides social services and income support. It is not realistic to expect any modern, industrial society to exist without a strong social welfare system.

First, women with children need child care if they are to work in the labor market. They need health care to provide for the well-being of their families. For example, Sweden—which has one of the highest labor force participation rates for women—provides universal child care and a national health care system.⁴⁶ Discussions of self-sufficiency are vain unless a social infrastructure is in place to make this possible. There clearly seems to be recognition of this in the new administration and some movement in the direction of more health and child care is expected.

Second, some families will continue to need income support, regardless of all these other efforts. Little attention has been paid to the fact that a significant proportion of those receiving AFDC are physically or mentally disabled. Those who are disabled will benefit considerably less from the efforts discussed above.⁴⁷ Others may be unable to obtain jobs that will keep them out of poverty. Any blanket rule specifying how long people can receive AFDC ignores the great heterogeneity of the welfare population. Those who may be incapable of work in the labor market will require continued support.

Those who are unable to find jobs that will keep them out of poverty may require a wage supplement to enhance their income. Again, this is not inconsistent with what is done in other Western, industrialized countries.⁴⁸ Low earners—whether receiving welfare or not—would also benefit from an increase in the minimum wage and an expansion of the Earned Income Tax Credit. Raising the income floor may do more to benefit those receiving income support than any welfare-employment program.

And What of Black Men?

This paper has had African-American women as its primary focus. But it has also indicated the difficulties in separating issues affecting African-American women from those affecting their male counterparts. The decline in marriage among African Americans affects everyone: men, women, and children alike. But this author has argued elsewhere that marriage, per se, cannot and should not be manipulated by public policy, if for no other reason than the decision to marry is a private one.⁴⁹

Public policies can affect the economic situation of both black men and women, however, which will affect marriage rates, at least if the research on this subject is correct. Most of the same policies discussed above will apply to African-American men: the need for investments in human capital, antidiscrimination and job creation strategies, and social support.

In addition, increased efforts to provide jobs and training for men need to be coupled with efforts to encourage or require greater child support. Poor families will not benefit from the improved economic situation of poor men if noncustodial parents do not contribute to the well-being of their children. Currently, only 34 percent of poor African-American women who qualify for child support have a child support award. Of those with a child support award, only 50 percent receive partial payments or no payment at all.⁵⁰ However, calls for greater child support may be in vain without efforts to improve the economic situation of African-American men.

Community-Based Efforts

Finally, it is important to note that there are many community-based organizations attempting to grapple with these issues. Expectations for

change cannot rest solely with federal, state, and local governments. Many people on the community level are concerned with the issue of self-sufficiency and carry with them the credibility and moral authority to carry out many innovative programs to generate this.

For example, there are several locally based efforts to encourage business development for low-income women. Women for Economic Justice in the Boston area is helping poor women develop cooperative businesses in a variety of areas: child care, health care, building maintenance, catering, and so on. One of the principal barriers to be overcome is various welfare rules, such as those limiting the earnings and assets these women can have, while they attempt to get their businesses off the ground.

In Milwaukee, the New Hope Project is a demonstration project developed by a coalition of business and community leaders to deal with the issue of chronic low wages facing those in poor communities. By providing income supplements to those who cannot earn enough to get out of poverty and short-term public service jobs for those who cannot find work, the New Hope Project aspires to encourage better strategies for dealing with poverty and underemployment. It is not only unique because of the nature of the project, however, but also because of the coalition of persons from all walks of life that made it possible.

CONCLUSION

This paper has covered a wide spectrum of issues. Its unifying theme is how to achieve self-sufficiency, defined as independence without poverty. The focus has been on African-American women, but much of what has been written can apply to many other groups that have found themselves outside of the mainstream.

The challenge for the next century is how to turn a country with a very diverse population into a true community where the needs and contributions of others are respected and valued. Across America, there are many efforts—some large, some small—to bring a community response to the issue of how to achieve self-sufficiency for families in a changing society. Government support of these efforts should include both financial support and a willingness to bend the rules to make them possible. Respect for and encouragement of community-based efforts is also an important role for public policymakers. Self-sufficiency is only possible where everyone has an equal chance to achieve it.

ENDNOTES

¹For example, see Charles Murray, *Losing Ground: American Social Policy, 1950-1980* (New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1984).

²Mini Abramovitz presents a history of the welfare state in *Regulating the Lives of Women: Social Welfare Policy from Colonial Times to the Present* (Boston, MA: South End Press, 1988).

³For example, see Lisabeth Schorr, *Within Our Reach: Breaking the Cycle of Disadvantage* (New York: Doubleday, 1989).

⁴Ms. Foundation for Women and Center for Policy Alternatives, *A Polling Report, Women's Voices: A Joint Project* (New York: Ms. Foundation for Women, 1992).

⁵For example, see Claudia Goldin, *Understanding the Gender Gap: The Economic History of American Women* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990); Gerald D. Jaynes and Rubin M. Williams, Jr., *A Common Destiny: Blacks and American Society* (Washington, DC: National Academy Press, 1989); and Frank Levy, *Dollars and Dreams: The Changing American Income Distribution* (New York: W.W. Norton and Company, 1987).

⁶Jayne and Williams, *A Common Destiny*, *op. cit.*

⁷Julianne Malveaux, "The Economic Status of Black Families," in Harriet Pipes McAdoo (ed.), *Black Families* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1988).

⁸U.S. Commerce Department, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1991).

⁹Elaine Sorenson, *Why the Gender Gap Declined in the 1980s* (Washington, DC: The Urban Institute, 1991).

¹⁰Jayne and Williams, *A Common Destiny*, *op. cit.*, Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991*.

¹¹Lynn C. Burbridge, *Careers of Women in the Nonprofit Sector*, paper presented at the national conference on "Women, Power, and Status in the Nonprofit Sector," Menlo Park, CA, November 15-18, 1992.

¹²Bureau of the Census, *Statistical Abstract of the United States, 1991*, *op. cit.*

¹³Time and space do not permit a more detailed discussion of the demographic makeup of black female-headed households. The interested reader is referred to William Julius Wilson's exhaustive review of the literature in *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, The Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1987).

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¹⁵For example, see Sheldon Danziger et al., "Work and Welfare as Determinants of Female Poverty and Household Headship," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, August 1982.

¹⁶For example, see the summary in Kristin A. Moore and Martha R. Burt, *Private Crisis, Public Cost: Policy Perspectives on Teenage Childbearing* (Washington, DC: Urban Institute Press, 1982).

¹⁷The notable example being William Wilson's *The Truly Disadvantaged* (see footnote 13).

¹⁸For example, Daniel Moynihan suggested as much in his controversial work, *The Negro Family: The Case for National Action* (Washington, DC: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1965).

¹⁹For example, see Kristin A. Moore et al., "The Consequences of Early Childbearing," (Washington, DC: Urban Institute, 1977); Jaynes and Williams, *A Common Destiny*, *op. cit.*, Mark Testa, Nan Marie Astone, Marilyn Krogh, and Kathryn Neckerman, "Employment and Marriage among Inner-City Fathers," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, January 1989; Neil G. Bennett, David E. Blouin, and Patricia H. Craig, "The Divergence of Black and White Marriage Patterns," *American Journal of Sociology*, Volume 95, Number 3 (November 1989).

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²³Robert Michael, "Consequences of the Rise in Female Labor," presented at the Conference on Trends in Women's Work, Education, and Family Building, Sussea, England, May 31-June 3, 1983.

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²⁸Marian Wright Edelman, *Families in Peril, An Agenda for Social Change* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986), p. 29.

²⁹Zev Hest, Edward A. McKinney, and Michael Williams, eds., *Black Aged: Understanding Diversity and Service Needs* (Newbury Park: Sage Publications, 1990).

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³²Committee on Ways and Means, *Overview of Entitlement Programs*, *op. cit.*

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³⁴The MDRC studies compared the outcomes of a group with access to welfare-employment programs ("experimental group") to a group with similar demographic characteristics but without access to the specified program ("control group"). The ET program, evaluated by the Urban Institute, also tracked two groups of women with similar characteristics: a group of women who did not participate in ET beyond registration and orientation and a group that fully participated in the ET program. The major difference between the MDRC and Urban Institute procedures was that the MDRC randomly assigned individuals into control or experimental groups while the Urban Institute studied those who self-selected to participate beyond registration versus those who did not.

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⁹Friedlander and Gueron, "Are High-Cost Services," *op. cit.*

¹⁰Marilyn Gittell, Margaret Schehl, and Camille Faresi, *From Welfare to Independence: The College Option*, report to the Ford Foundation, March 1990.

¹¹David Ellwood and Lawrence Summers, "Poverty in America: Is Welfare the Answer or the Problem?," in Sheldon Danziger and Daniel Weinberg (eds.), *Fighting Poverty: What Works and What Doesn't* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1986).

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¹⁴Lester M. Salamon, *America's Nonprofit Sector: A Primer* (New York: The Foundation Center, 1992).

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¹⁶Robert B. Reich, *The Work of Nations: Preparing Ourselves for 21st Century Capitalism* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1991).

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²²Data from Committee on Ways and Means, *Overview of Entitlement Programs*, *op. cit.*