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HEADLINE: 'They Can't Stop Us Now';
Kimi Gray and other residents of D.C's Kenilworth-Parkside complex have overcome poverty, crime, drugs and innumerable layers of public housing bureaucracy-not to mention charges that they're just cogs in Jack Kemp's propaganda machine. Their goal? To take control of their own lives

BYLINE: David Osborne

BODY:

IT WAS AUTUMN 1986, AND AFTER THREE YEARS OF WAITing, Kimi Gray was about to get her first glimpse of the city's plans to renovate her home. In 1983, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development had awarded the city a grant to modernize the 464-unit Kenilworth-Parkside public housing complex in Northeast Washington. After dragging its feet for years, the city had hired an architectural firm. But when Kimi and her staff had asked to meet with the firm to explain what they wanted done -- as required by HUD -- the architects had repeatedly demurred. It wasn't time yet, they said. They weren't ready. Apparently, they did not relish the prospect of planning a major renovation project with a roomful of poor black women.

Finally they had agreed to a meeting. As they unfolded their sketches and presented their plans, Kimi's anger grew. Where were the plans for a new heating plant? What about the underground water pipes that kept bursting? What about the plumbing? These were pretty colored drawings, but they were fluff. They had nothing to do with Kenilworth's real problems.

Michael Price was the first to speak. A decade earlier, Price had been a high school dropout, hanging out on the streets. Kimi had convinced him to go back to school, then sent him to college through her College Here We Come program. Now a professional architect, he was repaying his debt, helping the Resident Management Corp. negotiate the renovation plans.

Price asked about the heating plant, the plumbing, the pipes. "I was shocked, because they knew that half of that stuff I would catch," he says. "I guess they banked on me just letting it ride -- being polite and not saying anything. But I got quite angry."

Other residents picked up on his anger. Finally, their board chairman stood up and walked slowly to the front of the room. "No hard feelings against you all," Kimi said, "but your supervisors sent you down here to get your asses kicked. And that's exactly what we're going to do tonight." She proceeded to take apart the drawings in harsh language and great detail. Other residents joined in.

After 45 minutes, Kimi entertained a motion to adjourn. "You just pack up and go home," she told the architects. "We'll deal with it."

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And deal with it they did. Kimi went to HUD and demanded that the agency refuse to reimburse the $ 500,000 the city had already paid the architects. By failing to consult with the tenants, she argued, the architects had broken their contract. HUD agreed, and the city was out $ 500,000.

'It's Economics, That's What

It's All About'

IT WAS NOT THE FIRST TIME THE IRRESIST- ible force of Kimi Gray had met the immovable object of the city bureaucracy. And it was not the first time the irresistible force had won.

A massive figure with short cropped hair, large earrings and several pounds of jewelry around her neck and wrists, Kimi -- as virtually everyone calls her -- patrols the Kenilworth-Parkside development like a mother bear circling her cubs. Her voice erupts out of her slow-moving body like a volcano: one moment soft and low, the next exploding in a shout, the next dissolving in deep, rich laughter.

Sitting at her desk or behind the wheel of her ubiquitous van, wearing her jewelry and her bright yellow dresses, she brings the full force of her personality to bear on everyone who crosses her path.

Whether it is a child who needs discipline: "What you doing, girl? Why aren't you in school?"

Or an employee who deserves her praise: "I want to thank you so much, Lonnie. I understand the parade was excellent."

Or a teenager with a wad of bills: "Little boys went out two Sundays ago, they came back, they had a knot. I said, 'Where's that money from, boy?' They say, 'Kimi, we worked!' They go over to the Eastern Market and sell tie-dye shirts they made -- they work about three or four hours, they make about $ 75 or $ 80."

Or a D.C. police officer who neglected to invite her to his backyard barbecue: "Okay, do me a favor. You put a message on the board, in dark Magic Marker print. Tell him I got a CONTRACT on his head, for not inviting me to his damn cookout Saturday! And tell him I say when he gets off work at 3:30, report to my office! Immediately! Underline immediately!" Her voice returns to velvet: "Thank you, my love. Bye bye."

Kimi's desk sits where a receptionist would normally be, right by the front door, so the residents can always find her. Her assistants work upstairs, away from the constant stream of visitors. They field the calls, slip her messages, bring her paperwork to sign between sentences. This is a woman who has won award after award, who has been invited to the White House, who has preached her message from Paris to Seoul. But when a resident comes in, she drops everything.

"The only way that you'll truly get my time is getting me away from this property," she tells the public housing director of Alaska, who wants her help. " 'Cause if a resident walks through this door with me, I don't care who's here, he's my first priority. And I won't try and make believe it's no different, okay?" Reporters wait hours for an interview, weeks for a return phone call.

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Jack Kemp recently waited an hour and a half for a photo session at her office; finally, he gave up.

Somehow, through it all, things get done. It is easy to exaggerate the accomplishments of Kenilworth-Parkside, and Kimi Gray's supporters have often done so. Kenilworth residents are still poor: Many are single mothers, some are on welfare. Drug use is still widespread. This is still public housing, and though the grass gets cut, it still has that public housing shagginess around the edges. Twenty-five percent of the rent money still goes uncollected. All that said, there is no denying that a remarkable transformation has taken place.

The drug dealers who once used Kenilworth-Parkside as an open-air market are gone.

Teenage pregnancies have fallen.

Residents who once lived with gunfire now walk the project streets in safety. The crime rate has fallen from 12 to 15 reported crimes a month -- one of the highest levels in the city -- to 2, according to the police.

In the 15 years since Kimi founded College Here We Come, according to her records, more than 600 residents have gone to college. In the previous 15 years, two had.

In 1986, the accounting firm Coopers & Lybrand released an audit of Kenilworth-Parkside. During the four years that Kenilworth had been managed by its tenants, the firm reported, rent collections increased 77 percent -- seven times the increase at public housing citywide. Vacancy rates fell from 18 percent -- then the citywide average -- to 5.4 percent. The Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corp. helped at least 132 residents get off welfare: It hired 10 as staff and 92 to run the businesses it started, while its employment office found training and jobs for 30 more. (Others received part-time jobs.)

Overall, Coopers & Lybrand estimated, four years of resident management had saved the city at least $ 785,000. If trends continued over the next six years, it would save $ 3.7 million more. (The federal government would reap additional savings.)

Since the Coopers & Lybrand audit, a complete renovation of Kenilworth has begun under HUD's normal renovation program. (Hence only about 70 units are now occupied; more than 300 families have been temporarily relocated.) The most amazing moment will come next year, if the renovation is completed on schedule: The residents will buy the development from the city for $ 1. A community of 3,000, once characterized largely by families on welfare, will have become a community of homeowners, the majority of whom work.

It is an incredible story, but not a unique one. Residents in a handful of other public housing complexes around the nation have similar stories to tell. They are testaments to the power of empowerment -- vivid demonstrations of what happens when ownership of public services is pulled out of the hands of bureaucrats and put in the hands of those receiving the services. They are living proof that when people are treated as clients for whom decisions must be made, they will learn dependency; but when they are given control over their destinies, they will learn independence.

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These stories are also tales of salvation through self-help, rather than salvation through politics. "Self-sufficiency" is the driving theme at Kenilworth-Parkside; one hears the phrase constantly, from all sides. "It's economics, that's what it's all about," says Kimi Gray. "We can talk racism and all this and that, but it's economics. If you got some money, you can buy a lot of this stuff we're talking about begging for, okay?"

Finally, the story of tenant management and tenant ownership is a story of extraordinary political role reversals. Empowerment of poor people was a theme close to the heart of the New Left, carried forward into populist citizens' organizations with fanciful acronyms: ACORN, COPS, BUILD. But in Washington, conservatives like Jack Kemp and Stuart Butler, director of domestic policy studies at the Heritage Foundation, led the charge for tenant management and ownership -- and they convinced Ronald Reagan and George Bush to come along.

Low-income housing activists have supported tenant management for two decades. But when Reagan and then-Congressman Kemp picked up the cause -- and added the wrinkle of selling public housing to its tenants -- red flags went up throughout the liberal community. Reagan cut federal funding for low-income housing from $ 24 billion to $ 8 billion a year. He slowed construction of public housing from more than 30,000 units a year to fewer than 5,000. And Jack Kemp voted with him. To many liberals, Kemp's talk of tenant management, his constant invocation of Kenilworth-Parkside and Kimi Gray, are political cover for a devastating retreat from federal commitments to the poor. Worse, they say, proposals to sell public housing to tenants are a ploy to get the federal government out of the housing business. (See box, Page 16.)

"Mr. Bush projects a gentler, kinder nation," says Maxine Green, chairperson of the National Tenants Organization. "Fine. Let the tenants have a kinder, gentler position, with the funds that are required to make that kind of a nation. But don't go into the capital, where you have 59 public housing developments, and sing about one.

"Kimi Gray was an active member of the National Tenants Organization," Green adds. "I give myself credit for sitting with her and giving her a direction. And now Kimi has joined, to my understanding, the Heritage Foundation."

A lifelong Democrat, Kimi does not let such suspicions worry her. She is a savvy politician who uses her relationship with Jack Kemp to the advantage of her residents -- just as she does her relationship with Democrat Marion Barry. She understands that Kemp and Barry will use her in turn. (Kemp is so eager to be identified with Gray and tenant management that his staff volunteered an interview for this article without being asked.)

For Kimi Gray, economic self-sufficiency for her residents overrides all other goals. "I've been approached by some people who say, 'Well, Kimi, now you're a Republican,' " she explains. "And I say, 'No, I'm a dollar bill. And on each bill there's a different president. My family was poor when we had Roosevelt in the White House, we were poor when we had Kennedy, we were poor when we had Nixon and Ford and Carter. And we're no richer now.' "

'The System Penalizes Performance'

KIMI ODESSER HOUSTON WAS BORN ON JANUARY 1, 1945. She was raised in the Frederick Douglass public housing project in Southeast Washington by her

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mother and grandmother. Her father died when she was 7.

"Odesser's my grandmother's name," Kimi says. "She and I did not see eye to eye, not one day of her life. Now I know why, because we are identical. She was a strong-willed old southern lady who had a lot of morals and principles, and she didn't tolerate bad behavior.

"When I was young, my grandma told me, 'No, babe, you cannot be as good as him, you gotta be better than he is.' When I ran track, I didn't want to run with the girls, 'cause I knew I could beat them. I wanted to run against the boys, okay? You can't be as good as them, you got to be better than them -- as long as you keep thinking that way, that's what you'll be. And that's what I tell all my kids."

Kimi was an organizer from the start. In first grade, she got her first formal assignment: Her teacher made her substitute teacher -- "and I just took over." When she was 11, she was elected citywide chairman of the youth section of the Junior Police and Citizen Corps.

But Kimi's energy was not always channeled into civic duty. "I put the J in juvenile delinquent myself," she says today. When she was 14, she had her first child. When she was 16, expecting her third, she married. At 19, with five children, she separated from her husband and went on welfare. She was 21 and miserable, living with her five children in a tiny apartment, when she got an apartment at Kenilworth. It was "1966, December the third, on a Wednesday," she says. "That's how happy I was to get this unit out here."

A complex of 37 low-rise buildings, Kenilworth-Parkside is sandwiched between the Anacostia River and I-295 hard by the Maryland line. It opened in 1959, about the time public housing began its downward spiral. The federal program had been launched during the New Deal as transitional housing for working people who hit hard times. Once constructed, units were not subsidized: Local public housing authorities charged enough rent to cover their operating costs. They screened carefully, and their standards were rigid. Parents had to be married. Many authorities excluded people on welfare. And if residents found better jobs and could afford to move out, they had to.

The program worked well for two decades, but during the boom times of the 1950s, the middle class headed for the suburbs, working families moved out of public housing, and poor migrants from the South poured in. Urban renewal hastened the process: When redevelopment agencies needed to move poor people out of the way of their bulldozers, they pressured the housing authorities to take them -- regardless of their incomes, moral standards or presence on the welfare rolls.

Public housing's new residents were poorer; many had trouble coping with life in urban high-rise apartments; and many were black -- which often meant they were ignored. Yet as this radically different population moved in, few housing authorities did anything to address its problems.

Meanwhile, early public housing developments were beginning to exhaust their 30-year life cycles. Yet because tenants' incomes were falling behind expenses, housing authorities were burning up the reserves they needed for renovation. When they raised rents to cope with the squeeze, Congress slapped them back, limiting rents to 25 percent of family income.

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Soon Congress had to provide an operating subsidy. With Washington making up the difference between expenses and income, local housing authorities now had little incentive to run businesslike operations. If they saved money or increased their income, Washington gave them smaller subsidies. As a spokesman for the Council of Large Public Housing Authorities puts it, "The system penalizes performance." To make matters worse, until 1980, Congress provided no capital budget to finance renovation.

Welfare policy also undermined public housing. Congress decided to deny welfare to most families if the father was present -- which drove many fathers away. Meanwhile, welfare mothers in public housing got subsidized rent, which meant that if they left welfare to work, their rent often tripled or quadrupled.

In some cities, including New York, dedicated housing authorities made the program work against all odds. But in others, many of the largest, most congested public housing developments sank into a vicious cycle of drugs, crime, violence, teenage pregnancy and welfare dependency. The crisis earned its most enduring symbol in 1972, when the St. Louis housing authority quit trying to rescue a 15-year-old, 43-building development called Pruitt-Igoe, and simply blew it up.

In Washington, the housing authority lost virtually all ability to respond to its 50,000 customers. The director of a 1987 blue ribbon commission that investigated the system described it to The Washington Post as "total chaos." Drugs and crime were rampant; half the residents were not paying rent; repairs were so slow that the vacancy rate was approaching 20 percent; and the vast majority of eviction notices were never even served. Then-public housing director Alphonso Jackson described an agency riddled with employees "who are not capable of doing their jobs," property managers who "just sat in their offices all day," engineers who were "creating havoc in our boiler rooms" and administrators who regularly submitted reports full of inaccurate data.

College Here We Come

KIMI GRAY STARTED ORGANIZING VIRTUALLY THE DAY SHE arrived at Kenilworth-Parkside. She got training and then a job with a federally funded social services organization, working with delinquent youth. (Today, her only income is from her $ 22,000-a-year job with the D.C. Department of Recreation as a counselor to troubled youth. She receives no salary as Kenilworth board chairman and says she donates all speaking honoraria to College Here We Come.) In the early '70s, she began trying to breathe new life into Kenilworth's moribund residents council. Then in 1974, "Some students came to me and said, 'Miss Kimi, we want to go to college.' What the hell did I know about going to college? Well, I've always worked with young people -- always -- because they have their dreams, and they're our future. So I said, 'Let me check it out.' "

With help from the local Community Action agency and the city's resident services staff, she gathered information on colleges and financial aid and set up a regular Tuesday meeting with the kids. Soon she and her helpers were tutoring them, bringing in black college graduates to talk, drumming up scholarship money, helping kids find summer and part-time jobs and helping them fill out applications.

With the money from their jobs, the students opened bank accounts. After all the scholarships and loans and work-study jobs had been hustled, if a student

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still needed $ 600 or $ 1,000, College Here We Come kicked in the rest -- much of it raised from bake sales and raffles.

To make the program intriguing, Kimi took her students out to play tennis, had birthday parties for them and took them on weekend trips to visit colleges. "That brought about a lot of unity among them," she says, "till it became a family. So we went through the winter and the summer together, and when it was time for our first group to go away, we cried. The hardest job was us departing from one another. When you would go to the bus station, we all would pile in the car."

When kids started actually leaving for college, word spread quickly: "Man, this stuff is real! People really going to college! These children couldn't believe that. Poor people, from public housing, their mothers on welfare, absent fathers, going to college?

"Seventeen kids went to school the first August. That first semester when they came back, we must not have slept for two days. They had so much to tell us. Kids were out West, down South, up North, they were everywhere. They couldn't believe it! They were sharing experiences: 'Well, let me tell you about this!' 'Well, did you know this?' 'Well, it's nothing like this.' "

Nine of the original 17 graduated, and four went on to graduate school. Of the 600 Kimi says have gone to college since, she guesses 75 percent have graduated. (There is no way to independently verify such numbers, and Kimi has been known to exaggerate. But graduates of the program back up the figures.)

Whatever the numbers, College Here We Come is clearly an in thing to do at Kenilworth. Even 16-year-old boys who hang out on street corners look up to those in the program. Every year, Kimi asks graduates to come back and share their experiences with the younger kids. "That's all I ask of 'em: 'Come back and share something. Pass it on.' "

Michael Price was in one of the early groups. When Kimi first asked him what he wanted to do with his life, he told her he wanted to go back to school and become a draftsman. "No," she said. "You don't want to be a draftsman. You want to be an architect. That's where the money is." She helped him earn his high school degree, then sent him off to Paine College in Georgia. He lasted a semester.

"Kimi was very disappointed and angry at me," Price remembers. "But during the winter of '77, I said, 'Look, I want to try it again.' " This time he attended Elizabeth City State University in North Carolina. After a shaky start, he earned a high enough grade point average to transfer to the architecture program at Howard University.

"It was difficult," he says. "I'd call Kimi, and sometimes I'd cry, and she'd cuss me out. She'd tell me, 'Yeah, you're not going to succeed. You're not going to make it.' I'd be so angry, I'd sit back down at my drawing board, at 3 o'clock in the morning, and I'd say, 'I'm going to make it. You think I'm going to quit, but I'm not.' She used reverse psychology on me, and it worked.

"At other times, she would be just as gentle as could be. She'd say, 'I know it's hard, but you gotta hang in there, Mike. You know what our dream is.' " From the beginning, she had told him, " 'Mike, you go to school and become the

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architect, and I'll stay home and do the legwork, and together we're going to do Kenilworth.' And we did it." After five years as an architect -- including his stint at Kenilworth -- Price is now a construction superintendent for the Temple Group Inc. "I just thank God that Kimi was there for me," he says. "She's a beautiful person." He pauses, and laughs. "And she can be a dangerous person."

The Force of Peer Pressure

DESPITE THE STUDENTS' SUCCESS, CONDITIONS WERE STILL going downhill at Kenilworth. The resident council seized on a HUD program through which a private management company ran the project, but things went from bad to worse. The roofs started to leak. There was no grass left, no fences. Rubbish was rarely picked up; rats infested the buildings. Drug dealers were common, and the management company put a bulletproof barrier around its office. For three years, residents often went without heat or hot water.

Not long after Mayor Marion Barry took office in 1979, Kimi told him her residents wanted to manage Kenilworth themselves. He agreed. The tenants wrote their own constitution and bylaws, their own personnel and policy procedures, their own job descriptions. The bureaucrats "could not believe it," Kimi says. "Public housing residents? I said, 'The worst it can do is have wrong grammar in it.' But at least we would understand and we would know clearly what was in it, right? So therefore we could enforce what we knew we had written." Besides, if HUD wrote it, there would be 10 lawyers in the room, writing "rules for things that don't even exist."

Knowing tenant management was on the way, Kimi says, the private management company left Kenilworth-Parkside on December 31, 1981. "It was the coldest winter since 1949," she remembers. "I'll never forget it: We were having a New Year's Eve party, and it seemed like every pipe on our property started bursting. The Lord had seen fit for us to take on this, and He said, 'I'll really give you a challenge.' " It was the perfect metaphor for the way D.C. spends money on public housing -- people shivering while hot water ran down the middle of the street.

The residents patched the pipes with rubber hoses, put their own staff in place and got the housing authority to start replacing pipes. On March 1, 1982, the Kenilworth-Parkside Resident Management Corp. -- a nonprofit organization -- signed a contract to manage the property. Its elected board of residents, chaired by Kimi Gray, held monthly meetings of all tenants. They hired and trained residents to manage the property and do the maintenance. In what Kimi dubbed a "Bring the Fathers Out of the Closets" campaign, they hired absentee fathers. They set up fines for violating the rules -- littering, loitering in hallways, sitting on fences, not cutting your grass -- and created a system of elected building captains and court captains to enforce them. They created mandatory Sunday classes to teach housekeeping, budgeting, home repair and parenting. And they began to bend the force of peer pressure toward their own ends.

"The only way you can make a change is through peer pressure," says Kimi. "Rules can't be enforced if you have to go through judiciary proceedings." For instance, "If your momma was a bad housekeeper, and if her stove broke down, we would put the old dirty range out in front of her house, so everybody could see it. Leave it there all day long. Go get the brand-new stove, in the carton so everybody could see it, have it brought down, but not to your house." Instead

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it would go to a good housekeeper, whose old stove would go to the bad housekeeper. "Now when your momma learns to keep the stove clean, she'll get a brand-new one."

The Resident Management Corp. limited use of the day-care center to mothers who worked, went to school or were in training. As demand rose, they trained residents to provide day-care in their apartments. They had their college students do a "needs survey" to find out what people wanted. Based on the results, they created an after-school homework and tutorial program for kids whose mothers worked full time. They set up courses to help adults get their high school degrees. They contracted with a doctor and a dentist to set up part-time office hours and make house calls at the development. They set up an employment office to help people find training and jobs. And they began to create their own businesses, to keep money and jobs within the community.

The first was a shop to replace windows, screens and doors, owned by a young man who could neither read nor count. In return for a start-up loan from the resident council, he trained 10 students, who went on to market their skills elsewhere in Washington. The board fired the garbage collection service and contracted with another young man, on condition he hire Kenilworth-Parkside residents. At one time or another over the next five years, Kenilworth had a cooperative store, a snack bar, two laundromats, a beauty salon, a barber shop, a clothes boutique, a thrift shop, a catering service, a moving company, and a construction company that helped renovate vacant apartments. All employed residents, and all were required to hire young people to work with the adults. Before relocation of several thousand residents during the renovation shut most of the businesses down, 120 residents had jobs at Kenilworth-Parkside.

Gradually, maintenance improved as well. If something needed repairing, the managers and maintenance men lived on the property. "It has to be someone who's there all the time, on the property," says Renee Sims, head teacher at the Learning Center. "Because if you have someone outside managing it, and a pipe bursts over the weekend, you're not going to get it done." Kimi and her managers estimate that in 1982, when they took over, less than half the rent was being collected. There was no heat or hot water, few other services, and people had caught on that if they didn't pay, there were no penalties. Resident manager Gladys Roy and her assistants began going door to door, serving 30-day eviction notices. They explained that if people didn't pay the rent, they couldn't afford the repairs people needed. If people did not have the cash, they worked out payment plans or collected what they could. As services improved and the managers kept up their door-to-door rounds, rent collections gradually improved. They were up to 75 percent by late 1987, according to Dennis Eisen, a real estate consultant hired to prepare a financial plan for tenant ownership.

My Fear Was Drugs and Crime'

DENISE YATES MOVED TO KENILWORTH with her parents in 1979. She was 22, unmarried, with one child. Their new apartment was "depressing," she says. "The roof leaked terribly. There was no heat for weeks at a time, no hot water. The grounds weren't kept up. Cars were parked up on your lawn. There were burglaries, there were rapes, there were drugs, there were shootouts. The person who lived there before was selling drugs out of the house, so we had a problem with people constantly knocking on the door at night."

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Yates had never lived in public housing, never been on welfare. Now she was do- ing both: "Sitting at home, nothing to look forward to but the monthly check. I knew I was worth more than that." A high school graduate and a good typist, she enrolled in a shorthand program to become a steno clerk. She took a civil service exam. And then she waited. No job offer came from the city, and when she looked elsewhere she could find nothing.

"When we moved into public housing," she says, "my fear was drugs and crime." Her fears came true when one of her sisters was raped. "From that point on, all our thoughts were negative. We basically stayed to ourselves." She was afraid to let her kids -- she had two now -- play outside alone, because of the drug dealers. She was trapped.

In 1982, the Resident Management Corp. hired Denise as a clerk typist. She began to understand that she was not alone, and she began to find her voice. By 1985, she had been promoted to assistant manager. But the job did nothing to change her fears: If anything, the drug dealing intensified. Hundreds of dealers lined Quarles Street every night, selling to people who pulled off I-295, a block away. Mothers kept their children barricaded indoors. Many of the worst offenders lived at Kenilworth. "These guys were not cream puffs," says Sgt. Robert L. Prout Jr. of the Sixth District police. "We had people here wanted for bank robbery, very serious crimes. And we were somewhat reluctant to come over here because the citizens were hostile to the police."

Even when they came, they had trouble making a dent in the drug problem. "Drug dealers are a lot smarter than we give them credit for," says Prout. "What they would do is stash their drugs in various locations. We would confront them, and they wouldn't have any drugs on them."

Finally Kimi called a meeting and invited the police. At first, most residents wouldn't come. "They thought if the police were there, the people that attended were gonna snitch on other residents, or on kids of other residents, and get them arrested," says Prout. "It took a long time for them to develop confidence in us."

The residents first asked for foot patrols at Kenilworth. Then they suggested a temporary station -- a trailer -- right on the grounds. The police agreed. "By putting guys over there, on a regular basis, they began slowly to develop a sense of trust in us," Prout explains. "And they began to give us information. At first it was channeled through Miss Roy or Kimi or one of the other people who worked for her. Then it became a thing where people were n

Kimi remained the role model. She turned in anyone who was selling drugs -- even members of her beloved College Here We Come. Her own son was ar- rested for dealing in Southwest D.C. "I'm not cold, now, I'm a loving mother," she says. "But my son was 26, living in his own apartment, and he chose that as his way of life. After I spent my money to send him to college for two years, he de- cided that he wanted to be a hustler. So I figured he must have wanted to go to jail to see what that experience was like too. He's home now. Don't smoke, drink or nothing, works two jobs. He learned his lesson. The best thing I think I did was I didn't cater to him while he was incarcerated. I was hurt. But my momma and my grandma always said to me, 'You make your bed hard, you got to lay in it.' "

Every household in which someone was dealing got a 30-day eviction notice. The message was for the mothers: "Put him out, or lose your place." If nothing

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happened, "We got with the attorney down at the Housing Department, and we wore 'em to death, till we got them to take our cases to court. Now once we got to court, we were all right, because we would take residents with us down to court to say, 'No, your honor, that fella cannot stay in our community any longer.' " Four families were evicted, Kimi says. "That's all it took. People seen, 'Hey, they serious.' "

Evictions did not stop the dealers who lived elsewhere, of course. Finally, in 1984, the residents decided to confront them head on. "We got together and we marched," says Denise Yates. "Day after day, and in the evening too. We marched up and down the street with our signs. We had the police back us. Maybe half the community would march. A lot of teenagers and little kids, in addition to mothers."

At first the dealers assumed it was a temporary nuisance. But after several weeks of disrupted business, they began to drift away. That was the turning point. Today "there's very little crime" at Kenilworth, says Prout. "We have almost no break-ins. We still have a little minor drug traffic. What that is, that's your 15- and 16-year-olds that still live here, who try to do what they saw their friends do. But it's nothing like it was."

Making the change was not easy. Residents were threatened. Someone cut the brake lines in Kimi's car, put sugar in her gas tank, slashed her tires. "They cut the brand-new tires," Kimi says. "That's when I got angry. I knew the guy that was the main guy, that I figured paid somebody to do it. I said, 'You went a tad too goddam far! You know how much those four tires cost me to go on that van? More than the damn van cost!' I said, 'Now I'm goin' to cut your damn tires up!' " For good measure, she threatened to send her brother, who stands 6-foot-3, to call. "And he's been nice to me ever since" -- until he left for jail, that is.

Kimi's confidence rubbed off. "When people saw she didn't show any fear of being seen with the police, or riding through the neighborhood with us, then they more or less followed suit," says Prout.

The lesson is clear: The police can make raid after raid, but only if a community decides to take responsibility for its own safety can the police be truly effective. "We tell them, 'The police can't be here all the time,' " says Prout. " 'You live here, you know more about what goes on, you know who does what. It's just a matter of whether you want your community, or whether you want them to have your community.' "

Carrots and Sticks

WEEDING OUT DRUG DEALERS IS NOT the same as ending drug abuse, of course. Dr. Alice Murray, a psychologist who runs Kenilworth's Substance Abuse Prevention project ("SAP, because you're a sap if you take drugs") believes that "a large percentage of the families" still at Kenilworth have at least one family member with a drug problem. She helps an average of two people a month get into treatment. "Crack is the problem at the moment," she says. "They experiment with it for six months, and then they're really into it. It is highly addictive."

Murray and her staff of six have a budget of $ 300,000 from the city. They attack the drug problem in a dozen different ways. Narcotics Anonymous meets every noon. A "Chief Executive Officers" program puts young mothers through 15

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weeks of training -- three days a week, six hours a day -- in everything from child rearing to personal responsibility. The Teen Council (a youth version of the Residents Council) operates a Youth Enterprise Program -- "to get young people to understand how they can take their skills of hustling on the street and use them in a positive way, the way people make money in America." In addition to running their tie-dye clothing business, the kids design, produce and sell greeting cards, and they bake and sell cookies. They are paid wages, returning the rest of their earnings to the program.

During the summer, Murray's staff operates two "academies," one for 5- to 9-year-olds, another for teenagers. "We call it an academy, not a camp, because though it's play, we want them to maintain their academic skills," Murray explains. Virtually all the children at Kenilworth participate. They play, do arts and crafts, take trips, work on academics and receive substance abuse education -- all with a heavy stress on emotional and family health.

Other efforts include a mandatory eight-hour substance abuse prevention program for new residents; counseling for addicts and their families; referrals to in-patient and out-patient care; follow-up with families after treatment; a program to help parents work with the public schools; and a teen pregnancy prevention program. "What we're working for is a change of behavior and attitude," says Murray. In the case of teen pregnancy, it appears to be working. Accurate numbers are hard to come by at Kenilworth (when asked how much welfare dependency had been reduced, for instance, Kimi Gray and her top two managers gave wildly different figures). But all sources agree that teenage pregnancy -- once the norm -- has dropped significantly.

"One of the things that this community has brought back is a kind of old-fashioned shunning," says Murray, "a way of saying, 'This is behavior we will not tolerate. Should it happen, then we put you through all the services, but we don't expect it to happen ever again.' It's done in a very kind and gentle and loving way, but there's shame when it occurs -- which is not the case in the outside community."

By shunning negative behavior, supporting constructive behavior and offering treatment for people with drug problems, Kenilworth's leaders are trying to build a viable culture. It is a constant effort, using both carrots and sticks. Mothers turn children in for drug dealing; College Here We Come attends every high school graduation to cheer its members on.

"Development begins with a belief system," says Robert Woodson, whose National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise has worked with Kenilworth since 1981. "What Kimi and other tenant leaders have done is just self-confidence, and they've passed that self-confidence on to others. Only when you overcome the crisis of self-confidence can opportunity make a difference in your life. But we act with programs as if opportunity carries with it elements of self-confidence. And it does not."

This is where ownership comes in. Kimi and her colleagues believe that when they become property owners, the process of building self-confidence and opportunity will take another quantum leap. Late next year, if the schedule holds, the last family will move back into the renovated development (courtesy of a HUD grant of roughly $ 23 million). Not only that, they will own the place. The experience cannot help but send a powerful message.

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It will not be easy. It costs close to $ 400 per unit per month simply to maintain and operate the complex. Federal subsidies will continue for five more years, probably somewhere between $ 1.2 million and $ 1.7 million a year, but that will not be enough. At some point, the Resident Management Corp. plans to sell shares in a limited equity co-op for perhaps $ 10,000 per unit -- though details are still sketchy and no one knows what kind of down payment, if any, will be required. The residents also hope to borrow $ 1.75 million, to put in air conditioning, dishwashers, a community cafeteria, tennis courts, racquetball courts, a locker room and a swimming pool. Financial plans are still extremely tentative. But one recent version called for Kenilworth to raise rent collections from 75 percent to 92.5 percent by 1995, drive residents' average income ($ 10,200 by 1987, at least for reported income) up 6 percent annually and put $ 500,000 of the HUD subsidy in the bank every year -- just to stay afloat when the subsidy ends. The strategy is ambitious and the assumptions optimistic, but according to experts on co-op conversions, it is not impossible. It will require a more businesslike operation, particularly when Kenilworth becomes dependent on bankers rather than bureaucrats. "It will require strong property management, fiscal oversight and also very good tenant education," says David Freed, a real estate consultant who specializes in low-income co-op conversions in D.C. "The key to good cooperative ownership conversion is the quality of the leadership. And they have superb leadership."

'The Door Is Open'

KIMI GRAY IS NOT WORRIED ABOUT whether her residents will be able to afford ownership. She's got bigger plans than that.

There's the reverse commute program -- from inner city to suburbs -- that she's working on with a grant from the Department of Transportation. And the shopping mall she wants to build next to Kenilworth. And the self-help credit union, and the industrial facility and the construction company. There are two buildings she is trying to buy and renovate -- to train her construction company and house her college students. There's a building she plans to put up for senior citizens. And there are the condos she wants to develop, so the most successful Kenilworth residents can move up without leaving the community.

On a recent Monday, Kimi spent an entire afternoon at the D.C. Department of Public and Assisted Housing -- cajoling the director, talking to his lawyer, rounding up the right people and shepherding them back to the director's office, all to get title to land Kenilworth will own in a year anyway, so she can start building her senior housing now. After three hours of tireless and expert manipulation, she still did not have what she wanted.

"You know," she said as she left the building, "every time I get the runaround, I think about the same thing. They have to deal with me, 'cause I've got all this publicity, and this is how they treat me. How the hell do you think they treat Mrs. Jones?"

There is no time to be bitter, however. There is too much to do. It is 1989, and the dam is finally breaking. "Folk want freedom," Kimi says, as she climbs back into her van and heads for one more meeting. "Folk want power. The door is open -- they can't stop us now." ?

David Osborne is the author of Laboratories of Democracy, which examined social and economic policy innovations in state government in the 1980s.

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David Osborne

Kenilworth-Parkside and the Politics of Public Housing

THE DAY KENILWORTH-PARKSIDE RESIDENTS ANNOUNCED the deal designed to turn them into homeowners, Jesse Jackson and D.C. Del. Walter Fauntroy held a "counter event." Though the sale would not take place for another two years, the Reagan administration had scheduled the announcement for 10 days before the 1988 election.

"This administration is having a housing press conference instead of a housing policy," Jackson declared. "My fear is that an uncritical media will let them have this photo opportunity and escape responsibility for the fact that they have cut the federal housing budget by 75 percent, at a time when 7.7 million people are in inadequate housing, when 5.4 million needy families receive no housing assistance, when 3 million to 5 million Americans are homeless."

So it was that Jackson, the Democrat most admired by poor blacks, and Fauntroy, the Democratic sponsor of a bill enabling Kenilworth residents to buy their homes, came together to denounce the sale. If ever one scene could capture the bizarre politics surrounding Kimi Gray and Kenilworth-Parkside, it happened on that chilly October afternoon. Few issues so disorient the political gyroscopes of Washingtonians as tenant management and ownership of public housing.

Neither issue is new. Tenants in Boston's Bromley-Heath project pioneered tenant management back in 1973, after crime got so bad that stores wouldn't deliver and taxis wouldn't drive into the area. Residents of St. Louis's Cochran Gardens tried it three years later. Born of crisis, both efforts achieved startling results: Crime rates dropped, vacant apartments were renovated, jobs were created, and residents were hired. Today, 13 public housing developments are managed by their residents.

Local housing authorities have been selling units to tenants even longer. Most such "turnkey" sales have involved single-family homes or small apartment buildings, sold to handpicked tenants with decent incomes; efforts to sell larger complexes have generally failed. There have been exceptions: Louisville recently sold a 100-unit complex to its residents as condos. But most turnkey sales of large projects have faltered because the tenants did not go through the process of organizing and taking control of their community.

"The psychological transformation doesn't happen when today I'm a renter and tomorrow I'm an owner," says David Freed, a consultant who specializes in low-income tenant buyouts. "It happens when there is a process that renters go through together, and there is a change in people's view of themselves and their neighbors. I see it again and again: It's that conversion experience."

The Kimi Grays of the world understand this. Several years ago, Robert Woodson of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise asked public housing tenant leaders to draw up a list of policy changes that would remove barriers to their success. Based on that list, they developed seven amendments to federal housing legislation. Woodson took them to then-U.S. Rep. Jack Kemp and recruited Fauntroy to co-sponsor the bill. Their 1987 legislation specifically targeted the transformation process: It gave resident councils

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the right to manage their own developments; it gave them priority for HUD renovation grants; it set up procedures by which they could buy their projects after three years of successful self-management; and it appropriated $ 5 million to train residents in self-management at 50 projects. As HUD secretary, Kemp says, he would like to provide training grants to several hundred more groups during the next four years, help perhaps 50 of them begin managing their own developments and see perhaps half of those push on to financial ownership. He has already persuaded President Bush to support a $ 44 million home-ownership fund to help this "urban homesteading" along.

"I'm not suggesting that we're going to force it down people's throats, or that everybody should be treated in exactly the same manner," Kemp says. "But I at least want the opportunity out there for everybody." He promises to support the kinds of subsidies provided at Kenilworth-Parkside.

Kemp's strategy has sown confusion and anger among liberals, who often find their enthusiasm for tenant empowerment overwhelmed by their distrust of conservative motives. Liberal critics articulate three basic criticisms of the strategy:

1. It won't work. Specifically, critics argue that management of large properties is too difficult for most tenants; that ownership is too expensive for the poor; and that there are too few leaders like Kimi Gray to make it widely replicable.

This line of reasoning simply misses the point, supporters retort. Yes, self-management is difficult, they agree, but where tenants do not want management responsibilities, other tactics are available: Some resident councils have significant input into housing authority decisions; some hire and fire their own private management companies; some create partnerships with private management firms. The point is to empower residents, by whatever means they choose.

When tenants are powerless, advocates argue, they become dependent. "Bureaucratic, command-control approaches transfer the will for self-achievement away from local people, to bureaucracies," says Robert Woodson. Look at most D.C. public housing projects: Residents have no power to police their communities to enforce standards of behavior, to evict criminals. If someone deals drugs out of the apartment next door, they can complain, but the system rarely responds. So they give up.

As with self-management, empowerment advocates do not argue that ownership is for all tenants; even Kemp envisions a limited number of sales. They understand that most tenant groups could not afford to pay even the operating expenses on their apartments. But as Robert Woodson and Kimi Gray point out, resident management corporations do not just do housing; they do economic development. They create jobs, provide training and raise incomes. Where they succeed, ownership can become realistic.

Are there enough Kimi Grays out there to replicate the Kenilworth-Parkside story a thousand times? Woodson points out that every vital organization -- whether Kenilworth-Parkside or IBM -- owes its start to a strong leader. So why not create more opportunities in poor communities, and see how many leaders emerge?

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2. The dwindling stock of public housing should be preserved for the poor. At the insistence of liberals, the Kemp-Fauntroy bill required that housing authorities replace any unit sold with a new unit of public housing. It also stipulated that any unit later resold had to go -- for a limited price -- to a low-income person, a resident management corporation or a housing authority. Some liberal critics want more, insisting that if buyers rise to middle-income status, they be forced to sell and move out. In fact, tenants are no longer evicted from public housing when their incomes rise -- their rents simply go up, remaining at 30 percent of their incomes. So even under current circumstances, some units are "lost" to middle-income people. But even if this were not the case, supporters ask, what is wrong with "losing" public housing units, if the people in them make the jump into the middle class? Public housing and welfare operate as traps, creating powerful incentives to remain poor and dependent. Should they not be redesigned to function as ladders out of poverty?

Besides, doesn't the current system guarantee the loss of thousands of units every the appalling homelessness that is the real result of conservative housing policy. Gordon Cavanaugh, a spokesman for the Coalition of Large Public Housing Authorities, pulls no punches: "I think the conservative agenda is ending public ownership of public housing, and they cloak that agenda in the rhetoric of empowerment. I mean, this is the same crowd that killed HUD's 235 program, which was designed to subsidize low-income people into ownership. This is the same administration that is trying to kill tnot s administration which for eight years fought to kill all the programs that provided low-income home ownership, and all during that time we had this thing waved in our faces."

Jack Kemp responds that many federal housing programs deserved to be eliminated, because -- like public housing -- they flushed enormous sums down the toilet. "But what I want to do is not just curse the darkness," he is quick to add. "I want to light some candles." And candles, he agrees, cost money.

This is Kemp's quandary: Until George Bush is willing to propose significant new funding for urban homesteading, Kemp will face a political stalemate. Liberals will continue to distrust conservatives because they have gutted funding for housing. Conservatives will continue to distrust liberals because they are unwilling to restructure programs that waste billions of dollars every year. To break the logjam, Bush will have to demonstrate a commitment to both restructuring and investment. Kemp understands this, and says he has made it plain to the president. "The jury's out," he acknowledges, "but I'm confident we can get a program." ers from the appalling homelessness that is the real result of conservative housing policy. Gordon Cavanaugh, a spokesman for the Coalition of Large Public Housing Authorities, pulls no punches: "I think the conservative agenda is ending public ownership of public housing, and they cloak that agenda in the rhetoric of empowerment. I mean, this is the same crowd that killed HUD's 235 program, which was designed to subsidize low-income people into ownership. This is the same administration that is trying to kill the Farmers Home program that does much the same thing. Why wouldn't I be skeptical about what we're about here? We've had an administration which for eight years fought to kill all the programs that provided low-income home ownership, and all during that time we had this thing waved in our faces."

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GRAPHIC: PHOTO, CHILDREN GET A LOT OF ATTENTION AT KENILWORTH'S LEARNING CENTER. HERE HEAD TEACHER RENEE SIMS HOLDS ANTOINE ANDERSON, 4. A COMPLETE RENOVATION IS UNDER WAY, SCHEDULED FOR COMPLETION NEXT YEAR. A FOOT PATROL AT KENILWORTH: RESIDENTS HAVE LEARNED TO TRUST THE POLICE. IRRESISTIBLE FORCE. ELI REED/MAGNUM

TYPE: FEATURE

SUBJECT: PUBLIC HOUSING; HOUSING ASSISTANCE; DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

ORGANIZATION: KENILWORTH-PARKSIDE

NAME: KIMI GRAY

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Mark —

9-7-85

Rev. Jemison has asked (through Rev. Benjamin Hooks of the NAACP) that his name, Rev. C.A.W. Clark and Rev. Franklyn Richardson be mentioned in the speech. Clark and Richardson, like Jemison, are ~~officers~~ high-ranking officers in the Nat'l. Baptist Convention, USA, Inc. It would also be good for POTUS to recognize the presence of the Rev. Mrs. Hooks.

POTUS might also mention in his remarks that the door is open for Dr. Jemison to meet with him personally and with members of his staff.

A couple of other ideas/changes are noted in this 7th draft of the speech.

Joe.

#4

Will Vodery

One of the early musical theatre's most successful composers was Will Vodery. He arranged and composed scores for impresario Florenz Ziegfield on Broadway for twenty years, and became the first Black music director and arranger in Hollywood in 1929, for Fox Films.

During World War I, Vodery received a commission of Lieutenant, and directed the 807th Infantry Band in France.

Throughout his career, Will Vodery enjoyed helping younger musicians. Among them were Duke Ellington, who received informal lessons in orchestration from the great arranger, and William Grant Still who gained a foothold in the music world with Vodery's help.

I'm Marsha Warfield, remembering Will Vodery, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

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William H. Carney

During the Civil War, the great orator Frederick Douglass urged that free Black men be allowed to enlist. The 54th Regiment of Massachusetts was formed, composed entirely of patriotic Black volunteers, who have often been cited for their valor.

One of those volunteers was William H. Carney. During the attack on Fort Wagner, Carney saw the Union standard bearer fall, and ran to protect the flag. In the midst of heavy fire, and struck three times by bullets, Carney knelt for more than an hour holding the flag, and never allowed it to touch the ground. For his courage, William Carney was awarded the Congressional Medal of Honor.

I'm _____, remembering William H. Carney, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

Fact: Carney is the only black in the painting of Washington crossing the Delaware (Hangs in the West Wing)

wrong war

DR. DANIEL HALE WILLIAMS

On July 9, 1893, Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, a black physician, performed the first successful operation on the human heart.

Williams had worked as a barber until 1878 when Dr. Henry Palmer--the surgeon-general of Wisconsin--accepted him as an apprentice. In 1883, Williams received his MD degree from Chicago Medical College.

Williams was a renowned leader in the development of modern surgical tehniques. In 1891, he founded Provident Hospital, the nation's first interracial hospital, and Chicago's first training hospital for black doctors and nurses.

President Grover Cleveland recognized the celebrated pioneer in 1893 when he made him Surgeon-In-Chief of Washington, D.C.'s Freedmen's Hospital. In 1913, the American College of Surgeons made Dr. Daniel Hale Williams, the first successful heart surgeon, their first black member.

I'm Coretta Scott King, celebrating a great moment in our American history.

IDA B WELLS BARNETT

Ida B. Wells, a courageous black journalist, devoted her career to an impassioned crusade against lynching.

Writing for black newpapers, she exposed the activities of lynch mobs, and discredited the myth that black men were lynched because they raped white women.

In 1895, Ida Wells married lawyer-journalist Ferdinand Barnett, and together they used the power of the black press to expose racial injustices.

Ida Wells Barnett became frustrated, because violence against blacks was increasing, and nothing was being done to stop it. Once, when investigating a lynching in Cairo, Illinois, she went to the state house in Springfield to argue against the reinstatement of the sheriff who had permitted the murder. She pleaded her case and won. That was the last lynching in the state of Illinois.

I'm Dorothy Brunson, celebrating a great moment in our American history.

Benjamin Banneker

When Molly Welsh taught her grandson Benjamin Banneker to read, she gave him the tool that made it possible for him to become the first Black American man of science. Born in Maryland in 1731, he taught himself mathematics, astronomy, and surveying.

In 1754, Benjamin Banneker built the first striking clock in America. He published almanacs that contained, in addition to weather and astronomical predictions, medicinal remedies and prescriptions.

In 1789 he was selected by his neighbor George Ellicot, a Quaker, to serve on the commission that would survey the Federal Territory on which the District of Columbia was to be built. When Major Pierre L'Enfant quit the project and returned to France with the plans, it was Benjamin Banneker who reconstructed those plans from memory, and the city of Washington, D.C. was laid out as originally designed.

I'm Mary Alice Williams, celebrating a great moment in our American History.

Jan E. Matzeliger

Jan Matzeliger revolutionized the shoe industry in the United States, and made Lynn, Massachusetts the shoe capital of the world in the 1880's. The young black cobbler's apprentice worked in a shoe factory, where he always heard that the industrial revolution would never reach the cobbler- it was impossible to last shoes by machine. He started to work in secret, experimenting, for ten years, steadily and patiently with no encouragement. Finally, in 1882, Matzeliger perfected his machine - it automatically stitched shoes and attached soles.

When he applied for the patent and sent his diagram to Washington, the patent reviewers could not understand it, so they sent a man to see the model. On March 20, 1883, patent number 274, 207, was granted to Jan E. Matzeliger, for the shoe lasting machine.

I'm Susan Taylor, celebrating a great moment in our American history.

Garrett Morgan

The time: July 25, 1916. The place: five miles out and 228 feet below Lake Erie. There had been an explosion in tunnel five, and 12 men were trapped. With smoke, natural gases, dust and debris, it was impossible for anyone to go into tunnel five and come out alive. At two AM someone recalled that Garrett Morgan had demonstrated a gas mask for mines, hoping to interest manufacturers. He was called, and he and his brother Frank came immediately, and rescued many of the workmen.

Hearing of his heroics at Lake Erie, many manufacturers and fire departments showed keen interest until they learned that Garrett Morgan was Black.

But Morgan was not discouraged. In 1923 he created and patented a devise that makes possible the orderly movement of millions of automobiles in today's cities - the automatic traffic light.

I'm Ossie Davis, celebrating a great moment in our American history.

Dr. Charles R. Drew

Medical science was changed forever by the work of Dr. Charles R. Drew. In 1940, Dr. Drew published his concept for separating the plasma from the WHOLE blood for storage. He was called to Britain where his idea brought life saving transfusions to World War II battlefields.

He developed a model for the American Red Cross blood bank system, and in 1941, was named its Director. The world renowned hematologist, continually, disputed any scientific basis for segregating the blood of black and white donors. Today's science proves that he was right.

The tragedy of his death, after an automobile accident, is heightened by the irony of its circumstance. The segregated white hospital, located nearest the scene of the accident, refused to admit Dr. Drew for an emergency blood transfusion that might have saved his life.

I'm John Jacob, celebrating a great moment in our American history.

MATT HENSON

An orphan who ran away to sea at the age of twelve, became one our country's bravest explorers. Matthew Henson accompanied Lt. Robert Peary to the Arctic region eight times from 1891 to 1909.

Henson's expertise in handling equipment and dog sleds, and his close relationship with the Eskimos who felt akin to the brown skinned man, made him invaluable to Peary's expeditions. When Peary determined on April 6, 1909 that they were only 60 miles from their destination, he selected Matt Henson to travel ahead and plant the American flag on the North Pole.

I'm _____, remembering Matt Henson, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

Elijah McCoy

As a young man, Elijah McCoy, the great Black inventor, was unable to find work in industry because of his race, so he took a job on the railway. Among his duties was the cumbersome chore of oiling the engine every time the train stopped.

The work inspired his first invention. In 1872, Elijah McCoy patented a steam engine lubricator, the first of several designs that set the standard in industries that used heavy equipment. His lubricators were so ingenious that buyers would ask dealers, "Is that a real McCoy?". To this day that expression means "the genuine article", or a thing of the highest quality.

I'm _____, remembering Elijah McCoy, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

:48 (117 words)

GRANVILLE T. WOODS

Sometimes called the "Black Edison" Granville T. Woods had ten years experience in machine shops and on railroads before he turned twenty. With only that experience, and a few classes in engineering to prepare him, Woods was responsible for 35 inventions that were vital to the development of mechanical and electrical technology.

His inventions included a more efficient steam boiler that conserved fuel, a telephone transmitter, an automatic air brake and other equipment that made railway brakes safer, and induction telegraph equipment that reduced the danger of collisions between moving trains.

I'm _____, remembering Granville T. Woods, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

#4

Bessie Coleman

Bessie Coleman, the world's first Black female pilot, had to travel to France to receive instruction because of prejudice against teaching women and blacks to fly in the United States. She received her license in 1922.

Believing that her achievement should be shared, she made plans to open a school to train other Black pilots. She flew exhibitions to make the money she needed to open a school.

On April 30, 1926, while flying an exhibition for the Jacksonville, Florida Negro Welfare League, Bessie Coleman put her plane into a nosedive and never came out. Although she crashed before she could open her school, her courage and determination inspired many members of her race to fly.

I'm Jasmine Guy, remembering Bessie Coleman, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

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#1

Lloyd Augustus Hall

1894

Lloyd A. Hall, a Black man, was a pioneering food chemist. He revolutionized the meat packing industry with his developments of better ways to cure and preserve meats. His mixture of meat curing salts were superior to any ever produced. He was also responsible for a new technique of sterilizing foods and spices that enhanced their appearance, quality, and flavor.

Mr. Hall served the United States in both World Wars. He was chief inspector of powder and explosives for the U.S. Army during World War I, and in World War II, he was invaluable in developing methods for maintaining military food supplies in pure and edible form.

I'm Danny Glover, remembering Lloyd Augustus Hall, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

DR. GEORGE CARRUTHERS

In 1972, Apollo 16 astronauts placed a Far Ultraviolet Camera/Spectograph on the surface of the moon, and established the first moon based observatory. A young Black astrophysicist, Dr. George Carruthers, developed the conceptual design for the camera.

Data obtained from Dr. Carruthers' Camera/Spectograph provided the first positive detection of hydrogen in deep space, and important information about our earth's upper atmosphere that could lead to new ways to control air pollution.

Today, Dr. Carruthers continues his research as Head of the Ultraviolet Astronomy Section at the Naval Research Laboratory.

I'm Cicely Tyson, saluting Dr. George Carruthers, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

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Pulse 3636

#1

Ernest Everett Just

1883-1941

Ernest Everett Just, a Black man, was one of our country's most distinguished biological scientists. He formulated new concepts of cell life and made pioneer investigations into the mysteries of egg fertilization and cell division. His contributions to our understanding of the functions of normal and abnormal cells added immeasurably to the body of knowledge needed to develop treatments for such diseases as cancer, leukemia and sickle cell anemia.

Never invited to conduct research at this country's notable laboratories, Just spent 11 years as guest researcher at the Kaiser Wilhelm Institute of Biology in Germany, the world's most respected academy of physics, chemistry, and biology.

I'm Robert Guillaume, remembering Ernest Everett Just, and celebrating a great moment in our history.

Send tape to: 3853 Longridge
Sherman Oaks
91423

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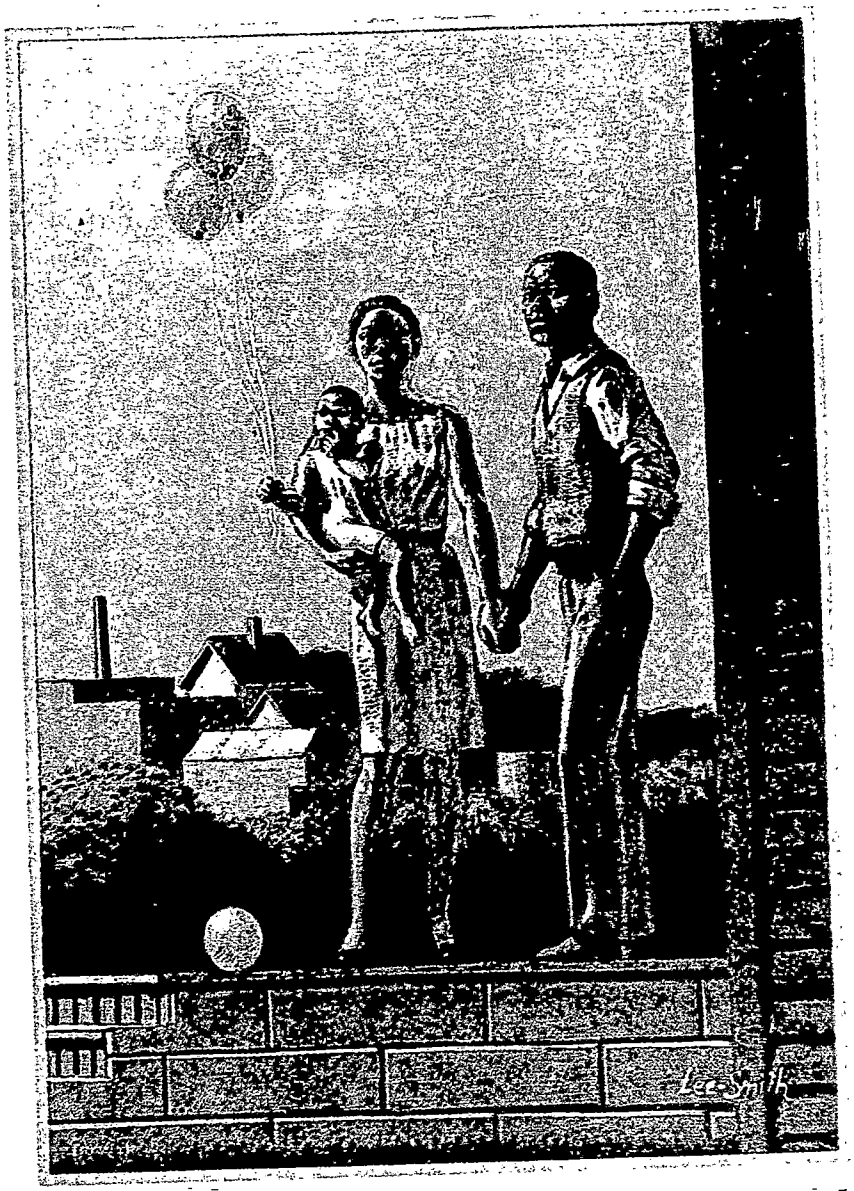

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Critical Issues For Black Families By The Year 2000

Robert B. Hill, Ph.D.

INTRODUCTION

After making unprecedented strides during the 1960s, black families experienced sharp social and economic setbacks during the 1970s and 1980s. Not only was the poverty rate for black families higher in 1987 (30 percent) than the rate in 1969 20 percent; there were also 700,000 more poor black families. Similarly, not only was the unemployment rate for blacks twice as high in 1988 (12 percent) than it was in 1969 (6 percent), but three times more blacks were unemployed in 1988 (1.7 million) than in 1969 (570,000).

Such severe economic instability led to family instability. While black unemployment soared from six percent to 20 percent between 1969 and 1983 due to four back-to-back recessions, the proportion of female-headed black families jumped from 28 percent to 42 percent. Each percentage point rise in black unemployment was correlated with a comparable increase in one-parent black families.

Black families continue to be disproportionately disadvantaged in other aspects as well. Although out-of-wedlock birth rates declined steadily among black teens during the 1970s and 1980s, while rising among white teens, black adolescents are four times more likely than white adolescents to have babies out-of-wedlock. And, over half of all black births today are out-of-wedlock, compared to only 13 percent of all white births.

Unprecedented levels of crime and gang violence have also destabilized many black families. With drug trafficking rampant in most inner-city areas, drug-related homicides among blacks have reached record-levels. The disproportionate surge in deaths among blacks has resulted in the first declines in black life expectancy since 1962. While life expectancy from birth rose among whites from 75.3 to 75.4 between 1984 and 1986 (the latest year available), life expectancy among blacks declined from 69.7 in 1984 to 69.5 and 69.4 in 1985 and 1986, respectively.

Black families have also been disproportionately devastated by the declining stock of affordable housing due to abandonment, urban renewal, commercial development, gentrification and condominium conversions. About half a million low-income units have been disappearing each year. Thus, the number of homeless individuals and families has soared to about two to three million. In addition, there are hundreds of thousands "hidden homeless" who "double-up" with relatives and friends for varying periods of time. Blacks are overrepresented among the thousands of families and children living in welfare hotels and shelters for the homeless.

Contrary to popular belief, these severe social and economic dislocations have not been confined to blacks in poor or one-parent families. As was the case among whites, thousands of middle-class, working class and two-parent black families were also adversely affected during the 1970s and 1980s.

For example, unemployed black husbands doubled from 84,000 to 188,000 between 1969 and 1985, while their jobless rate soared from three percent to seven percent. During the 1970s, female-headed black famlies increased ten times faster among wives who were college-educated than among wives who were high school dropouts. Not only has there been a shrinking in the size of the black middle-class since 1978, but also poverty rates among black two-parent families have risen more rapidly than among black single-parent families.[1]

While poverty among female-headed black families edged up from 51 percent to 52 percent between 1978 and 1987, these rates jumped from 12 percent to 14 percent among male-headed black families. Although the proportion of middle-income ($25,000 & over) black families grew from 33 percent to 38 percent between 1970 and 1978, it declined to 36 percent by 1987.[2]

The disproportionate declines in living standards experienced by low-income and middle-income black families led to a widening in the economic gap with white families. While the income ratio between black and white families in general declined from 59 percent to 56 percent between 1978 and 1987, the ratio between white and black couples fell more sharply from 81 percent to 77 percent. Furthermore, since the strongest economic gains over the past two decades were made by upper-class whites and blacks, the gap between the rich and poor in this nation is now wider than it has been in generations.[3]

What can be done to narrow the socio-economic gap between black and white families? In order to make significant strides toward parity between blacks and whites by the year 2000, it is important to address the following questions:

- What will be the demographic characteristics (i.e., size, age composition, family structure and labor force patterns) of the black population by the year 2000?;
- What are the critical issues that will be confronting black families during the 1990s?; and
- What strategies must be adopted by the public and private sectors for black families to achieve equity with white families by the 21st century?

FUTURE DEMOGRAPHIC STATUS OF BLACKS

Population Size

While the Census Bureau's middle-growth series projects the total U.S. population to increase from 245.3 to 268.0 million between 1988 and 2000, the black population is anticipated to rise from 30.5 to 35.8 million.[4] Since the black population is expected to grow twice (+17 percent) as fast as the total U.S. population (+9 percent) over the next 12 years, the proportion of blacks would rise from 12.4 percent to 13.4 percent between 1988 and 2000.

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population is projected to number 52.3 millio
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2050. (Table 1)

Age Composition

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blacks is projected to rise from 27.1 to 30.2.

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Table 1
Population Projections By Race and Et

Year	Numbers (in millions) Total	Black	Hispanic	T
2050	309.5	52.3	50.8	
2030	304.8	47.6	41.9	
2010	283.2	40.0	30.8	
2000	268.0	35.8	25.2	
1990	249.7	31.4	19.9	
1988	245.3	30.5	18.8	
1985	238.6	29.1	17.0	

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections
States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080," *Curre*
P-25, No. 952, May 1984; U.S. Bureau of the Census
Population," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25,

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STATUS OF BLACKS

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It is frequently asserted in the media that Hispanics will outnumber blacks by the year 2000. Yet, the Census Bureau projects blacks to outnumber Hispanics not only by 2000, but also into the middle of the 21st century as well. Although Hispanics are estimated to increase twice as fast (+34 percent) as blacks between 1988 and 2000, the Hispanic population is expected to rise (from 18.8 million) to 25.2 million—10.6 million fewer persons than blacks by 2000. Similarly, while the Hispanic population is projected to reach 50.8 million by 2050, the black population is projected to number 52.3 million by mid-century.[5] Due to the sharp increases of blacks and Hispanics, non-whites are expected to soar (from one-fifth in 1988) to one-fourth by 2000 and to one-third of the U.S. population by 2050. (Table 1)

Age Composition

With the maturing of the "baby boom" cohort (born between 1947 and 1961), the median ages of all groups are expected to increase markedly in the coming decades. For example, while the median age of the total U.S. population is expected to rise from 32.3 to 36.3 between 1988 and 2000, the median age of blacks is projected to rise from 27.1 to 30.2. (Table 2)

Although the pre-school population (under six years old) in the total U.S. is expected to decline by six percent between 1988 and 2000, the number of black pre-schoolers will fall by two percent. On the other hand, the elementary (6-13 year-olds) and (jr/sr) high school (14-17-year-olds) age populations will increase sharply among all racial groups. While the elementary and high school age populations in the total U.S. are projected to grow by 13 percent between 1988 and 2000, the 6-17-year-olds among blacks will rise by 24 percent. It should be

Table 1
Population Projections By Race and Ethnic Group, 1985-2050

	Numbers (in millions)			Percent Distribution		
Year	Total	Black	Hispanic	Total	Black	Hispanic
2050	309.5	52.3	50.8	100	16.9	16.4
2030	304.8	47.6	41.9	100	15.6	13.7
2010	283.2	40.0	30.8	100	14.1	10.9
2000	268.0	35.8	25.2	100	13.3	9.4
1990	249.7	31.4	19.9	100	12.6	8.0
1988	245.3	30.5	18.8	100	12.4	7.7
1985	238.6	29.1	17.0	100	12.2	7.1

Sources: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 952, May 1984; U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Hispanic Population," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 995, November 1986.

Table 2
Population Projections of Median Age By Race and Sex, 1985-2050

(Median Age)

RACE	1985	1988	1990	2000	2030	2050
All Groups	**31.4**	**32.3**	**33.0**	**36.3**	**40.8**	**41.6**
Male	30.2	31.1	31.7	34.9	39.1	39.5
Female	32.7	33.6	34.2	37.7	42.6	43.7
White	**32.3**	**33.3**	**33.9**	**37.4**	**42.1**	**42.6**
Male	31.1	32.0	32.7	36.1	40.3	40.5
Female	33.7	34.5	35.2	38.8	43.8	44.8
Black	**26.2**	**27.1**	**27.7**	**30.2**	**35.5**	**38.1**
Male	24.9	25.7	26.3	28.5	33.7	36.3
Female	27.6	28.5	29.2	32.0	37.3	39.9

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Population of the United States, by Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 952, May 1984.

noted that the first graders of 1988 will constitute the high school graduating class in the year 2000.

In contrast to the elementary and high school age groups, the college-age population (18-24-year-olds) is expected to decline sharply among all racial groups by 2000. While college-age blacks are projected to decline by four percent between 1988 and 2000, all college-age persons in the U.S. are expected to fall twice as fast—by eight percent. (Table 3)

Among the "younger" (age 25-44) working-age population, the 25-34-year-olds are expected to decline among all racial groups over the next 12 years, while the 35-44-year-olds are expected to rise sharply. Blacks age 25-34 will fall by six percent between 1988 and 2000, while blacks age 35-44 will soar by 49 percent. Among the "older" (age 45-64) working-age population, the 55-64 year olds will increase more slowly than the 45-54 year olds. While blacks age 45-54 will rise by 66 percent, the blacks age 55-64 will increase by only 18 percent.

Even among the elderly (65 years and over), blacks are expected to grow faster than the U.S. population over the next 12 years. While the total U.S. aged are projected to increase by 14 percent (from 30.5 to 34.9 million) between 1988 and 2000, the black aged are expected to rise by 20 percent (from 2.5 to 3.50 million). Because of the higher fertility rates among blacks relative to whites, the proportion of blacks will rise in every age category during the 1999s. Thus, blacks will become more widely represented at all stages of the life cycle by the year 2000.

Table
A. Projections of Black Popu

Numbers (in thousands)

AGE	1988
All Ages	**30,474**
Under 6	3,792
6-13	4,171
14-17	2,054
18-24	3,921
25-34	5,662
35-44	3,908
45-54	2,491
55-64	1,995
65 & over	2,480
Median Age	**27.1**

B. Percent Black of Total Populatio

(% Black)

AGE	1988
All Ages	**12.4**
Under 6	16.7
6-13	15.3
14-17	15.0
18-24	14.6
25-34	13.0
35-44	11.1
45-54	10.4
55-64	9.3
65 & over	8.1

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projec
Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080," *Current P*
May 1984.

Family Structure

While the total families in the U.S. are
(from 65.3 to 72.3 million) between 1988
expected to rise by 17 percent (from 7.2 to

Table 2
f Median Age By Race and Sex, 1985-2050

Age)

1988	[illegible]	2000	2030	2050
32.3	**33.0**	**36.3**	**40.8**	**41.6**
31.1	31.7	34.9	39.1	39.5
33.6	34.2	37.7	42.6	43.7
33.3	**33.9**	**37.4**	**42.1**	**42.6**
32.0	32.7	36.1	40.3	40.5
34.5	35.2	38.8	43.8	44.8
27.1	**27.7**	**30.2**	**35.5**	**38.1**
25.7	26.3	28.5	33.7	36.3
28.5	29.2	32.0	37.3	39.9

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ed at all stages of the life cycle by the year 2000.

Table 3
A. Projections of Black Population By Age, 1988-2050

Numbers (in thousands)

AGE	1988	2000	2050
All Ages	**30,474**	**35,754**	**52,297**
Under 6	3,792	3,702	3,966
6-13	4,171	5,153	5,441
14-17	2,054	2,544	2,753
18-24	3,921	3,773	4,815
25-34	5,662	5,316	6,983
35-44	3,908	5,811	6,901
45-54	2,491	4,124	6,275
55-64	1,995	2,355	5,936
65 & over	2,480	2,976	9,227
Median Age	**27.1**	**30.2**	**38.1**

B. Percent Black of Total Population, 1988-2050

(% Black)

AGE	1988	2000	2050
All Ages	**12.4**	**13.3**	**16.9**
Under 6	16.7	17.4	18.7
6-13	15.3	16.8	18.8
14-17	15.0	16.5	18.9
18-24	14.6	15.3	18.8
25-34	13.0	14.6	18.2
35-44	11.1	13.3	17.8
45-54	10.4	11.1	17.0
55-64	9.3	9.9	15.9
65 & over	8.1	8.5	13.7

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Population of the U.S., by Age, Sex, and Race: 1983 to 2080," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 952, May 1984.

Family Structure

While the total families in the U.S. are projected to increase by 11 percent (from 65.3 to 72.3 million) between 1988 and 2000, the total black families are expected to rise by 17 percent (from 7.2 to 8.4 million). Female-headed families

are expected to increase twice as fast as married couples among all racial groups during the 1990s. While couples are expected to grow by eight percent (from 52.1 to 56.3 million) by 2000, female-headed families in the U.S. are projected to rise by 18 percent. Consequently, the proportion of all U.S. families headed by women is expected to rise from 16 percent to 18 percent between 1988 and 2000.

Somewhat similar patterns are anticipated among black families. While black couples are expected to rise by 11 percent (from 3.6 to 4.0 million) between 1988 and 2000, black female-headed families are expected to increase by 25 percent (from 3.2 to 4.0 million). Thus, the proportion of black families headed by women would rise from 44 percent to 48 percent by the year 2000. (See Table 4)

In sum, between 1988 and 2000: (a) the median age of the black population will rise from 27.1 to 30.2 years; (b) the total black population will increase from 30.5 to 35.7 million; (c) the number of female-headed black families (+25 percent) will increase twice as fast as the number of black married couples (+11 percent); and (d) the proportion of black families headed by women will rise from 44 to 48 percent.

Labor Force Patterns

What will be the labor force characteristics of blacks at the turn of the 21st century? The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) provides alternative projections of the civilian labor force (which includes both the employed and unemployed) by race from 1986 to 2000. For our purposes, we will use the BLS intermediate (or "moderate") growth projections which assume two "mild" recessions and a decline in the U.S. unemployment rate from 7.0 percent in 1986 to 6.0 percent in 2000.[6]

While BLS projects the total white labor force (16 years and over) to increase by 15 percent (from 101.8 to 116.7 million) between 1986 and 2000, the black labor force is expected to soar by 29 percent (from 12.7 to 16.3 million). Similarly, black men in the labor force are expected to increase by 24 percent by 2000, compared to only a nine percent rise among white men. Black women in the labor force are anticipated to increase by 33 percent by 2000, compared to a rise of only 22 percent among white women.

The largest gains in the U.S. labor force during the 1990s will occur among adults age 25-54. Black adult men are projected to increase in the labor force by 34 percent—twice the 16 percent rise among white adult men. Similarly, black adult women are expected to increase in the labor force by 42 percent, compared to a 33 percent rise among white adult women. Thus, black male and female family heads, 25 years and over, are expected to experience more favorable job opportunities during the 1990s.

However, because of the "baby bust" of the 1970s, youths age 16-24 in the labor force are projected to decline among whites during the 1990s, but to rise among blacks. While white males age 16-24 in the labor force should fall by nine percent between 1986 and 2000, black male youths in the labor force are expected

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Projections of Number of U
A. Number of F

Year	Total U.S. Families: All Families	Married Couples	Fema Head
2050	72.3	56.3	12.7
1998	71.3	55.7	12.4
1996	70.3	55.2	12.1
1994	69.2	54.5	11.8
1992	68.1	53.8	11.5
1990	66.8	53.0	11.2
1988	65.3	52.1	10.8
1986	63.8	51.1	10.4

B. Percent Distribution of Family Structu

Year	Total U.S. Families: All Families	Married Couples	Female Headed
2050	100.0	77.9	17.6
1998	100.0	78.1	17.4
1996	100.0	78.5	17.2
1994	100.0	78.8	17.1
1992	100.0	79.0	16.9
1990	100.0	79.3	16.8
1988	100.0	79.8	16.5
1986	100.0	80.1	16.3

Source: Derived from data in U.S. Bureau
Number of Households and Families: 1986 to
P-25, No. 986, May 1986.

to rise by six percent. Similarly, while w
decline in the labor force by three perce
expected to increase by 11 percent. Thus,
youths, black male and female youths ar
during the 1990s. (Table 5)

Although the black labor force is expec
labor force during the 1990s, whites, pa
maintain higher labor force participation (
decade. While the proportion of the whit

Table 4
Projections of Number of U.S. Families By Race, 1986-2000
A. Number of Families (in millions)

Year	Total U.S. Families All Families	Married Couples	Female-Headed	Black Families All Families	Married Couples	Female-Headed
2050	72.3	56.3	12.7	8.4	4.0	4.0
1998	71.3	55.7	12.4	8.2	3.9	3.9
1996	70.3	55.2	12.1	8.1	3.9	3.8
1994	69.2	54.5	11.8	7.9	3.8	3.6
1992	68.1	53.8	11.5	7.7	3.8	3.5
1990	66.8	53.0	11.2	7.5	3.7	3.4
1988	65.3	52.1	10.8	7.2	3.6	3.2
1986	63.8	51.1	10.4	7.0	3.6	3.1

B. Percent Distribution of Family Structure By Race, 1986-2000

Year	Total U.S. Families All Families	Married Couples	Female-Headed	Black Families All Families	Married Couples	Female-Headed
2050	100.0	77.9	17.6	100.0	47.6	47.6
1998	100.0	78.1	17.4	100.0	47.6	47.6
1996	100.0	78.5	17.2	100.0	48.1	46.9
1994	100.0	78.8	17.1	100.0	48.1	45.6
1992	100.0	79.0	16.9	100.0	49.4	45.5
1990	100.0	79.3	16.8	100.0	49.3	45.3
1988	100.0	79.8	16.5	100.0	50.0	44.4
1986	100.0	80.1	16.3	100.0	51.4	44.2

Source: Derived from data in U.S. Bureau of the Census, "Projections of the Number of Households and Families: 1986 to 2000," *Current Population Reports*, Series P-25, No. 986, May 1986.

to rise by six percent. Similarly, while white females age 16-24 are expected to decline in the labor force by three percent by 2000, black female youths are expected to increase by 11 percent. Thus, with declining competition from white youths, black male and female youths are expected to have wider job options during the 1990s. (Table 5)

Although the black labor force is expected to grow twice as fast as the white labor force during the 1990s, whites, particularly males, are still expected to maintain higher labor force participation (LFP) rates than blacks throughout the decade. While the proportion of the white working-age population working or

Table 5
Projections of U.S. Labor Force By Race, Sex, and Age, 1986-2000

RACE	Civilian Labor Force[1] 1986	2000	Labor Force Participation Rates 1986	2000
Blacks	**12,684**	**16,334**	**63.5**	**66.0**
Males	**6,373**	**7,926**	**71.2**	**70.7**
16-24	1,416	1,497	63.0	64.9
25-54	4,289	5,753	88.4	88.1
55 & over	668	676	35.8	28.5
Females	**6,311**	**8,408**	**57.2**	**62.1**
16-24	1,349	1,490	53.6	59.1
25-54	4,356	6,195	72.7	79.0
55 & over	606	723	24.2	22.8
Whites	**101,801**	**116,701**	**65.5**	**68.2**
Males	**57,216**	**62,252**	**76.9**	**75.3**
16-24	10,528	9,552	75.3	77.2
25-54	38,766	45,077	94.6	93.5
55 & over	7,922	7,623	40.8	34.5
Females	**44,585**	**54,449**	**55.0**	**61.5**
16-24	9,511	9,191	66.7	72.7
25-54	29,682	39,510	70.7	81.3
55 & over	5,392	5,748	21.7	21.0

[1]Numbers in thousands.

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Projections 2000," *BLS Bulletin*, No. 2302, March 1988

looking for work is expected to rise from 65.5 to 68.2 percent between 1986 and 2000, the LFP rate for black workers is expected to increase from 63.5 to 66.0.

Partly due to early retirement, black and white adult men age 25-54 are expected to have declining labor force participation. LFP rates for white adult men are expected to fall from 94.6 to 93.5 by 2000, while rates among black adult men will drop from 88.4 to 88.1. However, the LFP rates are projected to rise among white males age 16-24 (from 75.3 to 77.2) as well as among black males age 16-24 (from 63.0 to 64.9) during the 1990s. Nevertheless, by 2000, the LFP rates for white male youths are projected to be 20 percent higher than the rates for black male youths.

Unlike the patterns among men, lal
increase for black and white women—
the proportion of white women age 25
to rise from 70.7 to 81.3 percent betw
adult women will increase from 72.
women are expected to surpass those
Similarly, the LFP rates of white fema
66.7 to 72.7 between 1986 and 2000
24 will rise from 53.6 to 59.1. Thus,
likely to be 23 percent higher than th

What unemployment levels are proj
for all U.S. workers by 2000—equival
black jobless rates are usually double
ployment rates for blacks and five per
blacks to attain jobless rates equal to
unemployment rates would have to de
rates of white youths, black male and
LFP rates by 20 and 23 percent, respe

CRITICAL ISSUES CONFRONTIN

To achieve parity with white famili
successfully confront several importan

- Attaining economic self-sufficien
- Strengthening and stabilizing fam
- Developing viable and healthy co

We will examine each of these issu
dations for the public and private sector
white families by the 21st century.

Attaining Economic Self-Sufficiency

Demographic projections suggest mo
female heads of black families as wel
However, before effective policies can
sufficiency among black families durin
intended and unintended consequences
families during the 1970s and 1980s.

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a mild recession during 1990. The U.S.
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Historically, all recessions—however
black workers and their families. Indee

ble 5
By Race, Sex, and Age, 1986-2000

ce' 2000	Labor Force Participation Rates 1986	2000
6,334	**63.5**	**66.0**
7,926	**71.2**	**70.7**
1,497	63.0	64.9
5,753	88.4	88.1
676	35.8	28.5
8,408	**57.2**	**62.1**
1,490	53.6	59.1
6,195	72.7	79.0
723	24.2	22.8
16,701	**65.5**	**68.2**
52,252	**76.9**	**75.3**
9,552	75.3	77.2
45,077	94.6	93.5
7,623	40.8	34.5
54,449	**55.0**	**61.5**
9,191	66.7	72.7
39,510	70.7	81.3
5,748	21.7	21.0

. "Projections 2000." *BLS Bulletin*, No.

om 65.5 to 68.2 percent between 1986 and
s expected to increase from 63.5 to 66.0.
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7.2) as well as among black males age 16-
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Unlike the patterns among men, labor force participation rates are projected to increase for black and white women—adults and youths—during the 1990s. While the proportion of white women age 25-54 working or looking for work is expected to rise from 70.7 to 81.3 percent between 1986 and 2000, the LFP rates of black adult women will increase from 72.7 to 79.0. The LFP rates for white adult women are expected to surpass those of black adult women by the year 2000. Similarly, the LFP rates of white females age 16-24 are expected to increase from 66.7 to 72.7 between 1986 and 2000, while the rates of black females age 16-24 will rise from 53.6 to 59.1. Thus, the LFP rates for white female youths are likely to be 23 percent higher than the rates for black female youths by 2000.

What unemployment levels are projected for blacks? BLS forecasts six percent for all U.S. workers by 2000—equivalent to the U.S. jobless rate for 1988. Since black jobless rates are usually double the nation's, we project 12 percent unemployment rates for blacks and five percent rates for whites by 2000. In order for blacks to attain jobless rates equal to those of whites by the year 2000, black unemployment rates would have to decline 60 percent. And, to equal the LFP rates of white youths, black male and female youths would have to increase their LFP rates by 20 and 23 percent, respectively, by 2000.

CRITICAL ISSUES CONFRONTING BLACK FAMILIES

To achieve parity with white families by the year 2000, black families must successfully confront several important issues:

- Attaining economic self-sufficiency;
- Strengthening and stabilizing families; and
- Developing viable and healthy communities.

We will examine each of these issues in greater detail and offer recommendations for the public and private sectors to equalize the life-chances of black and white families by the 21st century.

Attaining Economic Self-Sufficiency

Demographic projections suggest more favorable job opportunities for male and female heads of black families as well as for black youths by the year 2000. However, before effective policies can be developed to enhance economic self-sufficiency among black families during the 1990s, it is essential to assess the intended and unintended consequences of key social forces and policies on black families during the 1970s and 1980s.

Recessions and Inflation: The state of the economy during the 1990s will determine the quantity and quality of job opportunities available to all workers, regardless of race, by the 21st century. Despite the current record-level budget deficit, most economists do not forecast a recession for 1989, but many anticipate a mild recession during 1990. The U.S. Labor Department projects two "mild" recessions by the year 2000.[7]

Historically, all recessions—however "mild"—have had disparate effects on black workers and their families. Indeed, each of the four recessions (1970-71,

1974-75, 1980, and 1981-82) affected blacks more adversely than whites, due to the "last hired, first fired" principle of seniority. At the same time that black families were being hit by back-to-back recessions, they were battered by double-digit inflation.[8]

Industrial Shifts: Black families were also adversely affected by structural industrial changes, especially the exodus of jobs from central cities to the suburbs and the shift from higher-paying manufacturing jobs to lower-paying service jobs. These industrial shifts eroded the earnings of middle-class and working-class blacks and widened their economic gap with white workers. For example, the real median weekly earnings ($315) of full-time black workers did not increase in purchasing power between 1980 and 1987. Moreover, black full-time workers continue to earn about 20 percent less per week than white full-time workers.[9]

Jobs Mismatch? Many analysts predict that poorly educated blacks will experience a severe jobs mismatch by the 21st century, since the number of high-skilled jobs are to increase markedly, while the number of unskilled jobs are supposed to decline rapidly. Yet, while many of the fastest-growing jobs are high-paying, high-tech, and service occupations, the Labor Department predicts the largest number of new jobs to be low-paying service and sales jobs in which blacks are already overrepresented.[10]

For example, while the number of computer analysts and programmers are expected to increase by 586,000 between 1986 and 2000, five times as many (3.2 million) new jobs are projected for janitors, maids, food service workers, nurses' aides and cashiers. Not only are most of the new jobs likely to be low-paying, they are also likely to be part-time. Seven out of 10 new jobs created during the 1970s and 1980s have been part-time. Consequently, in addition to a mismatch with high-paying jobs, blacks may be plagued by "too perfect a fit" with low-paying jobs.

Obviously, if concerted efforts are not taken to reduce the alarming rates of high school dropouts, functional illiteracy, and declines in college and graduate school enrollments among minorities, this nation will be sharply polarized by the year 2000 between high-paying jobs held largely by whites and low-paying jobs held largely by blacks and Hispanics.

Immigration: Although blacks are expected to have declining competition from whites during the 1990s, there will be increased competition from Hispanic and Asian immigrants—who are projected to increase twice as fast as blacks. For example, Hispanics obtained the same number of new jobs created between 1975 and 1980 as blacks, although they were about half the size of the black population, while Asians secured half as many new jobs as blacks, although they were only one-fifth the size of the black population. Clearly, the extent of legal and illegal immigration over the next decade will be an important determinant of the economic status of black families by the year 2000.[11]

Federal Budget Cuts: Other government policies will also play a major role in the social and economic progress of poor black families during the 1990s. Working poor black families were impacted severely by the sharp cuts in federal programs for the poor and jobless during the
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for the poor and jobless during the Reagan administration. The AFDC budget cuts enacted in 1981 removed 400,000 working poor families from the rolls and reduced AFDC benefits for another 300,000 families. Food stamp recipients were affected adversely by the 15 percent cuts in federal spending between FY 1981 to FY 1987. Blacks were disparately hit by these cuts, since they comprised 40 percent of the recipients of these programs.

Several research studies revealed that the budget cuts of the 1980s contributed to the sharp increase in poverty (from 1.44 million to 1.82 million) among black families with children between 1979 and 1987. Only nine percent of these black families were lifted from poverty by cash entitlement programs (i.e., public assistance, unemployment insurance, and Social Security) in 1987, compared to 16 percent in 1979. If these programs had the same anti-proverty effects as they did in 1979, 143,000 fewer black families with children would have been poor in 1987. Thus, the economic progress of low-income black families will depend on the extent to which programs for the poor and jobless bear the brunt of deficit-reduction policies during the 1990s.[12]

Tax Reform: The well-being of working poor black families was enhanced markedly by several important tax initiatives. With the erosion of the personal exemption and standard deduction by spiraling inflation during the 1970s, poor families not only paid higher income tax rates, but larger payroll taxes as well. Consequently, the Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) was enacted in 1975: (a) to restore poor families to their former status of not paying any income taxes, and (b) to refund a portion of the payroll tax to the working poor.

Because of the increased regressivity due to the tax cuts of the 1980s, however, poor families were paying higher actual tax rates (10 percent) than many affluent individuals (5 percent) and corporations by 1985. Thus, the Tax Reform Act of 1986 not only exempted working poor families from paying income taxes, but also raised the thresholds of the personal exemption, standard deduction and the EITC. Moreover, these thresholds were indexed, for the first time, to keep them abreast of rising inflation. About three million working poor families (one-fourth of whom are black) may be removed from the income tax rolls by the 1986 legislation. Similar tax reforms are needed during the 1990s to enhance economic self-sufficiency among poor and working-class families.[13]

Welfare Reform: Although conventional wisdom contends that the growth in one-parent black families during the 1970s and 1980s was mainly due to an "overgenerous" welfare system, numerous studies reveal that spiraling inflation eroded the value of welfare benefits sharply, since most states failed to raise AFDC needs and payment standards from their mid-1970 levels. A consensus emerged among conservatives and liberals that the current welfare system needed to be overhauled radically since it was only maintaining families in poverty and not helping them to climb out.

Although the final legislation is far from the extensive "welfare reform" originally conceived, The Family Support Act of 1988 contains several key provisions to help welfare recipients achieve economic self-sufficiency: (1) the ineffective

WIN (Work Incentive) program was replaced by JOBS (Job Opportunities and Basic Skills Training)—a comprehensive education, training and employment program; (2) states must guarantee child care for welfare mothers required to participate in JOBS; (3) child care and Medicaid coverage must be extended for 12 months for the families of recipients who leave welfare rolls due to employment; and (4) there is a mandated extension of the AFDC-Unemployed Parent (AFDC-UP) program to all 50 states.

On the other hand, the 1988 Family Support Act has a number of deficiencies: (1) it does not mandate increases in the AFDC benefit levels; (2) it does not set nationwide minimum AFDC needs and payment standards; (3) it allows newly-participating states the option of limiting participation in their AFDC-UP program to six months; and (4) fails to assign high priority to enhancing the employability of low-income and young noncustodial fathers. Although many of these defects will be addressed by various demonstration projects, they must be rectified during the 1990s if poor families are to move toward economic independence by the year 2000.

Non-Cash Benefits: The role of in-kind benefits in reducing poverty will continue to be a major policy issue affecting black families during the 1990s. In response to criticism that poverty in the U.S. was overstated by conventional "cash-only" statistics, the Census Bureau began issuing experimental annual data on noncash benefits from 1979. Yet, these data reveal not only that sizable numbers of low-income blacks and whites receive no in-kind benefits for the poor, but also that poverty continues to remain at high levels even after noncash benefits are included.[14]

At least two out of five poor black families receive no cash or in-kind "means-tested" benefits. While half (48 percent) of all poor black families receive no public assistance in 1986, two-fifths received no Medicaid (41 percent) or food stamps (43 percent), and two-thirds (67 percent) were not recipients of either subsidized rent nor public housing. Moreover, poverty among blacks only fell from 33 percent to 27 percent in 1987 when the value of food, housing and medical benefits were factored in. Thus, even when in-kind benefits were "cashed out," poverty among blacks surged from 22 percent to 27 percent between 1979 and 1987—which is faster than the rise in the official poverty rates for blacks from 31 percent to 33 percent.

Yet, these in-kind programs provided vital support to the three out of five poor black families that received them. While over two million blacks received Medicaid, food stamps, or school lunches, about one million were recipients of subsidized rent or public housing. Clearly, in-kind benefits must be targeted more effectively to the poor during the 1990s.

STRENGTHENING AND STABILIZING FAMILIES

Many low-income and middle-income black families were destabilized acutely during the 1970s and 1980s by factors at the societal, community, and family levels. Several important issues must be addressed by the public and private sectors to strengthen and stabilize black families by the 21st century.

Single-Parent Families: While the
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Child Support: More sensitive child s
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Single-Parent Families: While the proportion of black families headed by women rose from 22 percent to 28 percent between 1960 and 1970, it soared to 44 percent by 1985. However, during 1986 and 1987, female-headed black families fell to 42 percent—the first major declines in single-parent black families in three decades. Nevertheless, by 1987, half (52 percent) of black children lived in female-headed families, compared to 37 percent in 1970. Moreover, while 45 percent of all black children live in poor families, 68 percent of black children in single-parent families are poor.

Contrary to popular belief, school dropouts account for only a tiny fraction of the growth in female-headed black families since 1970. In fact, single-parent families increased 50 times faster among college-educated (+496 percent) black women between 1970 and 1985 than among black women who did not complete high school (+10 percent). Thus, school dropouts accounted for only six percent of the female-headed black families formed over that 15-year span, while college-educated women comprised 35 percent.

However, never-married women comprised the bulk of the new single-parent black families formed since 1970. While separated and divorced women accounted for 86 percent of the white female-headed families formed between 1970 and 1985, never-married women accounted for 67 percent of the black female-headed families formed during that 15-year period. Contrary to conventional wisdom, most of these never-married female family heads are adults, not teenagers. Since nine out of 10 black unwed adolescent mothers do not set up independent households, teenagers account for less than five percent of black female-headed family households.

Adolescent Pregnancy: Although out-of-wedlock births have steadily declined among black teenagers, while rising among white teens, adolescent pregnancy will continue to be a major area of concern for blacks thoughout the 1990s. Out-of-wedlock birth rates fell among black teens (from 90.8 to 79.4 per 1,000 unmarried women age 15-19) between 1970 and 1985, but rose among white teens (from 10.9 to 10.5 per 1,000 unmarried women age 15-19). Nevertheless, black teenagers are still four times more likely than white teenagers to have children out-of-wedlock.[15]

Moreover, it is estimated that teenagers will account for about one million pregnancies—400,000 abortions and 500,000 births—each year. Since blacks will account for about half of the adolescent out-of-wedlock births, the social and economic viability of black families will be acutely affected. Because of inadequate health care and nutrition, babies born to black teenage mothers are at-risk of dying in infancy or having a low birth weight. Furthermore, high dropout rates increase the risk of black teenage mothers becoming unemployed and going on welfare. Comprehensive strategies will be needed to combat adolescent pregnancy in black families during the 1990s.

Child Support: More sensitive child support policies will be needed to enhance the functioning of single-parent black families by the year 2000. Black mothers are less likely than white mothers to be awarded child support, but more likely

to receive smaller payments when awarded. Two out of three white single mothers were awarded child support in 1985, compared to only one out of three black single mothers. Since child support accounts for only about one-fifth of the total income of single custodial mothers, many of them remain in poverty—after receiving child support payments![16]

Although high rates of unemployment among black noncustodial fathers contribute to the low child support payments received by black single mothers, the failure to establish paternity for out-of-wedlock children is the major reason for the low rates of court-ordered child support awards. To facilitate the collection of child support for low-income single mothers, the Family Support Act of 1988 strengthens state efforts to establish paternity and instituted automatic withholding of the wages of noncustodial fathers—even when they were not in arrears. Since low-income fathers often pay higher proportions of their income for child support than middle-income fathers, this Act urges more equitable court guidelines.

Child Care: With labor force participation among black women expected to jump from 57 percent to 62 percent, the need for child care by working parents will be more pervasive by the 21st century. For example, the proportion of black wives in the labor force with children under age 18 rose from 56 percent to 70 percent between 1970 and 1984, while the proportion of black single mothers in the labor force went from 53 percent to 62 percent. Mothers of pre-school children are also expected to enter the labor force in record numbers during the 1990s. While the proportion of black wives in the labor force with children under age six rose from 50 percent to 72 percent between 1970 and 1984, the proportion of black single mothers with pre-schoolers increased from 44 percent to 51 percent.

Due to the unavailability of day care for thousands of working parents, it has been estimated that between 6 and 7 million school-age children are "latchkey," i.e., are minors who return to an unsupervised home. However, a special survey conducted by the Census Bureau in 1984 found only seven percent (or 2.1 million) of all 5-13 year olds with working parents to be "unsupervised." Moreover, white families (eight percent) were twice as likely as black families (four percent) to have "latchkey" children.

Informal Adoption: A major reason for the low incidence of "latchkey" children among blacks is the availability of child care providers in black extended families. Although it is often asserted that extended families are largely nonexistent among blacks today, numerous research studies reveal the kinship networks continue to provide vital support to two-parent, one-parent, middle-income and low-income families. Nine out of 10 babies born out-of-wedlock to black teenage mothers live in three-generational families with their mothers and grandparents (or other adult relatives). Almost half (45 percent) of all black working mothers rely on relatives for child care—inside and outside their homes.[17]

Economic hardships and the lack of affordable housing contribute to surges in "doubling-up" with kin. Due to the 1974-75 recession, for example, the proportion of black children living with their mothers in the households of relatives jumped from 30 percent to 39 percent between 1973 and 1975. Furthermore, while the number of black children living
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while the number of black children living with kin increased from 1.3 million to 1.6 million between 1970 and 1987, the proportion of black children in informally adoptive families soared from 13 percent to 17 percent. Undoubtedly, back-to-back recessions, double-digit inflation and housing shortages led to sharp increases in "doubling-up" among black families during the 1970s and 1980s.[18]

Foster Care and Adoption: Although the total number of children in foster care declined after 1977, the proportion of black foster children rose sharply. As the number of foster children fell from 500,000 to 250,000 between 1977 and 1983, the proportion of foster children who were black increased from 28 percent to 34 percent. Since 1983, the number of foster children has surged due to soaring homelessness, drug abuse, and AIDS. Alarming numbers of babies born to mothers who are alcohol-addicted, drug-addicted, or AIDS-infected are placed in foster care or hospital wards.

While black foster children are less likely than white foster children to have physical or mental disabilities, they remain in foster care much longer than white children. Unfortunately, many black families that want to adopt are screened out by insensitive criteria that place higher priority on middle-class status, two-parents, heads under 40, and no children of their own. Thus, hundreds of black foster children are never adopted and must "age out" of the system. Many studies reveal that long-term foster children have a high risk of becoming delinquents, criminals, mentally ill, drug addicts, prostitutes, alcoholics, and welfare recipients. About half of the homeless youths in New York City, for example, were formerly in foster care. More sensitive foster care policies are needed for the 1990s that build on the informal adoption and foster care practices among blacks.

Family Violence: Traditionally, black families have had lower rates of child abuse and neglect than white families of similar economic status. According to the national study of child abuse and neglect conducted by HHS between 1979 and 1980, 652,000 children under age 18 were identified as abused or neglected—yielding a national incidence rate of 10.5 per 1,000 children. Contrary to conventional wisdom, blacks had lower rates than whites for all forms of child abuse (i.e., physical, sexual, and emotional) and neglect (i.e., physical and emotional), except for educational neglect. Studies have found the lowest levels of child abuse and neglect in families with strong kinship networks.[19]

However, the proliferation of the cocaine derivative, "crack," in the black community has led to sharp increases in child abuse and other forms of family violence. There are regular news accounts of children who were abused or killed by parents who were addicted to drugs or alcohol. Although alcohol abuse has been strongly correlated with wife abuse in black families for a long time, drug addiction has become more preeminent.

Drug Abuse, AIDS, and Alcohol Abuse: According to the 1982 National Survey on Drug Abuse, one-third of blacks and one-third of whites used drugs illicitly, while 13 percent of blacks and 12 percent of whites were currently using drugs illicitly. Moreover, blacks comprised one-fourth of the clients admitted to federally funded drug treatment centers in 1983. Although black youths have about equal

rates of drug abuse as white youths, drug-related violence has risen sharply among black youths in inner-cities. Rising drug abuse among black women has led to a steep rise in the births of drug-addicted babies—many of them spending years in hospitals as "boarder" babies.

One of the most ominous consequences of extensive drug abuse has been the spread of AIDS (Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome) among blacks.

Blacks comprised one-fourth of 24,5000 AIDS cases reported in the U.S. between 1981-1986. AIDS is likely to be transmitted disproportionately among blacks through intravenous drug abusers and their sexual partners, while homosexual or bisexual men with AIDS are disproportionately white. Moreover, black children are 15 times more likely than white children to contract AIDS. Furthermore, blacks are expected to comprise about 12,000 of the 179,000 AIDS-related deaths predicted in the U.S. by 1991.[20]

Although alcohol abuse has long been associated with spousal abuse, child abuse, homicides, divorce, separation, desertion, mental illness, and physical illness, its devastating effects have been conspicuously omitted in conventional studies of black families. Moreover, many studies have found strong associations between alcohol and drug abuse. Despite the severe destabilization of black families due to alcohol abuse, the black community has not indicated a sense of urgency in combatting this disease.

Shortage of Men: A perennial obstacle to stabilizing black families has been the shortage of men relative to women. Although single-parent families grew at about the same pace among blacks and whites during the 1970s, black women had much lower remarriage rates than white women because of the greater unavailability of marriageable black men. Among persons of all ages, there are 95 white men to 100 white women, while there are only 90 black men to 100 black women.

Among blacks, the sex ratio is widest among those in their prime working years. Among persons age 25-44, there are only 85 black men for every 100 black women, while there are about equal numbers of white men and women in that age category. However, when one corrects for the disparate undercount of black men, the gap narrows markedly to about 96 black men for every 100 black women between the ages of 25-44.

Yet, a shortage of marriageable black men continues to exist, since they are forced to run a "gauntlet" of school expulsions, special education placements, dropouts, foster care placements, delinquency, arrests, incarceration, unemployment, drug addiction, alcohol abuse, homelessness, homicides, and suicides from the cradle to the grave. It is clear that the functioning of black families cannot be enhanced by the year 2000—until highest priority is assigned to insuring that black boys, male youths, adult men, and fathers are able to fulfill their responsibilities as productive members of this society.[21]

DEVELOPING VIABLE COMMUNIT

In order to enhance the social and eco the 21st century, comprehensive public an during the 1990s to develop vibrant black

Segregation in Poverty Areas: A maj development of black communities has b overwhelming majority of working-class a areas that have experienced large declines i lived in poverty areas of the nation's fiv non-poor central city blacks also lived in po of poor blacks lived in poverty areas with percent of non-poor blacks also lived in th trast, only 32 percent of poor central city v

It should be noted, however, that strong exist in low-income black areas. Even in th of five families are in the labor force, half by two parents. Yet, the progress of black since these areas are "redlined" for substa equate community services, crime, and "c initiatives will be needed in the 1990s to residential options as whites of similar ec and poor black families are able to revit economically.

Community Development: Fortunately, th nation of residents of low-income areas en nities. Some of the most spectacular acco housing. With the assistance of the National several resident management corporations h tain safe, pleasant, and comfortable living en effectively than local public housing autho of tenant management in Kenilworth-Parksi sharp declines in vandalism, welfare depend nancy and unemployment, and sharp increa lections.

Some of the other successful resident m Health in Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts; Coc A. Harry Moore in Jersey City, New York; I and B.W. Cooper in New Orleans, Louisiana. numerous resident-operated small businesses care, laundry cleaning, tailoring, barbering, shops. Other reasons for their effectiveness i maintenance standards for their residents, er esteem, and sense of personal efficiency.[23]

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DEVELOPING VIABLE COMMUNITIES

In order to enhance the social and economic functioning of black families by the 21st century, comprehensive public and private initiatives must be undertaken during the 1990s to develop vibrant black communities.

Segregation in Poverty Areas: A major barrier to the social and economic development of black communities has been the residential segregation of the overwhelming majority of working-class and poor black families in low-income areas that have experienced large declines in jobs. While 85 percent of poor blacks lived in poverty areas of the nation's five largest cities in 1980, 60 percent of non-poor central city blacks also lived in poverty areas. Moreover, while 39 percent of poor blacks lived in poverty areas with 40 percent or more poverty rates, 17 percent of non-poor blacks also lived in these "extreme" poverty areas. In contrast, only 32 percent of poor central city whites lived in poverty areas in 1980.[22]

It should be noted, however, that strong working-class role models continue to exist in low-income black areas. Even in the "extreme" poverty areas, three out of five families are in the labor force, half are not on welfare and half are headed by two parents. Yet, the progress of black families in poverty areas is impeded, since these areas are "redlined" for substandard housing, inferior schools, inadequate community services, crime, and "open air" drug markets. Bold housing initiatives will be needed in the 1990s to insure that: (a) blacks have the same residential options as whites of similar economic status; and (b) working-class and poor black families are able to revitalize their communities socially and economically.

Community Development: Fortunately, there are countless examples across the nation of residents of low-income areas enhancing the vitality of their communities. Some of the most spectacular accomplishments have occurred in public housing. With the assistance of the National Center for Neighborhood Enterprise, several resident management corporations have demonstrated that they can maintain safe, pleasant, and comfortable living environments more efficiently and cost-effectively than local public housing authorities. For example, after three years of tenant management in Kenilworth-Parkside in Washington, D.C., there were sharp declines in vandalism, welfare dependency, school dropouts, teenage pregnancy and unemployment, and sharp increases in building repairs and rent collections.

Some of the other successful resident management initiatives are: Bromly-Health in Jamaica Plains, Massachusetts; Cochran Gardens in St. Louis, Missouri; A. Harry Moore in Jersey City, New York; LeClaire Courts in Chicago, Illinois, and B.W. Cooper in New Orleans, Louisiana. A key to their success is establishing numerous resident-operated small businesses in such areas as: maintenance, day care, laundry cleaning, tailoring, barbering, beauty salons, catering, and thrift shops. Other reasons for their effectiveness include: setting form behavioral and maintenance standards for their residents, enhancing the residents positive self-esteem, and sense of personal efficiency.[23]

To increase the stock of affordable housing to low-income families, grassroots groups have adopted many strategies. One popular approach is "sweat equity" to help low-income families overcome high down payments or the lack of credit through their own labor. Self-help housing efforts have been successfully implemented by urban and rural groups, such as: Jubilee Housing in Washington, D.C.; Delta Housing Development Corporation in Indianola, Mississippi; and Flanner House Homes in Indianapolis, Indiana. Other community-based groups that have successfully converted declining neighborhoods into thriving ones include: Operation Better Block in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn, New York; Collinwood Community Service Center in Cleveland, Ohio; Urban League affiliates and numerous black churches throughout the nation.

Economic Development: Numerous community-based groups have undertaken innovative business development efforts in black communities. Some of these groups are: South Arsenal Neighborhood Development Corporation (SAND) in Hartford, Connecticut; Business Opportunities System in Indianapolis, Indiana; and Jeff-Vander-lou in St. Louis, Missouri. Many grassroots groups are enhancing the entrepreneurial skills of black youth. For example, the Educational Training and Enterprise Center in Camden, New Jersey, has helped hundreds of youths to create businesses in such areas as food vending, janitorial services, etc.

In addition to outstanding accomplishments in increasing the supply of low-income housing, black churches have also launched numerous economic development efforts. For example, Zion Investment Corporation, a development arm of Zion Baptist Church in Philadelphia, has built a shopping center and created several small businesses. In Washington, D.C., the United House of Prayer for All People has constructed McCullough Plaza—a huge complex of affordable housing, shopping facilities and small businesses. Moreover, Allen AME Church in Jamaica, New York, has established a housing corporation, a senior citizens complex, a 480-pupil elementary school, a health service facility, and a home care agency for the elderly and the handicapped. The Congress of National Black Churches has also undertaken innovative efforts in such areas as education, strengthening families, community development, and economic development. Such creative community revitalization efforts must be reinforced by public policies through the 1990s, if the well-being of black families is to be enhanced.

RECOMMENDATIONS FOR ENHANCING BLACK FAMILIES

In order to develop effective strategies for attaining parity between black and white families by the year 2000, we have examined: (a) future demographic characteristics projected for black individuals and families and (b) critical issues that will confront black families during the 1990s. More specifically, we examined critical issues related to: attaining economic self-sufficiency, strengthening families, and community development. We shall now offer specific recommendations to enhance the social and economic functioning of black families by the 21st century. However, to place our recommendations in proper context, it is necessary to be explicit about key guiding principles that cut across each of them.

Guiding Principles

Self-Help and Government Aid: Since government—alone—can resolve all of partnerships and coalitions are required (i.e., federal, state, county, and city) and groups, and all institutions in the black c based minority organizations (notably, groups) with demonstrated capabilities f families should be used as major conduits etc., for such efforts.

Combatting Racism: To insure that thes tive effects on black families, this natic eradicate racism in all of its forms—indiv private actions should be taken to remc tended—from all of the institutions of A

Family Impact Analyses: Prior to 1987 have an environmental impact statement the physical environment, but not on fam tember 3, 1987, President Reagan signed of government to assess the intended and proposed policies and regulations on An must closely monitor government agencie effects of public policies on black familie Family Impact Analysis Program of the as a model for conducting sensitive impa

Cost-Effective Strategies: Record-level markets, and impending recessions sugge require family-strengthening policies tha makers should not be permitted to use neglecting the needs of the economically

Strategies for Achieving Economic Self-Su

Stimulating Economic Growth: Althou essential if the American economy is to programs for the poor and jobless must tax increases are instituted to reduce the Tax Reform Act provisions to aid the work not be permitted to fight inflation by indu four slumps between 1970 and 1982.

Achieving Full Employment: This nati the Employment Act of 1946 and the Hu everyone willing and able to work with j federal minimum wage should be raised

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Guiding Principles

Self-Help and Government Aid: Since neither the black community nor the government—alone—can resolve all of the problems affecting black families, partnerships and coalitions are required that involve all segments of the public (i.e., federal, state, county, and city) and private (i.e., business, labor, non-profit groups, and all institutions in the black community) sectors. Thus, community-based minority organizations (notably, churches, CDCs, and neighborhood groups) with demonstrated capabilities for strengthening black individuals and families should be used as major conduits, contractors, sub-contractors, advisors, etc., for such efforts.

Combatting Racism: To insure that these recommendations have enduring positive effects on black families, this nation must make a major commitment to eradicate racism in all of its forms—individual and institutional. Firm public and private actions should be taken to remove racial barriers—intended and unintended—from all of the institutions of American society.

Family Impact Analyses: Prior to 1987, all proposed policies were required to have an environmental impact statement that assessed their potential effects on the physical environment, but not on families and individuals. However, on September 3, 1987, President Reagan signed an executive order requiring all levels of government to assess the intended and unintended consequences of current and proposed policies and regulations on American families. The black community must closely monitor government agencies to insure that the potential and actual effects of public policies on black families are assessed appropriately. The Black Family Impact Analysis Program of the Baltimore Urban League might be used as a model for conducting sensitive impact analyses for black families.

Cost-Effective Strategies: Record-level budget and trade deficits, volatile stock markets, and impending recessions suggest an austere economic climate that will require family-strengthening policies that are more efficiently targeted. Policymakers should not be permitted to use a stagnant economy as justification for neglecting the needs of the economically and racially disadvantaged.

Strategies for Achieving Economic Self-Sufficiency

Stimulating Economic Growth: Although reductions in the budget deficit are essential if the American economy is to sustain steady growth during the 1990s, programs for the poor and jobless must not bear the brunt of such initiatives. If tax increases are instituted to reduce the deficit, they should not erode the 1986 Tax Reform Act provisions to aid the working poor. Moreover, policymakers should not be permitted to fight inflation by inducing recessions, as was the case for the four slumps between 1970 and 1982.

Achieving Full Employment: This nation must rededicate itself to the goals of the Employment Act of 1946 and the Humphrey-Hawkins act of 1978 to provide everyone willing and able to work with jobs at liveable wages. Accordingly, the federal minimum wage should be raised to at least $4.35 per hour to enhance the

well-being of low-wage American workers. Moreover, larger tax incentives should be given to businesses that create full-time jobs at liveable wages than to those creating part-time jobs at minimum wages.

Enhancing Job Training: Strong emphasis on quantitative outcomes has encouraged "creaming" of job-ready persons and an underrepresentation of "hard-core" workers with deficient work and educational skills. Eligibility and performance criteria for job training programs should be modified to give higher priority to "long-term" jobless adults and youths, adolescent parents (male and female), and to female heads of low-income families.

Reforming AFDC: Building on the 1988 Family Support Act, these provisions should be included in the welfare reform of the 1990s: (a) periodic increases in AFDC benefits should be mandated to keep abreast of inflation; (b) national minimum standards for AFDC needs and payments standards should be established; (c) the income ceiling to be eligible for AFDC should be raised to the poverty level; (d) the onerous prior work history eligibility requirement for AFDC-UP and its 100-hour ceiling should be eliminated; and (e) low-income and young noncustodial fathers should be given high priority for basic skills and job training in the JOBS program.

Strategies for Strengthening Families

Aiding Single-Parent Families: Public and private efforts to help low-income single-parent families over the next decade should be directed toward the following initiatives: (a) remedial education, high school equivalency assistance, and basic skills training for school dropouts; (b) classroom training, work experience, job search, and job training; (c) affordable day care for working parents; (d) affordable medical care; (e) affordable and decent housing that permit children; (f) child support enforcement; (g) family violence assistance; (h) enhancing parenting skills; and (i) counseling and mentoring.

Aiding Young Fathers: Since most fathers of children born to adolescent mothers are sincerely interested in being responsible parents, government policies are needed to reinforce, and not discourage, such bonds. Under no circumstances should the in-kind services that noncustodial fathers provide their children be "cashed out" to reduce their welfare grants. Higher priority should be given to enhancing the employability of young parents. Child support policies should be made more sensitive to the circumstances of low-income and young noncustodial fathers. Male responsibility media campaigns, like those conducted by the National Urban League, should be widely supported.

Expanding Child Care: A major barrier to the labor force participation of many black women is the lack of affordable child care. Unfortunately, the current Dependent Care Tax Credit (DCTC) is not used by most working poor parents, since their incomes are too low to have tax liabilities. Thus, the DCTC should be made "refundable," similar to the Earned Income Tax Credit, to insure that working poor families receive tax rebates for child care—even when they do not have to pay taxes. Moreover, this nati implementing a children's allowance.

Reforming Foster Care: The foster ca to: (a) provide quality family preservati ments; (c) provide more effective perma adoption criteria; (e) assign highest prio care and adoption placements; (f) reduc in foster care; and (g) raise the exit a "age out" of foster care with adequat life skills to be productive citizens in s

Strategies for Developing Viable Comm

Expanding Low-Income Housing: T housing for low-income families has l care placements, child abuse, family vic This nation must expand the supply of availability of subsidized rental units; boarded-up housing; (c) supporting th public housing; (d) expanding homeo such as urban homesteading, "self-help groups, especially churches and comm used as major conduits for constructin

Enhancing Economic Development: neurial development in inner cities. Th enterprise zones in low-income commu The development and maintenance of through set-aside and other targeted a ventures on public housing sites by re replicated at other public housing facil ment insurance should be encouraged to prise allowances," which have been eff churches should be encouraged to exp

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have to pay taxes. Moreover, this nation should give serious consideration to implementing a children's allowance.

Reforming Foster Care: The foster care system needs to be radically overhauled to: (a) provide quality family preservation services; (b) reduce unnecessary placements; (c) provide more effective permanency planning; (d) use culturally-relevant adoption criteria; (e) assign highest priority to extended family networks for foster care and adoption placements; (f) reduce sharply the time minority children spend in foster care; and (g) raise the exit age to 21 in order to provide youths who "age out" of foster care with adequate educational, employment training, and life skills to be productive citizens in society.

Strategies for Developing Viable Communities

Expanding Low-Income Housing: The increasing unavailability of affordable housing for low-income families has led to overcrowding, homelessness, foster care placements, child abuse, family violence, physical illness, and mental illness. This nation must expand the supply of low-income housing by: (a) expanding the availability of subsidized rental units; (b) restoring thousands of abandoned and boarded-up housing; (c) supporting the development of resident management of public housing; (d) expanding homeownership option for low-income families, such as urban homesteading, "self-help," and "sweat equity." Community-based groups, especially churches and community development corporations should be used as major conduits for constructing housing in low-income communities.

Enhancing Economic Development: Policies are needed that target entrepreneurial development in inner cities. The successful efforts of several states with enterprise zones in low-income communities should be emulated across the nation. The development and maintenance of black businesses should be encouraged through set-asides and other targeted approaches. The innovative entrepreneurial ventures on public housing sites by resident management corporations should be replicated at other public housing facilities. Recipients of welfare and unemployment insurance should be encouraged to establish small businesses through "enterprise allowances," which have been effective in several European countries. Black churches should be encouraged to expand into economic development efforts.

to hear the church, let him be unto thee as a [R]heathen man and a publican. 1 Cor. 5:9

18 Verily I say unto you, [R]Whatsoever ye shall bind on earth shall be bound in heaven: and whatsoever ye shall loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven. 16:19

19 Again I say unto you, That if two of you shall agree on earth as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them of my Father which is in heaven.

20 For where two or three are gathered [R]together in my name, there am I in the midst of them. Acts 20:7; 1 Cor. 14:26

Jesus speaks of forgiveness

21 Then came Peter to him, and said, Lord, how oft shall my brother sin against me, and I forgive him? till seven times?

22 Jesus saith unto him, I say not unto thee, Until seven times: [R]but, Until seventy times seven. 6:14; Mark 11:25; Col. 3:13

23 Therefore is the kingdom of heaven likened unto a certain king, which [T]would take account of his servants. *wanted to check*

24 And when he had begun to reckon, one was brought unto him, which owed him [T]ten thousand talents. *$52,800,000, if silver*

25 But forasmuch as he had not to pay, his lord commanded him [R]to be sold, and his wife, and children, and all that he had, and payment to be made. 2 Ki. 4:1; Neh. 5:8

26 The servant therefore fell down, and worshiped him, saying, Lord, have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

27 Then the lord of that servant was moved with compassion, and [T]loosed him, and forgave him the debt. *released him*

28 But the same servant went out, and found one of his fellow servants, which owed him a[T]hundred pence: and he laid hands on him, and took *him* by the throat, saying, Pay me [T]that thou owest. *$44. • what*

29 And his fellow servant fell down at his feet, and besought him, saying, Have patience with me, and I will pay thee all.

30 And he[R]would not: but went and cast him into prison, till he should pay the debt. Eph. 4:31-32; Col. 3:12-13

31 So when his fellow servants saw what was done, they were very sorry, and came and told unto their lord all that was done.

32 Then his lord, after that he had called him, said unto him, O thou wicked servant, I forgave thee all that debt, because thou [T]desiredst me: *did ask*

33 Shouldest not thou also have had [T]compassion on thy fellow servant, even as I had pity on thee? *mercy*

34 And his lord was wroth, and [T]delivered him to the tormentors, till he should pay all that was due unto him. *put him in jail*

35 [R]So likewise shall my heavenly Father do also unto you, if ye from your hearts forgive not every one his brother their trespasses. 6:12; Mark 11:26; Jas. 2:13

CHAPTER 19

c. A.D. 30

Jesus on divorce

AND it came to pass, [R]*that* when Jesus had finished these sayings, he departed from Galilee, and came into the coasts of Judea beyond Jordan; John 10:40

2 [R]And great multitudes followed him; and he healed them there. 12:15

3 The Pharisees also came unto him, [T]tempting him, and saying unto him, Is it lawful for a man to [T]put away his wife for [T]every cause? *testing • divorce • any*

4 And he answered and said unto them, Have ye not read, [R]that he which made *them* at the beginning made them male and female, Gen. 1:27; 5:2; Mal. 2:15

5 And said,

> For this cause shall a man leave father and mother,
> and shall cleave to his wife:
> and they [T]twain shall be one flesh? *two*

6 Wherefore they are no more twain, but one flesh. What therefore God hath joined together, let not man put asunder.

7 They say unto him, [R]Why did Moses then command to give a writing of divorcement, and to put her away? Deut. 24:1; 5:31

8 He saith unto them, Moses because of the hardness of your hearts [T]suffered you to put away your wives: but from the beginning it was not so. *allowed*

9 [R]And I say unto you, Whosoever shall put away his wife, except *it be* for fornication, and shall marry another, committeth adultery: and whoso marrieth her which is

---

(2) If he does not repent, the second step is, to take one or two believers and go to him again.

(3) If he will not hear the two or three, the third step is, take it to the church.

A good example of church discipline is reported in Paul's letters to the church at Corinth. He used strong words calling upon the church to discipline a member for fornication. He wrote, "put away from among yourselves that wicked person" (Page 1075—I Cor. 5:1–13). In his second letter to the Corinthian church we learn that the man repented and was restored to the fellowship of God's people. Now Paul writes, "forgive him, comfort him. . . . and confirm your love toward him" (Page 1089—2 Cor. 2:3–11). The attitude of the church toward a repenting brother should always be that of forgiveness in love.

Now turn to Page 923, and read Matt. 28:16–20 for point number V: THE CHURCH IT'S WORSHIP AND WORK.

Joshua Smith

Church - constructive / don't be defensive on civil rights

teen-age preg.

neighborhoods / dump / elements that disrupt

Erosion of family

Stimulating minority Business

Housing Equity / CAPITAL GAINS - Recycle Wealth

~~Black Robbers / Cities~~ / Positive things - SBA Enfluster / Support for work force -

New commission (Josh Smith heading) overall thing

Stand he took 25 yrs ago / Keep self-sufficiency can never be taken away.

CHILD-CARE OK

TEEN-AGE PREG. BLACK COMMUNITY

PROTECT INTEGRITY OF ~~Family~~

Keep meany eco. theme - Rep. stronghold

Your Progrm - What's best for the community.

- Biblical quote

The family is not an institution w/in society, it is ~~~~ society itself.

Family - mothers, fathers, sisters, brothers -

Family / Nation / America is our extended family. Whether our grandfathers came to America in chains, ~~~~ midpassage, etc.

Family of Man /

Our BAPTISM/ our IMMERSION

BLACK FAMILY:
- BIBLICAL PASSAGE

"Josh" - Joshua Smith 230-3440

André Carrington
- via Mr. Whitehead / RNC

Bonnie Guiton : 634-4345
Spec. Assist Consumer Affairs

Aug. 14

~~[redacted]~~ Aug & Sept - NETS. DO

JESSE JACKSON - WALK YOUR KIDS to school

BG: Dorothy Hite NO Colored Women - Extended family concept - FITS IN W/ PRES Bush's child care - ~~Men of the~~ Churches HAVE Adopt-A-

* Baptist ✓ Rev. John Peterson - Alfred St. Alex. / Rev. Peterson's church has a ~~correctional~~ CORRECTIONAL ministry - Pres. has met him when B.G. was in

Rev. Gregory of Shiloh [in District] extended family.

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h (CME)

urch is a relative late-comer to the ranks
the transition only after the Civil War.
CME church had its origin in the South
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o black churches, which they felt would

be more compatible with their interests and welfare. The Southern white church was alarmed at the fervent defection which was rapidly depleting its black membership, but it was hardly disposed to change the practices blacks found offensive. At its General Conference of 1866, the Southern Methodist Church decided that if by the next General Conference (four years later), there was "sufficient interest" demonstrated within its black constituency for separation, it would bless and assist its black members in forming a separate communion of their own. In consequence of this arrangement, representatives of black churches met in Jackson, Tennessee, in 1870 to found a third black communion which took the name of "Colored Methodist Episcopal Church in America." (This historic name was modified to Christian Methodist Church in 1954.) The senior Bishop of the Methodist Church South presided over the proceedings, and the new black denomination was launched with the general good will and support of the white church, out of which it came, on December 15, 1870. William H. Miles and Richard Vanderhorst were elected bishops five days later.

The Christian Methodist Episcopal Church is the smallest of the three major black Methodist bodies. Its national membership is approximately 850,000 with an overseas constituency of about 75,000 (1984). Like the AMEs, the CMEs have more churches (3,000) than clergy (2,400). The General Conference is the legislative body, and it is presided over by the College of Bishops. The Judicial Council, made up of four ministers and five lay persons, serves as a court of appeals. The church supports five colleges — Lane, Texas, Paine, Miles, and Mississippi Industrial. It also supports Phillips School of Theology, a constituent of The Interdenominational Theological Seminary in Atlanta. Its national headquarters is in Memphis, Tennessee, as is its publishing house. The CME national budget is estimated at about $52.7 million.

Other black Methodist communions include the Reformed Methodist Union Episcopal Church, the African Union First Colored Methodist Protestant Church, The Union American Methodist Episcopal Church, and the Free Christian Zion Church of Christ. All of these are small but independent black denominations.

THE BAPTIST CONVENTIONS

The first independent black Baptist church emerged in the final half of the 18th century. Today, there are at least eight black Baptist denominations identifiable in the United States. The three principal ones are well known and national in scope. Less well known and more regional in outreach are smaller groups such as the National Primitive Baptists (250,000), The Free Will Baptists (100,000), the National Baptist Evangelical and Soul Saving Assembly (50,000), and the Free For All Missionary Baptists (10,000). Another 75,000 black Baptists are in the (white) Southern Baptist Convention, and perhaps 150,000 others belong to the predominantly white American Baptist Convention. All in all, the Baptists have by far the largest black affiliation of any church in America, and their impact upon American religious life from Nat Turner to Martin Luther King, Jr., has been in keeping with their members and their zeal.

NATIONAL BAPTIST CONVENTION, USA/INC. (NBCI)

The earliest black Baptists whose churches dotted the Southeastern slave states before the Civil War were the first black Christians to try to find their own religious identity in America. However, the strictures of the slave security system and the independent nature of Baptist polity delayed the effective formation of denominational structures until after the Civil War. In the white churches blacks often out-numbered the whites in the congregation. In 1846, for example, the Baptist church in Georgetown, South Carolina, had 33 white members and 798 blacks. A similar situation prevailed in Natchez, Mississippi, where 62 white Christians shared a church with 380 blacks. But in every instance the white contingent, whatever its numbers, was in complete control of church polity, and blacks were subject to humiliating patterns of rejection and prejudice. So wherever possible the blacks formed their own churches. The roster of historic black Baptist churches is an impressive one. There was a black Baptist church at Petersburg, Virginia, as early as 1776; and First African Baptist at Richmond organized in 1780. In 1785, black Baptist churches were established at Savannah, Georgia, and in Williamsburg. By the end of the first decade of the 19th century, the Joy Street Baptist Church in Boston, Abyssinian Baptist in New York, and the First African Baptist Church of Philadelphia had all been established as strong beacons of spiritual freedom.

The first attempts to bring the scattered, independent black Baptist churches into some kind of organizational framework began with the organization of regional "associations" in Ohio in 1834 and 1836. In 1840, the American Baptist Missionary Convention was organized, presaging perhaps the three major conventions of today.

In 1867, the Consolidated American Baptist Missionary Convention met in Nashville, Tennessee. This meeting represented the first attempt to create a national convention. By 1868, the ABMC reported a constituency of 100,000 black Baptists with 200 ministers. The consolidated Convention was composed of six "district conventions" and it survived until 1879 when it fractured into autonomous regional conventions. Other efforts at Baptist unification were made from time to time, but all foundered for one reason or another until the American National Baptist Convention was organized in St. Louis on August 25, 1886. The Convention claimed a constituency of a million members with 4500 ministers in 9,000 churches. In Atlanta, Georgia, on September 28, 1895, the American National Baptist Convention was successfully merged with the Baptist Foreign Mission Convention, USA, (organized in 1880). The resultant organization, the National Baptist Convention, USA/ Inc. became, and remains, the largest black Protestant organization in the world. Reverend E. C. Morris was elected first president of the Convention.

The NBCI was supporting nearly 100 schools and colleges by the turn of the century, and it was prominent in the various efforts to deal with racial violence and segregation. It formally endorsed Booker T. Washington's program in 1909,

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NBCA is the second largest of the
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Booker T. Washington's program in 1909,

but was from its inception a strong supporter of the NAACP. Under the leadership of Dr. J. H. Jackson (1953-1982) the Convention adopted a more conservative stance.

NBCI reports a membership of 7.1 million, accounting for about one-fourth of the officially estimated black population of the United States. It has an overseas constituency of about 100,000. The Convention has an annual meeting each September. Officers headed by the president serve for one year. A Board of Directors is the governing body, and with the Executive Committee, the Board conducts the business of the Convention between sessions. The 1984 budget was about $3 million, prior to an upsurge in membership and programs since then. Dr. T. J. Jemison, who was the first General Secretary of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference has been president since 1982. The Convention has no permanent headquarters, but its $9 million World Baptist Center being built in Nashville is scheduled for occupancy in June of 1989. National Headquarters will be located in the Center.

The support of colleges and seminaries overlap among the various Baptist constituencies, but well-known black institutions supported in part by the black Baptist Conventions include Morehouse, Benedict, Spelman, Shaw, and Virginia Union colleges and universities; Turner Theological Seminary in Atlanta, and the American Baptist Theological Seminary in Nashville.

The National Baptist Convention of America (NBCA)

The National Baptist Convention of America, sometimes called the "unincorporated convention," grew out of a schism occurring in 1915 in the National Baptist Convention, USA founded 20 years earlier. The dispute was a complicated one involving the publishing house, and it culminated in the establishment of the NBCA at a meeting in Chicago on September 9, 1915. Reverend E. P. Jones was elected first president of the new Convention.

NBCA is the second largest of the black Baptist denominations reporting a membership of around 2.5 million. It has about 7800 local churches served by a clergy of approximately 3,000. The NBCA meets annually and delegates or "messengers" are received from its local churches, associations, and state conventions. A president is elected annually, and the president of the state conventions along with the moderators of the General Associations are *ex-officio* vice presidents. An Executive Board carries on the business of the Convention when it is not in session. E. Edward Jones of Shreveport was elected president at the 1988 convention. The NBCA does not have a national headquarters. The publishing house is in Nashville, Tennessee.

The Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc.

The Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., separated from the National Baptist Convention, Inc., in 1961. The rupture came over long-standing disagreements with the policies of Dr. J. H. Jackson who was president of the Convention for 19 years until he was finally unseated by Dr. T. J. Jemison in 1982.

The 1961 revolt was led by Dr. Gardner Taylor, Dr. Benjamin Mays, Martin Luther King, Sr., Martin Luther King, Jr., Ralph Abernathy, and others opposed to President Jackson's conservative policies which they considered inimical to the black freedom movement underway in America. At the regular Annual Meeting of the NBC, Inc., held in Kansas City in September of 1961, dissident delegates were removed from offices they held, including the Board of Directors. At a "rump meeting" in Cincinnatti, Ohio, two months later, delegates of the dissident group organized the Progressive National Baptist Convention, Inc., which is the third largest of the black Baptist communions. The first annual meeting was held in Philadelphia the following year, and the Reverend T. M. Chambers was elected president.

The PNBC was deeply involved in the civil rights movement from its inception. Its membership is made up predominantly of younger, more liberal pastors with more college and university experience. PNBC was prominent in the opposition to the war in Vietnam, and in recent times it has emphasized black political and economic development. Some PNBC pastors maintain second affiliations with one of the white Baptist Conventions.

The convention claims about a million members in a thousand churches serviced by a thousand pastors. Its congregations tend to be quite large, and they are located primarily in major metropolitan areas. The Convention is divided into four "Regions" representing thirty-five state conventions. The PNBC Convention meets each year in August, and receives a number of "messengers" from each church depending upon its size. Each State Convention and each Fellowship is also entitled to send messengers, as are Associations. Since 1967, Presidents of the Convention and most of its other officers have been limited to consecutive one-year terms. An Executive Board of 60 members oversees the business of the Convention between sessions. The General Secretary is a full-time employee responsible for day-to-day administration, and national headquarters with a full-time staff is in Washington, D.C. PNBC has no publishing house of its own. Reverend Fred Lofton of Memphis was elected president of the Convention in 1988.

THE PENTECOSTALS

The Pentecostal movement grew out of the radical preaching of William Seymour, a black Holiness minister who led the famous Azusa Street Revivals in Los Angeles from 1906 to 1908. To the traditional Holiness doctrine of "salvation" and "sanctification" Seymour added a "third blessing" identified as "baptism in the spirit," which was evidenced by "*glossalalia*," or "speaking in tongues" (as occurred at the Feast of Pentecost following the resurrection of Jesus). Thousands of people, white and black from every section of the country within and outside the Holiness tradition, flocked to hear Seymour and to subscribe to his new doctrine. Many came to be ordained by Seymour. In short order the movement spread to all parts of the United States, to Europe, Africa, China, India, South Africa, and South America. Today, there are about 35 million Pentecostals worldwide, with large concentrations in

Pentecostal churches tended to be
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Pentecostalism is the only major
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members in 43 foreign countries where
clinics and orphanages in Africa, India.
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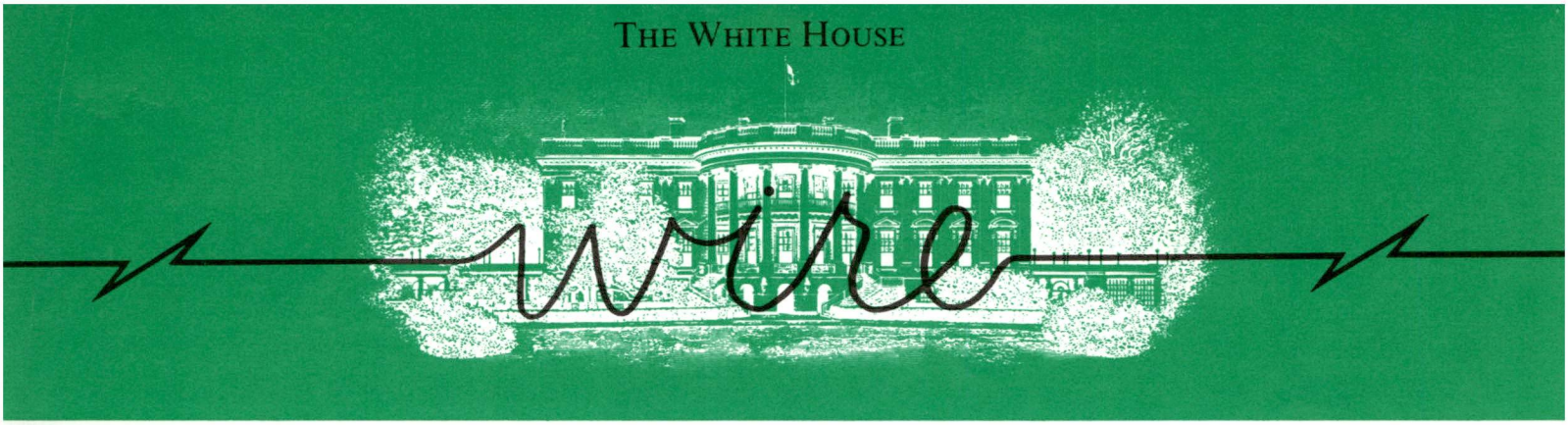
THE WHITE HOUSE



. . . on Child Care

May 5, 1989

ADMINISTRATION'S CHILD CARE PLAN TARGETS LOW-INCOME PARENTS

On March 15, President Bush sent legislation to the Congress, the "Working Family Child Care Assistance Act of 1989," and the "Head Start Amendments of 1989." These bills represent a significant, fiscally responsible step toward meeting the President's commitment to empower parents, especially low-income parents, to make critical decisions about their children's care.

The Working Family Child Care Assistance Act: Low-income families, in which a parent works, would be eligible for a tax credit of up to $1,000 per child under age four. This child credit would be refundable and, thus, available to families who have no income tax liability. Two-parent families in which one parent stays at home to care for the children, single working parents and dual-earner couples with children would all benefit from the credit. Eligibility for the credit would be phased in, benefiting families with income below $13,000 in 1990 and families with income below $20,000 by 1994. Initially, 2.5 million families would be eligible for the credit; 3.5 million, when the credit is fully implemented. In addition, the current child care credit would be made refundable, qualifying another 1 million families. Families would be free to choose the kind of child care that best suits their needs -- care through relatives, neighbors, child care centers or religiously-affiliated care.

The Head Start Amendments of 1989: Funding for Head Start would be increased by $250 million over the FY 1989 level, to pay for the enrollment of up to 95,000 more disadvantaged four-year olds. The proposed expansion would increase the range of choices available to low-income families in meeting their child care needs. In addition, through Head Start's comprehensive approach, which provides educational, medical, nutritional and social services to children at risk of falling behind, the newly participating children would be given a better start in life.

SECRETARY OF LABOR DOLE TESTIFIES ON THE PRESIDENT'S BILL

Secretary of Labor Elizabeth Dole testified in support of the Administration's child care proposal before the Senate Finance Committee on April 19, 1989 and before the Human Resources Subcommittee of the House Ways and Means Committee on April 27, 1989. The Secretary outlined the guiding principles behind the President's program:

1. **More parental choice** -- Parents -- who are the best judges of quality care and know what is in their children's best interest -- should have the discretion to make decisions about their children's care.

2. **Encourages options** -- Federal policy should increase, not decrease, the range of options available to parents.

3. **Non-discrimination** -- Federal child care policy should not discriminate against those families who sacrifice the income of a second career to have one parent to stay at home to care for their children.

4. **Targeted to the poorest families** -- Assistance should be targeted to low-income families, particularly those with young children.

The Secretary added that at the President's direction, the Department of Labor is studying the extent to which market barriers prevent employers from obtaining liability insurance necessary to provide child care at or near their employees' worksites.

TAKE A LOOK AT THE FACTS: ABC BILL IS NOT THE ANSWER FOR PARENTS

The Democratic leadership has proposed the "Act for Better Child Care," with Senator Dodd as its principal sponsor. This bill, "ABC," does not meet the President's principles for increasing child care options and parental choice:

Parental choice: ABC puts its trust in government, not parents. No money goes directly to parents. All money goes to the States. The States then fund providers, not parents, through grants, contracts, and certificates that they, not parents, arrange or approve. It is the States, not parents, who have the ultimate decision-making power on the care children will receive under ABC.

Encourages options: ABC imposes federal day-care standards on all providers who receive public assistance. All States currently regulate day care to some degree, ensuring a healthy and safe environment for children. These costly Federal requirements will put some current child care providers out of business, keep potential providers from offering care, and drive up the cost of care available for all parents. Parents who want their children to be taught and guided by the religious values that are central to their lives would not be able to receive assistance: All caregivers -- including relatives -- are prohibited from engaging in sectarian activities, worship or instruction in providing services under ABC.

In fact, parents could not use their ABC eligibility to have anyone other than a grandparent, aunt or uncle care for their children unless (1) the State rules in each individual case that the person was an "eligible child care provider," (2) the person and his/her home meets Federal standards, and (3) the person submits to governmental grant, contract and paperwork requirements.

Non-discrimination: ABC serves two parent families only if both parents are employed, perpetuating the discrimination against two parent families in which one parent stays at home to care for the children.

Targeted to families most in need: ABC is not well-targeted and would serve only a fraction of families most in need. Families with incomes as high as 4 times the poverty level are

eligible for ABC. Only a small number of eligible children would actually receive care under ABC -- 6 percent in 1990 according to the sponsors' estimates -- and there is no guarantee that they would be from families most in need. Only one million children, the sponsors say, would receive child care services from the States -- far less than the number of children in the 3.5 million families that would initially benefit from the President's tax credit proposals.

MYTHS AND FACTS ABOUT CHILD CARE TODAY

MYTH: Most children are being cared for in day care centers.
FACT: Less than 11% of children under 5 are cared for in child care centers. Only 46% of children under five have employed mothers. Of mothers who are employed, the great majority use relatives or neighbors as child care providers. For parents with young children who prefer to care for their children themselves while their spouses work, the President's proposals will shift the economics of work and child care in their favor. The President's proposals discriminate neither against day care centers nor mothers caring for children at home.

MYTH: Only wealthy married couples can afford to have one parent stay home to care for their children.
FACT: In more than half of all married-couple families with children whose income was less than $20,000 in 1986, the mother stayed at home to care for the children. In contrast, mothers stayed at home to care for the children in less than one-third of all married-couples with children and incomes over $20,000. Approximately 80 percent of children in center-based care come from two-earner families. Subsidies biased toward center-based care (such as ABC's) offer financial assistance to families that are already comparatively better off.

MYTH: Federal day care standards are necessary because day care is largely unregulated.
FACT: All states currently regulate day care to some extent. Every state licenses child care centers, and all but one regulate some or all family day care homes. State and local governments are best able to determine what standards are needed for child care. Federal standards, proposed in the past, will not work. Congress, realizing this, prohibited implementation of federal standards in 1980.

MYTH: Religiously-affiliated day care will benefit from new federal day care programs.
FACT: As many as one-third of day care centers are religiously-affiliated. ABC prohibits assistance "for any sectarian purpose or activity, including sectarian worship and instruction." Religiously-affiliated facilities must drop religious components of their day care curriculum to receive assistance. Also, litigation may render these facilities wholly ineligible for assistance, just as many religious elementary schools are now precluded from receiving direct financial assistance. The

President's approach does not fall into the thicket of legal problems raised by ABC, because assistance goes directly to parents.

MYTH: Unregulated child care is unhealthy and unsafe for children.
FACT: The typical "unregulated" day care provider is a mother caring for one or two other neighborhood children, along with her own child. In contrast, in day care centers, the average ratio of children to staff is five to one. According to an ABT Associates report, The National Day Care Home Study, unregulated family child care is "stable, warm and stimulating ... it caters successfully to the developmentally appropriate needs of children in care; parents who use family day care report it satisfactorily meets their child care needs ... [the study's] observers were consistently impressed by the care they saw regardless of regulatory status."

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Jim Pinkerton
Larry Lindsey

Income:

Employment:

Black rather
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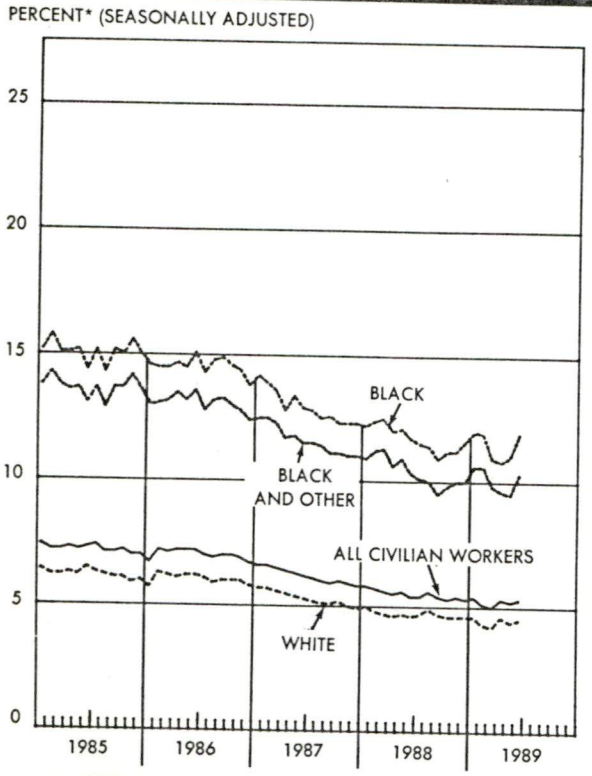
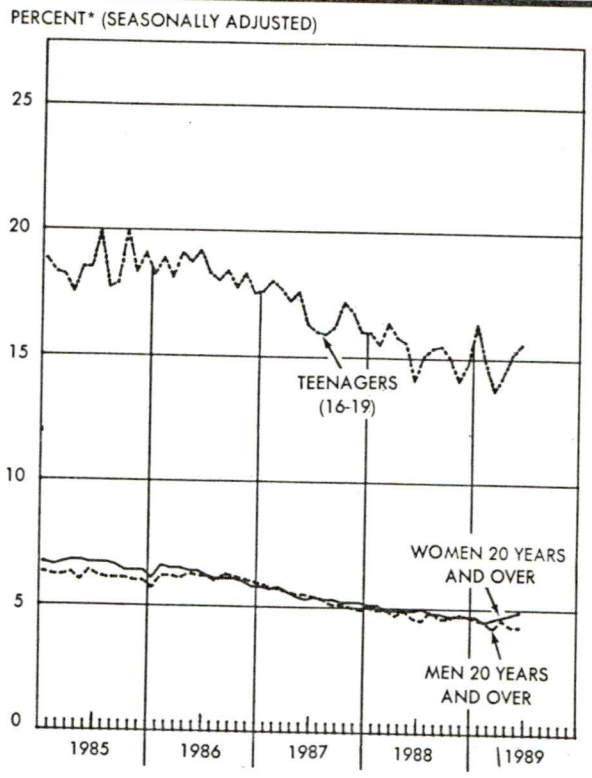
SELECTED UNEMPLOYMENT RATES

In June, both the overall and the civilian unemployment rates rose slightly, to 5.2 and 5.3 percent, respectively.





*UNEMPLOYMENT AS PERCENT OF CIVILIAN LABOR FORCE IN GROUP SPECIFIED.

SOURCE: DEPARTMENT OF LABOR

COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISERS

[Monthly data seasonally adjusted]

Period	Unemployment rate, all workers [1]	Unemployment rate (percent of civilian labor force in group)												Labor force time lost (percent) [2]
		All civilian workers	By sex and age			By race			By selected groups					
			Men 20 years and over	Women 20 years and over	Both sexes 16–19 years	White	Black and other	Black	Experienced wage and salary workers	Married men, spouse present	Women who maintain families	Full-time workers	Part-time workers	
1980	7.0	7.1	5.9	6.4	17.8	6.3	13.1	14.3	6.9	4.2	9.2	6.9	8.8	7.9
1981	7.5	7.6	6.3	6.8	19.6	6.7	14.2	15.6	7.3	4.3	10.4	7.3	9.4	8.5
1982	9.5	9.7	8.8	8.3	23.2	8.6	17.3	18.9	9.3	6.5	11.7	9.6	10.5	11.0
1983	9.5	9.6	8.9	8.1	22.4	8.4	17.8	19.5	9.2	6.5	12.2	9.5	10.4	10.9
1984	7.4	7.5	6.6	6.8	18.9	6.5	14.4	15.9	7.1	4.6	10.3	7.2	9.3	8.6
1985	7.1	7.2	6.2	6.6	18.6	6.2	13.7	15.1	6.8	4.3	10.4	6.8	9.3	8.1
1986	6.9	7.0	6.1	6.2	18.3	6.0	13.1	14.5	6.6	4.4	9.8	6.6	9.1	7.9
1987	6.1	6.2	5.4	5.4	16.9	5.3	11.6	13.0	5.8	3.9	9.2	5.8	8.4	7.1
1988	5.4	5.5	4.8	4.9	15.3	4.7	10.4	11.7	5.2	3.3	8.1	5.2	7.6	6.3
1988: June	5.3	5.4	4.6	4.9	14.1	4.6	10.3	11.7	5.1	3.2	7.9	5.0	7.7	6.3
July	5.4	5.4	4.5	5.0	15.1	4.7	10.1	11.5	5.1	3.1	8.5	5.0	8.0	6.4
Aug	5.5	5.6	4.9	4.8	15.4	4.9	10.0	11.4	5.3	3.4	7.5	5.3	7.4	6.4
Sept	5.3	5.4	4.6	4.8	15.5	4.7	9.5	10.9	5.1	3.1	8.1	5.1	7.4	6.3
Oct	5.3	5.3	4.6	4.7	15.0	4.6	9.8	11.2	5.0	3.1	7.9	5.0	7.4	6.1
Nov	5.3	5.4	4.8	4.7	14.1	4.6	10.0	11.2	5.1	3.3	7.7	5.0	7.1	6.2
Dec	5.3	5.3	4.7	4.7	14.8	4.6	10.0	11.6	5.0	3.1	8.2	5.1	7.0	6.3
1989: Jan	5.4	5.4	4.6	4.7	16.4	4.6	10.6	12.0	5.2	3.1	8.0	5.0	7.9	6.2
Feb	5.1	5.1	4.5	4.5	14.8	4.3	10.6	11.9	4.8	3.1	8.0	4.8	7.3	5.9
Mar	4.9	5.0	4.2	4.6	13.7	4.2	9.8	10.9	4.7	2.9	7.9	4.8	6.2	5.8
Apr	5.2	5.3	4.6	4.7	14.4	4.6	9.6	10.8	5.1	3.2	7.6	5.0	7.2	6.0
May	5.1	5.2	4.3	4.8	15.2	4.4	9.5	11.0	4.9	2.9	8.3	4.8	6.9	5.9
June	5.2	5.3	4.3	4.9	15.6	4.5	10.3	11.9	5.0	2.8	7.9	4.8	7.7	6.1
July	5.2	5.2	4.3	5.0	14.7	4.6	9.6	10.9	5.1	2.9	8.7	4.9	7.2	6.0

[1] Unemployed as percent of total labor force including resident Armed Forces.

[2] Aggregate hours lost by the unemployed and persons on part time for economic reasons as percent of potentially available labor force hours.

Source: Department of Labor, Bureau of Labor Statistics.

TABLE B–30.—*Number and median income (in 1987 dollars) of families and persons, and poverty status, by race, selected years, 1965–87*

Year	Families [1]						Persons below poverty level		Median income of persons 15 years old and over with income [2]			
			Below poverty level						Males		Females	
	Number (millions)	Median income	Total		Female householder		Number (millions)	Rate	All persons	Year-round full-time workers	All persons	Year-round full-time workers
			Number (millions)	Rate	Number (millions)	Rate						
ALL RACES												
1965	48.5	$25,060	6.7	13.9	1.9	38.4	33.2	17.3	$18,093	$23,767	$5,479	$13,748
1966 [3]	49.2	26,377	5.8	11.8	1.7	33.1	28.5	14.7	18,582	24,358	5,736	14,098
1967	50.1	27,004	5.7	11.4	1.8	33.3	27.8	14.2	18,902	24,812	6,131	14,290
1968	50.8	28,199	5.0	10.0	1.8	32.3	25.4	12.8	19,535	25,527	6,596	14,923
1969	51.6	29,244	5.0	9.7	1.8	32.7	24.1	12.1	19,931	26,872	6,610	15,740
1970	52.2	28,880	5.3	10.1	2.0	32.5	25.4	12.6	19,523	26,881	6,548	15,922
1971	53.3	28,862	5.3	10.0	2.1	33.9	25.6	12.5	19,372	27,027	6,757	15,999
1972	54.4	30,199	5.1	9.3	2.2	32.7	24.5	11.9	20,239	28,628	7,061	16,444
1973	55.1	30,820	4.8	8.8	2.2	32.2	23.0	11.1	20,603	29,329	7,151	16,593
1974 [3]	55.7	29,735	4.9	8.8	2.3	32.1	23.4	11.2	19,479	28,029	7,103	16,534
1975	56.2	28,970	5.5	9.7	2.4	32.5	25.9	12.3	18,695	27,312	7,148	16,300
1976	56.7	29,863	5.3	9.4	2.5	33.0	25.0	11.8	18,819	27,669	7,139	16,595
1977	57.2	30,025	5.3	9.3	2.6	31.7	24.7	11.6	18,986	28,263	7,391	16,531
1978	57.8	30,730	5.3	9.1	2.7	31.4	24.5	11.4	19,050	27,981	7,087	16,795
1979 [4]	59.6	30,669	5.5	9.2	2.6	30.4	26.1	11.7	18,443	27,368	6,814	16,489
1980	60.3	28,996	6.2	10.3	3.0	32.7	29.3	13.0	17,282	26,444	6,786	15,987
1981	61.0	27,977	6.9	11.2	3.3	34.6	31.8	14.0	16,836	25,858	6,820	15,567
1982	61.4	27,591	7.5	12.2	3.4	36.3	34.4	15.0	16,425	25,498	6,932	16,087
1983 [3]	62.0	28,147	7.6	12.3	3.6	36.0	35.3	15.2	16,725	25,674	7,307	16,528
1984	62.7	28,923	7.3	11.6	3.5	34.5	33.7	14.4	17,069	26,265	7,515	16,875
1985	63.6	29,302	7.2	11.4	3.5	34.0	33.1	14.0	17,232	26,411	7,625	17,170
1986	64.5	30,534	7.0	10.9	3.6	34.6	32.4	13.6	17,739	26,840	7,888	17,458
1987	65.1	30,853	7.1	10.8	3.6	34.3	32.5	13.5	17,752	26,722	8,101	17,504
WHITE												
1970	46.5	29,960	3.7	8.0	1.1	25.0	17.5	9.9	20,521	27,651	6,632	16,203
1971	47.6	29,948	3.8	7.9	1.2	26.5	17.8	9.9	20,309	27,788	6,870	16,184
1972	48.5	31,375	3.4	7.1	1.1	24.3	16.2	9.0	21,228	29,661	7,107	16,767
1973	48.9	32,211	3.2	6.6	1.2	24.5	15.1	8.4	21,618	30,178	7,220	16,874
1974 [3]	49.4	30,901	3.4	6.8	1.3	24.8	15.7	8.6	20,406	28,575	7,184	16,675
1975	49.9	30,129	3.8	7.7	1.4	25.9	17.8	9.7	19,638	27,944	7,222	16,338
1976	50.1	31,019	3.6	7.1	1.4	25.2	16.7	9.1	19,839	28,493	7,199	16,723
1977	50.5	31,396	3.5	7.0	1.4	24.0	16.4	8.9	19,886	28,841	7,504	16,635
1978	50.9	31,998	3.5	6.9	1.4	23.5	16.3	8.7	19,952	28,501	7,172	16,954
1979 [4]	52.2	32,003	3.6	6.9	1.4	22.3	17.2	9.0	19,267	28,159	6,878	16,633
1980	52.7	30,211	4.2	8.0	1.6	25.7	19.7	10.2	18,383	27,199	6,823	16,141
1981	53.3	29,388	4.7	8.8	1.8	27.4	21.6	11.1	17,865	26,465	6,897	15,827
1982	53.4	28,969	5.1	9.6	1.8	27.9	23.5	12.0	17,365	26,177	7,026	16,304
1983 [3]	53.9	29,474	5.2	9.7	1.9	28.3	24.0	12.1	17,595	26,359	7,434	16,748
1984	54.4	30,294	4.9	9.1	1.9	27.1	23.0	11.5	18,018	27,165	7,603	17,042
1985	55.0	30,799	5.0	9.1	2.0	27.4	22.9	11.4	18,078	27,144	7,773	17,413
1986	55.7	31,935	4.8	8.6	2.0	28.2	22.2	11.0	18,720	27,590	8,044	17,726
1987	56.0	32,274	4.6	8.2	1.9	26.7	21.4	10.5	18,854	27,468	8,279	17,775
BLACK												
1970	4.9	18,378	1.5	29.5	.8	54.3	7.5	33.5	12,167	18,835	6,038	13,276
1971	5.2	18,072	1.5	28.8	.9	53.5	7.4	32.5	12,112	19,001	6,019	14,290
1972	5.3	18,647	1.5	29.0	1.0	53.3	7.7	33.3	12,858	20,030	6,640	14,344
1973	5.4	18,590	1.5	28.1	1.0	52.7	7.4	31.4	13,076	20,340	6,516	14,309
1974 [3]	5.5	18,451	1.5	26.9	1.0	52.2	7.2	30.3	12,376	20,062	6,467	14,683
1975	5.6	18,538	1.5	27.1	1.0	50.1	7.5	31.3	11,741	20,796	6,561	15,609
1976	5.8	18,451	1.6	27.9	1.1	52.2	7.6	31.1	11,945	20,408	6,784	15,634
1977	5.8	17,935	1.6	28.2	1.2	51.0	7.7	31.3	11,801	19,884	6,480	15,548
1978	5.9	18,952	1.6	27.5	1.2	50.6	7.6	30.6	11,952	21,829	6,458	15,714
1979 [4]	6.2	18,122	1.7	27.8	1.2	49.4	8.1	31.0	11,927	20,294	6,260	15,241
1980	6.3	17,481	1.8	28.9	1.3	49.4	8.6	32.5	11,046	19,138	6,317	15,055
1981	6.4	16,578	2.0	30.8	1.4	52.9	9.2	34.2	10,623	18,724	6,127	14,293
1982	6.5	16,011	2.2	33.0	1.5	56.2	9.7	35.6	10,406	18,591	6,197	14,572
1983 [3]	6.7	16,610	2.2	32.3	1.5	53.7	9.9	35.7	10,229	18,794	6,323	14,867
1984	6.8	16,884	2.1	30.9	1.5	51.7	9.5	33.8	10,338	18,539	6,745	15,358
1985	6.9	17,734	2.0	28.7	1.5	50.5	8.9	31.3	11,376	18,986	6,632	15,414
1986	7.1	18,247	2.0	28.0	1.5	50.1	9.0	31.1	11,217	19,452	6,806	15,510
1987	7.2	18,098	2.1	29.9	1.6	51.8	9.7	33.1	11,101	19,385	6,796	16,211

[1] The term "family" refers to a group of two or more persons related by blood, marriage, or adoption and residing together; all such persons are considered members of the same family. Beginning 1979, based on householder concept and restricted to primary families.
[2] Prior to 1979, data are for persons 14 years and over.
[3] Based on revised methodology; comparable with succeeding years.
[4] Based on 1980 census population controls; comparable with succeeding years.

Note.—The poverty level is based on the poverty index adopted by a Federal interagency committee in 1969. That index reflected different consumption requirements for families based on size and composition, sex and age of family householder, and farm-nonfarm residence. Minor revisions implemented in 1981 eliminated variations in the poverty thresholds based on two of these variables, farm-nonfarm residence and sex of householder. The poverty thresholds are updated every year to reflect changes in the consumer price index. For further details, see "Current Population Reports," Series P–60, No. 160.

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census

POPULATION, EMPLOY

TABLE B–31.—

July 1	Total	Under 5	5
1929	121,767	11,734	
1933	125,579	10,612	
1939	130,880	10,418	
1940	132,122	10,579	
1941	133,402	10,850	
1942	134,860	11,301	
1943	136,739	12,016	
1944	138,397	12,524	
1945	139,928	12,979	
1946	141,389	13,244	
1947	144,126	14,406	
1948	146,631	14,919	
1949	149,188	15,607	
1950	152,271	16,410	
1951	154,878	17,333	
1952	157,553	17,312	
1953	160,184	17,638	
1954	163,026	18,057	
1955	165,931	18,566	
1956	168,903	19,003	
1957	171,984	19,494	
1958	174,882	19,887	
1959	177,830	20,175	
1960	180,671	20,341	
1961	183,691	20,522	
1962	186,538	20,469	
1963	189,242	20,342	
1964	191,889	20,165	
1965	194,303	19,824	
1966	196,560	19,208	
1967	198,712	18,563	
1968	200,706	17,913	
1969	202,677	17,376	
1970	205,052	17,166	
1971	207,661	17,244	
1972	209,896	17,101	
1973	211,909	16,851	
1974	213,854	16,487	
1975	215,973	16,121	
1976	218,035	15,617	
1977	220,239	15,564	
1978	222,585	15,735	
1979	225,055	16,063	
1980	227,757	16,458	
1981	230,138	16,931	
1982	232,520	17,298	
1983	234,799	17,651	
1984	237,001	17,830	
1985	239,279	18,004	
1986	241,613	18,152	
1987	243,915	18,252	
1988	246,113		

Note.—Includes Armed Forces overseas beginning 1

Source: Department of Commerce, Bureau of the C

A Common Destiny
Blacks + Amd American soc.

p.3 One out of 3 slud in households below poverty line.

p.4. "Status of Black Amer. today can be characterized as a glass that is half full... or a glass that is half empty."

Pink crack #

- 40-60's great
- Sine '70's, eco status stag. or deteriorated on average, stag. or deter.
- those who don't finish h.s., w+b, ↓ in income

(Look up Junior college speech)

Quotes from: Walter Williams (?)
Stanford

Trina Brusser
Amer. Comid Dev Ed.
294-0600
Dr. Bennett

20%
19,680
12½ p.
382.46