A COMMENT ON WATTENBERG AND SCAMMON

On The Progress Of Blacks And Liberal Rhetoric

(Editor's Note—This article is in response to one entitled "Black Progress and Liberal Rhetoric," authored by Ben Wattenberg and Richard Scammon, and published in the April issue of Commentary magazine. Dr. Herrington J. Bryce, a respected economist who has done research and published papers relating to migration, population shifts and the economic problems of minorities, He is a visiting lecturer at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology and is director of research for the Joint Center for Political Studies in Washington. The Joint Center has made Dr. Bryce's response article on this important subject available to the public.)

By HERRINGTON J. BRYCE

The question of whether or not most blacks are in the middle class is purely definitional. Wattenberg and Scammon have used such a wide-open definition that the only people who would not be included are professionals (who constitute only about one of every night of the black working population) and the unemployed.

But the strongest argument against Wattenberg and Scammon lies in the untampered facts on the distribution of families by income-size class as published by the U.S. Bureau of Census. The facts are these:

FAMILY INCOMES AND EARNINGS

1971

Race	Income Median	Percent of families with incomes Under $5,000	$15,000 or more
White	$10,672	16.3	25.4
Spanish	7,548	30.4	10.3
Black	6,440	38.6	10.6

What emerges without stretching of the facts is that in a society which preaches egalitarianism as an ideology, incomes are grossly unequally distributed along lines which are fundamentally racial. And this is what what the struggle is all about. Although significant progress has been made there is a lot left to justify discontent.

Both Wattenberg and Scammon, as did Moynihan before them, place considerable weight on the evidence that black families with male heads who are under 35 years of age and who reside outside the South have achieved income parity with comparable white families. Both they and Moynihan argued that this parity is evidence of progress and augurs well for the future.

The income gain is deceptive. As the authors recognize, the two groups lack full comparibility on a very crucial point: young black wives outside the South are more likely to be working year-round than young white wives. Hence, a considerable amount of the "equality" in family income is based upon the inequality in work effort.

The income gain is restricted. Black husband-wife families outside the South in which the male is under 35 years of age account for only per cent of black husband-wife families in the country. It is only 10 per cent of all black families.

The other 90 per cent of black families continues to be unequal! As a matter of fact, black families as a rule found that the absolute gap between their incomes and white family incomes increased from roughtly $2,500 in 1947 to just over $4,000 in 1971.

• • •

Wattenberg and Scammon state that when only men less than 35 years of age who reside with their wives outside the South are compared, the parity ratio is maintained. These men account for less than 10 per cent (roughly 7 per cent) of all black men. Again partly affects relatively few blacks!

There are reasons for being doubtful that the parity to which Moynihan and Wattenberg and Scammon refer will be maintained. Studies by economists have suggested that a main reason for black advancement in income was the migration of young blacks out of the rural South to the North where wages are higher. There is little hope for further major gains due to this kind of migration. The black population in the rural South is now only 3.9 million.

While blacks were leaving the South at a rate of 10.6 per cent, the economic growth and income of that area was increasing faster than any other part of the country. It has been the young whites who have been returning to the South at a rate of nearly 10 per cent to capture these new opportunities.

One possible effect of this migration might be to increase the income gap between blacks and whites in the future if the industries to which whites are moving in the South continue to grow faster than the ones blacks are entering in the North. This situation could be exacerbated unless blacks are able to take advantage of the economic growth in the South.

• • •

In addition to migration, another major factor in improving black earnings in the sixties was the high level of demand for labor during that period. Economists have argued that economic growth and its induced demand for labor was the most important factor in increasing the relative wages of black men in the sixties.

Economists have found that when the demand for labor falls such that the aggregate unemployment rate rises above, say, 3.5 per cent, black family earnings are seriously threatened. The unemployment rate now hovers around 5 per cent.

And to make matter worse, there is currently a tacit assumption that we must be prepared to accept as normal something in that vicinity because of changes in the composition of the labor force.

Accordingly, the following points are implied: First, much of the black gains are due to cyclical factors which are, by definition fluctuating and might easily be reversed. Second, we might well be on the course of reversal with an unemployment rate well above 3 per cent.

• • •

A foundation for an increasing income gap lies in educational attainment. While blacks have made great strides in education, some basic truths remain: Among people who are under 35 years of age, the college completion rate is 4 time higher among white males as it is among black; it is twice as high among white females as it is among black females.

The rate of high school completion is 50 per cent higher among young white men as it is among blacks. These figures say that while blacks are busy in the labor market, whites are investing in themselves. Since the return to investment is always expressed in higher lifetime earnings, the parity which is observed is unstable and could disappear over the life time of this cohort; for it has been shown that the rate of return to education and experience is significantly higher for whites than for blacks.

The children of this young cohort will not necessarily grow up equal. Otis Duncan, in a very careful and well-done study of the ability of parents to transmit income status to their children, shows that blacks are less likely to be able to do so than whites.

In fact, the Duncan findings hold that while blacks may transmit occupational status as easily as whites, their children are less likely to be able to convert this occupational status into income as well as white children do.

• • •

Historically, the black unemployment rate has been twice as high as the white unemployment rate. Scammon and Wattenberg take comfort in the fact that the historical 2 to 1 black/white unemployment ratio was apparently broken.

There is dubious reasons for joy. Economists noted, and the statistics support, 1970 was an unusual recession. It was one which struck hardest at those industries from which blacks were traditionally excluded.

Morever, 1970 represents a period when black men were leaving the labor force at a faster rate than white; hence, they were less likely to be counted as unemployed.

The fact is that in 1972, the black/white unemployed rates returned to their 2 to 1 ratio! Today (1973) the unemployment rate for blacks is 10.2 per cent, and this does not include those who left the labor force, those who are working part-time although they would prefer full-time work and those who are working at substandard wages. The unemployment rate for whites is 5.2 per cent — again the rates are 2 to 1.

• • •

It is not satisfactory for Wattenberg and Scammon to show an improvement in the relative unemployment rate of black and white men with wives present.

Surely, the struggle has not been for the sole benefit of this group.

The high unemployment rate (over 35 per cent) among black teenagers cannot be dismissed lightly. In many black families this spells the differences between being in poverty and not. It also engenders criminal behavior and disproportionally high enlistment rates among black youths.

• • •

Wattenberg and Scammon note that blacks made remarkable strides into white collar occupations.

It is true that the black rate of upward mobility outstriped the white rate. It should be noted, however, that the greatest differences was in the rate of entry into clerical occupations — hardly the objective of most upwardly mobile whites.

The fact that blacks made these gains should not obfuscate the issue. Blacks remain significantly underrepresented in high-wage occupations. In 1972 there were 35 per cent fewer blacks in professional occupations than would have been the case had blacks an equal opportunity as whites to enter.

The underrepresentation in managerial occupations and in sales is nearly 70 per cent. In crafts its about 20 per cent, and in clerical work about 21 per cent. All these figures are based on calculations using data in the Manpower Report of the President.

• • •

Scammon and Wattenberg take as a mark of progress the fact that 12 per cent of all union members are black. Hence, they conclude that blacks are more likely than whites to be union members.

This is meaningless. Blacks, being concentrated in blue collar work, are also more likely than whites to be in jobs subject to unionization. Moreover, blacks have long been able to get into unions — particularly industrial and segregated locals.

Indeed, industrial unions were always less discriminatory than craft unions. It is entry into non-segregated craft unions which has been the black objective. And this is the rub. Craft unions control entry as well as employment in high-wage blue collar occupations. Blacks constitute only 5 per cent of workers in craft unions.

• • •

Scammon and Wattenberg take refuge in the statistics that 13 per cent of apprentices in the construction trades are black.

This is not an unambiguous achievement. Apprenticeship programs are only the first hurdle in gaining full membership.

Even after full membership is achieved (a process that can take years) blacks will have to confront another problem — a fair shake in the referrals to jobs.

Hence, the ultimate test is not apprenticeship, but the per cent of all union work hours going to blacks.

• • •

I do not wish to be cynical, but one of the items of "progress" Wattenberg and Scammon did not note is the catching up of white women professionals and managers with their black female counterparts.

The median level of education of black females in these occupational categories in 1960 was 15.6 years and for whites it was 14.0. In 1972 the black figure was 16.0 and the white 15.3.

This does not mean that black women are better educated than white women. It means that educated white women were more likely to be out of the labor market. Given the women's liberation, we'll see a reversal of this ratio.

Wattenberg and Scammon did not compare training. It is important to note that the percentage of housing with inadequate plumbing occupied by blacks remained constant between 1960 and 1970 — nearly 30 per cent.

• • •

Figures on vital statistics released by the U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare show that, if anything, the difference in life expectancy between blacks and whites in the prime age 25 to 55 remained the same or increased slightly during the decade.

For example, a black 25 years of age is expected to live 6 years less than a white of the same age. The difference in 1960 was 5.2 years. On this, Wattenberg and Scammon are silent.

They are also silent on the remaining gap between blacks and whites in infant and maternal mortality. Indeed, both black and white rates fell sharply after World War I, but black maternal mortality has remained about three times the white rate and the black infant mortality rate during the first 28 days is still a shocking 23 per cent.

Wattenberg and Scammon show a sharp increase in black families on welfare. Part of their implication is that this is due to the sharp rise in female-headed households. The sharp rise in AFDC cases at the end of the 1950's is due in part to female-headed households.

More critically, it is due to high rates of unemployment (note the sharp rise especially between 1969 and 1970 during the economic downturn), the high rates of withdrawal of discouraged adult black males from the labor force during that period — a trend which warrants national concern — the demise of unconstitutional and inhumane welfare laws, and the vigorous attempt of public interest groups to get eligible individuals on the rolls.

• • •

My purpose in this note is not to deny that progress has been made. But to cheer progress in a dynamic society where most things are "progressing" borders on banality.

It is really the exceptions and remaining inequalities that are interesting, bothersome and deserving of extra effort.

While it is true that blacks made progress, so did whites, and both benefited from the events of the '60's.

Here at the Joint Center for Political Studies we note that there are nearly 2,600 black elected officials in the United States today. We note blacks being elected where they had never been elected before or since Reconstruction.

Yet blacks remain less than .5 of 1 per cent of all elected officials.

In conclusion, we see very little reason for stretching or for hunting for isolated facts to defend the efforts of the '60's. We have tangible evidence that both races benefited. We also have tangible evidence that the task before us remains immense.

ON THE WATERFRONT — Mrs. Lyndon B. Johnson watches Larry Lee, 14, of Austin, Texas, fish at the Town Lake Park on the Austin waterfront. Mrs. Johnson sponsored a beautification project here that turned what was formerly the "town dump" into a lovely park with a lake stocked with small fish.

What is a BankQuik Station?

A BankQuik Station is an automatic teller that works 24 hours a day, seven days a week.

It's like a bank teller that helps you in a bank except it's outside, attached to the bank.

It can do most of the jobs a regular teller can do, at any hour of the day or night and on weekends, and it's simple to operate. There's no extra charge to use BankQuik. All you need is a Maryland National Master Charge or BankQuik card.

How does BankQuik work?

If you have a MNB Master Charge card, we'll put a magnetic stripe on the back with your Master Charge number, and your MNB savings and checking account numbers too, if you have those accounts with us. (They're invisible to the naked eye, but not to the BankQuik machine.) We then give you your own secret security code number. To use the machine, insert your card, punch in your security code, and simply push the self-explained buttons to make your transaction. You'll get a dated receipt for each transaction. It's safe and it's easy! Just in case you have a question, pick up the BankQuik phone and a friendly voice at BankQuik Control will be there any hour of the day.

NOTE: If you don't have a Master Charge card, apply for one and ask for the special BankQuik magnetic stripe feature to be placed on the back. Or we'll give you a special BankQuik card that's for BankQuik use only—not a credit card.

Why do you need BankQuik?

You can't beat it! If you have a checking or savings account with us, and a Master Charge or BankQuik card, you can do almost all your banking at a BankQuik Station. If you ever need money and banks are closed, or banks are open and you're in a hurry, if you ever want to deposit your paycheck after 5, if you need a small loan, or if you want to make a Master Charge or MNB loan payment—now you can with BankQuik.

Because with BankQuik: you can withdraw cash from your checking or savings account—you can get a Master Charge cash advance—you can make deposits to your checking or savings account—you can pay utility bills—you can make loan payments—you can transfer funds from a savings account to a checking account and vice versa.

Stop by any Maryland National office and apply or call 962-6887 and we'll get you going by mail.

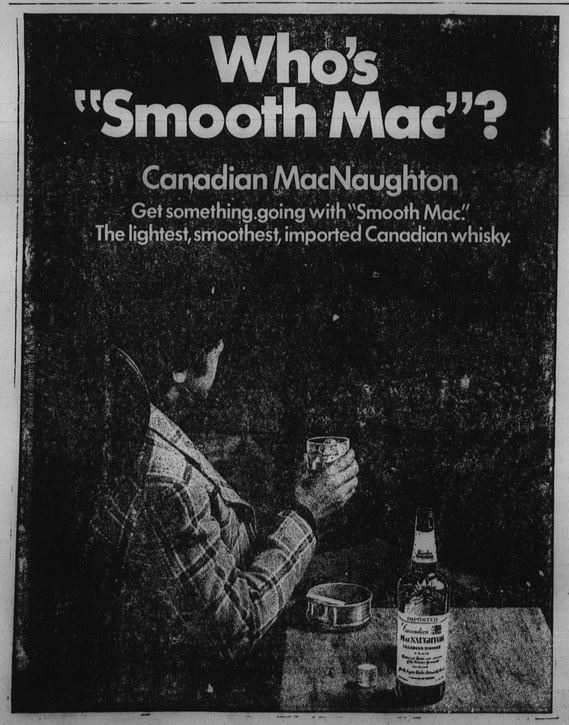
Where do you find BankQuik Stations?

There's one right near you at these offices of Maryland National:

Annapolis—1713 West Street
Catonsville—5301 Baltimore National Pike
Chadwick Manor Shopping Center—7171 Security Boulevard
Cockeysville—Yorktowne Plaza, 9 Cranbrook Road
Columbia—Joseph Square
Eastpoint Shopping Center
Glen Burnie—5 Crain Highway, NE
Loch Raven Boulevard & Taylor Avenue
Lutherville—Heaver Plaza Building, 1301 York Road
Perring Plaza Shopping Center (next to the Cinema)
Perry Hall Shopping Center
Pikesville—Old Court Rd. & Sudbrook Lane
Randallstown—9002 Liberty Road
Reisterstown—11818 Reisterstown Road

Shop Maryland National BankQuik Stations. (Your 24 hour financial department stores)

Member FDIC



PLAY BALL—It's spring again, and time for baseball. Last Saturday marked the opening of the 19th season of the James A. Mosher Little League. A crowd of nearly 1,000 was on hand to witness the inaugural contest which pitted the Indians against the Dodgers.

School board says budget 'not fair share' for kids

By BLAINE TAYLOR

The budget and finance committee of the Baltimore City Board of School Commissioners has stated that the proposed budget for next year "Does not represent a fair share of available funds for the school children of Baltimore."

Stephen W. McNierney, chairman of the committee, claimed "The budget now before the City Council shows a disturbing shift in our city's priorities.

"It will give the education of children the lowest percentage increase in general funds of any major city agency.

"Education is to receive a 7.7 per cent increase, with the next lowest increase at over 10 per cent.

"Public works to receive a 12.7 per cent increase, and the Department of Health just under a 12 per cent increase.

"Further, our analysis shows that the budget now before the Council is already some $3.7 million short of what we require to operate the public schools at the same level as during this current year.

"The budget must not be cut further."

James M. Griffin, board vice president, told the AFRO: "This is happening because the city school system is now predominantly black.

"The city is assuming that informed taxpayers and voters don't care what happens to the system.

"There has been a consistent decrease in the city's committment to the schools in comparison with other city agencies in the distribution of money.

"The board is committed to working with other concerned organizations to work on the City Council to [illegible]

Adding to Mr. Griffin's remarks, Commissioner Larry S. Gibson commented, "The two top financial priorities are the City Jail and the Police Department, with education at the bottom."

Stated Commissioner Mrs. Elizabeth Murphy Moss, "We can't be expected to work miracles.

"We're in a depression as we're short of funds to do even the basic things in our schools.

"Are we going to shut the buildings down for two days in order to save money?"

Referring to the board's budget and finance committee, Mrs. Moss said "For the first time you see here a demonstration of financial committment.

"The committee has worked long and arduously on the budget, but still asked only for needed funds."

According to Commissioner Kalman R. "Buzzy" Hettleman, "The city's Department of Budget and Finance is playing politics with this budget and special education for Baltimore's handicapped children is suffering.

"The city is saying that the state should make up our deficits, and the state is saying the city should do it."

Responding to a reporter's question about suing the city to live up to its obligations to give handicapped children a decent education, Hettleman said "You're 100 per cent right.

"The city ought to sue the state, and, if that fails, then parents ought to sue both the city and the state."

Present throughout the early morning press conference in the board room of the 25th St. school headquarters was Dr. Roland N. Patterson, city school superintendent.

ARMY ANNOUNCES $2500 ENLISTMENT BONUS.

That's on top of the Army's new starting salary of $307 a month.

You must be a high school graduate, enlist for either Armor, Artillery, Infantry or a special skill area like Radio Teletype or Missile Repair, and successfully complete your Basic and Advanced Individual Training.

Your local Army Representative has a complete list of bonus jobs and qualifications. Today's Army wants to join you.

This offer may change or be discontinued at any time depending on Army manpower requirements.

US Army Recruiting Station
26 South Howard Street
Baltimore, Md. 21215
Phone 962-2926/2927

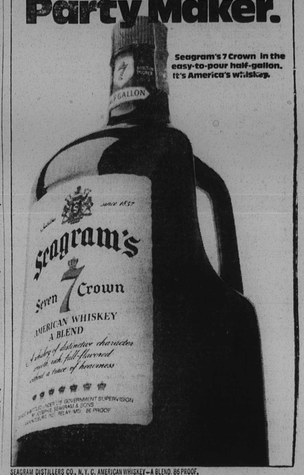
US Army Recruiting Station
Room 1002
(Lower Concourse)
Baltimore, Md. 21215
Phone 523-4431, 669-1181

WEACO
WINDOW & DOOR GUARDS
Brighton Protection Devices Approved
Commercial
Residential
Industrial
WEACO
467-1354
2142 HARFORD RD.
If No Answer Call 433-8425

L & D CANDLE SHOP
2326 E. MONUMENT ST. 276-4615
Largest Selection Religious Candles In City.
• DREAM BOOKS • ROOTS • HERBS
• NUMEROLOGY GUIDES • INCENSE
• BODY OILS • RELIGIOUS SPRAYS

America's favorite Party Maker.

Seagram's 7 Crown in the easy-to-pour half-gallon. It's America's whiskey.



SEAGRAM DISTILLERS CO., N.Y.C. AMERICAN WHISKEY—A BLEND. 86 PROOF.

Do you have a mortgage on your house?

Then your family should be protected against the possibility of your not being around to complete the payments. We can provide that family security with our Mortgage Cancellation Plan. If something should happen to you, it guarantees the cash to pay your mortgage in full. Or our plan can be used to establish a permanent addition to your life insurance when the mortgage is paid off. For all the details, contact me:

RUDY TYRELL
Clark & Bullock Agency
100 W. Saratoga St.
539-2508

John Hancock Life Insurance

You've only just begun.

It isn't easy getting started. You have new responsibilities now—and new banking needs.

And that's where we can help out. With different kinds of checking accounts. And savings accounts. And loans.

Of course we offer conveniences, too. Like our 24 Hour Teller that lets you bank night and day.

Equitable can help out in more ways than one. So come see us. Or give us a call.

Equitable Trust Bank. It's the place to come when you've got a long way to go.

Equitable Trust Bank

You've got a long way to go. We'd like to help you get there.

Drive home on this deal

Gulf® Radial

Tubeless—Rayon Cord Body—Rayon Cord Belts—Load Range B—Reversible Single White/Black Sidewalls.

$39.95* MINI

SIZE	F.E.T.
AR 78-13	$1.91
AR 78-15	2.05
BR 78-15	2.10

SIZE	SUGGESTED RETAIL TRADE-IN PRICE*	F.E.T.
ER 70-14, FR 70-14, FR 70-15	$45.95	$2.76, 2.88, 2.94
GR 70-14, HR 70-14, GR 70-15, HR 70-15	$50.95	$3.06, 3.33, 3.08, 3.33
JR 70-15, LR 70-15	$55.95	$3.50, 3.70

New 4-Ply Polyester Cord Gulf® Crown® 78

Tubeless—Load Range B. Black Sidewalls.

$23.95*

SIZE	F.E.T.
E78-14	$2.22
F78-14	2.32
F78-15	2.42

SIZE	Suggested Retail Trade-In Price*	F.E.T.
G78-14, H78-14, G78-15, H78-15	$27.95	$2.53, 2.75, 2.60, 2.80

Whitewalls $3.00* More. Sizes J78-15, L78-15 $34.95 Plus $3.01-3.13 F.E.T.

Gulf Cruisemaster R/B

Tubeless—Rayon Cord Body—Rayon Cord Belts—Load Range B—Reversible Single White/Black Sidewalls.

$29.95* MINI

SIZE	F.E.T.
G78-14	$2.11

SIZE	Suggested Retail Trade-In Price*	F.E.T.
E78-14, F78-14, F78-15	$34.95	$2.31, 2.50, 2.54
G78-14, H78-14, G78-15, H78-15	$38.95	$2.67, 2.94, 2.73, 2.96
J78-14, J78-15, L78-15	$42.95	$3.02, 3.12, 3.31

Gulf® Heavy Duty Shock Absorbers.

Guaranteed for the life of your car.

GULF SHOCK ABSORBER WARRANTY POLICY: Any Gulf Heavy Duty or Rear Overload Shock Absorber which fails for any reason other than misuse, will be replaced without charge, except for the cost of replacement labor, to the original purchaser thereof, while he owns the car on which it was installed. This offer applies only where either a full set of four Gulf Heavy Duty Shock Absorbers, or two Gulf Heavy Duty and two Gulf Rear Overload Shock Absorbers are installed on the same vehicle.

Gulf

The Tire Store that's there when you need it.

*Suggested retail trade-in price at participating dealers.

GULF OIL CORPORATION