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FOCUS

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Scholarship, Research, and Black Political Empowerment

Eddie N. Williams Urges Scholars and Researchers to Participate in the Public Policy Development Process

The Glow of the Rainbow

While Jesse Jackson Continues to Stun the Nation With His 1988 Primary Victories, the Question Remains Whether He Can Win the Democratic Nomination

Black Youth Face an Uncertain Jobs Future

Growing Racial Disparities in Employment Signal Need for Policy Changes

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Perspective

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Scholarship, Research, and Black Political Empowerment

by Eddie N. Williams

Editor's note: This month's "Perspective" was adapted from an address by the president at the 19th annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in Washington, D.C., on March 25, 1988.

Scholars and researchers at the Joint Center share concerns about the well-being of black Americans and about the role that blacks play in the governance of our society. We must consider how and to what extent we might cooperate in addressing these concerns.

An appropriate place to start is with the current presidential election and the candidacy of Jesse Jackson. Clearly, Jackson's bid for the presidency has captured the attention of most Americans. We are seized by the candidacy to an even greater extent than we were four years ago, and perhaps more than by any other political event in recent years.

It is appropriate that the Jackson candidacy should command our attention because it is, in many respects, a rich metaphor for black political life today. It reflects the extent of our aspirations to participate fully in the governance of the country; it demonstrates the enormous political resources we are able to command; it shows once more the substantive depth and tactical brilliance of which we are capable; and it painfully illustrates the barriers we face in being accepted as full and equal participants in the political arena, and in other areas as well.

Few among us would have predicted six months ago that a black presidential candidate would have achieved the success Mr. Jackson has achieved at this point in the campaign for the Democratic party's nomination. Well past the half-way mark toward the convention, Jackson is virtually tied for first place in popular votes and delegate strength; and he towers above the rest of the field in performance as a candidate. What is even more remarkable is that no one in recent American politics has come close to Jesse Jackson in accomplishing so much with so little money.

But the success of the Jackson candidacy is severely constrained by the reality of race. Despite the outstanding performance of the candidate, despite his massive support among blacks and his growing support among whites, and despite his reasoned and timely set of issues, the Jackson candidacy is given virtually no chance of success. Dismissing the legitimacy of the candidacy or any thought of its success, the media, many analysts, and much of the public keep asking: "What does Jackson *really* want?"

The continuing dilemma of black political participation in the face of formidable racial barriers is one of those issues that concerns all of us. Our frustration with these barriers is not lessened by the fact that they are now primarily attitudinal rather than structural. They are still barriers, and in many ways they are more effective than structural barriers. These barriers exist not only for the presidency, but they are operative at every level of the political system. They explain why the number of blacks serving in the House of Representatives has not grown much faster; why the Senate remains all white; and why there are no black families in governors' mansions. They explain why outstanding

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black elected officials so quickly reach political dead ends instead of moving on to new and higher levels of public service or into lucrative corporate positions.

For years, the Joint Center has chronicled the growth in the number of blacks elected to public office, and we have watched with pleasure as the numbers have grown. But we are conscious of the demographic and attitudinal factors that restrict both the extent and the rate of their future growth. We have attempted to explore some of the ways in which black politicians might overcome some of these barriers to wider participation. Our most recent effort is a forthcoming book on the two gubernatorial campaigns of Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley. That study [*Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategy*] examines how race affected the outcome of the Bradley campaigns and how black candidates might be able to reduce the handicap of racial prejudice in multiracial or predominantly white jurisdictions.

Shaping a National Policy Agenda

While racial barriers constitute one formidable challenge to black America, an equally formidable challenge is that of shaping the nation's policy agenda. One of the most remarkable features of the presidential race to date is that, except for Jesse Jackson, the candidates have few new or compelling ideas and only a limited vision of what it takes to meet the nation's most pressing future needs.

Black Americans have both an urgent need and an obligation to focus our energies on the development of a national policy agenda for the years ahead. The world is changing, this country is changing, and our future may very well depend on our ability to seize the opportunities that these times present. The era of confrontation with communism appears to be rapidly coming to an end. That confrontation provided the foundation for United States foreign policy—for its preoccupation with Western Europe and its inattention to the Third World except where anticommunism was involved. As the nation gropes uneasily for direction in the new era, we need to help bring the Third World to the nation's attention, not only as a theatre of need, but as potential trading partners in the future.

The U.S. is now a declining force in international economic affairs as its trade deficit mounts and its competitive capability erodes. Our well-being as a society requires us to participate in thoughtful, substantive deliberations on revitalizing the national economy in ways that promise to improve the quality of life for blacks as well as other Americans. It is also appropriate that we contribute to the debate over economic policy because blacks have been the most persistent dissenters from the economic policies of the Reagan administration. The society is faced with a rapidly growing array of human and social problems, some relatively new, to which we have been largely unresponsive. The virtual collapse of some portions of our system of public education, the rapid rise of the homeless and the marginally housed, and the epidemic of drug abuse are only a few of the most obvious of these problems. Blacks, as usual, are a disproportionately large percentage of those afflicted. Clearly, the nation's continued neglect of these problems will quickly destroy any hope that the black population will enter the 21st century better off than it is today.

The Role of Scholars and Research

Where do we fit into the picture? How can black scholars and the Joint Center, as the leading research institution concerned with these issues, play a role in meeting the formidable challenge before us? There should be no illusions about the complexity and enormity of the task. There are no simple, quick means available for remaking this society. However, without our deep commitment to play a prominent role in the public policy arena, little will be accomplished that will benefit the black community.

For too long, many of us have settled for easy denunciations of the "system." We have stressed the obstacles we face instead of the possibilities we could exploit. This posture is now unacceptable. For one thing, a large number of us are now in *the system.* Moreover, our institutions are vital parts of the meager resources available to the black community, and we have an obligation to use them fully and effectively. The same is true of each one of us as individuals.

> ***For too long, we have stressed the obstacles we face instead of the possibilities we could exploit.***

At the Joint Center, we are committed to making every effort to influence what the nation does, especially in those areas that directly affect black people. We consider it to be our mission to help enhance the capacity of blacks and other minorities to define, articulate, and otherwise pursue their interests in a competitive and sometimes hostile policymaking environment. We believe that this becomes increasingly important as we face a future in which progress will depend not on the resurrection of a sixties-style civil rights movement, but on the development of sensitive and timely policies and the broad-based support to implement those policies.

This is almost certainly what W. E. B. DuBois had in mind when he observed that when litigation and confrontation had been used to their fullest, a new approach to the pursuit of racial justice would emerge. "A highly trained cadre of blacks," DuBois wrote, "would be required. . . to use their knowledge and skills in the social sciences—in economics, in social policy, in public administration, and in political theory and practice—as instruments, indeed as weapons in the ongoing, more difficult struggle for social justice." ■

The Glow of the Rainbow

While Jesse Jackson Continues to Stun the Nation With His 1988 Primary Victories, the Question Remains Whether He Can Win the Democratic Nomination

by Dr. Linda F. Williams

A phenomenon of American politics is taking place in 1988. At rallies in rural towns and urban centers across the country, from Maine to Alaska, from Wisconsin to Texas, thousands of voters—white, black, and Hispanic blue-collar workers, farmers, college students, peace activists, the elderly, the unemployed, and others—are turning out in increasingly large numbers to hear the message of Democratic presidential candidate Jesse Louis Jackson. But unlike 1984, when Jackson's campaign generated interest but few votes, this year's effort is producing where it counts the most—at the polls.

What a difference four years make! While Jackson declared in 1984 that he would mobilize the support of the historically dispossessed in a "rainbow coalition" of blacks, Hispanics, Asians, women, young people, lower-income whites, and activists from liberal causes, that coalition barely blossomed. Today, however, the rainbow glows brightly.

Indeed, while Jackson was a distant third from the start to the finish of the 1984 Democratic nomination contest, the 1988 results have been surprisingly different. With three-fourths of the Democratic primary season complete, Jackson has stunned party officials, political analysts, long-term critics, and many supporters by running a close second in both the race for the popular vote and convention delegates. (According to the Associated Press, as of April 11, Michael Dukakis led Jackson by 79,305 popular votes, 3,575,964 [27.9 percent] to 3,496,659 [27.3 percent] and by 37 delegate votes, 744.55 to 707.55.)

Unlike four years ago, when Jackson won only the state of Louisiana and placed second in 1 state (Maryland), this year he has already won the plurality of the vote in 8 states: Louisiana, Virginia, Georgia, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Alaska, and Michigan. He has also finished second in 15 (see table 1, page 2, *TrendLetter*). In addition, Jackson has won primaries in the territories of Puerto Rico and the Virgin Islands.

Now, as the nominating contest moves to the delegate-rich states of New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, the campaign begins to take on a new focus. The question from some journalists, pundits, and voters is not so much "What does Jesse *really* want?, as it was in 1984 and the early part of this year's campaign, but instead it is "Is there a *stop* Jesse plan?" or "Can Jesse win in November?"

This article assesses the turnaround for Jackson in 1988 compared to 1984, looking first at his successes in the already completed primaries. It also analyzes the growth of Jackson's "rainbow support," identifying key factors behind that growth. Finally, it examines what would have to occur in the last set of primaries (starting with New York) for Jackson to go into the convention as the front-runner for the party nomination.

Expanding the Rainbow

Although the 1988 presidential nomination contest has been a year of surprises in both the Democratic and Republican parties, few events have been as astonishing as the results of Jesse Jackson's campaign. Two key factors explain Jackson's success so far: (1) nearly unanimous support from black voters, especially in southern states; and (2) the expansion of white support for Jackson.

The continuance of black voters as Jackson's most loyal base of support and their impact on his victories in the South were certainly expected. Six of the states carried by Jackson on March 8, Super Tuesday, have black populations which range from about one out of every five to one out of every three persons of voting age in the state, and blacks comprised an even larger share of the Democratic primary and caucus electorate in these six states—from 28 percent in North Carolina to 44 percent in Alabama and Mississippi.

What was unexpected, however, were results in several of the Super Tuesday states where Jackson came in second (particularly, Florida, Massachusetts, Missouri, Rhode Island, and Texas—all states with less than 12 percent black voting-age populations). Jackson's vote totals in these states were swelled by an expanding base of non-black support (table 2, page 3, *TrendLetter*). Overall, Jackson won 7 percent of the white vote in the South, according to CBS/*New York Times* exit poll data, and did much better in some other Super Tuesday states, such as Massachusetts and Virginia, than he did in 1984.

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Dr. Williams is associate director of research at the Joint Center for Political Studies.

April 1988

JCPS

POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

Inside This Issue

- **Data reveal that economic disparities between blacks and whites have increased since the 1968 Kerner Report.**
- **Breakdown of primary and caucus results to date, and profiles of Jesse Jackson's white support.**
- **Across the Nation: Civil rights advocates win voting rights case; Phillips loses bid for congressional seat in Louisiana; blacks run for Congress in Vermont and Virginia.**

Looking Backward: The Kerner Commission Report Revisited

The late 1960s saw major American urban centers engulfed in riots. Racial tensions were at an all time high, and as the plight of the nation's blacks was exposed, the United States faced international embarrassment. Midway through the long hot summer of 1967, in response to the escalating turmoil, President **LYNDON JOHNSON** formed the Commission on Civil Disorders and named **OTTO KERNER**, then governor of Illinois, as its chair. The commission's primary purpose was to investigate the causes of urban rebellions and recommend solutions. In its report, released in March 1968, the commission identified "white racism" as the chief cause of the disparities between the races and issued a dire warning: the nation was "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The assassination of **Dr. MARTIN LUTHER KING, JR.**, shortly after the report was issued, only reinforced the commission's conclusion.

Although a host of programs like those already underway in Johnson's Great Society were recommended by the commission to solve problems of inadequate housing, education, and unemployment, the main recommendation was national action aimed at producing a major goal: "a true union—a single society and a single American identity."

This edition of *TrendLetter* briefly addresses how blacks and whites have fared in the areas of economic well-being and political participation in the 20 years since the Kerner report was issued.

Recent data evaluating disparities in the living conditions of blacks and whites reveal that the two races remain as divided as ever along socioeconomic lines. For example, the median family income of blacks was only 60 percent that of whites in 1968 but in 1986 it had slipped even lower—to 57 percent. The rate of black unemployment, which had generally been twice the rate of white unemployment since World War II, had risen to 2.7 times that of whites as of March 1988. Furthermore, blacks were three times more likely than whites to live in poverty in 1986. And in the business sector, which the Johnson administration identified as an integral part of its attempt to improve black living conditions, blacks still generated only a small fraction of national production. **For example, in 1986 the total revenues from the combined sales of the 100 largest black-owned businesses were roughly the same as those for the 256th company on *Fortune* magazine's list of America's 500 biggest companies, according to the National Urban League.** However, while the living standards of the majority of blacks have deteriorated significantly, some blacks have prospered since 1968. As sociologist **WILLIAM J. WILSON** points out, there are three different black Americas: "...a black middle class that has experienced gradual progress,...a black working class that has had difficulty holding its economic position because it's been vulnerable to deindustrialization,...and a black underclass that is slipping further and further behind the rest of society."

Today, the proportion of whites with incomes over $50,000 is almost 2½ times that of blacks, and the proportion of blacks with incomes less than $5,000 is twice that of whites. In short, both the number of blacks living in poverty and the number of blacks who are affluent have increased, but the ranks of the black working class are gradually decreasing—indicating a progressive trend toward class polarization in black America.

The situation for blacks is more positive in the area of political participation than it is on the economic front. Over the last 20 years, gaps in black-white voter registration and turnout rates nationwide have narrowed considerably. In 1968, the racial gap in voter registration was 9 percentage points, and the gap in voter turnout was 12 percentage points. But by 1986, according to U.S. Census Bureau statistics, the gap in voter registration had narrowed to 1 percentage point, and the gap in turnout had narrowed to 4 percentage points.

The growth in black voter participation has directly resulted in a substantial increase (by 4½ times) in the number of black elected officials (BEOs), from 1,469 in 1970 to 6,681 in 1987. Still, it is important to keep this progress in perspective. Blacks constitute only 1.4 percent of the total number of elected office holders in the nation, and the rate of growth among BEOs has slowed considerably since 1976. **One of the reasons for this slower growth is that blacks with political aspirations have begun to saturate the majority-black jurisdictions, but they still have a difficult time winning in places where the majority of the electorate is white.** According to the 1987 JCPS/Gallup survey, the higher the office, the less likely whites are inclined to vote for a well-qualified black candidate. Only 3 percent of whites said they would refuse to vote for a black for the school board, but 8 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for governor, 10 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for vice president, and 18 percent said they would refuse to vote for a black for president. Fifty-five percent of whites said that in a contest between a black and a white candidate for mayor of their city, they would vote for the white candidate based on race regardless of qualifications.

Blacks participated to a lesser degree in other forms of political activity such as lobbying, contributing to campaigns, and volunteering to work in campaigns. Less data are available to measure participation in these areas, but the JCPS/Gallup survey asked black and white respondents about their political involvement in activities other than voting and running for office. Respondents were asked if, in the last three years, they had talked to people about why they should vote for a certain candidate; attended a political meeting, rally, or dinner; contributed money to a political campaign; participated in a protest, march, or demonstration; lobbied a public official about a particular issue; or belonged to a political club, civil rights organization, or women's rights organization. **Slightly less than half of blacks (45 percent) and slightly more than half of whites (56 percent) had participated in any of these political activities. Whites were more likely to have participated in each form of activity except membership in civil rights or women's rights organization. The biggest racial gap was in lobbying. Only 11 percent of blacks reported that they had called or written to a public official about an issue, compared to 30 percent of whites.** Nine percent fewer blacks than whites reported that they had talked to people about why they should vote for a candidate, and 8 percent fewer blacks than whites reported that they had contributed money to a political campaign. Responses with respect to the other activities, however, demonstrated gaps of only 3 percentage points or less.

The data are clear on one central point: as far as the economical and political life of the nation is concerned, much remains to be changed before blacks and whites indeed become, in the words of the Kerner Commission, "one union."

Jackson: First or Second in 27 States

Thus far in the 1988 primary season, **JESSE JACKSON** has racked up 707.55 delegate and 3,575,964 popular votes (as of April 11), according to Associated Press tabulations. The following is a state-by-state breakdown of the percentages of votes won by each of the Democratic presidential candidates.

Table 1. Voting Percentages Received by Democratic Candidates in 1988 Primary and Caucus Elections, by State

	Date	Dukakis	Gephardt	Gore	Jackson	Simon	Other*
Iowa	Feb. 8	22%	**31%**	1%	9%	*27%*	10%
New Hampshire	Feb. 16	**36**	*20*	7	8	17	15
Minnesota	Feb. 23	**34**	7	1	*20*	18	19
South Dakota	Feb. 23	*31*	**44**	8	5	6	1
Maine	Feb. 28	**42**	3	1	*28*	4	22
Vermont	Mar. 1	**57**	6	0	*26*	5	0
Wyoming	Mar. 5	*26*	23	**27**	13	3	8
Alabama	Mar. 8	8	8	*37*	**44**	1	2
Arkansas	Mar. 8	*19*	12	**37**	17	2	13
Florida	Mar. 8	**41**	14	13	*20*	2	10
Georgia	Mar. 8	16	7	*32*	**40**	1	4
Hawaii	Mar. 8	**55**	2	1	*35*	1	6
Idaho	Mar. 8	**38**	1	8	*22*	7	24
Kentucky	Mar. 8	*19*	9	**46**	16	3	7
Louisiana	Mar. 8	15	11	*28*	**35**	1	7
Maryland	Mar. 8	**46**	8	9	*29*	3	5
Massachusetts	Mar. 8	**59**	10	5	*19*	1	6
Mississippi	Mar. 8	9	6	*34*	**44**	1	6
Missouri	Mar. 8	12	**58**	3	*20*	4	3
Nevada	Mar. 8	*26*	2	**30**	23	1	18
North Carolina	Mar. 8	20	6	**35**	*33*	1	5
Oklahoma	Mar. 8	17	*21*	**41**	13	2	6

Table 1, continued

	Date	Dukakis	Gephardt	Gore	Jackson	Simon	Other*
Rhode Island	Mar. 8	**70**	4	4	*16*	3	3
Tennessee	Mar. 8	3	2	**72**	*21*	1	1
Texas**	Mar. 8	**32****	14	20	*25***	2	7
Virginia	Mar. 8	22	5	*23*	**45**	2	3
Washington	Mar. 8	**44**	1	2	*35*	4	14
Amer. Samoa	Mar. 8	**39**	*22*	0	6	0	33
Alaska	Mar. 10	*31*	1	2	**35**	1	30
South Carolina	Mar. 12	6	2	*17*	**55**	*	20
North Dakota	Mar. 13	*31*	**44**	8	5	6	1
Illinois	Mar. 15	17	2	5	*31*	**43**	2
Kansas	Mar. 19	**36**	2	16	*31*	0	15
Puerto Rico	Mar. 20	*26*	3	17	**32**	21	1
Michigan	Mar. 26	*29*	13	1	**53**	5	0
Connecticut	Mar. 29	**58**	—	8	*28*	1	4
Colorado	Apr. 4	**43**	—	3	*35*	—	19
Wisconsin	Apr. 5	**48**	1	18	*28*	5	—

*Includes other candidates and uncommitted.
**Texas uses a hybrid primary-caucus system. The March 8 primary determined the allocation of 119 district-level delegates, while the results of a three-tiered caucus process that began with precinct caucuses on March 8 and will culminate with the state convention June 17-18 will determine the allocation of the 64 statewide delegate slots. At this writing, although Jackson trailed Dukakis in the March 8 primary, he now leads Dukakis by approximately 67 delegates to 62 delegates based on the results of the precinct caucuses.

Bold indicates winner. *Italic indicates second place finisher.* — indicates candidate received less than 0.5 percent.

Source: Associated Press

Younger, Better Educated Whites Support Jackson

Table 2. Demographic Profile of the White Vote for Jackson*

	Iowa	New Hampshire	Southern Regional
Total	11%	8%	7%
Sex			
Men	11	7	8
Women	12	9	6
Age			
Under 29 years old	14	10	9
30-44 years old	17	10	10
45-59 years old	8	8	7
60+ years old	4	4	4
Union Membership			
Union household	11	6	6
Not a union household	12	9	8
Political Philosophy			
Liberal	17	13	14
Moderate	8	6	6
Conservative	10	3	5
Agriculture dependent	9	NA**	5
Not agric. dependent	13	NA**	9
Education			
H.S. Grad or Less	8	3	2
Some College	13	8	5
College Grad.	11	11	11
Post-Grad.	15	13	17
Income			
Less than $12,500	15	8	7
$12,500-24,999	8	9	10
$25,000-34,999	15	7	9
$35,000-49,999	12	7	7
$50,000 +	8	12	6

*These are the most recent data available, as of April 15, 1988.
**Not applicable
Source: CBS/*New York Times* entrance poll in Iowa and exit polls in New Hampshire and Southern Regional

Across the Nation

CALIFORNIA: **WILLIE BROWN,** the first black speaker of the California assembly, entered the state's record books on March 7 by holding the office of speaker longer than any of his predecessors. Brown, who is also the national chairman of the Jesse Jackson presidential campaign, was selected as speaker in 1980 and filed for reelection in March to seek his 13th term as assemblyman from the 17th district (San Francisco). He attributes his longevity to his ability to "share every aspect of the speakership with all other members" according to the *Sun Reporter*, a black newsweekly. **In 1982, he broke all previous campaign fund-raising records in the state by raising $2.3 million and personally distributing large campaign contributions to 41 Democratic candidates for the assembly, further solidifying his control over that body.** Brown points to the passage of California's most comprehensive educational reform and financing legislation in the past 20 years, as well as a health care cost containment package, as prime examples of his leadership ability.

The question is, why has Brown, with his statewide political clout, not moved up to higher office? Black politicos nationally have long been concerned that blacks in local and state legislative posts rarely have the opportunity to move up to higher offices. But Brown says that for the present, this is not a problem for him. He reports that he is not interested in election to governor, senator, president, or any position other than speaker. "This is probably one of the best jobs in the country," Brown says. Odds are he will keep it.

ILLINOIS: As far as Chicagoans are concerned, the big news story last month may not have been the number of delegates state native sons Jesse Jackson and Sen. **PAUL SIMON** won in the March 15 Illinois Democratic primary. **Instead, the big election news items in the "Windy City" were the defeats of four of Mayor EUGENE SAWYER'S political allies in the their races for Cook County Democratic Committee member (the post of committeeman is a party position and carries no formal public responsibilities) and the loss of former Mayor JANE BYRNE to AURELIA M. PUCINSKI in the race for clerk of the Circuit Court of Cook County.** Black voters figured heavily in both results—defeating staunch Sawyer supporters in key black wards and giving Byrne less than 20 percent of their votes. The biggest election upset of the day was the defeat of 24th Ward Alderman **WILLIAM HENRY** as Cook County Democratic committeeman. Henry was trounced by **JESSE MILLER**, executive director of the Lawndale People's Planning and Action Council, who had turned his bitter contest with Henry into a referendum on Sawyer. Henry, the chief architect of Sawyer's December mayoral election by the city council to succeed the late Harold Washington, retains his post as alderman. Other aldermen who were defeated in their bids to become Democratic committeemen were **MARLENE CARTER** (15th) and **WILLIAM BEAVERS** (7th).

Alderman TIMOTHY EVANS (4th), Sawyer's chief opponent in the special December mayoral election and a likely contender for mayor three years from now, was a major beneficiary of the March election. Sawyer put on the best face possible in these defeats but admitted, "It shows I've got a lot of work to do." Meanwhile, professor **ROBERT STARKS**, a political pundit from Northwestern University, reports that some Chicago politicians and activists have begun to worry about whether blacks are becoming so divided by the Evans-Sawyer rivalry, that no black will win the 1991 mayoral election.

LOUISIANA: **JUNE PHILLIPS**, an administrator at Southern University, lost her long-shot congressional election bid on March 8 in a special election to fill the 4th Congressional District seat vacated by newly elected Democratic Gov. **BUDDY ROEMER**. Phillips, the only black and only woman in the seven-candidate race, came in fourth. Her only hope for making the runoff in this 28 percent black district was to secure at least 90 percent of the black vote. **She had calculated that Jesse Jackson would generate a high turnout of black voters at the polls and that she would be able to ride into a runoff election on Jackson's coattails. But while Jackson won 29 percent of the total vote in the district in the state's primary held on the same day, Phillips won only 13 percent of the total vote.** The black votes in the district were shared by a number of the other candidates, who were able to slice off portions of it for themselves. Still, Phillips made a stronger showing than was indicated in opinion surveys, where 5 percent of the respondents said they would vote for her.

In other state news, a civil rights victory for local activists was handed down by the U.S. Fifth Circuit Court of Appeals, which ruled in *Chisholm v Edwards* that the Voting Rights Act may be used to ensure that minority voting strength is not diluted in Louisiana judicial elections. The unanimous ruling, issued on February 29, which overturned an adverse lower court decision against a group of black plaintiffs led by the Louisiana Voter Registration/Education Crusade has national implications and may have an impact on similar cases in other states. The Crusade's suit contended that the multi-member district system for electing two of the Louisiana Supreme Court justices violates Section 2 of the Voting Rights Act by diluting the voting strength of the black majority in New Orleans. **MARC MORIAL**, general counsel of the Crusade and the son of former New Orleans Mayor **ERNEST "DUTCH" MORIAL**, declared that "The Court of Appeals decision is an important victory in breaking down invidious barriers to the selection of black judges in Louisiana." The state, whose voting-age population is 27 percent black, has never had a black justice on the seven-person Louisiana State Supreme Court.

MARYLAND: **CLAYTON GREENE, JR.**, has become the first black judge in Anne Arundel County. Greene, the county deputy public defender and a former assistant county attorney, was named by Gov. **WILLIAM DONALD SCHAEFER** to the county's six-judge district court after the seat became vacant as a result of the death of Judge **MARTHA WYATT** last December. Black leaders in the county, which is 12 percent black, lobbied the governor heavily to name a black jurist to the post. Greene's nomination was confirmed by the Maryland senate on March 25.

In other judicial news in the state, the Maryland Senate Judicial Proceedings Committee rejected a Schaefer-backed constitutional amendment that would have ended a century-old system of contested elections for circuit court judges in favor of a system where judges would be appointed. A loose coalition of black and rural white lawmakers combined forces to reject the measure, arguing that competitive elections force judges to be accountable to the public and help racial and political minorities gain representation on the bench. Ten of the state's 109 circuit court judges are black.

VERMONT: **DOLORES SANDOVAL**, 50, a black professor at the University of Vermont is running for election to Congress. **Sandoval, a Democrat, is going after Vermont's at-large seat in the U.S. House of Representatives, which now belongs to seven- term Republican Congressman JAMES JEFFORDS, who is campaigning for the Senate. The state's senior senator, ROBERT STAFFORD, who is also a Republican, is retiring.** Although Vermont's voting-age population is less than 0.5 percent black, Sandoval is encouraged by the fact that 26 percent of the Vermont electorate voted for Jesse Jackson in the state's "beauty contest" primary on March 1. "Vermont is a state of free thinkers, where there is a tolerance for individuality," says Sandoval. She believes that the voters in the state will consider her merits and not her skin color. A former administrator of the University of Vermont, Sandoval is the only woman in the campaign. **She says her strength is in foreign policy since she has lived abroad in Europe, Africa, and Central America and has taught Third World studies for more than 6 years. Having lived and taught in the state for 17 years, Sandoval says she knows the needs of Vermonters.**

Three white male candidates are opposing Sandoval for the Democratic nomination. Three Republicans and two independents, including socialist Mayor Bernie Sanders of Burlington, are also running. The primary date is September 13.

The Glow of the Rainbow

(Continued from page 4)

Before Super Tuesday, Jackson had demonstrated that he had substantial white support in 1988, compared to 1984. In the Iowa and Minnesota caucuses and the New Hampshire, Maine, and Vermont primaries, his share of the vote grew steadily—all in states where blacks make up 1 percent or less of the total voting-age population. In short, this additional support had to come overwhelmingly from whites. In Maine, for example, Jackson won only 1 percent of the vote in 1984, but tallied 28 percent of the vote this year.

The Michigan caucuses resulted in the biggest surprise to date: Jackson won overwhelmingly with 55 percent of the vote. And in Connecticut, he came in second with 29 percent of the vote. In Wisconsin and Colorado, Jackson also did exceptionally well—coming in second in both states with over 35 percent of the vote. Both states have black voting-age populations of less than 4 percent. He may do even better with white voters in the upcoming contests in New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio—states with large urban centers and numerous liberal and college educated whites.

Before the primary and caucus season began, few observers would have believed that any *black* contender for the Democratic nomination could do so well among white voters. Thus, unlike 1984, it can no longer be said that the single hue in Jesse Jackson's rainbow coalition is "basic black." While he still has won only a small minority of the white vote in many states that have held their delegate selection contests thus far, Jackson, nevertheless, not only has doubled the proportion of the white vote that he received in 1984, but he won more of the white vote on Super Tuesday than all of his competitors combined won of the black vote.

Analyzing Jackson's Success

A variety of factors (listed below) must be considered in explaining Jackson's higher level of support from non-blacks (especially whites) in 1988 compared to 1984. Which of these factors is most important in attracting "rainbow" support is difficult to ascertain, but one can be fairly certain that all are important in accounting for Jackson's success in winning the support of more whites.

A Broader Issue Agenda. Many observers believe that Jackson has placed less emphasis on some of his key campaign issues of 1984. For example, in 1984, he spoke often about the need "to renegotiate the contract between blacks and the Democratic party" and the need to eliminate the runoff primary in the South; he highlighted why affirmative action programs were necessary, as well as minority business set-aside programs; and he practically forced the issue of sanctions against the regime of South Africa into the Democratic presidential debates. All of these were issues which blacks expressed substantially more interest in than did other groups.

But the issue agenda he was best known for in 1984 has, in fact, changed dramatically this year. Jackson is now seen as the candidate who seeks to place a moratorium on farm foreclosures; produce more corporate taxes to pay for social programs; invest billions of dollars in low-income housing and research and development projects; reduce the role of the military and the threat of military force as a tool of foreign policy; double the federal education budget for better quality public schools; push universal health and day-care; produce a vigorous war against drug abuse; and to increase the minimum wage. Certainly, these are all issues which blacks have a vested interest in, but they are rarely considered to be simply "black" issues. To some observers, this means Jackson has "mainstreamed" his approach in an attempt to broaden his support; if so, this strategy appears to be working.

Organization. Jackson's success can also be traced to a much better organized campaign. His announcement to run for the 1988 nomination, which came much earlier than in 1984, allowed more time for a national and local campaign strategy to be established.

Moreover, now he has a genuinely rainbow staff and a rainbow team of advisors who are helping him shape his message, recruit volunteers among whites, and seek votes from a broader constituency. Nevertheless, much of the work in turning out voters is being performed by the local rainbow organizations that were established in states such as Alabama and Georgia in 1984. These organizations, which also played a part in the 1986 Democratic Senate victories in the South, should get a great share of the credit for mobilizing Jackson voters in 1988.

Increased Campaign Finances. Rather than relying as heavily on small fund-raisers in black churches and throughout black communities as it did in 1984, the Jackson campaign has built a technologically sophisticated fund-raising operation based on mail and telephone solicitations. In February alone, campaign staffers reported that Jackson raised $400,000 from direct mail solicitations aimed mainly at liberal whites. By the end of February, the campaign had raised $3.6 million. And while this total is still much less than the funds raised by other Democratic candidates, it now seems apparent that Jackson will raise much more than the $6 million he raised in 1984.

More Endorsements. Jackson is undoubtedly helped by a more expansive list of endorsers in 1988. He has won the support of a larger number of black leaders, as well as ranking white Democratic party leaders and elected officials. This list includes Jim Hightower, Texas agriculture commissioner; Bert Lance, the former budget director of the Office of Management and Budget for the Carter administration; Ann Lewis, the former director of Americans for Democratic Action (ADA); Vance Hartke, a former senator from Indiana;

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Black Youth Face an Uncertain Jobs Future

Growing Racial Disparities in Employment Signal Need for Policy Changes

by Dr. Margaret C. Simms

While the U.S. economy continued to expand during 1987, gains made by black youth did not keep pace with the progress of their white counterparts. Data from the U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS), illustrating slow expansion in black youth employment and college attendance, are disturbing indicators that young blacks may not fare well in the future. The gap in employment between blacks and whites may widen over the next decade as the changing economy produces a larger proportion of jobs requiring highly trained workers.

Economic Growth in 1987

The stock market slide in October of 1987 obscured the fact that the U.S. economy continued to expand last year. Over three million jobs were added to the economy, according to the BLS, with the unemployment rate declining steadily over the year from an annual average rate of 7.0 percent in 1986 to 6.2 percent in 1987. And by December, the civilian unemployment rate stood at 5.8 percent. The BLS reports that the number of discouraged workers (those who have stopped looking for jobs because they do not think they can find them) dropped to just over 900,000 in the fourth quarter of 1987, the lowest it has been since the fourth quarter of 1979—a year of similar economic growth and relatively low unemployment.

Black workers shared in the job expansion, picking up just under 500,000 jobs over the course of last year. The overall unemployment rate for blacks dropped from 14.5 percent in 1986 to 13.0 percent in 1987, while the employment-to-population ratio for blacks (the proportion of the population over the age of 16 that is employed) rose to 55.6 percent, a new high.

Despite these advances, blacks made few gains in the labor force relative to whites. The 13.0 percent black unemployment rate was nearly 2½ times the 5.3 percent rate for whites. And the employment-to-population ratio was nearly seven percentage points less than that for white workers (62.3 percent). Blacks were also disproportionately represented among discouraged workers. (See *Focus,* April 1987, "Update on the Job Status of Blacks.")

Fewer Jobs for Black Youth

The largest differences in employment between blacks and whites in 1987 were among young people under the age of 25. Black youth seeking work were twice as likely as white youth not to be hired. And since unemployment rates exclude individuals who are not looking for work, they tend to understate joblessness among black youth. Only one-quarter of all black teenagers 16 to 19 years of age had jobs for some period during 1987, compared with nearly one-half of all white teenagers. About 1.4 million or just over one-half of black youth aged 20 to 24 were employed at some time in the year, while three-quarters of the whites in that age group held jobs.

BLS data also reveal that *nearly two-thirds of black teenage males did not work at all* during 1986, compared to only one-third of white teenage males and one-half of Hispanic teenage males. And close to one-quarter of black males between the ages of 20 and 24 were jobless the entire year, while less than one-tenth of white males in that age group reported not working.

Large differences existed between black and white females as well. Nearly two-thirds of black teenage females, and one-third of black females in their early 20s, did not work at all during 1986. These proportions were twice as high as those for white females in the same age groups.

There were several reasons for the disparities in employment between black and white youth. First, black youth were less likely to be in the labor force, that is, to be among those actively seeking work. Only 57.3 percent of blacks between 16 and 24 were in the labor force, compared to 70.8 percent of whites.

About 17 percent of black youth (mostly young women with children) had home responsibilities that kept them out of the work force. This was also true of 18 percent of young whites. Only 4 percent of black youth reported that they were not looking for work because they thought they could not get a job. Even so, that was twice the rate for white youth.

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The unemployment rate for black teenagers was 34.7 percent in 1987, and the rate for blacks between the ages of 20 and 24 was 21.8 percent. These compare with rates of 14.4 percent for white teens and 8.0 percent for whites in their early 20s.

Table 1. Unemployment Rates by Age, Race, and Gender, 1987

	Unemployment Rate			
	% Blacks		% Whites	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
All Workers Over 16	12.7	13.2	5.4	5.2
16-19 Years	34.4	34.9	15.5	13.4
20-24 Years	20.3	23.3	8.4	7.4
25-29 Years	13.0	14.8	5.5	5.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Employment and Earnings,* January 1988.

Jobs and Education

Both labor force participation and unemployment are closely linked to educational attainment. Regardless of race, individuals without high school diplomas are much less likely to be employed than those with 12 or more years of education. However, even when blacks and whites with the same amount of education are compared, there are racial disparities in joblessness and in expected earnings. Data from the Washington-based Children's Defense Fund show that black males 20 to 24 years of age who had not graduated from high school had mean earnings of only $2,825 in 1984, compared to $7,674 for young white males who had not completed high school.

Blacks in their 20s and early 30s who had low levels of education were less likely than their white counterparts to be in the labor force in 1987. Furthermore, they had unemployment rates that were more than twice those of whites with similar educational backgrounds.

Table 2. Unemployment Rates by Educational Attainment, Race, and Gender for Workers Between 25 and 34 Years of Age, 1987

	Unemployment Rate			
	% Blacks		% Whites	
Age	Male	Female	Male	Female
Less Than 4 Years of High School	23.5	25.4	14.0	14.7
4 Years of High School	13.9	15.9	7.2	6.5
1-3 Years of College	7.9	9.2	5.0	4.0
4 or More Years of College	5.0	4.8	2.8	2.3

Source: U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, "Educational Attainment of Workers," March 1987.

While differences in employment between the races were smaller among those with more education and among individuals in their late 20s, blacks still suffered greater joblessness than whites at every age and educational level.

Prospects for the Future

Despite the fact that the overall black population is younger than the white population, and therefore will become a larger part of the work force in the future, the employment outlook for black youth without at least some college education is not promising. The BLS projects that the black work force will grow almost twice as fast as the white work force over the next 12 years (1.8 percent per year vs. 1.0 percent). In addition, the BLS forecasts that in the year 2000 blacks will constitute more than 17 percent of the American labor force, compared to just under 11 percent of the labor force in 1987. However, this relative increase in representation will not necessarily mean lower rates of joblessness. Skill requirements for workers will increase, with a larger proportion of jobs requiring at least one year of college.

An examination of the distribution of occupational growth shows that job opportunities will be greater in high paying, white collar jobs over the next 12 years. While overall employment is projected to expand 19 percent, employment in executive, administrative, and managerial categories is expected to grow by nearly 29 percent. Moreover, jobs in professional fields will grow 27 percent, while opportunities for technicians and related support workers will increase about 38 percent. Currently, the individuals holding those jobs have from 1 to 6 years of college or university education. Thus, the prospects for those who do not go on to college are limited.

In 1987, only 34 percent of blacks in the labor force had 1 or more years of college, compared with 46 percent of white workers. While the high school graduation rate for blacks continues to rise, their college attendance rate has declined. About 2.8 million young Americans of all races graduated from high school in 1986, and more than one-half of them, 54 percent, had enrolled in college by October of that year. But while blacks were 13.8 percent of the high school graduates, they were only 9.4 percent of college freshmen. Today only one-quarter of black high school graduates 18 to 24 years of age are in college compared to over a third of white high school graduates, and the gap between black and white college entrants is now larger than it has been in 20 years.

The inability of black youth to share proportionately in college enrollment and employment opportunities is a problem not only for the youth of today and their families but for the larger economy as well. If the United States is to increase its economic competitiveness in the international market place, policies must be implemented to increase black college enrollment and to provide more job opportunities for black youth across the board. ■

The Glow of the Rainbow

(Continued from page 5)

and John C. White, the former chairman of the Democratic National Committee (DNC). Endorsements have also come from lesser-known white state and local officials and heads of farm and labor unions.

Can Jackson Win?

Only 14 states and the District of Columbia have yet to hold their nomination contests: primaries in New York, Pennsylvania, Ohio, the District of Columbia, Indiana, Nebraska, West Virginia, Oregon, California, Montana, New Mexico, and New Jersey; and caucuses in Arizona, Utah, and Delaware.

How is the Jackson candidacy likely to fare in the remaining nomination contests? The answer clearly depends on whether Jackson can continue to expand his white support, and, if so, by what amount. None of the upcoming primary states have enough blacks to allow Jackson to break the 15 percent delegate threshold on the basis of the black vote alone. Delaware, New Jersey, New York, and Pennsylvania, for instance, have black voting-age populations that range from 11 to 15 percent. And only 21 of the 174 congressional districts in the remaining 14 states have black populations that make up 15 percent or more of the total population. Thus, for Jackson to expand his delegate count, he must expand his white support beyond the 20 to 25 percent that he has won in earlier contests. To be the front-runner in the delegate count by the end of the primary season, Jackson must come in first in a number of the remaining contests.

Is this scenario possible? If the Michigan results are the harbinger of the future, the answer is "yes." If Connecticut, Wisconsin, and Colorado are examples of what is to come, the answer is clearly "no."

Analysis of recent poll data indicates that Jackson is within striking distance of Dukakis in some states. In New York, a Marist Institute for Public Opinion poll in early April showed Dukakis with a 16 percentage point lead over Jackson. Some observers, however, including Gov. Mario Cuomo, believe that the poll underestimates Jackson's true support. Moreover, a Teichner poll conducted in California in early March, before the Wisconsin primary, revealed that while approximately a third of California's likely Democratic voters remain undecided, those who had a candidate preference gave Dukakis only a 7 percentage point lead over Jackson. In several smaller states, however, Dukakis continues to hold a formidable lead. For example, in West Virginia, a poll conducted by the *Charleston Gazette* showed Dukakis leading Jackson by better than three to one.

Yet, if this election year has revealed anything, it is how volatile the American electorate is, how each primary and caucus contest seemingly ignores the patterns in the previous ones and shakes up the odds in those that follow.

The only thing that is clear is that for Jackson to lead in the delegate count by the end of the primary season he has to win far more of the white vote than current national polls indicate he will win, or a third candidate, e.g., Al Gore, must begin to rack up a substantial share of delegates and make it a real three-way contest. Thus, much depends on what happens in New York. An upset victory for Jackson in this state might very well provide him with the momentum he needs. ■

New Book From JCPS

Tom Bradley's Campaigns for Governor: The Dilemma of Race and Political Strategies, Thomas F. Pettigrew and Denise A. Alston, 1988.

Drs. Pettigrew and Alston examine the various explanations that have been given for Los Angeles Mayor Tom Bradley's losses in the 1982 and 1986 California gubernatorial campaigns. They conclude that racism—often deemphasized as a factor in Bradley's losses—*did indeed* play a major role. The authors argue that a significant number of Californians—enough to cause his defeat—voted *against* Bradley because he is black. They also offer important advice for all black candidates running against whites for office today.

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