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The Kerner Report: Twenty Years Later

Two recent reports confirm the assessment of many Americans that the chilling conclusion of the 1968 Kerner Commission Report on civil disorders continues to be valid: our nation is still moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal. Nevertheless, the potential for future progress in race relations remains high.

The National Urban League's report, *The State of Black America 1988*, released in January, described the 1980s as "a time of increasing black hardship, with inner city communities decimated by crack and crime, and national policies of withdrawal from efforts to increase opportunities for blacks." The League's report accused the Reagan administration of "slashing" funds for social programs that benefit the poor.

Another report which comments on race relations and the state of black America was released in February by a distinguished group of white and black Americans. This group met at the Johnson Foundation's Wingspread Conference Center in Racine, Wisconsin, to assess race relations since the Kerner report was issued 20 years ago. The principle convenors were former Oklahoma Senator Fred Harris, a member of the 1968 commission appointed by President Johnson and chaired by then Illinois Governor Otto Kerner, and scholar-journalist Roger Wilkins, the Robinson Professor of History and Culture at Virginia's George Mason University. Wilkins is the nephew of another member of the Kerner Commission, the late Roy Wilkins.

The Wingspread group issued a document entitled "The Kerner Report: Twenty Years Later," which paints a grim picture of a growing urban underclass locked in long-term poverty.

Harris, Wilkins, and their colleagues conclude that the depressed conditions of the underclass, which were anticipated by the Kerner Commission, are exacerbated by a fundamental breakdown of many of the social institutions in inner cities. They challenged the nation not only to address the problems of racial separation, but also to narrow the gap, which has been growing, between poor and upper income Americans.

As much as today's grim picture of the underclass reminds us of the state of black America in 1968, there is reason to believe that further progress in race relations can be achieved. Against the backdrop of significant disparities in the social and economic status of blacks and whites, it is clear that in several areas black Americans have made significant progress. Three areas come readily to mind: a general increase in educational attainment; the emergence of a small but growing black middle class; and the growing influence of black Americans in the political arena.

Yet another hopeful sign may be seen in the recent convergence of black and white attitudes on several major public policy issues. Last year a Joint Center-Gallup national opinion survey revealed that there is substantial agreement between blacks and whites about the five most important national issues: unemployment, drug abuse, AIDS, the high cost of living, and crime. These shared concerns could form the basis for a public policy coalition to pursue a new national agenda. The current presidential election provides the kind of environment in which such a coalition could easily emerge.

In fact, the presidential candidate who could help forge and give leadership to such a coalition is likely to be the next occupant of the White House. ■

Eddie N. Williams

PRESIDENT

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On Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility

Eleanor Holmes Norton Calls for Black Leaders to Reach Back to Their Heritage of Values and Recraft the Black Agenda

by Eleanor Holmes Norton

Editor's Note: This article is adapted from the text of a speech given by the author, a professor of law at Georgetown University, at the opening session of the Joint Center's Fifth National Policy Institute in Washington, D.C., on January 21, 1988.

The most productive quarter of a century for equality for black people came to a close in 1980. If this has brought hardship to black people, especially the black poor, it has brought challenge to black leadership. How does one lead in a period when there is progress from the civil rights laws to build upon but adversity elsewhere that is retracting that progress? What is the proper balance between accepting challenge to ourselves and putting pressure on the government?

In the 19th century, the preeminent leadership to whom such questions were addressed were black ministers, who led from the pulpit. For most of the 20th century, leadership came mainly from civil rights leaders, who led the fight for equality under law. Today black people have for the first time been able to elect their leaders and to have others appointed; and the ministers and the civil rights leaders, though an important and vital part of the leadership of black America, have passed the baton.

At the same time, ironically, it is more difficult to exercise leadership for black America today than it has ever been, because the context is complicated by a mixture of progress and problems. Nor is there always clarity even on the fundamentals, such as what precisely the black agenda should be.

Recrafting the Agenda

In the past, blacks had a familiar agenda that was self-perpetuating. The black agenda was passed down from generation to generation unchanged for a hundred years, because black progress occurred so slowly. The philosophy and strategy behind this agenda were always clear. The irony is that the very success of blacks in moving part of that agenda for the first time—particularly the achievement of the historic civil rights laws and advances—has necessitated a rethinking and retooling of the black agenda.

The ingredients and priorities of the black agenda are not nearly as clear as they were when blacks were denied the right to vote, to enter public accommodations, and to train for and obtain the same jobs as whites. Today the black agenda must be carefully and consciously framed to meet the needs of a black community far more diverse in condition, composition, and aspiration than ever before. The recrafting of the agenda poses a formidable challenge we are still striving to meet. A revised and revitalized agenda assumes a thought-out philosophy about our goals and the reasons those goals have been chosen. In the 1980s we have been delayed and distracted from fully spelling out such a philosophy.

For blacks, the 1980s should have been a period of consolidation on questions of civil rights and of the transfer of some of our energies to newly emerging issues. After 25 years of fighting rudimentary segregation and discrimination, new and more complex issues—many with social and economic in addition to equality implications—require new and sophisticated tools. But during this decade, blacks have been preoccupied as the policies of the national government have required us to refight all the old battles we thought we had won—from extending the Voting Rights Act and preserving the legal integrity of affirmative action to insisting upon the vital role of government in assisting the poor.

The new challenges to the minority community remain formidable: strengthening the black family and reducing the growth of female-headed households; fighting the development of a dangerous pattern of increasing structural or permanent unemployment among black men; confronting the emergence of a large group living in permanent poverty; encouraging black business in the next stage of its development; improving levels of black achievement in schools and colleges; coming to grips with the new technology before an irretrievable gap between whites and blacks in education and employment takes hold. These are today's issues. But beleaguered by budget cuts and reactionary policies from Washington, blacks have been unable to fully face these new challenges.

The balance in outlook and strategy we require will be difficult to achieve. We will need to be determined yet flexible, insistent on the old issues but also moving on to new solutions, able to build upon our strengths but unafraid to face our weaknesses, committed to the old goals but open to the new challenges we face.

It is with this philosophy and against this background

that the Committee on Policy for Racial Justice was formed in 1981 by the Joint Center. The 30-person committee of black academics and analysts, which is co-chaired by John Hope Franklin, the distinguished historian, and myself, provides a way for those who think and write about the difficult issues facing black people to commit their *collective* thoughts to writing, in the hope that black leadership and the black community might find a systematic analysis of these issues useful. Black leaders and intellectuals, in particular, are at a crossroad as they strive to revise their thinking about the black condition and the black future in light of changing conditions. Torn between shedding the past and grappling with the future, blacks have hardly had time to analyze their problems in light of awesome new challenges. Thus the goal of our committee has been to publish short, readable essays, each the result of the committee's thinking over a year or 18 months, and to make them available throughout our community. Our hope is that these essays will both stimulate and contribute to the necessary process of rethinking that every people must periodically attempt.

Our most recently published essay, "Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," encourages a more balanced and forthright discussion about the black condition today. In this essay, we struggled with the subjects that have been the most sensitive and the most fundamental in the black community during the 1980s. We deliberately began with a discussion of black community values in a period when blacks increasingly and openly wonder whether the black value system is being brought to bear on black problems. This was followed by an attempt to sort out what a community should be expected to do for itself and what government must do for the people in a stable democracy.

We try for the balance between government responsibility and community initiative that we believe has been missing from the discussion. The absence of balance has led to an often confused and polarized debate.

We believe that in the multi-class black community of today, what is required is, on the one hand, a new mix of vigorous community initiatives and, on the other, government action that faces up to its responsibility for the people, especially the poor; which democratic government must assume. The title we gave the essay literally expresses our concern for both—"Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility."

A Black Heritage of Values

The first section on black values is the vital entry point into the essay. We do not argue the question of values. There was no need for that. The value traditions of the black community itself have always been and remain the foundation for the direction the black community takes. To quote the essay, "The most basic resource of the black community is the special value structure that has sustained black people through the darkest of hours." Thus, we look directly to the community's own value heritage and find in those values both the historic basis of black survival and the charter for building the black future.

To be sure, the black value system has been shaken by the experience of the black community during the past 25 years. We see this reflected in high crime rates, in welfare dependency, in births to single women, in drug addiction, in poor educational performance—in the problems that confront our people every day. But despite these problems, the black value system itself is intact and healthy. It is our rich value heritage that provides the foundation as we seek renewal.

In the essay we identify some of the historically black values that are especially relevant today. They include the primacy of family, the importance of education, the necessity for individual enterprise and hard work, and the tradition of self-help.

We draw upon our own history to show the preeminence of these values. For example, in their efforts to strengthen the black family, black people can draw on their own rich history of family stability in the face of utter hardship. Triumph over hardship may be seen in many ways—whether in the determination of slaves who somehow reestablished families after slavery or the extraordinary feat of families who kept together across hundreds of miles during the great migration North. Even today, the black family tradition is alive and flourishing in strong extended families, which are much more pervasive among blacks than among whites.

Role of Government—Role of the Community

The essay moves on from its values foundation to a two-pronged analysis of the role of government and the role of community—in light of new challenges to both. We regret the artificial public debate and discussion that has tended to obscure the role of one in favor of the other, because we believe that this discussion has been disconnected from reality, from the needs of blacks, and from the way the people in any democratic, humane nation must deal with serious problems. The appropriate balance between government and community is necessary because, quite simply, our problems cannot be effectively addressed otherwise.

We look to government to do what no amount of community effort can accomplish. It is government that must restore an economy that contains low and moderate skill jobs with decent pay of the kind that produced the white middle class. It is government that must restore the infrastructure of the cities. It is government that must improve public education, reform the welfare system, and provide retraining for the jobless.

(Continued on page 7)

March 1988

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POLITICAL TRENDLETTER®

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- **Black psychologist Lenora Fulani is running for president as an independent.**
- **The Civil Rights Restoration Act passes Congress.**
- **Across the Nation: Blacks run for Congress in Louisiana, New Jersey, New Mexico, and Wisconsin.**

Tuesday, March 8, Was "Super" for Jesse Jackson

JESSE JACKSON'S mainstream campaign is working. On March 8, Super Tuesday, he was victorious in five Deep South states (Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, and Virginia) and came in second in eight more (Florida, Maryland, Massachusetts, Missouri, North Carolina, Rhode Island, Tennessee, and Texas). **In all, Jackson won 28 percent of the popular vote in the southern and border states on Super Tuesday. Massachusetts Gov. MICHAEL DUKAKIS came in second with 27 percent of the popular vote, and Tennessee Sen. ALBERT GORE was third with 25 percent. For the Democrats, Super Tuesday left the battle for the nomination muddled—a close race among three contenders.** Iowa's winner, Missouri Rep. **RICHARD GEPHARDT,** who came in fourth with only 13 percent of the vote in the southern states, was almost mortally wounded. What Super Tuesday showed more than anything else, however, was the surprising viability of Jesse Jackson's candidacy for the Democratic nomination.

After March 8, however, Jackson demonstrated that he still had momentum. He won the first step in Alaska's three-tiered caucus process, carried South Carolina, and finished second behind **PAUL SIMON** in Illinois, the home state of both of them. Since Alaska is only 3 percent black, Jackson, who was the preferred candidate of 35 percent of the delegates at precinct caucuses, undoubtedly did well among white voters. In South Carolina, Jackson's birth place, he achieved his most spectacular victory, winning 54 percent of the caucus vote. Gore came in second with 18 percent, and Dukakis and Gephardt barely registered with 7 percent and 2 percent of the vote respectively. The overwhelming unity of the black vote for Jackson, relatively high black turnouts in the Democratic primaries and caucuses, and an expansion of "rainbow" support among non-black voters in 1988 compared to 1984, combined with the crowded field of Democratic contenders, all contributed to Jackson's success.

This conclusion is confirmed by CBS/*New York Times* polls. First, the polls revealed that Jackson remained by far the best known candidate on Super Tuesday. **While 97 percent of the southern Democratic voters said they were familiar with Jackson and his issues,** only 77 percent said they were familiar with Dukakis, who was the runner-up in popular preference votes. Second, black voters provided more support for Jackson in 1988 than in 1984. **In 1984, Jackson won less than 80 percent of the black vote in southern states; this year he won over 90 percent of the black vote according to exit polls.** Undoubtedly, Jackson's success among black voters can be attributed to "racial consciousness" as well as the appeal of his campaign issues and themes. But with the exception of Gore, the other candidates did not seriously campaign in black communities, thus they failed to siphon off any of Jackson's black support.

Third, there was a large black turnout on Super Tuesday. For example, while blacks comprise approximately 20 to 31 percent of the five Deep South states that Jackson won, they made up 33 percent to 46 percent of the Democratic electorate in those states. **Fourth, Jackson has not only expanded his white support from about**

4 percent in the South in 1984 to roughly 10 percent in 1988, but has also increased his support among non-black minorities. In 1988, Jackson won the votes of approximately 1 out of every 4 Hispanic voters compared to only about 1 out of every 10 in 1984. And in South Dakota, the only state with a substantial number of minority voters in the pre-Super Tuesday states, Jackson came in first or second in majority Native American counties.

Surprisingly, Jackson, with his populist themes, did not draw his white support from the blue-collar groups or farmers he targeted. Instead, much of his white votes came from liberal white college students and young urban professionals. Jackson's white supporters are young and well educated, while Dukakis, with his management message, drew from the older, upper income white elite. And Gore, with his heavy emphasis on southern patriotism, drew his votes from blue collar and conservative whites.

A week later, Sen. Paul Simon was able to keep his election hopes alive with his first victory in the Illinois primary on March 15. In this contest, Dukakis, who ran a strong campaign in the South, finished a poor third without winning even a single delegate. This muddled Democratic race is one in which the contestants seem to be taking turns at winning.

And as the campaign moves North, the prophesy that the Democratic nomination will end in a brokered convention appears to be coming true. This is because the delegates garnered thus far are so evenly distributed among the candidates that none of them has much of a mathematical chance of capturing enough delegates to win the nomination out right through the primaries and caucuses. This is good news for Jesse Jackson and his supporters.

The Other Black Presidential Candidate: Fulani's Quest

DR. LENORA FULANI, a 38-year-old black psychologist from New York, is running for president as an independent candidate. While national custom and the socialization of voters to support the two-party system are part of the historic problem facing independent candidates in the American electoral process, Fulani has had some success at fighting against the odds. **She has not only managed to qualify to be on the ballot in every state and the District of Columbia, but has become the first black independent candidate to receive matching funds from the Federal Elections Commission (FEC). She has received $263,000 in matching funds thus far.**

Fulani, a candidate on the National Alliance Party ticket, is running on the campaign slogan: "Two Roads are Better than One." She is asking her supporters to vote for Rev. Jesse Jackson during the Democratic primaries as "the first road." And if he fails to win the nomination, as she says he will since, in her opinion, he is "too black and too progressive," then Dr. Fulani will seek the votes of Jackson supporters in the general election. For blacks to support Fulani in the general election is "the second road" in her strategy.

But running as an independent is not without problems. Fulani's political connections are questionable as some charge that her candidacy is an off-shoot of the right-wing Lyndon LaRouche U.S. Labor Party.

Fulani points out that the foremost barriers that she faces as an independent candidate are national laws and, to a greater degree, state laws that determine whether a candidate's name can be placed on the ballot. **For example, Fulani, unlike Democratic and Republican contenders for the presidency, had to solicit 1.5 million signatures on petitions circulated nationally to enable her to get her name placed on the ballot in all 50 states and the District of Columbia—a feat she achieved.** She notes that getting the necessary signatures was particularly difficult in the states of Florida, California, West Virginia, New York, and Texas. In Florida, for instance, an independent needs 48,657 petition signatures, all on individual postcards with a 10 cents fee per signature paid to the state by that particular candidate. Democrats and Republicans pay nothing. In California, it takes 130,000 signatures to get an independent candidate on the ballot. And in West Virginia, New York, and Texas, persons voting in a major party presidential primary are not permitted to sign a petition for an independent candidate. This petitioning system is a huge expense for presidential hopefuls who do not have strong financial backing. Small wonder third parties or independent candidates find it extremely difficult to get on the ballot, let alone to mount a national campaign.

Another impediment to Fulani's full participation in the presidential election process has been the refusal of groups to include her in presidential debates. **Recently, her supporters filed a federal lawsuit against the Internal Revenue Service (IRS) and the League of Women Voters charging, among other things, that the League barred Fulani from participation in League sponsored presidential debates.** Fulani charges the League with violating not only the IRS code for organizations with a 501(c)(3) tax-exempt status, but its own

nonpartisan charter. **The lawsuit also claims that Fulani's exclusion from presidential debates violates Title VI of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, which prohibit discrimination on the basis of gender.** Fulani is suing for an injunction against the League of Women Voters' debates in Rochester, scheduled for mid-April. To make the life of the independent candidate easier in the future, Rep. **JOHN CONYERS** (D- Mich.) has introduced a bill (H.R. 1582) that would set more equitable standards for all candidates in presidential elections. So far, however, it has received only a few cosponsors.

Fulani says she has no illusions that she will win the presidency in 1988, but she hopes to provide voters of all races with a genuine choice in the general election—as opposed to the two parties which she expects to nominate centrists who make policy in the interest of the corporate elite. In addition, she hopes to win at least a million votes. These million votes, she believes, will wake up the Democratic and Republican parties to the dissatisfaction expressed by many towards what she regards as a corporate-centered two-party system.

Civil Rights Restoration Act Finally Passes

On March 2, the Civil Rights Restoration Act, the most important piece of civil rights legislation since the 1982 reauthorization of the Voting Rights Act, passed the U.S. House of Representatives. The House bill, which passed in almost identical form by the Senate on January 28, overturns the effects of the 1984 Supreme Court *Grove City College v. Bell* decision. In that decision, the Court ruled that a federal law barring sex discrimination at a college receiving federal aid applied only to the specific operation or that part of the school actually receiving the aid. Prior to this decision, antidiscrimination laws had been applied to entire institutions if any part of the institution received federal funds. Following the decision, the Justice Department, which had sided with Grove City College, interpreted the ruling to encompass other federal laws barring discrimination on account of race, age, or disability. The Act, which restores the original intent of Congress, counters the *Grove City* decision by extending the reach of antidiscrimination laws to entire institutions if they get any federal dollars.

Black VIP'S at the 1988 Democratic Convention

The Democratic National Committee's list of persons who are likely to be key players at the Democratic National Convention in July includes a larger number of blacks than in 1984. In total, 63, or approximately 16 percent, of the total number of top DNC convention officials will be black. In 1984, 49, or approximately 13 percent, of the convention functionaries were black. Blacks are prominent members of the Platform Committee, the Credentials Committee, and the Rules Committee, and are also in high-ranking positions as DNC officers.

Of the 25 permanent members of the Platform Committee, 6 are black, including U.S. Rep. CARDISS COLLINS (Ill.); State Sen. MAXINE HORNER (Okla.); State Rep. EARLINE ROGERS (Ind.); American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees' Secretary-Treasurer WILLIAM LUCY; and DNC member LEON LYNCH (Pa.) In addition, Congressional Black Caucus Chairman MERV DYMALLY from California is this year's co-chair of the Platform Committee, which will establish the party's policy (at least rhetorically) for the next four years. At past conventions, major battles over policy issues have been fought in the Platform Committee.

Pennsylvania state House of Representatives Speaker K. LEROY IRVIS will chair the Credentials Committee, which certifies who may officially attend the convention. Other blacks who are part of the 25-member Credentials Committee are DNC members SHIRLEY ROBINSON HALL from Mich. and VELMA HILL from New York, United Auto Workers Vice President MARC STEPP (Mich.), as well as New Mexico State Treasurer JAMES LEWIS.

The third, and perhaps most important, committee at the convention will be the Rules Committee, which governs all convention procedures including the nomination process. One of four co-chairs of the Rules Committee is Mayor LOTTIE SHACKLEFORD (Little Rock, Ark.). Other black members of the 25-member committee are D.C. City Councilmember WILHELMINA ROLARK; MARGARET SMITH, an Illinois state senator; DAVID CLAXTON from D.C.; and Florida State Rep. ALZO REDDICK.

In addition, there are two black officers of the DNC Executive Committee: Illinois State Comptroller ROLAND W. BURRIS, vice chairman, and Washington, D.C., business executive SHARON PRATT DIXON, treasurer.

Across the Nation

LOUISIANA: On Feb 3, Alexandria lawyer FAYE WILLIAMS, who narrowly lost her bid to become this state's first black congresswoman, declared a rematch for the Eighth District seat against freshman U.S. Rep. CLYDE HOLLOWAY, a Republican. Accusing Holloway of being both "incompetent and callous," Williams promised "strong, sensitive leadership." The focus of her campaign will be the incumbent's record, she says. According to Williams, Holloway has "provided no legislative relief for [the] district and has become a mere spectator of congressional proceedings." **She is also promising jobs for the economically depressed area and a cleaner environment for the communities along the Mississippi River. The district has a 36 percent black voting-age population.**

Meanwhile, another black Louisianan, educator JUNE PHILLIPS, announced her congressional candidacy for the Fourth District seat vacated by BUDDY ROEMER who was recently elected governor. Phillips, director of the federal Title III program at Southern University-Shreveport and a member of the State Board of Trustees for Louisiana State Colleges and Universities, is the first black and lone woman in the seven candidate Democratic field. (Title III provides financial assistance to minority educational institutions.) Phillips likens her campaign to that of Williams who she says "helped us to break the ice and show that women who are qualified can win." According to Phillips, an improved educational system and better economic conditions in the Fourth District are her priorities. **In a February opinion poll, Phillips was the second choice of black voters and the fifth choice of all Democratic voters. Blacks make up 29 percent of the district's voting-age population.**

NEW JERSEY: On March 14, House Judiciary Committee chairman PETER RODINO, 79, announced his retirement from Congress. The New Jersey Democrat who represents Newark has served in the House since 1948. It is almost guaranteed that his successor will be black since the 10th Congressional District has a black voting-age population of more that 58 percent. At least two politicians have already declared their desire to be the first black member of Congress from the Garden State. **In this heavily Democratic district, the contest will essentially be decided in the June primary.** With so few Republicans in the district the November general election should be a mere formality.

One of those seeking the post is Newark City Councilmember DONALD PAYNE, 53, who ran against Rodino unsuccessfully in 1986, garnering 37 percent of the vote. He has already raised over $100,000 and has strong backing from Newark Mayor SHARPE JAMES and State Senate President JOHN RUSSO. **The other candidate for Rodino's seat is Newark Councilman Rev. RALPH GRANT, who is pinning his hopes on grassroots support as opposed to endorsements from party leaders.**

Rodino, who presided over the 1974 House Judiciary Committee hearings on the impeachment of Richard Nixon, is a strong advocate of civil rights and was floor manager of major civil rights legislation in the 1960s.

NEW MEXICO: Bernalillo County Commissioner LENTON MALRY filed to run for the First Congressional District seat being vacated by Republican MANUEL LUJAN who is retiring after 20 years in Congress. Malry, who is black, served five terms as a state legislator and two terms as a county commissioner. He asserts that his extensive legislative experience separates him from the five other Democratic candidates in the race. According to Malry, who holds a Ph.D. from the University of New Mexico, education is the key to creating jobs in the state, and his expertise in addressing education issues should win him votes.

The First District is only 2 percent black, but is 33 percent Hispanic, and black candidates in New Mexico have been successful in securing the votes of large numbers of whites and Hispanics. For example, State Treasurer James Lewis was elected statewide in 1986 despite the fact that only 2 percent of voters in the state are black.

OKLAHOMA: On February 18, HANNAH D. ATKINS was confirmed by the Oklahoma State Senate as secretary of state. Atkins, who served 12 years in the Oklahoma House of Representatives, was nominated by Republican Gov. HENRY BELLMON in mid-September 1987 after the resignation of the former secretary of state. She is a member of the Executive Committee and Board of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) and a member of the national board of Trans-Africa. **As Oklahoma secretary of state, Atkins becomes one of only eight black statewide administrative officials in the nation.**

PENNSYLVANIA: According to a recently released survey by the *Philadelphia New Observer*, blacks made limited progress in 1987 under the administration of Mayor WILSON GOODE. The *New Observer*, a black weekly newspaper, reports that unemployment, inadequate housing, homelessness, and other urban problems continue to plague the city. To back up their findings, the report quotes local Urban League President ROBERT SORRELL as saying, "There's been a pickup in construction and a boost in the retail businesses. But those boosts didn't trickle down to the black community."

On the plus side, however, the *Observer* points out that about 65,000 new jobs were created in the Philadelphia region with a revitalization in the manufacturing and the service producing industries. Contracts totalling over $34 million were awarded to minorities, and women received more than $21 million in contracts from the city's Procurement Department alone. Shelters housed more than 6,500 homeless people, and during the colder days and nights, Mayor Goode dispatched teams to pick up the street people and made personal tours of the city. There was also a "marked decrease in racial violence and improved police-community relations."

While the *Observer* concludes that most black Philadelphians believe "things have to get better faster," they say blacks demonstrated their confidence in the city's black elected officials by returning most of them to office last November. But they call on the black elected officials not to betray that confidence and loyalty.

WISCONSIN: Although the Fifth Congressional District, which encompasses most of Milwaukee, is only 28 percent black, several blacks have either announced their candidacy or indicated that they may run for the seat to be vacated by three term Democratic Rep. JIM MOODY. Moody is expected to seek the Senate seat of Democrat William Proxmire, who is retiring. **Announced and potential black candidates include former Secretary of State VEL PHILLIPS, DON SYKES, who heads the Milwaukee County Social Development Commission, and Milwaukee County Supervisor TERRANCE PITTS, among the Democrats, and businesswoman HELEN BARNHILL, on the Republican side.** For the present, Phillips, who announced her candidacy last November, is expected to have the best chance, given her statewide name recognition. She became the first black to win a statewide election in Wisconsin in 1978. She was also the first black person and the first woman elected to the Milwaukee Common Council, and the first black person to serve as a Wisconsin judge.

The Primary and Caucus States After Super Tuesday With Significant Black Voting-Age Populations

		Delegates*	
Date	**State**	**Dems**	**Reps**
March 26	Michigan	138 (c)	
March 29	Connecticut	52 (p)	35 (p)
April 5	Wisconsin	81 (p)	47 (p)
April 18	Delaware	15 (c)	
April 19	New York	255 (p)	136 (p)
April 26	Pennsylvania	178 (p)	96 (p)
May 3	D.C.	16 (p)	14 (p)
	Ohio	159 (p)	88 (p)
June 7	California	314 (p)	175 (p)
	New Jersey	109 (p)	64 (p)

*(c) designates caucus and (p) designates primary

The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America

On the 20th anniversary of the Kerner Commission report on the urban riots of the late 1960s, the Joint Center has issued a new publication that provides graphic evidence that the nation is still "moving toward two societies, one black, one white—separate and unequal." The new book, entitled *The Metropolitan Area Fact Book: A Statistical Portrait of Blacks and Whites in Urban America,* edited by Katherine McFate, a research associate at the Joint Center, will be released in April. This article was adapted from the introduction to the *Fact Book.*

The *Fact Book* presents demographic data on each of the 48 metropolitan areas where more than 100,000 blacks live.* Over 85 percent of all black Americans live in metropolitan areas. Thus, the data in the fact book profile the living conditions of the majority of the nation's blacks.

Twenty years ago, the Kerner Commission concluded that the already enormous gap in the living conditions of blacks and whites was widening. Since 1968, blacks have made progress in some measures of socioeconomic status—most notably education—but then as now, a broad gulf remains between the races.

Comparing Black and White Living Conditions

The tables in the *Fact Book* present data for both blacks and whites on the major indicators of social and economic well-being—employment, income and earnings, homeownership, education, and family structure. Following are some general differences in black and white living conditions for each of those indicators.

Employment. In nearly two-thirds of the 48 metro areas covered in the *Fact Book,* the labor force participation rate of black males is less than 75 percent. (The labor force participation rate includes both people who are employed and people who are unemployed but actively seeking work.) The labor force participation rate of white males is above 75 percent in all but 2 of the 48 metro areas (Ft. Lauderdale and Tampa-St. Petersburg). The data on the underemployment of those who are working are especially striking. In none of the 48 metro areas are a majority of black males working full time, since many black males who have jobs are employed part time. In contrast, 50 percent or more of white males are working full time in all but 2 metro areas.

* The data were taken from the 1980 decennial census of population and housing conducted by the U.S. Bureau of the Census. These are the most recent data available that allow for detailed compilation and comparisons.

Most Black Males Working Full Time	
San Diego	49.5%
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	49.4
Washington, D.C.	49.2
Dallas	48.5
Houston	48.5
Fewest Black Males Working Full Time	
Detroit	32.1%
Buffalo	34.6
Mobile	34.7
Pittsburgh	36.2
Memphis	36.3

Income and Earnings. The median incomes of black households range from about one-half to three-fourths the median incomes of white households in all 48 metro areas. Black household incomes are $5,000 to $10,000 lower than white household incomes.

Highest Median Black Household Income	
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	$18,826
Washington, D.C.	16,484
Gary	16,342
Houston	13,775
Detroit	13,684
Lowest Median Black Household Income	
Mobile	$8,763
Shreveport	8,944
Memphis	8,986
Jacksonville	9,053
Buffalo	9,181

Homeownership. Black-owned homes, on average, are worth one-third to one-half less than white-owned homes. The value of black-owned homes is closest to that of white-owned homes in the metro areas of Nassau-Suffolk (New York), Cincinnati, and San Diego; black and white housing values differ most in the Kansas City (Missouri) and Philadelphia metro areas.

Most Black Homeowners	
Nassau-Suffolk (New York)	61.0%
Charleston	57.6
Baton Rouge	56.4
Shreveport	55.9
Mobile	55.4

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Minorities in Engineering: A Model for Success

An Innovative Precollege Engineering Program Addresses the Projected National Deficit of Engineering Professionals by Recruiting and Training Minority Youth

by Don Lightman

Demographers are making some weighty predictions about shifts in the future racial composition of this country, and some of these predictions will have far-reaching implications for the make-up of the job market. By the year 2000, a third of the U.S. population will be composed of racial minorities, and the vast majority of entrants to the job market will be minorities, immigrants, and women.

These demographic changes could have a profound impact on the industries that depend heavily on college math and science majors to fill their vacancies. Minority students—the core of tomorrow's job market—are not getting the type of education they will need to compete in the technological fields, especially in engineering. Despite the fact that the number of minority engineering graduates has increased by nearly 400 percent over the last 15 years, in June 1986 they still constituted only 5 percent of the engineering graduates.

Clearly, with the percentage of minorities in the population expanding so rapidly and the nation becoming increasingly dependent on new technologies, the levels at which minorities are now graduating from engineering programs will be insufficient to meet future technological needs. If current and future generations of minority students do not receive the type and quality of education they need to compete in math- and science-based fields, the effects on our economy and our standing in world affairs could be catastrophic.

Army lieutenant colonel Don Lightman is a senior military fellow at the Joint Center.

Recognizing that more minorities must be trained to compete in the technological fields, concerned leaders in the engineering profession have implemented some innovative programs to help minorities improve their skills in math- and science-based professions. In *Minority Engineers Will Play Key Role in 21st Century Economy (Focus,* May 1987), Richard F. Neblett talked about the work of the National Action Council for Minorities in Engineering (NACME). That organization is the nation's largest privately funded source of scholarships for minority engineering students. The council encourages secondary schools and colleges to work together to set up engineering programs that combine advanced preparation in math and science with a strong system of student counseling and support. The goal is to improve the students' self-confidence and provide them with better academic preparation.

The council has published a handbook, *Gearing Up: How to Start a Precollege Minority Engineering Program,* which is a step-by-step guide to developing such programs. (Copies are available at $10.00 each from NACME, 3 West 35th St., New York, N.Y. 10001.)

SECME: Gearing Up for the Future

One of the most outstanding of these precollege programs is the Southeastern Consortium for Minorities in Engineering (SECME). SECME draws from a pool of 34

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SECME and Comparative Average SAT Scores

	1985			1984		
	Verbal	Math	Total	Verbal	Math	Total
All Students	431	475	906	426	471	897
White	449	491	940	445	487	932
Black	346	376	722	342	373	715
Mexican-American	382	426	808	390	427	817
Puerto Rican	368	409	777	366	400	766
Native American	392	428	820	390	427	817
SECME*	436	488	924	420	501	921

*Black pre-engineering student participants only.
Sources: *Professional Women and Minorities: A Manpower Data Resource Service* (Commission on Professionals in Science and Technology: Washington, D.C., 1986); various SECME newsletters.

Black Initiative

(Continued from page 4)

At the same time there are efforts that only a community can carry out for itself. Perhaps the most important of these is closer collaboration between the new black middle class and the black poor. The list of skills, services, and caring that can be transmitted to the poor through community collaboration is inexhaustible. During the 1980s, when government has quite simply defaulted, the essay reminds blacks that government assistance of any kind has been both recent and modest, while community efforts have always been rich and diverse.

This is the legacy of the self-improvement tradition that springs from sources as diverse as Booker T. Washington's self-help philosophy and W. E. B. DuBois's view that education is the key to both economic advancement and political freedom. The wonderful and extraordinary self-help legacy is alive today in the work of the black church, the black colleges, the civil rights organizations, and the thousands of community efforts that are fighting illiteracy, drug abuse, truancy, teenage pregnancy, and all the rest of the predatory problems in our community. These community-initiated efforts must be strengthened and expanded because they help us to continue to do what we have always done best—define our problems and initiate their solutions.

Our essay, "Black Initiative and Governmental Responsibility," seeks to play a clarifying function, not by supplying all the answers but by encouraging us to ask ourselves ever harder questions. The frame of mind we would like to encourage is inspired directly by Martin Luther King, Jr., a man who is often admired for his moral leadership and whom we admire also for his intellectual leadership and his insistence upon probing to the next deeper level of complexity and difficulty. "It is not a sign of weakness but a sign of high maturity to rise to the level of self-criticism," he wrote. This is how he moved on to the Vietnam War and to poverty. He could not be contained even by the black revolution of which he was a philosopher-king. Nor must we.

Defining an affirmative posture, some of it inevitably and emphatically involving the government but some of it also drawing more heavily than ever upon the energy and brilliance of our traditions, is, we believe, imperative today. Otherwise, in too many instances our issues will not move at all. Otherwise, we acquiesce in the status quo even as we protest it.

America's black elected and appointed officials represent the antithesis of the status quo. They have overturned the status quo and have led America down the road that can establish a new order.

If our essay proves useful in even small ways, it shall have achieved its potential. The concrete task ahead, the real job to be done, the work of leading black people with new issues, new remedies, and new boldness is yours preeminently. It is a job you take on literally with the vote of confidence of black Americans. ■

The Metro Area Fact Book

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Fewest Black Homeowners	
New York City	18.4%
Boston	23.0
Newark	28.3
Chicago	33.5
Buffalo	34.2

Education. This is one area in which blacks have made progress. Between 1970 and 1980, the proportions of blacks with high school and college educations increased, and the gap between black and white educational attainment narrowed. Nevertheless, black high school completion rates across the 48 metro areas are generally 12 to 15 percentage points lower than those for whites. And half as many blacks as whites (nationally and across the metro areas) complete college.

Most College-Educated Blacks	
Washington, D.C.	14.7%
Raleigh	14.2
Jackson	13.2
Nashville	12.9
Baton Rouge	12.5
Fewest College-Educated Blacks	
Buffalo	6.4%
Memphis	6.5
Mobile	6.5
Indianapolis	6.6
Cleveland	6.8

Poverty and Family Structure. Single-parent families headed by women are much more likely to be poor than either two-parent families or single-parent families headed by men. Nationally, about 40 percent of black families are headed by women, whereas only 10 percent of white families are headed by women. In the 48 metro areas, the percentage of black families headed by women varies from a low of 30 percent in Houston to a high of almost 50 percent in Milwaukee.

Many of the tables are designed so that readers can tell at a glance, for example, which areas have the highest or lowest levels of black college graduates, which have the highest or lowest levels of black homeowners, and so forth. The *Fact Book* also includes highlight tables and statistical portraits for each area. The highlight tables list the five metro areas that rank the highest and the five that rank the lowest in black population density, employment, income, homeownership, college education, and poverty. In the statistical portrait for each metro area, all the important data for that area are presented together.

Copies of the *Fact Book* can be ordered through the Publications Clerk, Joint Center for Political Studies, Suite 400, 1301 Pennsylvania Ave., N.W., Washington, D.C. 20004; telephone 202/626-3500. ■

This adaptation was prepared by Constance B. Toliver, an associate editor at the Joint Center.

Minorities in Engineering

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percent of the nation's black secondary school population, which includes over 60 secondary school systems containing 214 high schools and approximately 15,000 students. The consortium has sent 85 percent of the students enrolled in its program to 25 regional colleges in southern states.

Over the last six years, approximately 46 percent of the SECME students who have gone on to college have chosen engineering or related fields as careers. On 1985 Scholastic Aptitude Tests, SECME students scored 13 points above the national average on the math portion and 5 points above the national average on the verbal portion (see table). Carolyn C. Chesnutt, SECME's executive director, believes that the key to the success of the program has been the involvement of corporations and industry which have provided funds, grants, and dedicated professionals to serve as role models—in all phases of the program.

Blueprint for Success

SECME has been successful in educating minorities in math- and science-based fields because it tackles the problem ingeniously. Its program combines a number of innovative educational approaches including counseling, precollege preparation, science and mathematics instruction, cognitive development and problem solving, tutorial programs, mentors and role models, financial aid, remedial work, and study skills instruction.

In addition, at every level of the school system, consultants from the corporate sector and the colleges are involved with the program. Of particular importance, SECME cultivates minority student interest and involvement from as early as middle school, so that counseling, role modeling, and confidence-building can be provided early enough to enhance the students' probability of success.

The key components that affect the success of minority engineering programs and that SECME has developed successfully are recruiting, training, and retention.

Recruiting. SECME students are selected on the basis of several criteria, which include standardized test scores, classroom performance, teacher recommendations, aptitude for math and science, and expressed interest in engineering-related fields of study. Most important, SECME does not strive to recruit gifted students but concentrates instead on average to above average students who show promise and interest. Students are identified as early as the sixth grade to give them more time to acquire the academic skills needed to succeed.

Training. SECME students participate in a program of enriched classroom content and instruction. Academic lessons are taught in hands-on, real-life situations. For example, students are exposed to the practical applications of computers, lasers, and robots. SECME and affiliated institutions furnish many of the educational modules and much of the equipment.

Retention. Students receive academic and personal counseling from a variety of sources. Competent and sensitive counselors guide and encourage students who might otherwise fall by the wayside. Mentors and role models—faculty members, counselors, older students, and professional engineers—also provide the support the students need to stay with the program by giving them individual attention at critical times in their lives.

A common thread that runs through all three of these components is a high-quality faculty. SECME runs a summer program at the Georgia Institute of Technology to give teachers, guidance counselors, and administrators from the affiliated school systems training in new curricula and instructional techniques designed to assist in motivating the students to learn.

As the National Science Board indicated in its 1986 report, *Undergraduate Science, Mathematics, and Engineering Education,* current efforts to increase the numbers of women and minorities in the science and engineering work forces will not be adequate to serve the nation's future technological needs. Efforts must be made not only to support those programs that have been effective, such as SECME's, but also to strengthen those that have been unproductive. Otherwise, the nation will continue to deprive itself of an important and sorely needed source of scientists and engineers. ■

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