

アメリカ学会年次大会分科会
ポスト公民権時代の「人種」と政治 ～
新しい黒人政治家と公民権運動家の相剋を中心に

2008年6月1日

於：同志社大学

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【1. はじめに：民主党予備選 ～ テキストがサブテキストへ】

- ・ 政策論的対立がほぼ見られないのに激化した予備選。
 - なぜ「テキスト」が「サブテキスト」になったのか？
- ・ 9割以上の「黒人」が一人の候補を支持
 - 1984年のジェシー・ジャクソンを凌駕

【2. 公民権指導層とオバマの関係 ～ tangential and eclectic】

- ・ “From Protest to Politics”の次世代の登場
 - Cory Booker ケース: “not black enough to understand the city,” “You have to learn to be African-American and we don't have time to train you.”
- ・ アンドリュー・ヤングの発言
 - “Bill Clinton is every bit as black as Barack Obama”
- ・ John Lewis, Charles Rangel, James Clyburn, Jesse Jackson, Jr.のケース
 - In recent days, there is a sense of movement and a sense of spirit. Something is happening in America and people are prepared and ready to make that great leap. (by J. Lewis, February 15)
- ・ オバマの選挙陣営
 - David Axelrod (白人男性) と Valerie Jarret (黒人女性)、シカゴのローカル・ポリティックス
 - ◇ Lake front liberals (Independents) and blacks と Daley machine の「大連合」

【3. 政治過程を通じて構築される人種意識】

- ・ポスト公民権時代：黒人社会の階級的分極化（多様化）
- ・Pew Research Center の「黒人意識」調査
2007年9月5日から10月6日、RDD方式にて実施（3,068人が対象、non-Hispanic blackの対象者総数は1,007人）

- 文化戦争が「人種」の紐帯を解く
- もはや単一の人種集団とは自認していない黒人
- それでも経験される人種差別（白人はそれを認めず）
- 低下する既存の指導層への信頼感
- オバマは黒人と価値を共有しているか？ 「ある程度 some」

【4. 結びに代えて】

- ・社会構築論の射程 ジェシー・ジャクソンと南部キリスト教指導者会議
- ・ポスト・エスニック・アメリカは理念としてのみ存在¹
- ・19世紀～20世紀のインディアン、20世紀から21世紀の黒人？
- ・"color-blindism"か"creative imagination that has nothing to do with age, experience, race or gender"か？¹

¹ オバマ支持を表明したトニ・モリソンの言葉。"After Race-Laden Contest, Morrison Picks Obama," *Boston Globe*, January 23, 2008.

資料

【資料 1 : バラク・オバマ 『エボニー』 紙とのインタビュー、2007 年 12 月】

Sen. Clinton likes to point to the work that the Clinton White House did. They didn't take on some of the criminal justice issues that I took on because those are hard issues that carry a political price and require you to take some chances. And I did that. So I am happy to put my record next to anybody's, and the reason I appeal for the Black vote is not because of my race. It is because of my history.

"Barack Obama on Black America," *Ebony* (March, 2008): 73 -74.

【資料 2 : ライト牧師「騒動」直後のオバマの演説 2008 年 3 月 18 日】

[R]ace is an issue that I believe this nation cannot afford to ignore right now. We would be making the same mistake that Reverend Wright made in his offending sermons about America – to simplify and stereotype and amplify the negative to the point that it distorts reality. The fact is that the comments that have been made and the issues that have surfaced over the last few weeks reflect the complexities of race in this country that we've never really worked through – a part of our union that we have yet to perfect. And if we walk away now, if we simply retreat into our respective corners, we will never be able to come together and solve challenges like health care, or education, or the need to find good jobs for every American.

"Transcript: Remarks of Senator Barack Obama," *New York Times*, March 18, 2008.

【資料 3 : 黒人の世帯別所得の変遷】

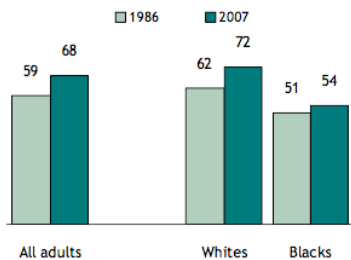
	<\$15,000	\$15K- \$25K	\$25K- \$35K	\$35K- \$50K	\$50K- \$75K	\$75K- \$100K	\$100K+
2006	24.4	15.2	13.5	14.8	15.2	7.7	9.1
2000	22.3	15.2	12.8	16	16.6	8.2	8.8
1990	31.7	14.8	12.6	14.3	15	6	5.7
1980	32.3	18.4	13.3	14.5	13.5	5.2	2.7
1970	31.8	18.7	15	16.6	12.3	4.1	1.6

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census, "Income, Poverty and Health Insurance Coverage in the United States," 2006.

【資料4：狭まり広がる価値観認識のギャップ】

Black and White Values

Percent saying values held by black and white people have become more similar.



	---Whites---		---Blacks---	
	1986*	2007	1986	2007
Over past 10 years the values of blacks and whites became more...	%	%	%	%
Similar	62	72	51	54
Different	17	14	31	37
No change (vol.)	10	4	7	3
Don't know/Refused	11	10	11	6
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	851	1536	843	1007

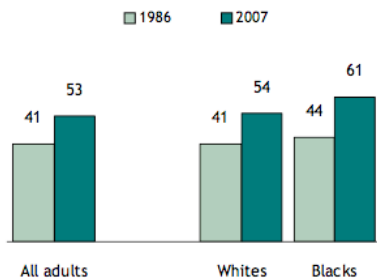
Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. *The 1986 figures are from a Gallup/JCPS survey.

Question wording: In the last ten years, do you think the values held by black people and the values held by white people have become more similar or more different?

PewResearchCenter

The Values of Middle Class and Poor Blacks

Percent saying values held by middle class blacks and poor blacks have become more different.



	---Whites---		---Blacks---	
	1986*	2007	1986	2007
Over past 10 years the values of middle class blacks and poor blacks have become more...	%	%	%	%
Similar	33	25	40	31
Different	41	54	44	61
No change (vol.)	8	2	9	2
Don't know/Refused	18	19	7	6
	100	100	100	100
Number of respondents	851	1536	843	1007

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. *The 1986 figures are from a Gallup/JCPS survey.

Question wording: Just thinking about black people: In the last ten years, do you think the values held by middle class black people and the values held by poor black people have become more similar or more different?

PewResearchCenter

Ibid, pp.20-21.

【資料5：剥がれ落ちる「人種意識」】

Are Blacks Today Still a Single Race?

	No longer single race	Still single race	(Vol) Neither/ both/DK
Blacks	37	53	10=100
Gender			
Male	35	56	9=100
Female	38	51	11=100
Age			
18-29	44	51	5=100
30-49	35	57	8=100
50-64	35	56	9=100
65+	34	43	23=100
Education			
College graduate	41	50	9=100
Some college	37	56	7=100
High school or less	36	53	11=100
Income			
\$100,000+	29	62	9=100
\$50K-\$99K	38	56	6=100
\$30K-\$49K	38	53	9=100
Less than \$30,000	35	53	12=100
Region			
Northeast	42	49	9=100
Midwest	46	45	9=100
South	32	57	11=100
West	36	58	6=100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.
 Question wording: Which of these statements comes closer to your own view -- even if neither is exactly right: Blacks today can no longer be thought of as a single race because the black community is so diverse. OR Blacks can still be thought of as a single race because they have so much in common.

PewResearchCenter

Ibid, p.24.

【資料 6 : 黒人と白人の差別認識の差】

Blacks Say Blacks Often Face Discrimination—Whites Disagree

	Almost always/ frequently	Not often/ hardly ever
How often do blacks face discrimination...	%	%
Apply for a job		
All adults	29	62
Whites	20	70
Blacks	67	27
Hispanics	36	52
Rent an apartment or buy a house		
All adults	33	53
Whites	27	58
Blacks	65	29
Hispanics	36	51
Apply to a college or university		
All adults	13	75
Whites	7	81
Blacks	43	47
Hispanics	22	62
Eat at a restaurant and shop in retail stores		
All adults	19	75
Whites	12	82
Blacks	50	45
Hispanics	29	63

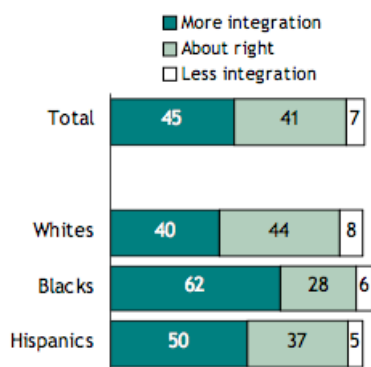
Note: Percent with no opinion not shown. Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

PewResearchCenter Ibid, p.30.

【資料 7 . 人種隔離の現状に対する認識】

Neighborhood Integration

Would like to see...

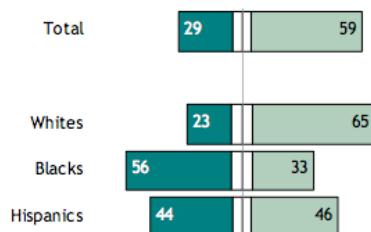


Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

PewResearchCenter

School Integration

- More important to go to racially mixed schools
- Neither/Both/Don't know
- More important to go to local community schools



Question wording: Which is more important? To have students go to racially mixed schools even if many of the students don't live nearby, or to have students go to local community schools even if it means most students are of the same race?

Note: Whites include only non-Hispanic whites. Blacks include only non-Hispanic blacks. Hispanics are of any race.

PewResearchCenter

Ibid, p.51.

【資料 8. 低下する黒人指導者の信頼度】

Declining Ratings of Black Leaders' Effectiveness

	---Blacks---	
	1986	2007
	%	%
How effective in providing leadership for black Americans are:		
National black political leaders?		
Very effective	27	18
Somewhat effective	54	57
Not very effective	14	21
DK/Ref	5	4
	100	100
The NAACP?		
Very effective	47	32
Somewhat effective	38	41
Not very effective	9	20
DK/Ref	6	7
	100	100
Black ministers and clergy?		
Very effective	40	36
Somewhat effective	43	42
Not very effective	13	18
DK/Ref	4	4
	100	100

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

PewResearchCenter

Ibid, p.56.

【資料 9. オバマはアメリカ黒人と価値を共有しているか？】

Most Blacks Say Obama Shares Values and Interests

	--Familiar with Obama--			
	A Lot	Some	Not Much/ Not at all	DK/Ref
Does Obama share values and interests of black people in this country?				
Blacks	50	39	11=100	16
Sex				
Male	48	40	12=100	15
Female	51	38	11=100	18
Age				
18-39	41	46	13=100	12
40+	56	34	10=100	19
Education				
Some college or more	59	36	5=100	10
High school or less	41	42	17=100	22
Income				
\$50K+	62	32	6=100	9
Less than \$50K	45	42	13=100	16
Region				
South	46	41	13=100	17
Non-South	55	36	9=100	16

Note: All figures are based on non-Hispanic blacks.

PewResearchCenter

Ibid, p.59.

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