

# **Black Politics in a Time of Transition**

National Political Science Review, Volume 13

# Black Politics in a Time of Transition

James O. Harris, Jr. (Editor)

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1. The first part of the report deals with the general situation of the country and the position of the various groups of the population. It is a very interesting and informative part of the report and it is well worth reading.

2. The second part of the report deals with the economic situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative part of the report and it is well worth reading.

3. The third part of the report deals with the social situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative part of the report and it is well worth reading.

4. The fourth part of the report deals with the political situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative part of the report and it is well worth reading.

5. The fifth part of the report deals with the cultural situation of the country. It is a very interesting and informative part of the report and it is well worth reading.

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## Editors' Note

This issue of the *National Political Science Review (NPSR)* marks a transition in its editorial leadership. For the past twelve years, Professor Georgia Persons has guided the *NPSR* through a variety of circumstances in a manner that has preserved its rigorous professional standards. Under her stewardship the *NPSR* has distinguished itself in the publication of articles of timely interest and high scholarly quality. In addition, Professor Persons has enriched the *NPSR* with special issues such as the "Race and Democracy in the Americas," that have broadened the reach of our discussion of what is called Black Politics. Sustaining the high professionalism and intellectual reach of the *NPSR* is the challenge she has handed to the new editorial team.

Part of this challenge is making the journal one that is read widely throughout political science discipline and one which elected officials and activists regard as a place for following debates on the unfolding trends in the area of race and politics. The editors will cast the net widely in soliciting contributions from a broad reach of the discipline. Mindful of the particular interests of our readership, we will also look for special topics as themes for organizing particular issues of the journal.

This issue contains a couple of innovative features. We introduce a section called "Works in Progress." It will be devoted to the comments of selected scholars whom we invite to offer reflections on the research they are presently engaged in or work which they have recently completed. Our aim is to offer space wherein scholars speak somewhat intimately about the reasons for choosing the research projects which occupy so much of their attention. We have asked them to write in a more personal vein as a way of telling their peers about those motivations that guide their professional lives. We include four essays to inaugurate this section, one of which is a posthumous commentary by a longstanding supporter of both the *NPSR* and of National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). Its inclusion is a way for us to honor the memory of our friend, Professor Ronald Walters.

In addition to the finished pieces selected through the blind review process, we also wish to highlight papers presented at a recent meeting of NCOBPS. It is our belief that a scholarly journal should be a multifaceted platform for disseminating research. First and foremost, it serves to bring to the attention of a scholarly audience, research of a finished quality. It may also serve, however, to capture the evolving or ongoing nature of a research enterprise. In this light we want the *NPSR* to reflect the dynamism of research as an extended, stage by stage, process. To do this, we will focus on the labors brought to the annual meeting of NCOBPS. We will select a panel that seems to have the broadest possible appeal or which appears to have a place in building the store of accumulated knowledge on race and politics. We will ask the participants of a selected

panel to revise their papers in a manner meeting the editorial standards for publication in the *NPSR*.

Over the course of its more than forty-year existence, NCOBPS has witnessed tremendous changes in the ways in which scholars approach the topics of Black and minority politics. In this issue we provide our readers with a measure of that change with the publication of a document by Joseph McCormick II, a former NCOBPS president, detailing the early history of NCOBPS. We publish Professor McCormick's article in what we hope will become an occasional series called, "From the NCOBPS Archive."

Book reviews are an essential feature of a scholarly journal. They provide the locus for introducing the latest in the discipline's research. It alerts readers to the topics regarded as timely and significant, as well as trends capturing attention, analysis, and debate. We therefore wish to make the Book Review Section as expansive as we can. Our reviews will be more than brief syntheses. Tiffany Willoughby-Herad, our book review editor, will charge reviewers with doing reviews that are critical, fair, and full throated. We also wish to extend the reach of our reviewers so that we can establish a community of concerned practitioners which radiates out from NCOBPS to include experts of all stripes and experiences.

This having been said, we invite the readers of the *NPSR* to continue deriving benefit from its publication.

## **Black Power in Black Presidential Bids from Jackson to Obama**

*Katherine Tate*

### **Introduction**

The world took notice of the November 4, 2008 election of Illinois Senator Barack Obama as America's first Black president. Many believe that Obama's success was based on his ability to mount a deracialized campaign for president. A deracialized campaign is one that avoids racial issues and specific appeals to Black voters (McCormick and Jones 1993). Nor did his Republican challenger, Senator John McCain, seek to exploit racial divisions in this race through race code politics, as past Republican presidential candidates have done since Richard Nixon (Mendelberg 2001). Obama's successful bid for the presidency and his deracialized approach, however, have raised new questions in African American politics. Can Black presidential bids still be used as vehicles to advance the political agenda of Black Americans? Can racial inequalities in the United States be reduced without explicit pressure on government from Black leaders to address the economic and social plight of African Americans? How will the policy interests of the Black community fare under the leadership of a new crop of Black politicians winning elections in majority-White jurisdictions?

In this article, I analyze Blacks' support for recent Black presidential bids. Following Jesse Jackson's historic 1984 and 1988 bids, the Reverend Al Sharpton and former U.S. Senator Carol Moseley Braun ran for president in 2004. Sharpton and Moseley Braun did less well electorally with Black voters for several reasons. First, over the twenty-year period, Blacks became better integrated within the Democratic Party, reducing their suspicion that their votes were taken for granted. Second, surveys show that Black concern about racial problems in the United States fell in the 1990s. Obama's candidacy benefited from these changes. Black voters are rejecting a Black power approach of organizing and uniting Black votes in favor of a coalitional approach. I discuss the implications of an end of a Black power approach in Black electoral politics in the article's conclusion.

### **Black Power Approaches in Black Politics**

What exactly is Black politics? The term lacks an agreed-upon definition; broadly, it represents a description of the political efforts of Black Americans to advance the collective interest of their group. In their effort to analyze Black politics with better theoretical precision, scholars have adopted a number of different analytic frames and approaches

(Barker, Jones, and Tate 1999; McClain and Stewart 2009). Some scholars have sought to expose the ideological tensions in Black politics, describing its phases of accommodationism, nationalism, and protest (Cruse 1967; Holden 1973). Others have put Black politics in historical frames, arguing that the Black political struggle has been defined by its movements, the first developing during Reconstruction following the Civil War, and a second one, emerging in the aftermath of World War II (Marable 2007). Marable (2009) writes also about defining or critical moments in Black politics, such as the 2005 Hurricane Katrina crisis during the Bush administration.

Similarly, others contend that there was a protest phase and a post-protest, electoral phase following passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act (Preston 1987; Smith 1981; Tate 1994). Most recently, Gillespie (2010) contends that within the post-civil rights stage of Black politics, there are three phases reflecting the changing ambitions of Black political leaders, as well as the rise of a new generation unconnected to the Black civil rights past. Pluralist theories, following Robert Dahl's claim (1961), that the mobilization of Blacks will automatically lead to their political integration and advancement have been largely rejected. Browning, Marshall, and Tabb (1984) argue that minorities in the United States had to protest and mobilize in advance of having the ability to form political coalitions with liberal Whites. Other critics of pluralism contend that the history and legal status of Blacks are fundamentally different from those of European and other immigrant groups in this country (Hero 1992; Pinderhughes 1987). Furthermore, alternative frameworks have been introduced, including the internal colonialism model, which depicts Blacks as colonized people (Barker, Jones, and Tate 1999; McClain and Stewart 2009).

While there is no agreement over which frame best fits Black politics, the one chosen affects the conclusions drawn about the current status of Blacks and prospects for future social and political change. Furthermore, these different frameworks and models have two important overlapping features. First, the historical frame is often adopted because analysts seek to analyze Black politics through an understanding of the changing nature of external conditions on the Black experience. For example, the ideological currents of American courts, either liberalizing or reactionary, have been important influences in African American politics. The Supreme Court ruling that unexpectedly abolished the White primary in *Smith v. Allwright* (1944) played a role in President Truman's decision to push for the civil rights of Blacks. The Cold War also played a role in Truman's behavior. This focus on the political environment is akin to the notion of the *political opportunity structure*. This concept was developed in the social movement field to explain why collective action arises in some instances and not others (Tarrow 1998). Doug McAdam (1999) employs the "political opportunity structure" in his analysis of the rise and decline of the Black civil rights movement. Political opportunity structure, McAdam contends, refers to the vulnerability of the existing social system to challenge and change. The political opportunity structure helps to explain the strategic choices Blacks have made. For example, Blacks have more commonly made use of noninstitutionalized means of protest to influence the political process in light of an unresponsive federal government and hostile legal system.

Secondly, models and frameworks of Black politics also seek to explain Black political actions through an investigation of the social, economic, and political position of Blacks. Here, scholars investigate the political resources of minority groups, their ideologies,



geographic concentration, rates of registration, levels of group identity, cohesion and feelings of political efficacy (McClain and Stewart 2009). The massive relocation of Blacks from the South to the North starting in World War I was an important catalyst in Black politics. The change in the Black political leadership structure following the 1965 Voting Rights Act is also an important development in Black politics (Reed 1986). These frameworks, therefore, focus on different components of *internal group status*. Scholars have found that Blacks base a number of their policy positions on their shared interests (Dawson 1994; Gurin, Hatchett, and Jackson 1989; Tate 1994). Despite their group orientation toward politics, Blacks are not politically homogeneous (Dawson 2001). Fredrick C. Harris (2009) writes about the rise of political pragmatism in the Black electorate. Ronald W. Walters (2003) points to the reemergence of Black conservatives during the 1980s. These changes have produced some strong conclusions. Robert C. Smith (2009) contends that the reduction of "system-challenging behavior" among Black leaders has led to a new period of accommodationism. Black leaders, he contends, no longer seek to change "system values or upset system elites" (2009, 24; see also Smith 1996).

The two components, *political opportunity structure* and *internal group status*, are used in this paper to explain changing Black support for Black power strategies. Changes in the political opportunity structure were importantly linked to the rise of the Black power movement. While most claim the Black power movement originated when Black activists first used a "Black power" chant for a civil rights march in 1966, it had roots in Malcolm X's rise in the Nation of Islam (Joseph 2006). The Black power movement was controversial. First, African Americans had only recently rejected the label "Negro" in favor of "Black." Second, it clearly did not endorse interracial cooperation, which was the prominent goal and approach of Dr. King's Southern Christian Leadership Conference SCLC. In fact Black Power suggested a rejection of interracial cooperation.

The demand for Black power grew out of Atlanta Student Non-violent Coordinating Committee SNCC activists who began to see that Whites would not support Black candidates, and they needed to mobilize Blacks on the basis of a new consciousness that could start a new movement. The internal status of Blacks had powerfully changed with the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act. The Black Power approach was based on political disillusionment. SNCC leader Stokely Carmichael was a reluctant advocate of Black power. At that 1966 movement event, he stated, "This is the twenty-seventh time I have been arrested. I ain't going to jail no more. Blacks had been demanding freedom for six years, and had gotten nothing. What we gonna start saying now is 'Black power'" (*Eyes on the Prize* 2006). Early Black activists in the South felt disillusionment with the Democratic Party. The Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), a biracial civil rights group, was formed to challenge the all-White primary delegation in Mississippi to the Democratic Party's 1964 national convention. A compromise was reached that the party let the all-White delegation from Mississippi keep their seats, while MFDP was offered two at-large seats and promised future party rules that would prevent the seating of groups that discriminated against minority groups. The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People NAACP and Martin Luther King welcomed the compromise, as did most political observers and activists outside of MFDP. MFDP activists, however, through Fannie Lou Hamer, denounced the compromise and walked

out. The state of Mississippi continued to send all-White delegations (they would not be seated) to the Democratic Party's national conventions until 1976, when something was worked out to build biracial support for Georgia Governor Jimmy Carter's presidential bid (Parker 1990).

In 1967, Stokely Carmichael (later, Kwame Ture) and Political Scientist, Charles V. Hamilton, published *Black Power*. In it they argued that the White Power Structure was organized to keep African Americans powerless and subordinate in American society, and that Blacks could only overcome this system of oppression through a Black Power strategy. The White Power Structure operated in three spheres. Economically, Blacks resided in a vicious poverty cycle. Racially segregated, high costs were imposed upon them for living in urban ghettos. Educational opportunities there were limited. Politically, Whites created a system to maintain their monopoly on power. The White power structure also co-opted Black leaders. Black leaders could not advance their real interests until they picked their own leaders. Socially and psychologically, Blacks were fed messages of their inferiority, causing self-loathing, alienation, and despair. At the same time, these messages reinforced Whites' attitudes of racial superiority. Thus, Blacks needed to form a new group consciousness. Furthermore, Blacks needed their own independent political organizations. Coalitions with Whites were rejected because White racial interests were incompatible with Black interests. Also lacking the power and resources that Whites had, Blacks were not the political equals of Whites, and could not codirect their organizations. Finally, a Black power strategy required new civil rights objectives. In a Black power approach, integration would no longer be explicitly the objective, but social justice would be. Blacks would seek to be treated with equal respect as well as having equal worth in society.

President Nixon's reelection and the 1972 National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana, are seen as the end of the Black power movement. Membership in the Black Panther Party declined by the mid-1970s, and the prominent spokespersons for Black power, Amiri Baraka and Stokely Carmichael, became less visible (Joseph 2006). McAdam (1999) also points out that there was repression of Black power groups through law enforcement and taxing agencies. Racial integration, while firmly resisted by Whites, would see two liberal court decisions affirming busing as a constitutional remedy for racial segregation in schools in 1971 and another decision in 1978, *Bakke*, affirming, if just barely, the constitutional legitimacy of affirmative action. While the movement of Black power leaders, indigenous groups, and grassroots backers faded, the strategy itself never became discredited. It would return during the 1980s as a way to pressure government to address issues that Blacks were most concerned with: their continued exclusion from proportional forms of political power and their economic and social marginalization as a group.

### **Jesse Jackson's 1984 and 1988 Presidential Bids**

In 1983, the Reverend Jesse Jackson declared his intention to seek the Democratic Party's nomination for president, surprising many political analysts who felt that Jackson's time had definitely not come. Many Black Democrats pledged their support to another Democratic contender, Vice President Walter Mondale, instead. Press and public expectations for Jackson were low. Jackson campaigned with a budget approximately one-third

that of other major presidential contenders. Jackson's campaigns were modeled after Ronald W. Walters' (1988) Black presidential campaign strategy, which incorporated a Black power approach. In spite of Blacks' minority status as voters, Blacks could leverage greater influence over the Democratic Party and over a Democratic president through a Black presidential bid. Although the Black vote is not usually large enough to play a determinative role in the outcome of presidential races, it can guarantee a Democratic loss if Blacks choose to vote for an independent party or candidate or to abstain and stay home. Furthermore, a successful Black campaign would be able to deny the Black vote to any of the other candidates and thereby pose a threat to the nomination for the front-runner. Walters contended that Black presidential candidacies could also assist in the institutionalization of Black politics. Not only would campaigns by Black leaders help organize the Black vote every four years, but a Black presidential contender could issue policy statements that would become part of the party's policy platform at its national conventions. Jackson won about 18 percent of the Democratic primary vote in 1984. Most of his support came from Black Democrats, 77 percent of whom voted for him over Mondale in 1984 (Morris and Williams 1989; Preston 1989).

As a leveraging strategy, Jackson ended both campaigns with few concessions from the Democratic Party. All of the minority planks proposed by the Jackson camp were overwhelmingly defeated by the Mondale-Hart forces at the 1984 convention (Barker 1989, 156). A critical problem for the Jackson camp was the delegate selection system. The 1984 system allocated delegates only to those candidates able to achieve a 20 percent threshold of votes in each congressional district. Moreover, one-seventh of the delegates at the 1984 convention were "super delegates" elected officials and party leaders who were selected by the party and not elected by the rank-and-file membership. This penalized minority and urban voters who were more likely to be concentrated in a few congressional districts, and in fact, although Jackson won 18.3 percent of the total primary vote, he ended up with only 10 percent of the convention delegates (Morris and Williams 1989, 243). The Mondale team hired Blacks for the campaign, and Jackson was able to deliver a convention floor address at prime time. In 1988, Jackson did better, having negotiated with the Dukakis forces in advance of the convention on several policies contained in the party's platform. Furthermore, in 1988, Ronald H. Brown, an African American, was selected as the Democratic Party's national chairman. His selection was seen as a move by the party to appease Black Democrats in the aftermath of Jackson's two presidential bids.

Jackson's supporters were not happy with the party in 1984. In fact, according to one political scientist who was a Jackson delegate at that convention, the Jackson delegates experienced disillusionment. "Mondale people wanted to show their control of the convention, particularly to show how badly he could beat Jackson ... Along with many other Jackson delegates, I personally resented deeply this kind of treatment" (Barker 1989, 156). Jackson delegates felt that the party's treatment of their candidate at the convention was an indication of the party's attitudes toward Black Democrats in general. In 1988, Jackson supporters felt even more strongly that Jackson should have been given the opportunity to be the vice-presidential candidate on the party's ticket. The statistical evidence, however, shows no drop-off in support for the Democratic Party in response to the 1984 or 1988 nominating contests. Over the four-year period, there was a slight

increase in the percentage of Blacks who labeled themselves "strong" Democrats based on the 1984–1988 National Black Election Study (Tate 1992).

As a Black power strategy, Jackson's presidential bids were essentially reformist, not radical, a point Cruse (1967) makes in his general criticism of Black power. Jackson did not run as a third-party candidate or form a national Black political party. The 1984 National Black Election Study found only 28 percent of Blacks supported the idea of a Black third party (Tate 1994). Jesse Jackson's political role in the party ultimately helped end the rebellion of Black Democrats. Jackson did not run in 1992, and he gave Clinton a rather indifferent endorsement on the convention stage in 1992. Yet, Jackson strongly endorsed Clinton for reelection at the 1996 Democratic convention even after Clinton had signed a conservative welfare reform law. Jackson's 1996 convention speech differed radically from his past three speeches insofar as there was little of his own political agenda in it. The theme of his speech was party unity.

The reasons why Jackson moved to this firm embrace of the Democratic Party are complex. In 1996, it was evident that Bill Clinton remained popular among most Black Democrats, and thus a challenge by Jackson would have been enormously difficult. The fact of the matter is that most Blacks may not have supported a third presidential bid by Jesse Jackson in 1996. While over 80 percent in 1984 thought it had been a *good idea* for Jackson to have run for president, 65 percent in the 1996 National Black Election Study thought it would have been a *bad idea* if Jackson had run in 1996. For comparison purposes, Blacks were asked if it would have been a good idea or bad idea for Black Republican Colin Powell to have run for his party's presidential nomination. Most Blacks, 56 percent, thought it would have been a bad idea as well. Jackson's popularity among Blacks, however, remained as strong in 1996 as it was in 1984. Both Jackson and Powell received highly positive ratings, well in the 70s on a scale from 0 to 100, in the 1996 National Black Election Study.

#### Al Sharpton's 2004 Bid

The very fact that Jackson had embraced the Democratic Party's nominees at each successive presidential election since 1996 was made into an issue by Al Sharpton. In his memoir, Sharpton asked whether Jackson remained committed to an activist agenda, writing, "I began to question the direction that commitment was taking in the late 1990s. Jesse Jackson had developed a closeness to Bill Clinton. And I felt his relationship with Clinton and the White House was getting in the way of his work as an activist" (Sharpton and Hunter 2002, 197). The role of a civil rights/human rights activist, Sharpton argues, is distinct from that of a Washington insider, which he felt Jackson had become during the 1990s. He illustrated this claim by pointing to Dr. Martin Luther King, who, writes Sharpton, "as close as he was to Lyndon Johnson, came out vocally against the war in Vietnam. He never took a presidential appointment. He challenged the system" (Sharpton and Hunter 2002, 197). The biblical reference he used to illustrate this point is the story of David. "David, the warrior who slew Goliath, was not the same man as King David. You have a right to be king. But if you're king, you cannot also be the warrior fighting against the powers that be. And as king, you must also respect those who are still the warriors. But you don't try to do both" (Sharpton and Hunter 2002, 202). Sharpton notes in *Al on America* that there was distance between Jackson and himself, crediting his alliance with

and support for Black nationalists as reasons. The other reasons, writes Sharpton, are not clear: "We would talk off and on, but it was clear to me that we weren't as tight as we used to be" (Sharpton and Hunter 2002, 194). Jackson visited Sharpton in the hospital after Sharpton had been stabbed in 1991, but when Sharpton ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992, Jackson supported Robert Abrams instead. Jackson also disagreed with some of Sharpton's Burger King boycott in New York.

During his campaign, Sharpton told reporters that he would not necessarily defer to the eventual Democratic nominee and pledge his support as Jackson had. He explained that he was not seeking the White power structure's support in his role as a civil rights and community rights activist. He writes: "The goal of the average black—particularly a prominent black—is to be accepted by the white power structure and by white people. And I don't give a damn if they ever accept me. I have set my own standards for what's important to me. A white supremacist is not comfortable with someone who says, 'I don't really care if you ever accept me or not; I don't care if you ever embrace me or not. I am what I am and that's enough for me.' A supremacist must always feel that you submit to him, which is why, while I respect and admire Rev. Jackson, I psychologically could not deal with his conceding or deferring to the White House." Sharpton's message was that he was running for justice. He stated: "I don't want a job; I want justice!"

Sharpton's promise that he would never compromise in his pursuit of justice was evident in the 2001 New York mayoral race. Sharpton, after strong efforts were made on the part of David Dinkins, Hillary Clinton, and Charles Rangel for Sharpton's endorsement for the mayoral candidates they were backing, chose the independent path of endorsing Latino candidate Fernando Ferrer. Following Sharpton's endorsement, liberal Democratic candidate Mark Green announced on television: "I never asked Sharpton for his endorsement." Green's efforts to distance himself from Sharpton were picked up on the press. Green won the election through a run-off against Ferrer. Even while Ferrer endorsed Green in the race against Republican Michael Bloomberg, Sharpton refused. Many Democratic officials pressed Sharpton for an endorsement, but Sharpton justified his refusal, writing: "How can I give a guy who lied about even asking me for my support?" Then Sharpton went to the press and announced that he was not going to endorse Green. In his book, *Al on America*, Sharpton admitted that he fully expected Green to win. He expected to be a critic of the Green administration, in the same fashion that he waged war against the Giuliani and Koch administrations. Instead, Bloomberg won. Sharpton writes, "To this day, I felt that the Democratic Party had to be taught a lesson and still has to be taught one nationally. We did not get the right to vote from the Democrats or the Republicans. Our grandparents went out there and faced dog bites, jail cells, and some died. And before I take that vote and give it to somebody who doesn't respect me, I would rather sit up until hell freezes over" (Sharpton and Hunter 2002, 176).

There is a closer resemblance to Black power in Sharpton's approach to coalitional politics than is evident in Jackson's approach. First, Sharpton's language evokes Black power themes. There are Sharpton's references to the "White power structure" and White supremacists. Secondly, there is the rejection of the belief that Black liberation would come through ordinary political processes. He, like Jackson, believes that there is a need for outside agitation and for defiance in Black politics today, and for a social movement protest vehicle that would be superimposed over ordinary, routine politics. Thirdly, there

is the threat of political and social disorder made plain by Ture and Hamilton in their 1967 book, *Black Power*, that if White society does not provide racial justice, Blacks will rebel. The authors write: "It is crystal clear to us—and it must become so with the white society—that *there can be no social order without social justice*. White people must be made to understand that they must stop messing with black people, or the blacks *will* fight back" (1967, 53).

Sharpton's political speeches reveal a posture of continued defiance. Jackson remained a candidate in his 1984 and 1988 bids long after many political commentators and figures felt that he should have dropped out. The civil rights movement directed by Dr. King preached nonviolent, noncompliance with the laws, while Black power advocates contend that Blacks must necessarily strike back. Sharpton's message does not imply a "strike back" strategy, but it does envision nonvoting by Blacks as an act of civil disobedience.

Finally, the notion that Blacks must define themselves for the purposes of racial autonomy and pride, is far more evident in Sharpton's campaign than in Jackson's campaigns. Should Sharpton have cut his hair, changed his wardrobe, and curtailed the blunt language often found in his speeches in order to conform better to the norms and standards of running for president? For Sharpton, such moves would involve giving up his identity as a Black man. Ture and Hamilton write, "The racial and cultural personality of the black community must be preserved and that community must win its freedom while preserving its cultural integrity" (1992, 55).

Did a Black power approach work for Sharpton in 2004? Black nationalism principles garner a minority share of support in the Black community. Michael Dawson argues that nationalism is best understood as a skeptical response to liberal ideologies, which if embraced fully, "lure blacks and others to not only accede to their own oppression, but kill and die in the service of its maintenance" (2001, 87). The political strategies that flow from a Black nationalist perspective, however, range from a complete rejection of political alliances with Whites to purposeful and short-term alliances with Whites. Sharpton's bid was not to imagine that he would win or even be invited to share the ticket with the eventual nominee, but to organize Black Democrats and use that organization to wrest concessions from their political party and its eventual nominee. America, after all, was too racist to elect a Black man for president, and Sharpton was not going to engage in a charade suggesting that America would elect him. He was going to remain true to himself and invite himself to the party, without altering his identity to fit White society's expectations. It was classic Sharpton, then, to accept his ten-minute speech limitation and then remain on the platform for twenty minutes, unapologetically at the Democratic National Convention. African Americans are afforded less than their fair share in many ways, and Sharpton took what he considered to be fair.

### Moseley Braun's Campaign for President

In stark contrast to Sharpton, Carol Moseley Braun ran a campaign strikingly devoid of Black Power, utilizing the strategy that she would transcend race, focus on gender, and win feminist votes. While there is new scholarship on critiquing the "masculinist posturing that pervaded Black Power," (Ward 2006; see also Spring 2006), few, if any, have frankly discussed the barriers that Black women face in organizing the Black community through race-specific appeals in their campaigns. Other Blacks had run for president on



third-party tickets, but Shirley Chisholm, the New York House representative, was the first Black to run for the Democratic party's top post. Critics of her 1972 bid thought it was "premature," implying that the political advancement of Black women would have to take place after the advancement of Black men. Chisholm was a founding member of the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC). However, because of the inherent problems in organizing a Black power approach as a female, Chisholm ran a "rainbow" oriented campaign in 1972, aiming to unite the young, women, the poor, and minorities in her anti-Vietnam War platform.

In her speech to Iowans announcing her plans to run for president, Moseley Braun did not wrestle with the contradictions of America as a liberal democracy and its legacy of failures to African Americans. Nor did she speak to the inherent premise of America as a land of opportunity, even for oppressed Blacks, as Barack Obama did, as a speaker at the 2004 event. Obama emphasized how he managed to transcend the difficulties of being part-Black and being raised by his grandparents after his father left the family for a Harvard Law School education. He expressed the confidence of Black liberals that America will ultimately wake up, recognize its sins, and redeem itself, and thus, they support the institutional framework of a liberal democratic state.

Moseley Braun stopped short of embracing a "radical egalitarianism" (Dawson 2001) in which she provided a policy agenda to bring Blacks and minorities to full equality with Whites. On the issues, she was proaffirmative action, and unequivocally so. Like Sharpton, she made the case for affirmative action based on her experiences not only as an African American, but as a female striving for, as she wrote, "the blessings of liberty." She pointed to an "old boys' network," and a decline in minority and female-owned businesses as a sign that unequal opportunities were linked directly to the unequal status of Blacks and women in America. She separately listed "women's issues" as a core component of her policy agenda on her campaign website (<http://www.carolforpresident.com>). Moseley Braun also emphasized the "bread and butter" issues that all the Democrats run on, which made her campaign less a direct focus on America's disadvantaged and unwanted, than Jackson's was. She favored a "balanced budget," which put her closer to the more conservative Democrats than the liberal-progressive ones. At the same time, she was in favor of a universal health care system, which then put her on the progressive end. Perhaps the most conservative element of her campaign, however, was her position on the Iraq war, which was to support the troops and not "cut and run." Again, she presented her position on the war clearly at the Democratic debate held on September 4, 2003: "I hope that it will allow us, within the tradition of U.S. command and control over our own forces, allow us to extricate ourselves with honor but continue a viable war on terrorism that gets bin Laden and his pals and all the people who would do harm to the American people" (see <http://www.carolforpresident.com>). Although she presented herself as a consistent critic of the Bush administration's war policy and of the Patriot Act, she did not join the other Democrats, notably Howard Dean, Al Sharpton, and Dennis Kucinich, who took clear anti-war positions during the primary contest, and in particular Bush's unilateral stance in the war. Whereas Kucinich proposed to turn the war over to the United Nations, Sharpton and Dean favored a multilateral position. Here, Moseley Braun stood with John Edwards and John Kerry (perhaps because all three had served in the U.S. Senate) favoring a U.S. presence with more a multilateral effort in rebuilding Iraq.

The only rebuke of America she provided in her campaign was that it had fallen short of equality for women. Thus, Moseley Braun's strategy reflected a feminist approach, but in a conventional form that focused on the domination of (White) males, unlike the Black feminist ideologies that involved rebukes of Black males as well as White feminists for their oppression of Black females (Dawson 2001). The special dilemmas, for example, that the confirmation hearings of Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court in 1992 and President Bill Clinton's "Monica Gate" scandal presented that led majorities of Blacks and some White feminists to rally behind these two men, left only radical Black feminists to present the logical critiques of their rampant sexism. Dawson (2001) writes, while historically Black feminists have been found in "nationalist, communist, and liberal formations," they still largely exist in the academic community alone. Viable political coalitions are difficult for them to form as society does not want to recognize gender exclusion as well as racism inherent in Black-White liberal and Black nationalist organizations. Thus, Moseley Braun was not in the category of a Black feminist, but structured her campaign as a conventional liberal feminist.

Braun entered the national political scene when she ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992 in the gender-charged context of Black conservative Clarence Thomas' confirmation to the U.S. Supreme Court. Many women voters were given special cause to cast an anti-incumbency vote in 1992, given their disgust over the all-male Senate Judiciary Committee's mishandling of the Clarence Thomas-Anita Hill controversy. Until information was leaked to the press, the Senate's all-male judiciary committee had failed to act on the charge made by law professor Anita F. Hill that the conservative nominee to the Supreme Court, Clarence Thomas, had sexually harassed her while he headed the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. A record number of women ran for the U.S. Senate in 1992, including Carol Moseley Braun. She was able to beat incumbent Illinois Democratic Senator, Alan Dixon, who had voted to confirm Thomas, in the primary. Prior to Moseley Braun's election, no Blacks and only two women were serving in the U.S. Senate. Exit polls revealed that Moseley Braun received 40 percent of the women's vote against 35 percent of men's votes in her 1992 bid for the U.S. Senate in the primary election against Al Dixon. However, she received 62 percent of the vote from White suburban women who felt that Thomas should not have been confirmed, but at that time, a large majority of Americans thought Thomas should have been confirmed (Tate 1997). Moseley Braun's support among African Americans was very solid. She took 85 percent of the Black vote, according to exit polls.

Moseley Braun would lose, six years later, to her Republican challenger. The 1998 reelection race was hampered by new scandals that evoked gender and racial stereotypes. First, there were allegations that she abused her privilege as Senator to take political junkets with her legislative aide. This same individual was a cad who allegedly sexually harassed her staff. She was also investigated for campaign finance abuses, but never charged.

### **The Quest for Votes in the Sharpton and Moseley Braun Campaigns**

Carol Moseley Braun withdrew just before the Iowa caucuses, and she ended up with no delegates. Al Sharpton won 27 delegates, doing slightly better than Dennis Kucinich, but significantly less well than Jackson who won 384 in 1984 and 1,218 in 1988 (see Table 1). The question is why in 2004 did Sharpton and Braun fare strikingly less



well than Jackson did? In primary states that Jackson won in 1988, such as Louisiana, and states that Jackson did well in such as Ohio, Sharpton was not on the ballot. In the District of Columbia, where Jackson took 80 percent of the primary vote in 1988, Sharpton won only 20 percent of the vote. In South Carolina, Sharpton won 10 percent of the vote. In other southern states, such as Georgia, Sharpton's vote totals were too low to earn him delegates.

**Table 1**  
**Jackson's and Sharpton's Primary Vote and Delegates at Democratic Convention,**  
**by State in 1984, 1988, and 2004**

State	Jackson (1984)		Jackson (1988)		Sharpton (2004)	
	Votes	Delegates	Votes	Delegates	Votes	Delegates
Alabama	19.6	9	43.6 <sup>a</sup>	28		
Arizona					0	0
Arkansas <sup>c</sup>			17.1	n.a.		
California	18.4	30	35.2	122	2.0	0
Connecticut	12.0	1	28.3	16	3.0	0
Delaware					6.0	1
District of Columbia	67.3 <sup>a</sup>	13	80.0 <sup>a</sup>	18	20	4
Florida	12.2	1	20.0	35	3.0	0
Georgia	21.0	17	39.8 <sup>a</sup>	42	6.0	0
Idaho	5.7	2	15.7 <sup>d</sup>	3		
Illinois	21.0	7	32.3	57		
Indiana	13.7	0	22.5	18		
Kentucky			15.6	n.a.		
Louisiana	42.9 <sup>a</sup>	24	35.5 <sup>a</sup>	33		
Maryland	25.5	17	28.7	25	4.0	0
Massachusetts	5.0	3	18.7	19	1.0	0
Mississippi <sup>c</sup>			44.4 <sup>a</sup>	26	5.0	0
Missouri <sup>c</sup>			20.2	n.a.	3.0	0
Montana <sup>c</sup>			22.1	n.a.		
Nebraska	9.1	1	25.7	8		
New Hampshire	5.3	0	7.8	0	0	0
New Jersey	23.6	9	32.7	19		
New Mexico	11.9	1	28.1	8		
New York	25.6	51	37.1	97	8	11
North Carolina	25.4	15	33.0	35		
North Dakota			15.1 <sup>f</sup>	3		
Ohio	16.4	10	27.4	46		
Oklahoma <sup>c</sup>			13.3	n.a.	1.0	0

Table 1 (cont.)

State	Jackson (1984)		Jackson (1988)		Sharpton (2004)	
	Votes	Delegates	Votes	Delegates	Votes	Delegates
Oregon	9.3	1	38.1	18		
Pennsylvania	16.0	18	27.3	23		
Rhode Island	8.7	0	15.2	3		
South Carolina <sup>d</sup>					10.0	1
South Dakota	5.2	0	5.4	1		
Tennessee	25.3	15	20.7	20	2	0
Texas <sup>c, d</sup>			24.5	n.a.	4	2
Vermont	7.8	3	25.7	9		
Virginia <sup>e</sup>			45.1 <sup>a</sup>	42	3	0
West Virginia	6.7	0	13.5	0		
Wisconsin	9.9	5	28.2	25	2	0
Puerto Rico	0	0	29.0 <sup>a</sup>	8		
Total	18.3	384 <sup>b</sup>	29.0	1,218 <sup>b</sup>	n.a.	27 <sup>b</sup>

Source: Congressional Quarterly Inc.

a) Winner

b) Includes delegates he won through state caucuses as well as primaries.

c) Held caucus in 1984.

d) Held a caucus as well as a primary in 1988.

e) Held caucuses in 1984 and 1988.

f) Based on write-in votes.

The key factor that accounts for failures of Sharpton and Moseley Braun to attract Black voters in their presidential bid is the "political opportunity structure." Analytically, an improved political opportunity structure implies a decrease in the power disparity between the group seeking power and the majority in power, and also implies that the cost of keeping the insurgent group in its place has increased (McAdam 1999). The political environment, the political-legal environment, and the organizational strength of insurgent groups are important components of the political opportunity structure that impact minority groups in advanced, industrial democracies. Jackson's bids in the 1980s were pursued in a racially hostile environment for Blacks. President Ronald Reagan had received the lowest presidential approval ratings for a Republican president among Black voters ever recorded, and surveys also revealed that a majority of Blacks felt in 1984 that the Democratic Party took the Black vote "for granted" (Tate 1994). While President George Bush's evaluations from Black Americans remained equally low, survey work revealed that Blacks felt closer to the Democratic Party ideologically than they did in the 1980s.

The political-legal environment was strikingly different in 2004 than in 1984. In 1984, Jackson campaigned against the party's delegate selection rules. Jackson campaigned on the basis of "one person, one vote" principle, in which delegates are allocated proportionately. However, the Democratic Party rules are more complicated than the Republican party

delegate selection rules which favor a "winner-take-all" system. In 1976, the Democrats banned the winner-take-all primary system. However, there is a threshold rule, in which candidates typically must win at least 15 percent of a congressional district in a primary to win a share of that state's delegates. In 1984, the Democrats also reserved nearly 20 percent of their delegate seats for high-level party and elected officials known as "Super Delegates" (Cook 2000). Following the 1988 primary contest, the Jackson camp lobbied successfully to force the Democratic Party to change its party rules reducing sharply the number of super delegates as well as banning the "bonus-allocation" of delegates that a few states used to boost the number of delegates awarded to the frontrunners. The fuss that Jackson made over the party rules was a part of the racial disharmony that helped elevate the significance of Black Democrats casting a Jackson vote. The lawsuit over the spoiled machine ballots in Florida that cost Democrat, Al Gore, the presidency could have been elevated into a campaign for Al Sharpton. In the context of a terrorist attack on Americans on September 11, 2001, and wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the Patriot Act, and gay rights, voting rights abuses aimed at Black and elderly citizens were lost as a campaign issue in the same manner that civil rights issues were buried as a result of the Vietnam war protest movement and the Watergate scandal. It was only in Sharpton's convention floor address that he skillfully addressed the manner in which Black votes were not counted and the Republicans stole the 2000 election. Had Sharpton used this campaign issue during the primary contest, he might have picked up more votes in the manner that Jackson used the elitist party rules against minority candidates.

It should be pointed out that the Democratic Party skillfully neutralized the appeal of Sharpton or Moseley Braun's candidacies by accommodating more than they had when Jackson ran in 1984. In 1984, there were committees organized to determine how much airtime Jackson would get at the 1984 national convention. While there may have been similar negotiations for Sharpton and Moseley Braun, it was not evident to the public, nor picked up on by the media. There was less to actually contest for the Black presidential contenders in 2004 than for Jackson in 1984 and 1988. The easy inclusion of these two contenders by the Democratic Party debates and at its national convention was not the case for Jackson in 1984. Whether the easy inclusion of Moseley Braun and Sharpton was due to the fact that polls revealed that they would not generate significant support or because race relations had improved within the party is not clear. Jackson himself had also opened the door for Black presidential contenders by becoming less radical, and pledging his support to the party's nominees (Barker, Jones, and Tate 1999). This was not the case in 1984, when Jackson gave a tepid endorsement to former Vice President Walter Mondale in his convention address, refusing, in fact, to mention Mondale by name. By the time President Bill Clinton ran for reelection in 1996, Jackson was seen as one of the party's national leaders and no longer a rebellious thorn in its side.

While the aspect of a highly salient racial environment undercut Moseley Braun's and Sharpton's bids, it was the absence of a highly salient gender environment for Moseley Braun that also cost her potential votes. In 1992, she ran in the "Year of the Woman," when the controversial confirmation of Black conservative Clarence Thomas to the Supreme Court was used to mobilize female voters to support women like Moseley Braun running for the U.S. Senate. In 2004, again, the international environment of terrorism, war, and the domestic issue of gay rights were more salient than abortion rights and

feminist causes as issues that Moseley Braun could have campaigned on to mobilize the feminist vote.

A second element in this analysis of Black support for Black presidential contenders in 2004 is the internal political structure of African Americans. Jackson's bids were strongly supported by the Black church. While Moseley Braun and Sharpton, an ordained minister, made frequent visits to Black churches, their campaigns did not turn into the grassroots movement we saw in the Jackson bids. Again, the appeal of Jackson in the context of a new push to elect the nation's first Black mayors and representatives to the U.S. Congress was absent in 2004. There are many reasons for the failure of the Sharpton-Moseley bids to be linked to the group empowerment efforts of Blacks. First, Black rates of participation had increased since 1984. Since the 1980s, the gap between Blacks and Whites in voter participation had continued to shrink. In 1968, Whites led Blacks in registering and in voting by 9 and 12 percentage points. The 1984 presidential race lead had a much narrower racial gap than previous elections. By 2000, the racial gap between them was about 2 percentage points. When one separates out Latinos from Whites, however, the racial gap in voter turnout in presidential elections is larger. Data from the Census Bureau's Current Population Surveys show that since 1996, increasing numbers of Blacks are voting in presidential elections. While Blacks accounted for about 8 percent of the presidential vote in 1968 this number grew to almost 11 percent in both the 2000 and 2004 elections. In 2008, the highest number ever recorded of Blacks went to the polls, indicating that the candidacy of a Black (Obama) had an important positive effect on Black rates of participation. But the issue of mobilizing Blacks which had been important in 1984 has now become less important as slightly more Blacks have begun to participate in presidential elections. Second, the number of Black elected officials in Washington and nationally has increased dramatically since 1984 as well. The number of Black elected officials has skyrocketed from an estimated 1,500 in 1970 to over 10,000 by 2008 (see <http://www.jointcenter.org>).

The Democratic Party appointed an African American, Ron Brown, to head its national organization in 1989. President Clinton in 1992 appointed a number of African Americans to his administration as well. While Blacks remain overwhelmingly Democratic in their party affiliations, their attitudes toward the party remain mixed. In 1983, 44 percent of Blacks said that "most Democrats are sincerely committed to helping Blacks get ahead," but a matching percentage also felt that "most Democrats don't really care much about Black people" (Tate 1994). In 2006, an Associated Press/AOL/Ipsos Public Affairs Poll reported through the Roper Center found that while 51 percent of Blacks felt that "the leaders of the Democratic Party work hard to ensure the continued support of the Black community," 41 percent still felt that the leaders of the party take the "Black vote for granted." In the same poll, however, 71 percent of the Black respondents felt that the Democratic Party was really trying to "reach out to Black voters" in the election. Only 24 percent said no, that the party was not trying hard to win Black support. Still Black skepticism toward the Democratic Party persists, suggesting that Black candidates can recruit support if Blacks feel slighted by White candidates running for the party's nomination.

An important change has been an ideological one among Blacks. Racial issues have become less salient, and Blacks have also become more politically moderate during the 1990s. A large majority (67 percent) of Blacks supported Clinton's welfare reform law in

1996 that imposed a five-year life time limit for welfare benefits for families in poverty. In 1984 nearly half of the Blacks polled felt that spending on food stamps should be increased, while only 10 percent thought it should be decreased. The 1996 National Black Election Study found that twelve years later, however, that near-majority was cut down to 28 percent, while a nearly matching proportion thought that funds for this program should be cut. Furthermore, in 1996 a large plurality (40 percent) of Blacks ranked crime first and unemployment and discrimination as second and third, respectively. In 1984 only 17 percent had placed crime above the other two problems; crime, in fact, came in third for half of the sample. Black opposition to federal assistance for minorities and Blacks shot up during this period as well, from 6 percent in 1970 to 26 percent in 1988. While the source of this new Black conservatism is debated, Tate (2010) contends that Black political leaders are no longer pushing racial issues as aggressively as they once did and now rely on Democratic Party leadership. As a consequence, the Black electorate is now more moderate, and a Black power strategy emphasizing a racial agenda has less support in the Black community.

### Obama's 2008 Candidacy

Barack Obama was first elected to the Illinois State Senate in 1996. His first efforts to appeal to Black voters as a "universal candidate" failed in 2000 when he tried to unseat Black Democrat Bobby Rush from his House seat in a primary challenge (Frasure 2010). Rush was by self-description a radical Black politician, boasting in his congressional biography that he was a cofounder of Chicago's Black Panther Party. Lorrie Frasure describes Obama's emphasis on his race to resemble a form of Jekyll and Hyde. He would downplay race and then quickly take offense if others criticized him for not being Black enough. Black voters, she contends, saw Obama's moderation on racial issues as an asset when he ran for the U.S. Senate in 2004. In 2008, Frasure (2010) thinks Black voters again were strategic, switching to him when he was perceived to be a viable presidential candidate as polls showed that Blacks initially had favored Hillary Clinton over Obama. Explaining, therefore, the mixed findings of a Black empowerment effect on turnout, Christopher Stout (2010) reports that Black turnout increases when viable, statewide candidacies of Blacks are examined. Thus, this research indicates Black bloc voting and turnout increases when Black candidates can demonstrate their strong viability. Fredrick Harris contends that this turning away from the government's responsibility to helping minorities and the poor has helped to elect the nation's first Black president (2009, 71).

But a key transformation since the 1980s has also been witnessed in the political behavior of White Democrats as well. White Democrats have established better records of credibility with Black voters. President Clinton had cultivated a better working relationship with Black House Democrats than had President Carter. Furthermore, Clinton had appointed more Blacks to his administration than Carter. Thus, when New York Senator Hillary Clinton ran, she benefited from the strong relationship Black Democrats had in Washington with her husband, Bill. Other White politicians have been able to run effective campaigns against other African American candidates, notably Steve Cohen, who won in the district that an African American father and son, the Fords, had represented since 1974. Cohen was elected in 2006, and again in 2008. The majority Black city of New Orleans elected its first White mayor since 1978 in its 2009 municipal elections.

In Atlanta, also a majority-Black city, in 2009, a White candidate very narrowly lost her bid for mayor after having made it to a run-off election. Artur Davis, however, in his primary bid to become Alabama's first Black governor, lost to a White candidate in 2010. Davis' defeat illustrates the new climate for Black politicians today. Davis had cast some conservative votes as a U.S. House legislator, including twice voting against Obama's health care reform legislation, reducing his support among Black voters. It is now clear that Black politicians, even those with exceptional vitae, cannot take the Black vote for granted.

### **Conclusion: Black Power in the Age of Obama**

That Sharpton and Moseley Braun were unable to mobilize Black Democrats in 2004 says much about the political environment in 2004. It was an environment in which Blacks felt that they did not have to "vote Black" in order to pressure the Democratic Party to be more responsive to their communities' needs. With President George W. Bush's popularity ratings as low as Ronald Reagan's in the Black community, most Blacks were going to vote Democratic. Nevertheless, the Democratic field of White candidates still appealed to African American voters. The Democratic national party leadership's easy reception of Sharpton and Moseley Braun helped enormously. Jackson literally had to knock the doors down to gain access to debate candidates and address the party at its national conventions in 1984 and 1988. That created drama and publicized the marginal status of Black Democrats during those years. In 2004, the absence of a rebuff of Black presidential candidates diminished the need for Blacks to register a protest vote.

Sharpton received support from Blacks who wanted to challenge the Democratic Party. Both Black presidential candidates, however, perhaps could have attracted more Black votes had they pitched their candidacies more toward Black interests, such as voting rights protection and the extension of the 1965 Voting Rights Act in 2007. However, in addition to elevating the salience of Black interests in their campaigns, both Sharpton and Moseley Braun would have needed Black organizational support, something both lacked. Jackson profited enormously from the Black churches that took up the call to mobilize Black voters. The Nation of Islam's Louis Farrakhan also took interest in the Jackson campaigns, as a key element in energizing the base of Black voters.

While I argue that the environment and internal politics were key factors, other work suggests that the nature of Black politics changed so that a Black power candidacy in the presidential election is no longer necessary or relevant to most Black voters today. After all, Barack Obama's candidacy in 2008 did not attempt a Black presidential strategy of recruiting and mobilizing Black voters in order to influence the national party's public policy agenda and the party's eventual nominee. Most tellingly, Obama resigned from his Black church as the Reverend Jeremiah Wright entered into a racialized discourse regarding the United States' basic character in its treatment of Black citizens. However, Blacks generally respond favorably to viable Black bids (Stout 2010).

The literature suggests the end of a Black presidential strategic power approach as well. First, Orey's and Ricks' (2007) survey of Black elected officials finds that a majority characterized their campaign styles as "deracialized." In the U.S. House of Representatives there are Black politicians who, David T. Canon (1999) contends, have political styles which range from the politics of difference to the politics of commonality. Canon writes

that most CBC House members sit in the "middle half of the spectrum. While they reject separatism, all members of the CBC ... also reject the notion that racism and discrimination are no longer problems in our society" (1999, 47). Thus, while Obama sought to keep racial concerns from dominating his presidential bid, other Black candidates may invite these issues as prominent parts of their campaigns because it represents an inherited style. Canon finds that new majority Black districts have elected Blacks who strive to balance the interests of their Black and White constituents, while old majority Black districts possess those who see racial relations as more hopelessly conflicted. Nevertheless, Orey and Ricks (2007) have found that younger Black elected officials are more likely to run race-specific campaigns than older Black politicians.

Two features of Black politics remain which suggest that it is premature to argue that Black presidential bid-type candidates will fade from the American political scene in the post-Obama United States. First, Black candidates can find themselves in campaigns that become racialized contrary to their aims in ways that hurt their bids for White support (Mendelberg 2001). Bill Clinton's efforts to inject race into the 2008 nominating contest between his wife and Obama failed. Harold Ford Jr.'s 2008 senate bid was racialized by his opponent, however, with an ad airing a young White woman winking at the Black candidate and asking him to call her. The illicit interracial sex angle implied by this derailed a basic political showdown between two candidates strictly on the merits of the issues. Playing the race card against Black candidates will persist and severely handicap the national bids of Black candidates. The propensity of White challengers to tap into racial divisiveness to hurt the bids of their Black rivals indicates that some environments remain unreceptive to Black candidates. This can become a sore point for Black Democrats, especially if Democratic rivals play the race card in primary challenges by Blacks, to win majority-White districts.

Secondly, race remains an important component of Black politics as one-quarter of African Americans live below the poverty line, and many Black communities confront a number of urgent social and economic problems. In the end, even as Blacks helped to elect a Black president in 2008, their interests remain linked to a government that is progressive and egalitarian as well as purposively engaged in combating racial inequality in America. Black radicals will remain receptive to a Black-oriented bid for the White House. Thus, together, the propensity of White candidates to inject race in bids to undercut White support for Black candidates, as well as the degree to which Blacks remain radical, point to the future of Black power presidential contenders. The current period of progress and inclusion for African Americans has not eradicated racial tensions in America. Not only may Whites object to political leadership by Blacks, but Blacks may still find the need to challenge society and government through race-conscious campaigning. Thus, this post-civil rights period in African American politics does not represent the final end of a Black power approach in Black politics. We have entered into a new phase of post-civil rights Black politics, but the strategic needs of the Black community remain largely the same.

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**“But, I Voted for Obama”: Melodrama  
and Post-Civil Rights, Postfeminist Ideology  
in *Grey’s Anatomy*, *Crash*, and Barack Obama’s 2008  
Presidential Campaign\***

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Since the tumultuous social movements of the 1960s and 1970s have profoundly changed the political and social landscape in many regards, members of the general public have become increasingly hard-pressed to conceptualize the subtler, yet profound ways in which inequality structures society and politics. Indeed, confronted with ubiquitous signs of formal equality or multiculturalism, social activism regarding racism and sexism, appears to be a vestige of a former era that was once necessary, but is now obsolete. This perspective, informed by what I prefer to call post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology, has gained greater currency not only in popular culture, but throughout political discourse, evidenced by discussions amidst the 2008 presidential campaign about “the end of race,” shattering the glass ceiling, and the arrival of a “post-racial, post-gender” future.

Although scholars have assessed the work of academic and/or political figures, such as Katie Roiphe or Naomi Wolf, associated with certain forms of postfeminism, most analysis of postfeminism has centered on popular culture, particularly in terms of how postfeminism operates via television and film (McRobbie 2007; Modleski 1991; Projan-sky 2001; Tasker and Negra 2007). Most of this important body of scholarship, however, pays insufficient attention both to questions of race (Modleski 1991; Spring 2007; Tasker and Negra 2007) and the insinuation of postfeminist, post-Civil Rights ideology into the realm of formal politics, such as elections.<sup>1</sup> In this work, I address these two neglected dimensions of postfeminist, post-Civil Rights ideology by presenting a Black feminist analysis that takes into account the gender, race, and class dynamics of post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology, particularly as they impact Black women and Black feminist politics. Integrating insights from political science, women’s and gender studies, Black Studies, cultural studies, and media studies, I explore the range and scope of postfeminist, post-Civil Rights ideology in three narrative sites encountered in popular culture and electoral politics: *Grey’s Anatomy*, a popular, gender diverse, multiracial television series written by Shonda Rhimes, an African American female; *Crash*, an academy award-winning movie celebrated for its treatment of race; and Barack Obama’s 2008 presidential campaign. My aim is not to conflate the realms of mass-mediated culture and formal

politics, but, rather, to uncover the invisible parameters of these hegemonic ideologies that distort our understandings to the extent that we can no longer claim that inequality exists. Accordingly, I see television and movies as political in that they constitute a “system” of classed and gendered “racialization” (Littlefield 2008) through which hegemonic ideologies are refracted and produced and that influence the same “public” that is subject to and participates in formal politics (Condit 1989). Although scholars have examined the connection between popular culture and politics, broadly speaking, this work extends such scholarship by examining popular culture and formal elections. Indeed, given the increasingly intersecting terrains of popular culture and elections, this will prove to be an especially important methodology in the future.

This focus enables several critical interventions in the analysis of postfeminist, post-Civil Rights ideology. First, in terms of the absence of a critique of race, one can argue that the dominant definition of post feminism operates through appropriating but ultimately undermining the very logics of feminism and that it has been implicitly based on White, middle-class female experiences. In this essay I would like to suggest that by bringing the “margin to center” (hooks 1984), that is, by situating postfeminism within the context of post-Civil Rights ideology, we can locate the development of these postfeminist ideologies to an earlier point of origin. In this way, we can complicate and clarify our understanding of them as mutually constitutive phenomena. Second, the merging of these two discourses becomes evident, as I will argue below, in their common use of melodrama as a privileged representational vehicle for reproducing racist and sexist ideologies. Finally, as I will demonstrate, the juxtaposition of popular cultural forms and campaign discourse helps to bridge the gap between the perceived theory/practice divide in feminism by showing how feminist theorizing illuminates our understanding of formal politics.

In developing my analysis, I first provide an overview of common approaches to defining postfeminism and its central tenets, and outline how a post-Civil Rights approach can introduce a broader spectrum of concerns with regards to understanding melodrama as the narrative frame of choice in many popular forms of post-Civil Rights, postfeminist discourse. Next, placing these three narrative sites, *Grey's Anatomy*, *Crash*, and the Obama 2008 presidential campaign, in intertextual conversation, I explore several themes, grounded in a melodrama metanarrative frame, namely, a focus on individualistic interpretations of inequality, rehabilitation of the family and wounded masculinity, and racial and gender redemption centered in “fantasies of miscegenation” (Courtney 2005). I pay particular attention throughout to the implications of these themes for Black women and Black feminist politics. I argue that they render moot any ongoing critique of normative or hegemonic ideologies and short circuit exploration of Black women's lived realities and political agendas that could be socially and politically transformative. Instead, they provided an ideologically conservative narrative—that of assimilation.

### **“Post”-Ing Social Movements in Culture and Politics**

For scholars such as Negra, McRobbie, and Tasker, postfeminist ideology extends beyond a simple notion of “backlash” in which feminist principles are directly attacked (McRobbie 2007, 28; Tasker and Negra 2007, 1–2), to actually trumpet the success of feminism. As feminist cultural studies critic, Angela McRobbie, (2007, 28) deftly observes, “...postfeminism positively draws on and invokes feminism as that which can be taken

into account, to suggest that equality is achieved, in order to...emphasize that it is no longer needed, that it is a spent force." Further, postfeminism, according to McRobbie, evinces several dominant narrative tropes, one of the most important being a clash between generations, where feminist ideology is figured as belonging in the past, something necessary for an older generation of White women. The goals of social justice having been achieved, social equality is something that is now presumed to be the taken-for-granted operating logic for a younger generation. In this context, according to McRobbie (2007, 34-36), youth culture is fixated on a liberated "individualization" that feeds a range of self-regulating practices, drawing attention away from social structure and group politics, and toward an "atomized" (Hsu 2006) understanding of social and political harm.

Against this backdrop of the dominant understanding of postfeminism, how does postfeminism express itself within the context of Black politics? Kimberly Springer insightfully explains that, "As part of a racialized discourse, one must grapple with postfeminism's place in the post-civil-rights era" (Springer 2007, 253). Importantly, the term "post-Civil Rights" admits of several related meanings, including: (1) a demarcation of historical time, that is, an "era," which begins with the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act, signaling the end of *de jure* segregation; (2) a politics of opposition to civil rights initiatives, such as voting rights enforcement, during this same swath of historical time; and (3) more increasingly, a school of thought, which suggests that we are living in or at least teetering toward a "post-racial" society. For our purposes here, it is necessary to clarify that post-Civil Rights politics encompasses direct opposition or "backlash," but opposition that, like postfeminist opposition, often trades on and affirms certain liberal notions of formal equality. Moreover, also as with postfeminism, post-Civil Rights politics, as a concomitant strategy, appropriates the language of Civil Rights social movements, such as an emphasis on "equality" or "equal opportunity," read through a frame that suggests that equality has been achieved or is now threatened not by racism, but by forms of antiracist politics gone amok.

Notably missing from dominant readings of postfeminism and post-Civil Rights politics is an understanding of how sexist and racist forces following the social movements of the mid-twentieth century most impacted Black women. As Springer correctly notes, "The social counterpart to institutional post-civil-rights racism [such as assaults on affirmative action] was the welfare queen" (Springer 2007, 253). Likewise, the Black matriarch/Welfare Queen has also been a significant element of postfeminist politics for Black women, one that, in recent decades, played a major role in transforming U.S. public policy and bolstering conservative dominance.

The image of the Black matriarch was made notorious by the 1965 Moynihan Report. For Moynihan, the key problem was that Black families were matriarchal, that is, dominated by Black women who headed single-parent households, in a society that valued patriarchal families. Because of Black matriarchy, he averred, Black families suffered socially, economically, and politically. This Report had several critical outcomes in terms of, among other things, attitudes about social activism, the resistance to feminism, and the promotion of middle-class respectability and traditional gender roles. First, as others have detailed extensively (see, e.g., Jordan-Zachery 2001), for the broader culture, this report facilitated and legitimated political retrenchment that fingered the microinstitution of the family, not the macroinstitutional structures controlled by the state, as the source

of Black people's dilemmas. The notion of Black cultural pathology promoted by the Report would serve as the narrative framework that would be used to define "the sign of Blackness" (Gray 1995) within the current era and that would pose the largest challenge to the Civil Rights and Black Power Movements' emphasis on structural change. Second, in line with this thinking, Black women have been problematically caricatured as "strong," regardless of their socioeconomic standing: poor women are in control of families and middle-class, upwardly mobile women are able to succeed, despite the realities of racism. From this vantage point, feminism is not embraced and then discarded. It is said, rather, to have never been necessary. Finally, a middle class "ideology of respectability" (White 1990) centered on restoring two-parent, patriarchal homes in Black communities has been promoted as the solution to Black social and political ills. Consequently, community organizing has been geared toward "saving" the Black male and promoting acceptable forms of Black masculinity (Alexander-Floyd 2007). As the above suggests, in the case of Black politics, postfeminism can manifest itself as both an explicit "anti-feminism," as well as an advocacy of a "traditionalism" that champions a pre-feminist politics (Projansky 2001).<sup>2</sup>

A Black feminist analysis exposes the ways in which what we view as post-Civil Rights and postfeminist timeframes and ideologies are not only deeply enmeshed, but, indeed, co-constitutive. Post-Civil Rights ideology, for whatever else it represents, has also been elaborated through and constituted a postfeminist politics: it is formulated through the politics of not only race, but gender and class, where Black families would come to be situated for political participation and social uplift by attaining middle-class respectability via two-parent families, patterned after an idealized White middle-class family. Likewise, this focus on the family and male uplift, and its attendant focus on self-regulation, personal empowerment, and responsibility, predated the current emphasis on these elements in mainstream, White society that have been the subject of so much scholarship on post-feminism. Once we take the history and social position of Black women into account, it is the 1965 Moynihan Report with its raced-gendered individualist frame for upward mobility and assault on Black women, not the failure to pass the Equal Rights Amendment or other sociopolitical trends of the 1980s (Projansky 2001, 14–15), that marks the onset of not only a post-Civil Rights, but also a postfeminist assault on the social movements of the mid-twentieth century.

Unsurprisingly, the Moynihan Report's focus on family rehabilitation and wounded masculinity, with its emphasis on pathos and the resolution of moral crisis, finds its perfect expression in the melodramatic mode. As opposed to a genre with fixed, defining elements, melodrama can be seen as a "mode," that is a "certain fictional system for making sense of experience" (Brooks [1976] 1995, xvii). It is grounded in "pathos" and embodied in characters that are "victims" or "villains," embodying "virtue" and "virtuelessness," good and evil, respectively (Williams 2001).<sup>3</sup> Melodramas are also often marked by a will to return to a prior state of safety (36). As such, melodrama is an optimal medium for quelling or resolving social anxiety. Melodrama, as others have demonstrated, is the prevailing form of narrative expression in film and other forms of cultural production, and arguably in politics as well (Kelleter, Krah, and Mayer 2007; Williams 2001). Importantly, in this current cultural and political milieu, melodrama works by extricating questions of social inequality from the realm of the public, scripted

as a masculine domain, and translating it into the realm of the private and individualized world of melodrama, scripted as the special preserve of the feminine (Grindstaff 1994). Indeed, as L.A. Grindstaff remarks, "Melodrama...represents social anxieties or conflicts as sexual and familial ones" and depends "on questions of visibility, representability, pretense, and masquerade" (1994, 54). As she further explains, "In film melodrama, crises of representation and identity function to break families apart, then bring them together again at the story's end employing one of a number of formulas: the hero defeats the villain, the 'villain within' is reformed, or the villain turns out to have been the hero all along" (55). With many modern melodramas, the feminist claim that the personal is political is perverted to mean that *only* the personal is political, sidelining public claims to redress sexism.

Indeed, melodrama becomes a privileged mode of post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology. It serves to redirect attention away from structural inequality and toward individual attitudes and actions in at least three ways: in its focus on the microinstitution of the family and reassertion of romanticized forms of White middle-class patriarchy; in its focus on self-regulation (variously labeled self-development, self-help, and/or personal responsibility), that assumes social problems are amenable to individual redress; and, in its focus on interpersonal relationships, as opposed to institutions or the state, as the site for conflict resolution, relationships that stand in for our understanding of ourselves as a national family or community. In what follows, after providing brief overviews of the three narrative sites selected for analysis, I trace the only-the-personal-is-political melodramatic frame along three thematic dimensions: definitions of inequality, calls for family restoration, and modern-day miscegenation fantasies. In each case, the deployment of Black bodies in particular and Blackness in general serves as the backdrop against which White gender, race, and class identities are elaborated.

### Description of Three Narrative Sites

Since *Grey's Anatomy* (hereinafter "GA") first aired in 2005, it has met with critical acclaim and high viewership. Although medical TV shows are standard fare, the show boasts a particularly impressive multicultural cast. Set in "Seattle Grace," a topnotch hospital in Seattle Washington, the show centers on Meredith Grey, a surgical intern, and a coterie of her friends as they negotiate the grueling demands of a surgical internship. In addition to Meredith, there are more than four other female surgeons that play key roles on the show, including her best friend, Christina Yang, a Korean American. In keeping with traditional casting patterns, where minorities are cast in leadership roles (Entman and Rojecki 2001), there were three African Americans in supervisory positions in the initial seasons, including Dr. Webber, the chief of surgery, Preston Burke, a renowned cardiothoracic surgeon who is one of the attending surgeons responsible for instructing the interns, and Miranda Bailey, aka "Hitler," the resident who is the interns' immediate supervisor.

The Hollywood blockbuster, *Crash* (which enjoyed a second life as a television series), is generally hailed as a progressive movie that takes a daring, forthright approach to dealing with the question of racism and prejudice. The movie, which garnered three Academy Awards, including Best Motion Picture of the Year (Mack 2006), focuses in on the multiethnic environment of Los Angeles and the seemingly ubiquitous prejudice that

passes virus-like between Whites and non-Whites and among various racial and ethnic communities. The film, mostly praised by critics, is shown in "diversity" seminars (Hsu 2006, 134), and is used as a teaching aid in colleges across the country.

The 2008 Obama presidential campaign was, in the words of President Barack Obama, the former junior U.S. senator from Illinois, "an improbable story." Born the child of a Black Kenyan man and White Kansan woman, Obama was reared in Indonesia and Hawaii, where he was educated in private schools. He also attended Columbia University and Harvard Law, where he served as the school's first African American named President of the prestigious Harvard Law Review (Obama [1995] 2004). After serving three terms as a state legislator and as a first-time senator, he made an historic bid for the country's highest office, galvanizing support across the country to become the first African American to be elected President.

### **Melodrama: Defining Inequality**

The question of defining inequality in terms of interpersonal, melodramatic terms can usefully be assessed in light of two subthemes: multiculturalism marked by racial and gender diversity and rare occurrences of hostility or structural discrimination; and multiculturalism marked by ubiquitous interpersonal conflict read as homogeneous claims of social harm.

#### *Fantasies of Multicultural Equality*

The post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology of *GA* takes for granted that the goals of social movement activity of the 1960s and 1970s, at least at a formal equality level, have been achieved. From this perspective, there is little room for expansive definitions of gender, race, and class inequality that take into account institutional structures, ongoing processes of engendering and racialization as they intersect with market forces, or even the daily struggles that White women and racial minorities experience in workplaces, such as hospitals. On *GA*, not all of the interns, for instance, hail from economically privileged backgrounds. Still, their varied and humble beginnings, while useful in explaining some of their personality quirks and personal foibles, do not impede their upward mobility in the highly competitive field of medical surgery.

In addition to class, racism and sexism are not seen as significant problems, and are instead seen as episodic, that is, as resting in individually directed behavior by a minority of people who are wedded to anachronistic, socially repugnant worldviews. In terms of gender, two trends hold on *GA*. On the one hand, the lead female characters are surrounded by men who stand ready to have monogamous relationships, but remain hopelessly afflicted with angst about whether "having it all"—career and family—are possible for women. On the other hand, they enact a "do me" postfeminism (Projansky 2001) in which they demonstrate their "independence" by having numerous and varied sexual partners. In terms of race, it was not until season four that racism was addressed directly, even though the cast is celebrated for its diversity. In this episode, racism is cast as a freak occurrence, embodied in misguided individuals whose views are not generally supported. By this logic, racism and sexism are relegated to the past, only to occasionally surface, before being quickly doused by egalitarian moral sentiments.



*Fantasies of Multicultural Conflict Resolution*

Notably, despite its attempt to address questions of racism and (to a lesser extent) other forms of inequality directly, in the final analysis, *Crash* is also scripted within the political parameters of post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology. Instead of avoiding a discussion of racism, *Crash* seems to take it head on. The viewer is greeted with people of all racial, gender, and class backgrounds espousing prejudiced views, ostensibly to suggest a more complicated picture of racial and ethnic strife (Nunley 2007, 339–40). Importantly, however, this globalization of prejudice masks an important distinction between prejudicial attitudes and racism, the latter of which centers on not only prejudicial views of individuals, but also, rather, on institutional racism. Indeed, *Crash* "flattens out asymmetrical power relations as they intersect with white privilege" (Nunley 2007, 340), so that the viewer is invited to make no distinctions, for instance, between a Latina and Asian woman who exchange ethnic epithets after an automobile accident, on the one hand, and the White District Attorney who abuses the power of his office to coerce a Black cop into participating in a racially motivated cover-up, on the other. Moreover, like *GA*, *Crash*'s underlying assumption is that class barriers are largely assailable through hard work and attainment of middle-class respectability (Holmes 2007, 318–19). The movie showcases individuals (largely men), such as a Persian convenience store owner, a Black cop, a Black television executive, and a Latino handyman, who are striving to overcome adversity through pursuit of the American dream.

Ultimately, despite their differences, like *GA*, *Crash* trades on a multiculturalism that positions racism and other social and political harm in the realm of pathos-driven melodrama acted out on and through individuals. *Crash* rehearses the familiar understanding of inequality read through a "melodramatic vision that foregrounds individual suffering" (Hsu 2006, 146), cast in a masculinist mode. It achieves this, for instance, through its focus on reclaiming wounded White masculinity, thereby highlighting "reverse discrimination" (146) against White men. But, as Hsu explains, "As a banal product of history, urban architecture, and state institutions, racism runs on autopilot, without much need for melodramatic acts of hate, intolerance, or malice" (148). By equating prejudice with racism and melodramatic attitudes or actions as the entire scope of racial play, *Crash* undermines the Civil Rights and Black Power imperative to make not only attitudinal, but also institutional, change and obscures the more mundane elaboration of White privilege.

Like *GA* and *Crash*, the Obama campaign constructs racism and sexism as being relics of the past and equated with melodramatic individual attitudes, stripped of an understanding of asymmetrical power relations. In his now (in)famous "Philadelphia compromise" speech (Reed 2008) on race in the United States, Obama drew a clear distinction between the past, marked by virulent racism, and the present, which is marked by substantial racial progress. For Obama, although those, such as his former pastor, Jeremiah Wright, who experienced Jim Crow-style racism were understandably "angry" about racism, he faulted Wright and presumably others for not fully acknowledging U.S. racial progress. Just as importantly, in his historic speech Obama draws a parallel between the suffering of Blacks and that of disgruntled Whites who feel harmed through affirmative action (Obama 2008b). Also, in his neglect of questions of sexism as they relate

to those of class and gender, he promotes postfeminist, or more directly, a post-Black feminist, politics.

What are the implications of this post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology for Black feminist analyses and politics? Radical Black feminist politics operates on a basic assumption that various aspects of identity are “mutually constitutive” (Harris 1999), that is, that the elaboration of identity and politics are inherently raced, gendered, and classed and that this reality must inform any social justice agenda. Post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology directly contradicts this basic presumption. More pointedly, because it denies the institutional and complex nature of social inequality it is not merely inattentive to, but actively works to obscure, the realities of Black women’s experiences with sexism, racism, and class-based inequality. It is interesting to highlight, by way of illustration, how the reality of Black women in the medical profession is diametrically opposed to the picture of multicultural, postfeminist integration presented on *GA*. Notably, the American Medical Association, which early in 2008 issued an apology for the longstanding history of discrimination of the organization, has established a special committee to study the racial divide in medicine (American Medical Association 2008). In addition, although Blacks comprise over ten percent of the U.S. population, “in 2006, 2.2 percent of practicing physicians and medical students were African-American”; Dr. Ronald Davison, former president of the American Medical Association, notes that there are fewer Black physicians today “per capita” than in 1910 (“Medical Association Apologizes for History of Prejudice” 2008). In her study of Black female surgeons, Patricia Dawson relates the experiences of Black women as they struggle to succeed in environments rife with “gendered racism.” In one case, for instance, a Black female chief resident had to be hypervigilant in executing her work and lacked administrative backing in fulfilling her supervisory role (Dawson 1999, 82). Another Black female, Marie, states that “One of the big problems [during residency] was the fact that I was a female and then that I was Black. There are stories [or humorous jokes] that go on and on about, ‘Your doctor is not only Black, she’s female...your doctor is not only female, she’s Black.’” (98). These experiences suggest that, far from the serene, convivial environment projected on *GA* or the symmetrical experience of suffering on *Crash*, work and social environments, such as hospitals, are spheres of intense conflict—or what Pratt (1992) refers to as “contact zones”—where previously dispossessed, disenfranchised groups interact with dominant culture and institutions in situations of radical inequality. Black women in these spaces, in particular, deeply challenge the “somatic norms” (Puwar 2004) of medical and other professional environments, given that they embody the antithesis of White masculinity. Although post-Civil Rights, postfeminist ideology embedded within popular representations showcases gender, race, and class hypervisibility as markers of social progress, it renders invisible the discrimination Black women, as well as White females and racial minorities, endure.

### Melodrama and the Romance of White Middle-Class Patriarchy

#### *The “Family In Jeopardy”*

Importantly, even as it sidesteps strident critiques of inequality and reformulates representations of characters that in at least some ways downplay those characters’ racial

identification, *GA* operates on an implicit (and wayward) assumption that "second wave" feminists have thrown the family in crisis, marking women's professional "ambitions" (Grindstaff 1994) as villainous pursuits. The "family in jeopardy" is part of the "core grammar" of media and cultural productions (Lipsitz 1997, 17). And, importantly, as noted above, all of the main characters, whatever their socioeconomic status or racial or ethnic background, come from troubled families. Seattle Grace and the doctors who work there are the site of a different, more stable family unit. As would-be surgeons going through a grueling internship, they all find occasion to cover for each other's failings (as when they stand together and refuse to "give up" Izzie when she essentially temporarily kills a patient, so he can be moved up on a transplant list). They all have deep-seated personality issues and are whipped into shape and essentially mothered by Bailey, the mammy/sapphire figure. The Chief of Surgery, Dr. Webber, someone with his own family issues (i.e., his wife initially wants a divorce), is the consummate father figure. This reconstitution of family stems from the romance of a "traditionalist" White middle-class vision of patriarchy, that is, the promotion of two-parent, male-headed families, based on a male breadwinner model, as the primary solution for sociopolitical ills.

Indeed, although most minorities in authority positions on TV shows do not become intimately involved with their juniors (Entman and Rojecki 2001, chap. 9), Dr. Webber takes a keen interest in his interns. This transgression of typical boundaries seen in similar TV shows is made possible, because the African American chief of surgery is also implicitly the father in chief. In one episode, for instance, when Bailey complains about Cristina getting a light reprimand after her role in hiding Burke's hand injury is exposed, the chief, Dr. Webber, intones, "look at how she has grown." Here he is referring to Cristina's moral development in pushing aside her feelings for Burke and her desire to gain surgical experience in order to "do the right thing" by exposing her own and Burke's unethical transgressions. Some might argue that such oversight is typical or that camaraderie is a natural feature among interns, but the nurturing approach bears more resemblance to familial relations as opposed to the hardnosed training expected in hospitals. To be sure, as women of color feminists have pointed out, the family has been a key source of survival for subaltern U.S. communities (Carby 1997; Davis 2000). But, the romance of a White patriarchal family model proceeds without any critique or consideration of the family and specifically its "dominator" modes of patriarchy variety (hooks 2004) as a site of exploitation and abuse of women. Their personal family crises, in effect, are resolved through the reconstitution of family in another institutional domain, thus restoring the romance of White middle-class patriarchy that is seemingly threatened in the "real" world and asserting racial harmony (here figured in the Black chief of staff) instead of insisting on a critique of the patriarchal romance.

In the Obama campaign, the family in jeopardy emerges as a key refrain both in terms of his personal biography and his political views. As he often remarks, he is the product of a single parent family. Of his father he writes: "At the time of his death, my father remained a myth to me, both more and less than a man. He had left Hawaii back in 1963, when I was only two years old, so that as a child I knew him only through the stories that my mother and grandparents told" (Obama [1995] 2004, 5). He explains his struggle to resolve the conflicted relationship he had with his father and his racial identity development. Typically set in the context of his rendition of the all too familiar Horatio Alger

story, Obama implicitly suggests the association of single-parenthood and poverty, noting that his mother once received food stamps.

The reality of his circumstances as a son of privilege (being raised by a White educated mother and having access to an elite education) notwithstanding, Obama strategically used campaign rhetoric that fits within the common refrain of broken families in the United States. Notably, the whole question of father abandonment and personal responsibility were placed in the limelight in June 2008 when, during a Father's Day address at a predominantly Black church, Obama took Black fathers to task for not caring for or assuming material responsibility for their children. In this speech, Obama explains that the "most important" rock is the family, stating that "too many fathers...are missing—missing from too many lives and too many homes. They have abandoned their responsibilities, acting like boys instead of men. And the foundations of our families are weaker because of it" (Obama 2008c). This rhetoric, criticized by some in Black communities (most notably Jesse Jackson) for essentially blaming the victim, has been a prominent theme within Obama's political career. Indeed, Jackson, in his now infamous "hot mic" debacle, was so bothered by Obama's "talking down to Blacks" that he wanted to "cut his nuts out" (Hurt 2008).

Jackson is, of course, correct in his assertion that an emphasis on personal responsibility and rehabilitating the Black family through the generation of viable Black patriarchs amounts to "talking down" to or blaming Blacks. But, Jackson's comment also points to another way in which this romance of patriarchy structures not only intimate family relations, but formal politics as well. If, as Patricia Hill Collins (2006, chap. 1) explains, the patriarchal model within families indeed comes to structure other social institutions and political arrangements, then we must interrogate this significance within Black politics, particularly in light of Black feminist objectives to assert substantive equality for Black women. Indeed, what Jackson does not remark on, but is nevertheless embedded in his comments, is how the romance of patriarchy becomes embodied in two patriarchal types, namely, the Black Symbolic Father and the Super Minority. The Black Symbolic Father refers to a male figure, such as Jackson, who stands in as a spokesperson for Black communities and whose plight can be read metonymically with that of Black people as a whole. Jackson's terror is not only at the flagellation of the beleaguered Black masses, but, rather, the demise of an approach to Black politics that Jackson best represents and embodies. Jackson, who has long occupied the role of Black Symbolic Father in Black politics, is reeling from a perceived Oedipal conquest. And, utilizing a basic form of Freudian projection, he wanted to do to Obama what he felt had symbolically been done to him.

The second figure, the Super Minority, is an African American (typically male) that is presented as being stripped of stereotypical characteristics generally associated with Blackness. A regular on the small screen, Super Minorities are constructed as "purified exemplars of White cultural ideals that...[lead to the] disruption of Whites' normal mental associations" such that these characters are seen as "not really Black" (Entman and Rojecki 2001, 222); this move implicitly suggests a liminal Super Minority status as a requirement for assimilation. In the Obama campaign, this image of the Super Minority is polished to a high shine, as Obama is greeted as an exceptional minority—politicos, for instance, such as his vice president Joe Biden, comment on his "articulateness" and

describe him as "clean"—who defies the associations of dysfunction and inferiority typically aligned with Blackness. Some, in fact, dubbed him Barack the Magic Negro (Ehrenstein 2007), alluding to a standard trope in cinema, in which a Black (again typically male) character who possesses "special powers" (Kempley 2003) or extraordinary abilities saves the day and facilitates self-actualization for Whites. Also noteworthy is his decidedly "deracialized" approach to formulating his political platform. As Black political scientists Joseph McCormick, Jr. and Charles E. Jones (1993) explain, deracialization has become a political "strategy" used by politicians aiming to reach beyond Black electoral bases to garner White support in election to mayoral, gubernatorial, and, now, presidential offices. More specifically, "*as an electoral strategy*" deracialization entails, "avoiding explicit reference to [Black or] race-specific issues, while at the same time emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent, thus mobilizing a broad segment of the electorate" (76).

To be sure, there are elements of his policy proposals that will have a disproportionate impact on Black and minority communities, but, in contrast to previous generations of Black politicians that foregrounded Black misfortune and in keeping with attempts at "deracialization," Obama's campaign supplants issues of racism with a universal appeal to broader constituencies (see, e.g., Obama 2006).<sup>4</sup>

The point is not that Black professionals are not indeed excellent or exceptional, but that, as Entman and Rojecki affirm:

Inflected as they are with this symbolic freighting [as symbolic figures made even more so, because they typically appear in "superior" positions work-wise], they act less as interesting, complex characters than as inverted prototypes: they incarnate the pure values of the dominant culture in a body and with a skin color usually associated with the opposite. (2001, 159)

The espousing of universalism implicitly supports Black stereotypes that affirm therapeutic modes of personal rehabilitation in lieu of structural change. Its denial of difference, moreover, forecloses social transformation into a truly multicultural society. Also, to the extent that Super Minorities are generally defaulted to male, they reinforce a male prerogative within minority communities that displace Black female subjectivity. Finally, the Super Minority often implicitly stands in as an alternative to the endangered Black male.

In this melodramatic theme of family restoration, we can see, once again, the confluence of culture and politics. Cultural representations, media representations, and formal politics all draw upon similar themes of family distress and restoration of wounded masculinity. They function in separate spheres, but in ways that reinforce and mutually influence the current political milieu. As I argue in the next section, like the emphasis on family restoration, the last theme, miscegenation, also draws on interpersonal relations, mapping onto interracial unions the fall and/or recovery of gender norms and racial healing.

### *Miscegenation*

Miscegenation, understood as the transgressive violation of interracial sexual boundaries, has been a cornerstone of U.S. popular culture, and provides what is perhaps the starkest, and most politically charged example of melodramatic narrative scripting. Two

elements of this scripting are especially important: the use of miscegenation to channel or resolve anxieties provoked through challenges to the established raced-gendered order and the redemption of Whiteness through the Black body. First, as Susan Courtney demonstrates, in fantasies of miscegenation of the modern era, such as *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*, the price of acceptance of racial transgressions—of affirming racial integration—comes only at the expense of, and are indeed constituted through, the reassertion of the approved “dominant sexual order” (2005, 16). So, while Sydney Poitier's presence as fiancé-in-waiting for a young White female is initially unsettling, the White father's concerns give way to acceptance as he embraces Poitier as a Magical Negro figure who would unite in wedded matrimony with his daughter, and, thereby, affirm his liberal racial commitments, even amidst the reassertion of gender norms. Second, Black characters occupy what Toni Morrison (1992) has referred to as an Africanist Presence, that is, the utilization of Blackness and Black figures to effect the elaboration of White identity and racial hierarchy. Similarly, Nunley amplifies: “...whether it is the magical Negro trope...or the servant trope...not only must the white character be redeemed, [e.g. the White father in *Guess Who's Coming to Dinner*] but the redemption must also occur upon or because of the discursive terrain of the black body” (Nunley 2007, 344).<sup>5</sup>

In *GA*, the primary resolution of family crisis can be seen in the life of the main character, Meredith Grey, and takes shape via a fall and redemption symbolized through transgression of the Black Body via an interracial union. Meredith Grey and Derrick Sheppard have had a fiery, albeit on-again-off-again relationship, perennially hamstrung by her “obvious daddy issues” (“Damage Case” 2006). This unfortunate state of affairs is owing to an extramarital affair that Ellis Grey, Meredith's high-powered surgeon mother who is now afflicted with Alzheimer's, has with Dr. Webber. This liaison effectively ended Ellis Grey's relationship with her husband. Although Ellis Grey leaves her husband to be with Webber, he decides to stay with his Black wife, Adele.

Importantly, the Grey family saga can be read as an allegory that registers a cautionary tale about the impact of the mid-twentieth-century feminist movement on White middle-class women, one in which Blackness provides the symbolic parameter for elaborating White family distress. Given her age, Ellis Grey would have entered the medical profession when there were not likely many women in the profession. In her choice to have a career, she set aside traditional family life. Although Ellis Grey is a professional success, she is a distant, emotionally unavailable mother. She also effectively emasculates her husband, driving him away from the family and causing him to abandon his daughter. Her subversion of gender norms that would prohibit her from having a career is inherently racialized. Her transgression of White middle-class gender norms is figured as a transgression of racial norms, literally (in terms of sex), as well as metaphorically (in terms of her symbolic positioning). Kimberly Springer has remarked, “Even when they are not on the screen, women of color are present as the counterpart against which white women's ways of being...are defined and refined” (2007, 249), and in *GA*, Black women, read as emasculating Sapphires, are the implicit symbolic register for women who violate gender norms. Most notably, Ellis Grey, as it relates to her husband, becomes symbolically Black: as a woman who transgresses the cult of womanhood reserved for White middle-class women, she comes to assume the stereotypical characteristics of Black women who are viewed as the antithesis, and indeed provide the constitutive boundaries,



of proper femininity.<sup>6</sup> Interestingly, although Ellis Grey is generally stern, often cruel in her verbal engagements, she is calm, happy, and emotional when with Webber, a picture of traditional femininity. As a Black man—a "real" man—he is able to tame this otherwise unyielding, tyrannical woman. In keeping with the melodramatic mode, Webber is, in the end, a villainous character. Ellis Grey, we learn in season four, is so distressed by Webber's decision not to leave his wife that she attempts to commit suicide, a pattern that Grey's daughter ineluctably follows.

Season four ends with Meredith coming to terms with her fear of emotional intimacy with Derrick Sheppard by going to therapy and realizing that she can, unlike her mother, "have it all." She tells Derrick she is ready for a family. The Black doctor's racial presence, in the final analysis, provides the backdrop through which this story of White wounded masculinity and its recovery is actualized and gender harmony restored. This miscegenation is less a rupture of gendered racism, as some would suggest, than an explicitly depoliticized interracial union that implicitly reaffirms White male-female patriarchal family unions.

In the movie *Crash*, amidst an epidemic failure of masculinity, where men are unable to protect their women or otherwise affirm their manhood on the job or in the home, the story turns on an interracial rape scene that provides the impetus for masculine redemption. This central element of the plot involves the interplay between two sets of characters, namely, two White cops, Ryan, the more senior officer, and Hansen, his junior counterpart, as well as a Black, middle-class couple, Cameron and Christine. The characters first encounter each other when Ryan decides to pull Cameron and Christine over without just cause.

Ryan's emotional trigger for making this stop stems from his woundedness as a White male, a woundedness that is grounded in a family history that serves as an allegory for the broader context of Black-White U.S. racial history. His father cannot urinate because of a urinary tract infection (a condition symbolic of wounded, White masculinity) (Hsu 2006, 133; Ray 2007, 352), and is denied access to the medical clinic after hours by a Black female, because his father's condition is not an emergency. Also, Ryan's father hired Black employees for his janitorial business and was "good to them," only to be forced out of business by Blacks who received government contracts. Ryan's father stands in for a White liberal commitment to racial reform, situated in the past, that has ultimately failed him and his family; and Ryan, symbolic of the current moment, emerges as a victim of affirmative action who is outraged by its deleterious effects on him and his family, in the first instance for his father's job loss and most immediately in terms of representing the inadequacy of the health care system. Ryan's unwarranted stop, then, is motivated by his wounded White middle-class masculinity.

Ryan seeks to assuage his wounded masculinity via a sexual violation that assaults not only Christine, the Black female, but also her husband Cameron, as well. Under the guise of a weapons check, Ryan rapes Christine, assaulting her by molesting her legs, hips, breasts, and buttocks, and driving his fingers under her dress in what her character later describes as "finger f---[ing]" (Crash 2005). From here, the story takes on a mode of White masculine redemption. In a later scene, Ryan is called to a car crash in which Christine turns out to be the victim. He enters a vehicle, leaking gas and about to catch fire, in order to save her. Christine, understandably reluctant to be helped by Ryan, relents in order to save her life. As Hsuan L. Hsu observes, this scene depends on "a familiar

model of white male heroic agency at the expense of the inarticulate, passive, victimized black woman..." (2006, 133).

The scene is not only one of White male redemption in which Christine embodies an Africanist presence that allows White subjectivity to emerge (which it certainly is), but one that represents an increasingly popular narrative trope: the Black woman's body as a site for racial reconciliation and redemption. As Hsu (2006, 132–33) notes, the popular movie poster used to advertise *Crash* shows Ryan and Christine in what, in key ways, looks like an apparent romantic "embrace." One would certainly not gather from the advertisement that Ryan is a man who perhaps as little as a day earlier rapes her. One critic remarks: "The burning-SUV rescue, with its body contortions and spilled fluids, operates as a kind of vicarious miscegenation, essentially allowing Sgt. Ryan (and, presumably, the audience) the desired and dreaded coupling that his earlier roadside finger-f--- only hinted at" (Michael Sicinski, quoted in Hsu 2006, 150). Such popular renderings are fantasies of "miscegenation," according to Carillio Rowe (2007), where miscegenation is the crucible for production of a new "imagined community" founded on understandings of Whiteness that skirt responsibility for structural change to dismantle inequality. As with other melodramatic narratives, it vindicates wounded White masculinity by showing that "the 'villain within' is reformed or the villain turns out to have been the hero all along" (Grindstaff 1994, 55).

Obama's campaign has also depended on a melodramatic miscegenation fantasy, where he comes to embody the type of miscegenation that can move the country beyond racial and other problems. Notably, his 2004 speech at the Democratic national convention, which catapulted him into the national spotlight and generated buzz about his future potential as a presidential candidate, emphasized the "one America" narrative that subsequently became his calling card. He consistently points out his bi-racial lineage and positions himself as embodying the type of one-ness he discusses in his speeches. Obama, then, symbolically and rhetorically becomes the quintessential representation of the success of miscegenation, the racial fantasy that "transgression" of interracial sex taboos can signify a deracialized, reconstituted, yet restabilized gender order. Again, the melodramatic emphasis on personal relationships as the locus for change and national restoration is key. Although Obama has stated that "unity in this country" cannot be "purchased on the cheap" (Obama 2008a), the substance of his bearing and politics offers just that: a symbolic mode of gendered racial reconciliation rooted in essentialized notions of biological racial melding via coupling. "But, I Voted for Obama" will join the chorus of other rhetorical gestures—like "But, my boyfriend is Black" and "I gave money to the NAACP"—designed to identify one's political bonafides.

Miscegenation fantasies are a raced-gendered aspect of post-Civil Rights, postfeminist melodrama that has profound implications for Black politics as a whole and Black feminists politics in particular. In *GA*, *Crash*, and the Obama campaign, Black people are objects through which Whites usher in new modes of oppressive Whiteness and seek to normalize romantic models of White patriarchal relations. These miscegenation fantasies depend, as well, on a studied avoidance of the historical and contemporary realities that surround interracial relationships, particularly those that are sexual. It ignores, for instance, the reality that White desire for Black bodies has been part of a long tradition of exploitation and abuse, of consuming and/or exoticizing the Other. Most heinously, it contributes to the



historical amnesia and political silence we have in the United States concerning the rape of Black women by predatory White men, the ongoing truth that sexual access to Black female bodies has been a hallmark of White masculinity since this country's founding. This seemingly intractable silence solidifies and is a necessary condition for a legal and political structure that positions Black women as always already violable, profane, and inhuman nonsubjects before the State. I am not saying here that the legalization of interracial relationships or the growth in interracial unions does not signal progress in terms of race and gender in the United States. I am asserting, however, that when we highlight such relationships without an understanding of their potential complex race and gender problematics and dynamics, when we use them to symbolize regressive reassertions of race and gender and to figure a redemption of White masculinity and femininity in ways that affirm new modes of racial and gender exploitation, these miscegenation fantasies work to quell our anxieties and transfix our attention on hollow, counterproductive modes of race-gender "comity" (Entman and Rojecki 2001).

### Conclusion

The melodramatic mode, with its attention to exaggerated emotion and its figuration of the social and political within interpersonal relations, marked by villains and victims, proves ideal for the post-Civil Rights, postfeminist political formation that has taken shape in the United States since the mid-1960s. The above analysis of *GA*, *Crash*, and the Obama campaign signals common trends and developments within popular culture and political discourse that work to normalize simplistic definitions of equality as residing principally in formal signs of representative equality and undermine efforts at substantive institutional change. These narratives reconstitute familiar raced-gendered codes and stereotypes in ways that are palatable for new generations, rendering our vision of U.S. politics and culture into something we, as viewers and as citizens, want to hold onto, namely, a meritocratic and unified U.S. body politic, functional political institutions and social relationships, and the image of universalism. *GA*, *Crash*, and the Obama 2008 presidential campaign draw upon racial and gendered discourses that are meant to conserve and reproduce existing power relations, while allowing a few Super Minorities to enter the public sphere. They demonstrate, as well, the mutually constitutive reproduction of race, class, and gender ideologies within culture and politics in the post-Civil Rights, postfeminist melodramatic landscape, one to which students of Black politics and/or feminists must attend if we are to accurately grasp and, hopefully, successfully counteract their operation.

### Notes

- \* Editors' note: This essay is the winner of the NCOBPS best paper award for 2010.
- 1. See Springer (2007), for an excellent discussion of postfeminist Black female stereotypes.
- 2. Projansky argues Black women stand "next-to-but-just-outside of postfeminism" (2001, 193). This is true, if dominant, political discourse is the reference point; I recover her insights regarding varieties of postfeminism in explaining its operation in Black politics.
- 3. Like Courtney (2005, 295), while I find elements of Williams' study illuminating, her analysis problematically suggests that people are necessarily bound up with racially oriented thinking as it concerns the "Tom" and "anti-Tom" frames she assesses.
- 4. Deracialization is a misnomer; the term codes race as Black, leaving Whiteness as an unmarked racial category. For an examination of recent "post-racial" politics, see Gillespie (2010).

5. For scholars such as Aimee Carillo Rowe (2007) and Hsu (2006), miscegenation fantasies utilize an Africanist Presence as a primary vehicle for channeling and narratively resolving gender and race anxieties about change in ways that rearticulate White racial hierarchy.
6. See DuCille (1997), for a related discussion of the "browning" of Nicole Simpson.

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## Afro-Brazilian Black Linked Fate in Salvador and São Paulo, Brazil

Gladys Mitchell-Walthour

*I am accustomed to telling my children that a black [person] is black in any part of the world. The difficulties I have here as a black woman, you will have as a black [person] in the United States; Black French will have [these difficulties], which was visible three years ago when they were out in the streets protesting. So a black (negro) is black (negro) anywhere [in the world], in Africa or the diaspora.*

### Introduction

The quote above is by a self-identified Black woman involved in one of Brazil's Black movement organizations in Salvador, Bahia. In response to a question about Black group identity, she identifies as Black in a transnational sense. She identifies with Blacks throughout the Diaspora and on the continent of Africa because of the difficulties she experiences as a Black woman in Brazil. Though it is no surprise that Brazilian Black movement activists identify and draw upon examples of discrimination in countries outside of Brazil, it is noteworthy that this activist does not differentiate between difficulties she faces as a Black (*negro*) woman in Brazil and what she would face in other countries. Among Afro-Brazilians, is there a shared sense that they will face difficulties based on color? Does a shared understanding of difficulties faced because of one's color indicate a Black linked fate? Rather than assuming the existence of a Black group identity based on ascriptive characteristics of color and race, I consider perceived discrimination against Blacks (*negros*) and perceptions of class differences based on color and race of African descendents of various color and racial identifications in Brazil as indications of Black linked fate.

This article is an exploratory effort to examine whether Afro-Brazilians in Salvador and São Paulo, Brazil, display a sense of Black linked fate and how and whether they define Black linked fate. Further, I examine key factors that may influence perceptions of linked fate. My first hypothesis is that highly educated Afro-Brazilians who identify as Black (*negro* or *preto*) and acknowledge discrimination against Blacks (*negros*) are more likely to display a sense of Black (*negro*) linked fate than those who do not identify as Black, and who are less educated and do not acknowledge discrimination against Blacks (*negros*). Similarly, my second hypothesis is that highly educated Afro-Brazilians who identify as Black (*negro* or *preto*) and believe Blacks (*negros*) are economically worse-off than Whites are more likely to display a sense of Black (*negro*) linked fate than less

educated Afro-Brazilians who do not self-identify as Black (*negro*) and believe Blacks fare as well as Whites or better than Whites. In this article, Afro-Brazilians are synonymous with Afro-descendants. All survey respondents identify as Afro-descendants although they self-identify as various color or racial categories.<sup>1</sup>

In the past, Brazilians tended to view their country as distinct from the United States because of their conceptions of race and racism. American racism was viewed as explicit, whereas Brazilian racism and discrimination were characterized as being more *mascarada* or masked. Thus, social relations in Brazil have appeared to be fairly integrated and racially harmonious among racial groups. Edward Telles (2004) notes in his explanation of vertical and horizontal relations, huge gaps in educational attainment, income, and mortality rates between White and non-White Brazilians, although social relations appear to be racially integrated or less rigid in terms of intermarriage and residential segregation than in the United States and South Africa. Racism has been documented from scholars such as Roger Bastide's and Florestan Fernandes' UNESCO-sponsored research documenting racial inequality in the 1950s (Bastide and Fernandes 1970), Carlos Hasenbalg's (1978) research showing differences in social mobility by race in the late 1970s, France Winddance Twine's (1998) anthropological research on racism in the 1990s to Michael Mitchell's and Charles Wood's (1998) work on police abuse of browns and Blacks.

Traditionally, White Brazilian political elites promoted the idea that Brazil was a racial democracy where racism did not exist because of its mixed-race citizenry; however, today the idea of racial democracy is often referred to as a myth among scholars and activists. Yet, as we see later in this article, scholars such as Stanley Bailey and those involved in anti-affirmative action movements call for a return to racial democracy, claiming it is essentially antiracist. Bailey uses an innovative approach to support his argument based on survey data and I address this approach later in the article.

The fact remains that Brazilian racial politics have changed dramatically. Affirmative action policies in universities were first implemented in 2001. Federal law 10.639/03 passed in 2003, requires public schools to teach African and Afro-Brazilian history. Black movement activists supported and pushed for such policies, while at the same time encouraging Afro-Brazilians to embrace Blackness. In addition, Black movement activism has expanded the traditional boundaries of volunteer organizations and many are now formal nongovernmental and nonprofit organizations (Santos *in* Reiter and Mitchell 2010), nontraditional routes of activism are present in Hip Hop organizations and activity (Pardue 2004; Santos *in* Reiter and Mitchell 2010), *prevestibular* courses also serve as avenues for disseminating racial consciousness (Santos *in* Reiter and Mitchell 2010), and political campaigns serve as a means of mobilization and teaching racial consciousness (Mitchell 2009a). Given that much of the work of Black movement activism is to encourage Afro-Brazilians to embrace Blackness and contemporary activism is disseminated in these nontraditional ways, and that policies have been enacted for Blacks and browns as a racial group, the question now becomes, do Afro-Brazilians view themselves as a Black racial group? Do they have a sense of Black linked fate?

Before starting into my analysis I define key terms such as Black linked fate, racism, and racial and color identification. I then address objections to exploring Black linked fate in the Brazilian context. Stanley Bailey's *Legacies of Race: Identities, Attitudes and Politics in Brazil* (2009a) is one of the most current and comprehensive books challenging

the idea that a Black groupness exists in Brazil. Lastly, I follow with analyses based on my own quantitative and qualitative study.

### Current Literature

I situate my work in research on Brazilian politics and political behavior and research on racial attitudes and racial politics. On the one hand, some scholars have not considered race as significant to Brazilian politics (Hagopian 1996; Mainwaring et al. 2000; von Mettenheim 1986). On the other hand, racial politics and the role of race in Brazilian politics have been studied since the 1970s (Bailey 2009a, 2009b; Castro 1993; de Souza 1971; Santos, 2000; Guimarães, 2001; Hanchard 1994; Johnson 1998, 2006; Mitchell 1977, 2007; Nobles 2000; Oliveira 1997, 2007; Pereira 1982; Prandi 1996; Soares and Silva 1987; Telles 2004; Valente 1986). My research contributes to this body of work with the hope of broadening knowledge about the important role race plays in the making of political opinion and racial attitudes.

Ethnographic and sociological scholarship differ in findings concerning Black group identity. Robin Sheriff (2001) in her ethnographic work in a slum community in Rio de Janeiro, finds that Afro-Brazilians essentially have a bi-polar view of race as White and Black but use various color degradations to soften the effect of color. In an effort to be polite, color gradations are used to describe a person rather than the term Black. Stanley Bailey concurs that racial group identity does not exist among Afro-Brazilians. Citing the 2002 PESP survey in which only 7 percent of respondents chose to self-classify as *negro* Bailey concludes that "...Brazil clearly lacks the sense of Black racial group membership and many of the types of participation in antiracism found in the U.S. context" (Bailey 2009a, 121). Drawing from a 2000 racial attitudes study conducted in the state of Rio de Janeiro, Bailey finds little difference in color categories between Whites and Afro-Brazilians who agree that the *negro* movement is right and that prejudice must be the object of a struggle to overcome it. He finds that *pretos* are most willing to participate in antiracism activities and that *morenos* and Whites differ significantly from browns, *pretos*, *negros*, and all others in their willingness to become a member of an antiracism organization (Bailey 2009a, 126–31). Bailey notes this difference, and posits that differences between *moreno* attitudes and other Afro-Brazilian attitudes toward the *negro* movement may serve as a barrier for mobilization. His focus is to show that White and "non-white" Brazilian racial attitudes are not distinctly different, in contrast to clear differences between Whites and Blacks in the United States. As a result of observing significant differences between White and non-White Brazilians, Bailey concludes that there is no need for an exclusive focus on Afro-Brazilians. I hope to contribute to the growing body of work on racial attitudes by exclusively focusing on Afro-Brazilians and trends within cities using city surveys, rather than state and national surveys. These trends may not be revealed in state and national surveys because of the difficulties in making aggregate racial identifications.

### Key Terms

*Black linked fate* in this article is synonymous with Black group identity. I rely on Michael Dawson's (1994) notion of Black linked fate. Dawson is concerned with whether economic differences lead to differing interests for African Americans. He says "...the historical experiences of African Americans have resulted in a situation in which group



interests have served as a useful proxy for self-interest" (Dawson 1994, 77). Further, he believes that linked fate can "measure the degree to which African Americans believe that their own self-interests are linked to the interests of the race." Dawson also posits that understanding one's individual status depends on how one evaluates the status of the group.

Dawson's concept of the Black utility heuristic is used to understand Black racial group identity and policy preferences in the United States. He asserts that the concept of Black linked fate relies on group historical experiences and reinforced notions of groupness shaped by American institutions (Dawson 2001, xii). African Americans share a sense of linked fate because of the shared history of discrimination. While Dawson is careful to situate this concept in the U.S. context, it is possible that in other countries where racism has existed historically and where race-targeted policies are emerging, that Black linked fate is forming.

Black linked fate in the Brazilian context refers to an attachment to the racial group, *negro*. Rather than assert that Afro-Brazilians have faced discrimination as Dawson does in the case of African Americans, I propose that only Afro-Brazilians who acknowledge racial discrimination will display a sense of Black (*negro*) linked fate. I also believe that Afro-Brazilians who assert that *negros* are worse off than Whites are more inclined to share linked fate to *negros*. This concept of linked fate regarding Afro-Brazilians is especially important to Black Politics as it does not presume that racial discrimination is experienced by all African descendents.

In fact, Goldsmith's, Hamilton's and Darity Jr.'s (2007) work shows differences in incomes among African American men based on skin color. Incomes of lighter-skinned Black men reach closer income parity with White men than darker-skinned Black men. Telles (2004) also finds the same trend in income differences between African Americans. Further, Hamilton, Goldsmith and Darity Jr. (2009) find that darker-skinned African American women are less likely to be married than lighter complexioned women. Thus, although I am using a concept originating within and conceived of as applying to the United States, I question Dawson's assumptions that all African Americans experience discrimination and experience it in the same way. Cathy Cohen's groundbreaking book *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (1999) demonstrates that Black group interests do not always hold for issues such as support for AIDS policies and that homophobia within the Black community can lead to a lessened sense of linked fate. Moreover, not differentiating among North American slave-descended Blacks, foreign-born Blacks, and Blacks with foreign-born parents, can lead to the perception that such a heterogeneous group of African-descendents all experience racism in the same way. Reuel Rogers' (2006) work on Afro-Caribbean immigrants and their political incorporation gives a more nuanced examination of differing experiences of people of African descent in the United States.

Since slavery, Afro-Brazilians have formed communities and organizations exclusively for Blacks (Butler 1998). Although retrospectively, one might say Afro-Brazilians were discriminated against historically because of slavery and social exclusion, it would be difficult to argue that, in general, Afro-Brazilians believed they were discriminated against as a group. Brazil's racial history is such that state political actors promoted the idea of miscegenation and preference was given to lighter Afro-Brazilians over darker-skinned



Afro-Brazilians. Moreover, the ideology of racial democracy, that racism does not exist in Brazil because of a racially mixed population, inhibited Afro-Brazilian racial group identity and mobilization (Hanchard 1994).

Afro-Brazilian activism in various nontraditional forms, may lead to or reinforce group identity among Afro-Brazilians who acknowledge racial discrimination. Andrew Francis and Maria Tannuri-Pianto (2009) find that at the University of Brasília after the implementation of affirmative action, more applicants began identifying as Black. Some of this was due to real changes in racial identification, while some were cases of misrepresentation. Based on these examples of racial identity formation, I propose that Black linked fate is developing among certain sectors of the Afro-Brazilian population.

*Color and racial identification* refers to the color or racial group by respondent self-identification. As Brubaker and Cooper (2000) note, the processual nature of identification makes this term preferable for questions of identity. In this article *preto* and *negro* are considered separate categories. *Preto* is considered the color category while *negro* is considered a politically charged racial category. Because *negro* was and continues to be promoted by the Black movement, it is politically charged. Mainstream media use the term *negro* as the sum of *pardos* and *pretos*; however, I consider it a racialized identification because of its historical usage.

As Melissa Nobles (2000) demonstrates, during specific periods, political elites, academics, and census officials were motivated to use the Census to further their political agendas. The addition of more mixed-race categories helped political elites empirically show that Brazil was becoming less Black and more White. This was important as Brazil searched for a national identity in the early twentieth century. In contrast, political activists involved in the Black movement, pushed for a change of the color categories for the 2000 Census. They preferred that *moreno* be used in place of *pardo*. As *Moreno* is used more in social settings than *pardo*, members of the Black movement believed more people would choose this term. However, the Brazilian Institute of Geography and Statistics (IBGE) did not replace *pardo* with *moreno*. In sum, it is important to note that categorization depends on political agendas and *who* categorizes. At different historical periods, White political elites categorized and constructed race to further their political and social agendas (Nobles 2000). On the other hand, Afro-Brazilian activists also had political agendas and wanted to identify people of African descent in ways that were politically beneficial to their agenda. My study relies on self-identification in an open-ended question which can be especially revealing considering the Black movement's goals.

*Racism and racial discrimination* throughout the article are synonymous terms. Racism is negative differential treatment or perceptions of people based on ones perceived color or racial categorization of that individual. Telles documents racial inequality in occupational mobility, income, and educational attainment due to racial discrimination. He also discusses how discrimination operates utilizing negative stereotypes in the Brazilian context. Negative stereotypes of Blacks are often disseminated as humor through jokes in daily life. In the media, Blacks and browns are virtually nonexistent. When they do appear, they are associated with a restricted range of essentially negative behaviors while Whites are seen as beautiful, happy, and middle class. In schools, teachers give more preference to lighter children and invest more in them (Telles 2004, 154–58).

Statistical comparisons of infant mortality show that in 2005, infant mortality was higher for Blacks and browns than for Whites (24.4 percent for *pretas* and *pardas*, and 23.7 percent for *brancas*). In 2006 the number of Whites attending university was over four times the number of Blacks and browns attending university (Paixão and Carvano 2008, 38, 81). Despite inequalities in health and education, some argue that these are class inequalities. This is often the argument made in debates about university affirmative action. Those against affirmative action believe that public school education should be improved because poorer children attend such schools. Yet, Paixão and Carvano (2008) show that *pretos* and *pardos* who have finished college are 1.2 times more likely to be unemployed compared to Whites with the same schooling.

Racism is explicitly practiced in the form of police brutality. Michael Mitchell and Charles H. Wood (1998) have found that the likelihood of assault by police officers on men increases on the basis of skin color and age. Younger Black and brown men are more likely to be assaulted by the police than Whites, although income and education decreases one's chance of being assaulted. Nevertheless, the darker one's skin color, the higher likelihood of assault by the police. More importantly, if Blacks and browns increasingly believe they both suffer from discrimination in similar ways, this may influence perceptions of linked fate. I am concerned with whether respondents cite discrimination as a hindrance to Blacks' lives rather than simply acknowledging its existence in an abstract sense.

### Objections to Studying Black Group Identity in Brazil

Dawson's concept of linked fate refers to African Americans. I do not assume an Afro-Brazilian group identity. Undoubtedly there will be objections to the exploration I undertake here. The first objection might be that North American frameworks cannot be used in the Brazilian case because Brazilian racial politics are fundamentally different from racial politics in the United States. As Bailey (2009a) notes, social dominance theories are inappropriate for Brazil because they assume an in-group out-group stance. He points to three elements of social dominance theory that may be absent in the Brazilian case. These include the following: that societies are structured around group-based hierarchies; that politics involve intergroup competition over scarce resources; and that the main goal of ideologies, according to social dominance theory, is to legitimize disproportionate advantages for the dominant group (Bailey 2009a, 18). Despite this claim, in his article "Public Opinion on Nonwhite Underrepresentation and Racial Identity Politics in Brazil," Bailey found that 46 percent of *preto* respondents claimed that Benedita da Silva's being a *negra* influenced their voting preference "a lot" for her, followed by 31 percent of *pardos* and only 18 percent of Whites (Bailey 2009b, 87). He also found that "*pardos* and *pretos* [were] significantly more likely than whites to believe that being *negro* [made her being elected] more difficult" (Bailey 2009b, 83). Although broad generalizations cannot be made, because his findings are limited to the state of Rio de Janeiro and the survey was conducted *before* the implementation of university affirmative action, the in-group out-group stance of these respondents is remarkable. Not only do *pretos* and *pardos* exhibit larger percentages admitting that Benedita da Silva's race influenced their votes, they are also more likely than Whites to believe one's race (as a Black person or *negra*) plays a role in being elected to office. This supports, rather than contradicts social dominance theory.

A second objection might simply be that racism is different in Brazil than it is in the United States. Jim Crow laws, which conjure images of "Colored Only" signs at water fountains and other public facilities were expressions of racism in the United States. However, today's visual image of President Barack Obama, a self-identified African American man, makes such symbolic representations of American racism outdated. Racism is persistent throughout America and is evidenced in harsher punishments for African Americans committing similar crimes as Whites (Steffensmeier 2000), discrimination in mortgage loans (Ladd 1998), differential treatment and access to health care (Casagrande et al. 2007; Gregory, LaVeist, and Simpson 2006; LaVeist 2008) and its impact on health (Darity Jr. 2003; Williams 1999). Not accounting for less explicit racism in American society leads to inappropriate comparisons of American and Brazilian racisms. There are income differences among African Americans based on skin color. This is similar to Brazil where incomes decrease as skin colors darken.

Scholars who perpetuate the binary Black-White divide when examining discrimination in the United States ignore the fact that other racial and ethnic groups suffer from discrimination as well. This leads to a less accurate portrayal of various racisms and their dynamics in the United States. For example, similar to African Americans, Latinos also suffer from harsher criminal punishment than Whites, and differential access to health care. Moreover, they are increasingly the targets of anti-immigrant policies such as the recent law passed in Arizona making it legal for police officers to ask for proof of one's citizenship status. Additionally, Frank's, Akresh's and Lu's (2010) recent work shows that Latinos with darker skin who experience racial discrimination are less likely to self-identify as White but are more likely to reject a Black-White binary identification. In other words, the American system of racial classification may be evolving into a state of complexity comparable to that reputed to be the Brazilian case.

A third objection to my analysis is to the effect that in Brazil, color groups are ambiguous and that most Brazilians, regardless of color, are antiracist and supportive of racial policies such as affirmative action. Bailey finds, for example, that Brazilians, despite color differences, admit to the existence of racial discrimination. They also support affirmative action policies. Hence, Bailey concludes that "the nature of the myth of racial democracy captured in my data far from a cruel hoax responsible for perpetuating nonwhite disadvantage, is more consistent with the view of it as a legitimate utopian stance" (Bailey 2009a, 218). In the end, he affirms that the myth of racial democracy should not be demonized, but instead should be regarded as an antiracist tenet which actually celebrates racial mixture and color ambiguity. Nevertheless, Bailey is limited by his data. He admits, for example, that public opinion data on racial attitudes are less available in Brazil than in the United States. Many of his findings are limited to a data set sampling the state of Rio de Janeiro in the year 2000, *before* affirmative action was implemented. On the other hand, when comparing support for race-targeted policies in the United States, he uses a national sample from the year 1986; nearly twenty-two years *after* the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Such an analysis is comparable to a pre- and post-treatment. If affirmative action or a race-targeted policy such as the U.S. Civil Rights Act is considered the treatment, the Rio de Janeiro state survey would be the pre-treatment sample, while the 1986 U.S. national survey would be a post-treatment

sample. In addition, comparing racial attitudes in one state to an entire country does not account for regional differences in Brazil.

In response to color ambiguity, I am not convinced that ambiguous-looking Afro-descendants are not targets of racism just as *pretos* are. As many Black movement activists and scholars such as Sales Augusto dos Santos and Anya (2006) note, state officials such as police officers have no problem identifying browns and Blacks. While this may seem to be a less nuanced account of the issue, it is important to point out that Brazil has one of the highest numbers of citizens killed by police and most victims of these deadly assaults are Blacks and browns. Further, Telles' exploration of color ambiguity, mixed-ness and mixed-race unions shows that although intermarriage is greater in Brazil than in South Africa and the United States, most marriages in Brazil are made up of couples belonging to the same color group. Regional differences must be considered especially when making broad claims about intermarriage and color ambiguity (Telles 2004, 173–93).

In sum, some Afro-Brazilians may display an in-group out-group stance because of the belief that race impedes one's chance of success. American racism should not be seen as static and explicit. Rather it should be understood in the way it is practiced in institutions and by individuals in an implicit manner. Some practices of discrimination lead to inequality such as income differences evidenced among African Americans and Afro-Brazilians of various shades. Lastly, simply noting the existence of racially mixed people and the fact that Brazilians of all colors may admit the existence of racism does not indicate that racially ambiguous-looking people cannot be identified. In fact, I contend that because of Joao Vargas' (2004) concept of the "hyperconsciousness of race" in Brazil, that racially ambiguous-looking people are *unambiguously* nonwhite, and are thus just as easily identified as Blacks as targets of racism.

### Methodology

I employ both quantitative and qualitative methods. I rely on an original survey carried out in Salvador and São Paulo, Brazil, in 2006. The survey has 674 respondents. Fourteen in-depth interviews on Blackness and Black linked fate among other topics were conducted in 2008 in each city.

Salvador is located in the Northeast, Brazil's poorest region. Salvador is also known as the "Mecca" because of the large concentration of people of African descent. It contains a population of nearly 70 percent African descendants. According to the 2000 Census, 20 percent of Salvador's population considered themselves *preto*. São Paulo is in the South, the wealthiest region of Brazil. Its population is nearly 30 percent African descendants. In São Paulo, 5 percent considered themselves *preto*. It should be kept in mind, however, that despite this relatively small number of *pretos*, Black movement activity has existed in São Paulo since the 1930s (Covin 2006; Hanchard 1994). São Paulo is also the home of the first university in Latin America specifically designed for African descendants. In Salvador, Black movement activity is of much more recent vintage. I first give descriptive results of my survey. Second, I examine Black linked fate and test my hypotheses. Third, I briefly analyze my interviews conducted in both cities in November 2008.

In consultation with experts in survey methods from the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA), I chose the Salvador neighborhoods Federação, Periperi, and Itapoã. Federação is socioeconomically heterogeneous. A portion of the campus of UFBA, a prestigious

public university, is located in Federação, which includes middle-class households. There are also very low-income households located here. Itapoã is also socioeconomically diverse but it has a large proportion of low-income households compared to Federação. Periperi is a low-income neighborhood located in the suburbs. A total of 346 interviews were conducted in Salvador. Brazilian undergraduate students who were trained in interviewing methods conducted interviews. Interviewers in São Paulo were affiliated with a student group that focuses on racial issues. All interviewers in São Paulo self-identified as *negro/a*. In Salvador, one interviewer self-identified as White, one as *parda*, and the others identify as *negra*. Interviewers told potential interviewees that the study concerned Afro-descendants and asked if any lived in the household. The respondents themselves ultimately determined whether they would participate in the study. The survey does not include respondents who are self-identified Whites *and* who were identified as White by interviewers. Thus when reporting results, White Afro-descendants are those who self-identified as White but were not identified as such by interviewers. Unlike large-scale Brazilian national surveys which include Whites, *pretos*, and *pardos*, this survey is restricted to Afro-descendants in select neighborhoods.

In São Paulo, along with experts on race relations in Brazil, I identified neighborhoods with huge populations of Afro-descendants that were also socioeconomically diverse. Neighborhoods chosen were Cidade Tiradentes, Casa Verde, Brasilândia, Campo Limpo, and Capão Redondo. Cidade Tiradentes is a low-income neighborhood located in the far east of São Paulo. Casa Verde is mostly middle class, in the northeast of São Paulo. Campo Limpo is located in the southwest and is known for its large social divisions. Capão Redondo is located on the periphery in the south. I obtained neighborhood maps from the IBGE in São Paulo and randomization was introduced by randomly selecting streets where students conducted face-to-face interviews through interviewer selection. A total of 328 interviews were conducted.

Students were assigned to at least two neighborhoods. Randomization was also introduced as interviewers used a skip number method and conducted interviews at every fifth or third house if the street did not contain many houses. Respondents were of voting age, that is, between the ages of eighteen and seventy. Voting is mandatory for those who are between eighteen and seventy years old. A total of 674 interviews were conducted in Salvador and São Paulo.

### Selection Bias

My Salvador and São Paulo samples are biased because of the large number of respondents identifying as Black (*preto* or *negro*) and because the neighborhoods themselves were too limited to be representative of the whole city in either instance. These biases are accounted for because my sample includes a significant percentage of young people. Livio Sansone (2004) has found that younger people identify as Black (*negro*). Stanley Bailey and Edward Telles found that younger and better educated people are more likely to choose the *negro* category than older people. People with more education are more likely to choose the *negro* category rather than the *moreno* category (Bailey and Telles 2006). They claim that for younger people, *negro* is associated with a modern identity that is influenced by Black American culture transposed to Brazil through music. They also concur that educated Afro-Brazilians claiming the *negro* identity are more

exposed to Black activists rhetoric than those who are less educated. Nevertheless, although my sample is biased, my study is especially useful as respondents were able to voluntarily choose a color or racial identification without being restricted to Census categories.

One other factor to note about the sample is the degree of racial isolation in each of the cities. Racial isolation would presumably have a bearing on the extent of identifying with a Black linked fate. In this regard, sociologist Edward Telles devised an index of racial isolation (that is the extent of household segregation) for both Salvador and São Paulo. According to Telles' calculations there is greater racial isolation in Salvador than in São Paulo. In fact the Salvadoran racial isolation index according to Telles is comparable to that found in the city of Chicago. Racial isolation is considerably less in São Paulo, although district rates for that city vary according to district (the higher the number of Afro-Brazilians in a particular district the larger the racial isolation index [Telles 2004, 199–203]). However, the question of whether racial isolation is due to intentional or subtle forms of discrimination is beyond the scope of this paper.

### In-depth Interviews

Participants for in-depth interviews included Afro-Brazilian activists and nonactivists. Two in Salvador were affiliated with nongovernmental organizations. Two were UFBA students. Two lived in a neighborhood where I resided. One was interviewed by my research assistant. In São Paulo, interviewees were chosen at a Hip Hop conference which I attended in 2008.

### Descriptive Results of 2006 Survey: Color and Race

*Negro* is a racial category. *Preto* is category denoting the color Black. *Pardo* denotes the color brown or mixed-race people. *Moreno* is a term Brazilians of all colors may identify as and includes dark-skinned and light-skinned people with tans. Respondents were asked to identify their color in an open-ended and closed question. In the open-ended question they could identify in a color category with no choices given. In the closed question they were asked to choose a Census color category. The Census categories in the 2000 Census were White (*branco*), brown (*pardo*), Black (*preto*), yellow (*amarelo*), and indigenous (*indígena*). Yellow denotes people of Asian descent. Considering the open-ended color categories in both cities, 2 percent of Afro-Brazilian respondents identified as White, 62 percent as Black (*preto, negro, negão*), and 36 percent as brown (*mulato, moreno, pardo, moreno claro, marrom*). In my surveys, in both cities, more Afro-Brazilians chose a "brown" color or racial category in the open-ended question than interviewers classified them in. In Salvador, interviewers classified 102 respondents as brown (*pardo*), whereas 121 respondents identified themselves as brown (*mulatto, moreno, pardo, moreno claro, marrom*). In São Paulo, interviewers classified 119 respondents as brown and 143 respondents identified themselves as brown (*mulatto, moreno, pardo, moreno claro, moreno escuro, moreno jambo, marrom*). There was a tendency to identify as brown because it acknowledged racial mixture, part of Brazil's presumptive national identity. I consider *marrom, moreno, and pardo*, brown, to be color categories. *Moreno claro* translates as light brown. The English translation of *moreno escuro* is dark

brown. *Mulato* is mixed-race. Table 1 gives the results in absolute numbers of respondents identifying in the open-ended and close-ended questions and how they were classified by the interviewer. I focus on respondents' self-identification in the open-ended question.

Overall, the color and racial category most claimed is Black (*preto* and *negro*). Considering the open-ended color categories, the Afro-Brazilian sample in Salvador is made up of 2 percent of Afro-Brazilians who identified as White, 62 percent who identified as Black (*preto*, *negro*, *negão*), and 36 percent who claim some type of brown (*mulatto*, *moreno*, *pardo*, *moreno claro*, *marrom*) identification. Considering the open-ended color categories in São Paulo, 6 percent of Afro-Brazilians self-identify as White (*branco*), 47 percent identify as Black (*preto*, *negro*, *negão*), 45 percent identify as brown (*mulatto*, *moreno*, *pardo*, *moreno claro*, *moreno escuro*, *moreno jambo*, and *marrom*), and 2 percent identify as other. In both sets of samples, the number of Blacks (*pretos*) interviewers classified as such, exceeds the number of self-identified Blacks (*pretos* and *negros*). Afro-Brazilians identifying as brown exhibit fundamentally different political behavior than those who identify as Black (Mitchell 2009b). This leads to my conclusion that Afro-Brazilians identifying as Black may be more likely to display Black linked fate. I note that these are the categories which respondents chose from a survey. In everyday life color categories can change by the minute depending on a change in a person's social situation.

Table 1  
Number of Afro-Brazilian Respondents who Self-identified in Census and Open Color Categories  
and Number of Respondents Classified in Census Color Categories by Interviewers

Census Category		Open-Ended Color Category		Interviewer-Classified Census Color Category	
Salvador					
White (branco)	12	White (branco)	8	White (branco)	2
Black (preto)	208	Black ( <i>negro</i> , <i>negão</i> , preto)	210	Black (preto)	230
Brown (pardo)	104	Brown (mulatto, moreno, pardo, moreno claro, marrom)	121	Brown (pardo)	102
Other	6	Other		Other	0
São Paulo					
White (branco)	21	White (branco)	20	White (branco)	4
Black (preto)	141	Black ( <i>negro</i> , <i>negão</i> , preto)	150	Black (preto)	191
Brown (pardo)	131	Brown (mulatto, moreno, pardo, moreno claro, moreno escuro, moreno jambo marrom)	143	Brown (pardo)	119
Other	0	Other	3	Other	3



*Gender, Education, and Age*

In Salvador, 52 percent of respondents are male and 48 percent female. In São Paulo, 57 percent are female and 43 percent are male. In both cities, the average age is thirty-three. In Salvador respondents ages range from seventeen to sixty-seven and in São Paulo from sixteen to eighty-three (that is beyond the threshold for obligatory voting).

Forty-five percent of the sample in Salvador and 36 percent of the sample in São Paulo have had some high-school education or had finished high school. In Salvador, 15 percent did not complete middle school, and in São Paulo, 24 percent did not. Nineteen percent of respondents in Salvador and 14 percent in São Paulo were pre-college. Although the sample in São Paulo is less educated than the Salvador sample, they earn more income. This is likely due to São Paulo's being a more developed city.<sup>2</sup>

*Pretos versus Negros Acknowledging Racism*

In the 2006 survey, 87 percent of all respondents agreed that Whites are prejudiced against Blacks. *Negros* have the highest percentage for admitting that White Brazilians have a lot of prejudice against Blacks (*negros*) (Table 2). Fifty-four percent and 50 percent of *negros* and *pretos*, respectively, believe Whites have a lot of prejudice against Blacks. Only 38 percent of Afro-Brazilians who self-identify as White believe this. It is likely that *negros* acknowledge racism more than others because they situate themselves in a politicized racial category. *Preto* is a category that denotes the color Black. It is a category in which the politicized nature of ethnic classifications is somewhat attenuated. John Burdick (1998) found that *pretos* recalled personal experiences of racism more than *negros assumidos* or Blacks who later in life identified as *negro* but who earlier placed themselves in a color category. My data on self-identification and prejudice do not support such a claim.

Table 2  
2006 Survey: "In your opinion are white Brazilians prejudiced against blacks (*negros*)?" (By Color)

Color	No	Yes they have a lot of prejudice	Yes they have a little prejudice	Yes they are prejudiced but I don't know how much	Total (%)
White	23	39	23	15	100
Mixed-Race	17	41	17	25	100
Light Brown	11	45	11	33	100
Brown	17	43	23	17	100
Dark Brown*	0	0	0	100	100
<i>Negro</i>	10	55	17	18	100
<i>Preto</i>	8	50	19	23	100

\*N = 1; only one respondent in the sample self-identified as dark brown.



### *Age and Racism*

High percentages of respondents in all age cohorts believe White Brazilians are prejudiced against Blacks (*negros*); yet as age increases, the percentage of those who believe Whites are not prejudiced against Blacks increases (Table 3). This could be the result of younger cohorts' embrace of a discourse of racial discrimination, whereas older cohorts may be more attuned to the discourse of racial democracy which inclines them to be less willing to admit the existence of discrimination. In addition, younger people tend to identify as *negro* and may on this basis be more inclined to acknowledge the existence of racism and prejudice having thus placed themselves in a politicized category of ethnic identification.

### **Survey Results and Analysis**

In the survey, respondents were asked the question, "do you believe what happens to Blacks (*negros*) affects you?" This question operationalizes Black linked fate and respondents could answer yes or no. Eighty-two percent of respondents answered yes, thus indicating a high amount of racial solidarity among Afro-Brazilians. Interview results will explore how respondents interpreted this question.

### *Black Linked Fate and the Major Problem of Blacks*

**Hypothesis 1:** Highly educated Afro-Brazilians who identify as Black (*negro* or *preto*) and acknowledge discrimination against Blacks (*negros*) are more likely to display a sense of Black (*negro*) linked fate than those who do not identify as Black, are less educated, and do not acknowledge discrimination against Blacks (*negros*).

**Alternative Hypothesis 1:** Afro-Brazilians of various colors can identify as *negro*, thus color identification does not have an effect on Black linked fates because *negro* is a racial group.

In the first logistic regression analysis, Black linked fate is the dependent variable and the independent variables are age, color, gender, city, major problem of Blacks and education. The age categories are 16–25, 26–40, 41–55, and 56 years old and older. Education levels include: "did not complete middle school," "completed middle school," "did not complete high school," "completed high school," "in college," "completed college," and "completed a Master degree." The open-ended question examining the major problem of

**Table 3**  
2006 Survey: "In your opinion are white Brazilians prejudiced against blacks (*negros*)?" (By Age Cohort)

Age	No	Yes they have a lot of prejudice	Yes they have a little prejudice	Yes they are prejudiced but I don't know how much	Total (%)
16–25	9	48	21	22	100
26–40	12	48	21	19	100
41–55	15	52	17	16	100
56+	26	43	19	12	100

**Table 4**  
**Logistic Regression Analysis of Black Linked Fate in Salvador**  
**and São Paulo 2006 Survey**

Black Linked Fate	Coefficient	Standard Error
Age	-.50	.35
Gender	-.02	.21
City	.28	.23
Education	1.54***	.59
Color	1.54***	.41
Major Problem of Blacks	-.18***	.05
Constant	.75**	.39

Notes:  $N = 647$ .

\* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .01$ .

Blacks is "In your opinion, what is the most important problem of *negros* in Brazil today?" Responses were grouped into eight categories which included "racism," "discrimination," "prejudice or exclusion," "lack of opportunity," "lack of opportunity to study," "racism or discrimination by blacks themselves," "lack of education," "lack of money, poverty," "no opportunities before but now there are some," "social inequality," "lack of unity," and "blacks are accustomed to their situation," or "do not like to study." Color categories include White, mixed-race, light brown, brown, dark brown, *negro*, and *preto*.

Color, education, and major problem of Blacks are all statistically related to a Black linked fate. Thus the alternative hypothesis can be rejected. Color is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval, education is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval, and major problem of Blacks is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval (Table 4).

#### *Color and Black Linked Fate*

In the logistic regression analysis, holding the variables age, gender, city, major problem of Blacks, and education constant, respondents who claim a White identification (even though they consider themselves as African descendents) have a 65 percent likelihood of displaying a sense of Black linked fate. However, respondents who claim a *negro* identification are 87 percent likely to display linked fate and this increases to 90 percent for respondents who claim a *preto* or color identification. Self-identified browns are 80 percent likely to display Black linked fate. As I hypothesized, respondents claiming a Black identification are more likely to display Black linked fate. It is intuitive that a person identifying as Black might believe what happens to Blacks affects them. Because *negro* is a politically charged racial category promoted by back movement activists to unite Afro-descendents, and a term used in popular press to refer to all Afro-descendents, it is likely those identifying as such, recognize a common racial identification. *Pretos*, or those identifying as the color category Black are slightly more likely to display a sense of Black linked fate, perhaps, because they identify with the color category Black that is less ambiguous than the racial category.

*Education and Black Linked Fate*

In the logistic regression analysis where Black linked fate is the dependent variable, the variables age, gender, major problem of Blacks, color, and city are held constant. I find that respondents in the lowest education level, that is, those who did not complete middle school, are 77 percent likely to display a sense of Black linked fate. This increases by 17 percent for a respondent in the highest education level. Respondents that completed a Master degree have a 94 percent likelihood of displaying Black linked fate.

*Major Problem of Blacks and Black Linked Fate*

In the logistic regression analysis where Black linked fate is the dependent variable, holding education, city, gender, and color constant, an Afro-Brazilian respondent who claims that the major problem of Blacks (*negros*) is discrimination or racism has an 88 percent chance of displaying linked fate. However, an Afro-Brazilian respondent who claims the major problem of Blacks is their tendency to accommodate themselves to their situations or not studying sufficiently, has a 69 percent likelihood of displaying linked fate. Thus a respondent who believes the major problem of Blacks is discrimination compared to a respondent who blames Blacks for their problems is 1.3 times more likely to display a sense of Black linked fate.

*Color, Education, Major Problem of Blacks, and Black Linked Fate*

I examine the predicted probabilities of respondents in a logistic regression analysis where Black linked fate is the dependent variable holding gender and city constant while examining the role color, education, and the major problem of Blacks play in forming perceptions of Black linked fate. An Afro-Brazilian respondent identifying as *negro*, with the highest level of education, who believes the major problem of Blacks is discrimination, is 96 percent likely to display a Black linked fate. An Afro-Brazilian respondent identifying as *preto*, with the highest level of education, who believes the major problem of Blacks is racism, is 97 percent likely to display a sense of Black linked fate. However, an Afro-Brazilian respondent identifying as White, with the lowest education level, and who believes the major problem of Blacks is social inequality, is only 42 percent likely to display a sense of Black linked fate. The difference between a *preto* with the highest education level to a White person at the lowest educational level along the lines of perceptions of Black problems is 55 percentage points. This large discrepancy indicates that Afro-Brazilian self-identification, along with education, and how one thinks about problems facing *negros* impacts how one feels connected to the racial group.

In sum, an overwhelming percentage of Afro-Brazilian respondents in Salvador and São Paulo display a sense of Black linked fate. Education, color, and the manner in which one thinks of Black problems all play a role in one's attachment to Blacks. Respondents with higher education are more likely to display Black linked fate than those with less education. And, as colors go from light to dark, the likelihood of displaying Black linked fate increases. In addition, respondents who believe that a major problem of Blacks is discrimination or racism, have the highest likelihood of displaying a sense of Black linked fate.

*Black Linked Fate and the Economic Position of Negros (Blacks)  
Compared to Whites*

**Hypothesis 2:** Afro-Brazilians who believe Blacks (*negros*) are economically worse-off than Whites, identify as Black (*negro* or *preto*), and who have higher levels of education are more likely to display a sense of Black (*negro*) linked fate than those who believe Blacks' economic situation is better or the same as Whites and who identify in non-Black terms.

**Alternative Hypothesis 2:** The belief that Blacks and Whites are to be found in similar economic circumstances will not increase Black linked fate because Brazilians tend to believe that class, not race affects one's economic situation.

The previous analysis demonstrates that Afro-Brazilians display a high level of Black linked fate and that education, color, and the response that discrimination is a major problem which Blacks face shape a respondent's sense of Black linked fate. The belief that Blacks (*negros*) are less well off than Whites would support a social dominance theory of an in-group versus out-group stance, as well as suggest the belief that there are actual differences in material circumstances between Blacks and Whites.

In the second logistic regression analysis, Black linked fate is the dependent variable and education, color, city, gender, and the survey item of Blacks' economic position are independent variables (Table 5). The survey question asks "Is the economic position of blacks (*negros*) better, the same, or worse than whites?" Only 2 percent of respondents said Blacks were in a better economic position than Whites, while 13 percent of respondents said Blacks were in the same economic position as Whites. An overwhelming, 85 percent said Blacks were in a worse economic position than Whites.

As in the previous analysis of linked fate, education and color are statistically significant. Economic position is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval and thus the alternative hypothesis can be rejected. Education is statistically significant at the 95 percent confidence interval. As education increases, the more likely it is for a respondent to display a linked fate. Color is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval. The darker color a respondent identifies as, the more likely he or she

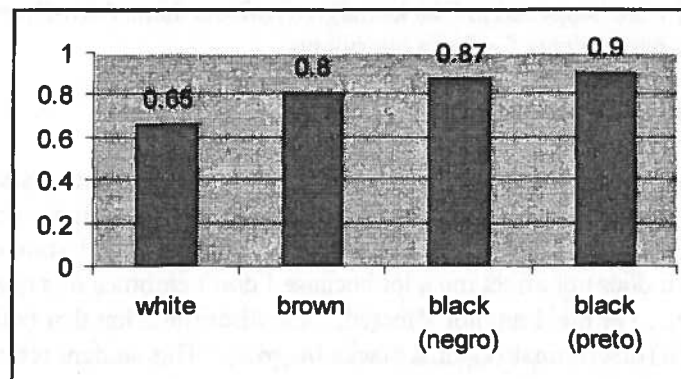
Table 5  
Logistic Regression Analysis of Black Linked Fate in Salvador and São Paulo 2006 Survey

Black Linked Fate	Coefficient	Standard Error
Age	-.57	.36
Gender	-.00	.22
City	.20	.24
Education	1.25**	.61
Color	1.42***	.42
Economic Position	.81***	.23
Constant	-1.89***	.68

Notes: N = 629.

\* $p < .10$ ; \*\* $p < .05$ ; \*\*\* $p < .01$ .

**Figure 1**  
**Predicted Probability of Displaying a Sense of Black Linked Fate by Color/Race Holding Age, Gender, Major Problem of Blacks, and Education Constant**



will display a Black linked fate. The belief about the Blacks' economic position compared to Whites is statistically significant at the 99 percent confidence interval.

Holding the independent variables education, city, gender, and color constant, the likelihood that a respondent who believes Blacks are worse off than Whites will display Black linked fate is 85 percent. The likelihood decreases to 53 percent, a difference of 32 percentage points, for a respondent who believes that Blacks are economically better-off than Whites. Respondents who believe that Blacks are in the same economic position as Whites, have a 72 percent chance of displaying linked fate. This is a 13 percentage point difference from those who believe Blacks are economically worse-off than Whites. These findings indicate that Afro-Brazilian respondents who acknowledge that Blacks are in a worse-off position than Whites, are more likely to display Black linked fate than those who do not acknowledge any economic difference between Blacks and Whites. It is possible that as Afro-Brazilians increasingly believe they are worse off than Whites, they will develop a group-related interest.

In sum, both of my hypotheses show the important role color identification and education play in identifying as a racial group. The first hypothesis illustrates how the role that perceptions of discrimination play in shaping a shared sense of linked fate. Afro-Brazilians who identify as Black with higher education and who believe that the major problem of Blacks is discrimination are more likely to display Black linked fate than those possessing dissimilar outlooks and characteristics. The second hypothesis results demonstrate that Afro-Brazilians in these samples, who identify as Black, are more educated, and believe Blacks are economically worse off than Whites, are more likely to display linked fate than those not identifying as Black, who have lower education attainments and believe that Blacks are doing better or are in the same economic situation as Whites.

#### **Interview Results: Discrimination and Diasporic Black Linked Fate**

In order to fully understand Black linked fate in the specific sites in Salvador and São Paulo, I turn to interviews conducted in 2008. Amazingly, among the fourteen respondents

interviewed in both cities, twelve displayed a sense of Black linked fate. All but two, a self-identified *parda* woman and a young man who only identified as Brazilian, did not display a sense of Black linked fate. Respondents were asked in an open-ended question if they believed what happened to Blacks (*negros*) affects them. Afro-Brazilian informants selected Afro-descendants for these interviews.

### *Black Linked Fate in Salvador*

In Salvador, seven interviews were conducted. Five respondents self-identified as *negro/a*, one as *parda*, and one as Brazilian. A caramel-colored male student of twenty-four years of age, who studies at the UFBA, responded to the question of linked fate by saying, "No, it does not affect me a lot because I don't embrace this thing of the blacks, black culture... For me, I am not affected... the discrimination that bothers me is when blacks (*negros*) discriminate against blacks (*negros*)." This student refused to identify in a color category and throughout the interview claimed that race relations were different in Brazil than in the United States.

In contrast, a nineteen-year-old dark-skinned female student at UFBA responded:

I think so. I think it is interesting, the feeling of brotherhood that blacks (*negros*) have with one another. I think it is very strong. I don't know if this happens with whites... When I study Africa, I feel ....like I was born there and came to Brazil. It is like we are all brothers [and sisters] (*irmãos*).

Similar to this student's idea of a shared diasporic sense of Black linked fate, a forty-five-year-old dark-skinned, female, Black movement activist, in Salvador answered:

I think so. I am accustomed to telling my children that a black person is black in any part of the world. The difficulties I have here as a black woman, you will have as a black [person] in the United States. Black French will have [these difficulties], which was visible three years ago when they were out in the streets protesting. So a black (*negro*) is black (*negro*), anywhere [in the world], in Africa or the diaspora.

These selected responses demonstrate that certainly not all Afro-Brazilian respondents in Salvador feel linked to a Black racial group, but in the sample, only two, who both do not identify as Black, out of seven interviewed, have no Black group attachment. Nevertheless, respondents conceptualize Black linked fate in some of the same ways that Dawson's (1994) study described. Shared experiences of racism or difficulties due to being Black, such as those mentioned by the Black movement activist, result in a shared Black identity. However, unlike Dawson's conceptualization of Black linked fate, in the Salvador case, Black linked fate is diasporic and not simply limited to Brazil. In the selected quotes, one respondent makes a connection between the racialized experiences she would have as a Black woman in the United States or in France. The young student feels a connection to Blacks in a diasporic sense because of a common ancestry rooted in Africa and is not sure if Whites share a sense of linked fate because of shared ancestry. These interviews give a more nuanced view of how Black linked fate looks in this Salvador population group. Linked fate arises from experiences of discrimination, but acknowledges the global reality of African descendants. At the same time, not all Afro-descendants identify as Black or *with* Blacks.

### *Black Linked Fate in São Paulo*

In my São Paulo sample, all respondents displayed a sense of Black linked fate. They all agreed that what happens to Blacks affects them. Their responses about the meaning of Blackness in Brazil focused on racial discrimination and negative attitudes toward Blackness in Brazil. Most of those interviewed, challenged the negative ideas of Blackness by embracing them. All self-identified as *negro* although one respondent also noted his mixed-race ancestry.

All respondents answered affirmatively to the question about whether they thought what happened to Blacks affects them also. Most respondents gave short answers and simply answered yes because of discrimination. A more vocal interviewee, a twenty-six-year-old light caramel-colored male, who had only completed middle school, but who has been involved in Brazil's Hip Hop movement in São Paulo answered:

Yes. Because to be black (*negro*) is to look out for each other. So I am with blacks (*negros*) now, if something happens with them it will affect me also. If someone suffers from racial prejudice, this will also affect me. ... In truth we are all in the same boat. What is bad for one, makes it bad for me as well. We ... unite to struggle together against different types of prejudice.

It is surprising, however, that the respondents in the Salvador sample framed their responses with reference to a diasporic experience. Those in São Paulo did not. The reason that this finding seems surprising lies in the different characters of the two cities. On the one hand, São Paulo is noted for its cosmopolitan and international character. *Paulistanos* (as the residents of the city of São Paulo are called) often compare their city to New York. It is the node connecting Brazil to a wider world of global markets. Through the conduit of the city music of the Brazilian Black soul movements of the 1970s borrowed heavily from African American soul music. In addition, Gladys Mitchell's study (2009a) of campaign advertisements of Afro-Brazilian politicians showed that in São Paulo references are made to Black movements in South Africa and the United States, but not exclusively to Brazil. In Salvador, however, more Afro-Brazilian politicians use cultural symbols relevant to Bahia, and some even use Pan African symbols. Nevertheless, because Salvador is touted as the cradle of Black culture in Brazil and as a city that has retained many African traditions, it is not surprising that respondents acknowledge African countries and other countries throughout the diaspora when thinking about group identity or linked fate. Yet, these differences between the two sets of interviewees may be features of the samples and not representative of significant differences in the wider Black populations. This is a question which requires further examination.

### **Conclusion**

Statistical analyses show that over 80 percent of Afro-Brazilian respondents in Salvador and São Paulo have a sense of Black linked fate. Respondents with higher education and those identifying as *preto* or *negro* are more likely to display a sense of Black linked fate. In two separate regression analyses, these results are confirmed. In the first logistic regression analysis which includes a question about the major problem of Blacks, respondents who self-identified as Black, who had higher education attainments, and who claimed discrimination or racism was a major problem for Blacks, were more likely to display



Black linked fate than those who claimed otherwise and who had less education. In the second logistic regression analysis, the independent variable regarding *negros*' economic position, demonstrated that respondents that who believed *negros* were less well off than Whites, who self-identified as Black, and who possessed higher education levels, had a higher likelihood of displaying Black linked fate than those who believe Blacks are in the same or a better-off economic position than Whites.

In-depth interviews exploring Blackness and Black linked fate, revealed that in both sites, Afro-Brazilians felt linked as a group because of the common experience of racism. However, in Salvador, respondents acknowledged a diasporic and transnational sense of Black linked fate. Considering that São Paulo is a more developed city it will be interesting to see if racial politics in cities throughout Brazil begin to mirror these dynamics as its economy continues to emerge. As the Brazilian economy and democracy strengthens, I predict that racial dynamics and the politics of racial identities will become more similar to, rather than different from racial politics in the United States. Rather than social scientists clinging to old static notions of American racism to compare U.S. and Brazilian racial politics, more nuanced analyses of America's racism are necessary.

### Notes

1. Editors' note: Many Brazilians consider themselves Afro-descendants because they know they have African ancestry. But because of their appearance, social class, or education, they may not be classified as Black. They may be labeled White, mulatto, pardo, tan, or some other category. In Brazil being of African descent does not necessarily mean being Black or even brown. An example of this condition is cited by Edward Telles in *Race in Another America* where he notes a study in Rio de Janeiro in which 35 percent of White males said they had at least one Black parent or grandparent.
2. Editors' note: São Paulo has the highest average annual income in the country. Salvador is in the country's poorest region, the Northeast.

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## **Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois: The Intellectual Grandfather of Contemporary African American Studies**

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### **Introduction**

In my view, Dr. Du Bois was America's most outstanding and socially significant intellectual ever, Black or White. His contributions as a scholar and political activist affected and enlightened practically every segment of American life and culture. For this paper, I choose to discuss his contributions to the development of Black or African American Studies. (Throughout the paper I use the two terms interchangeably.) Although the modern Black Studies movement did not begin until the 1960s, Du Bois made the case for Black Studies in the early days of the twentieth century and actually carried out Black Studies research long before the term was coined. In reality, Du Bois was the father, or perhaps, we might say, the intellectual grandfather of modern African American Studies. To support this assertion I will first identify some of the ideological assumptions and principles of the Black Studies movement and then demonstrate how they were reflected in the scholarship and political activism of Du Bois long before they were articulated by scholars such as Nathan Hare, Maulana Karenga, Molefi Asante, and others. Indeed, Du Bois not only addressed the assumptions and principles that were to characterize the Black Studies movement of the 1960s, but he also raised and expounded on almost all of the ideas and arguments that arose during the broader Black liberation movement of the 1960s and 1970s. Arguments about integration vs. separation, nationalism vs. assimilation, socialism vs. capitalism, male chauvinism vs. feminism, etc., were all addressed by Du Bois half a century earlier. Du Bois not only addressed all of these issues, he did so with clarity and conviction unmatched by many contemporary scholars.

### **Biography**

Knowing and understanding Du Bois' biography and how it was shaped by the changing times in which he lived and struggled are critical for understanding his evolution as the intellectual grandfather of modern African American Studies. Given the often repeated assertion that he was an elitist, it is easy to forget that he was not from a privileged or middle-class family. He grew up in a single parent home and never really knew his father. His mother was a frail woman, a domestic who took in ironing from White folks to make

ends meet. Du Bois was born in Great Barrington, Massachusetts, a town of some five thousand people including twenty-five to fifty Black folk, in 1868, only five years after the end of slavery.<sup>1</sup> He and his mother attended a Congregationalist church where they were the only members of color. After graduating from high school in 1884 as the only Black student in the class, Du Bois entered Fisk in 1885 and graduated in 1888 as the top student in a class of five. While at Fisk for two summers he taught elementary school in rural Tennessee, and it was there that he developed his understanding of the place of Black people in American society. After graduating from Fisk, he entered Harvard in 1888 and received the BA cum laude in 1890 and the MA from Harvard in 1891. He pursued doctoral studies in Germany from 1892 to 1894 but did not receive the doctoral degree because he lacked one year in residence. Du Bois received the doctoral degree from Harvard in 1895. From 1897 to 1910 he served at Atlanta University. He left Atlanta University in 1910 and worked for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People NAACP where he served on the board of directors and edited the *Crisis* magazine; he resigned from the NAACP in 1934 and returned to Atlanta University as head of the sociology department. Du Bois was retired involuntarily by Atlanta University in 1944 and returned to the NAACP. In 1948, Du Bois was again dismissed from NAACP. After 1948, Du Bois continued to work with a variety of organizations opposed to war and Western imperialism. Du Bois moved to Ghana, West Africa, in 1961 and died there in 1963 while working on his final project, an encyclopedia of Africa.

#### **Ideological Assumptions and Principles of the Black Studies Movement**

Black Studies or African American Studies as an academic discipline in American education grew out of struggles of Black students of the 1960s on campuses of both historically Black and traditionally White institutions. During the 1960s students argued that mainstream or White scholarship was irrelevant for those interested in understanding and transforming the position of Blacks in American life because it grew out of the experiences of White or Euro-Americans and was grounded in the ideology of White supremacy. As a consequence, it was argued, mainstream scholarship raised questions and generated information that gave a distorted view of American society and the place of Black folk in it. To overcome this problem, advocates of Black Studies called upon Black scholars to challenge the assumptions of mainstream scholarship and develop new paradigms and frames of reference that would be grounded in the experiences of African people in the United States and around the world. These new frames of reference would ask different questions and generate information that would illuminate more clearly the nature of oppression and suggest more effective strategies for Black liberation.

Relevance, according to the proponents of Black Studies, was not merely an academic matter. Developing new paradigms and frames of reference and conducting research was only half of the responsibility. The other half involved applying this new knowledge in the struggle against racial oppression. *To know* carried with it the responsibility *to do* was the first principle of the Black Studies movement. Thus to satisfy the call for relevance, Black scholars had to be activists as well. There could be no separation between town and gown, between campus and community.

Black Studies advocates were also concerned that Eurocentric scholarship transformed Black students into vulgar careerists concerned only with personal advancement and who

assumed no special responsibility for uplifting the race. Thus, relevance required that professors not only produce a scholarship more useful for transforming the conditions of Black folk, but also that professors, strive to produce students who recognized and accepted their roles in the struggle for racial advancement.

Maulana Karenga has asserted that this call for relevance led Black Studies advocates to formulate four distinct objectives:

1. Teach the Black experience in its historical and current unfolding.
2. Assemble and create a body of knowledge that would contribute to intellectual and political emancipation.
3. Create a cadre of Black intellectuals committed to community service.
4. Maintain a mutually beneficial relationship between the campus and community.

### **Du Bois as a Precursor of the Black Studies Paradigm**

Du Bois, through his scholarship and political activism, not only satisfied these objectives, he also addressed topics that have become hot-button issues in our time, issues such as feminism and imperialism. He was the quintessential model of the African-centered professor. Let me demonstrate. I will do so by first discussing his argument for a distinct African-centered frame of reference. I will then discuss his application of that frame of reference in his works on Africa and his classic, *Black Reconstruction in America*. I will also highlight the link between his scholarship and his activism by examining his conflict with Booker T. Washington.

According to proponents of Black Studies, all efforts to know and explain the world, to explain social reality, begin necessarily with a set of prior assumptions about the nature of that reality. The assumptions that people, including scholars, have about their social reality, are derived from their societal worldview. Immersed in the compelling assumptions of the dominant world view, the argument continues, academicians in the social and cultural sciences develop conceptual frameworks and paradigms that give rise to studies that reinforce dominant ideas and power relations. Mainstream American or White Studies, according to Black Studies advocates, are grounded in the Euro-American worldview and constructed within frames of reference that serve the interests of those in power. Such studies produce a distorted Eurocentric view of social reality, a view that reinforces the global domination of European people. To be relevant, therefore, the first and critical task of Black Studies was the development of an alternative African-centered perspective that would issue from an African worldview and give rise to questions and develop responses as prescribed by the experiences of African people. Asante, Karenga, Carruthers, Stewart, and others have made valuable contributions toward the development of African-centered conceptual schemes, but they were preceded by Du Bois.

Du Bois, like all of his contemporaries, was initially trained in institutions grounded in Eurocentric perspectives. However, he was not oblivious to the disconnect between the life experiences of African Americans and the assumptions of Eurocentric scholarship. Indeed he spent his professional life actively disabusing himself of his Eurocentric educational beginnings. Some of his early works such as "Jefferson Davis as Representative of Civilization," "The Conservation of Races," *Souls of Black Folk*, "First Universal Races Congress," and "Criteria of Negro Art," all written between 1890 and 1926, reveal

a growing African-focused racial consciousness. Several of the essays in *Souls*, including "Spiritual Strivings," "Of the Dawn of Freedom," "Of the Meaning of Progress," and "Of the Training of Black Men," are clearly African-centered contributions. By the time he published *Black Reconstruction in America*, in 1935, his scholarship was clearly African centered. However, as far as I have been able to ascertain, Du Bois did not address directly, at least in print, the issue of epistemology, perspective, and frames of reference. He did, however, address such issues in the context of his exegesis on the role and responsibility of the Black college. The Black college, Du Bois argued, was to give students an African-centered understanding of the world and prepare them for political action. In a 1933 address to the Fisk alumni, as I will explain below, he enunciated this epistemological stance.

The 1933 address was given in the then still ongoing debate about the optimum education and training for Black students and the appropriate role for Black colleges. By that time, Du Bois had witnessed the largely successful efforts of White industrialists and philanthropists of the Mohonk conferences of 1890 and 1891 to make vocational training the center piece of Black education and he had suffered the consequences of challenging Booker T. Washington who became the embodiment of the Mohonk doctrine; and he had also witnessed and participated in the debate over the proper focus of "Negro Art."

Apparently, the address to the Fisk alumni was designed to make the case that Fisk should remain a full-blown university in the traditional meaning of the term. But, the address went much further than that. In it Du Bois raised fundamental epistemological questions about the role of culture and worldviews in the process of knowing and the role and responsibility of individuals and institutions that generate and teach knowledge. Essentially, Du Bois argued that all knowledge grows out of the strivings of the people involved in its creation and that, therefore, all knowledge is parochial. In his view, there is no such thing as universal understanding apart from the effort to understand the universal through the process of understanding the particulars that give rise to a certain instant in the struggle to know. From these thoughts emerge the clearest statement of the nature of, and need for, African-centered education that I have encountered in his writings.

Writing in 1933, Du Bois argued that the American Negro problem must be the center of the Negro American University. After pointing out, as an example, that the Spanish university is founded in Spain and uses the Spanish language, he says "It starts with Spanish history and makes conditions in Spain the starting point of its teaching. Its education is for Spaniards - not for them as they may or ought to be but as they are with their present problems and disadvantages and opportunities" (Weinberg 1970, 179). In the same vein, his argument continues:

A Negro university in the United States of America begins with Negroes. It uses that variety of the English idiom which they understand; and above all, it is founded or it should be founded on a knowledge of the history of their people in Africa and in the United States, and their present condition. Without whitewashing or translating wish into fact, it begins with that; and then it asks how shall these young men and women be trained to earn a living and live a life under the circumstance in which they find themselves or with such changing of those circumstances as time and work and determination will permit. (Weinberg 1970, 179)

Du Bois' admonition that the Black university should be founded on a knowledge of the history of Africa and Blacks in America made him one of the first Afrocentric scholars if we accept that "'Afrocentric'...means essentially viewing social and human reality from

an African perspective or stand point" (Karenga 1993, 35). One could argue, of course, that one could begin with Africa but that the beginning could still flow from Eurocentric assumptions, but Du Bois made it clear that he was arguing for an African-centered approach. He continued:

...starting with the present conditions and using the facts and the knowledge of the present situation of American Negroes, the Negro University expands toward the possession and conquest of all knowledge. It seeks from a beginning of the history of the Negro in America and in Africa to interpret all history; from a beginning of social development among Negro slaves and freedmen in America and Negro tribes and kingdoms in Africa, to interpret and understand the social development of all mankind in all ages. It seeks to teach modern science of matter and life from the surroundings and habits and aptitudes of American Negroes and thus lead up to understanding life and matter in the universe.

...it is a matter of beginnings and integrations of one group which sweep instinctive knowledge and inheritance and current reactions into a universal world of science, sociology, and art. In no other way can the American Negro College function. It cannot begin with history and lead to Negro history. It cannot start with sociology and lead to Negro sociology (Weinberg 1970, 181).

The foregoing excerpt is a clear and cogent statement of the nature of, need for, and defense of, an Afrocentric approach to knowing. Du Bois acknowledged the difficulty of developing such an enterprise because he said "... it asks that teachers teach that which they have learned in no American school and which they never will learn until we have a Negro university of the sort that I am visioning" (Weinberg 1970, 183).

When Du Bois advanced the idea that a relevant education for Black people must be African centered, he was just beginning to educate himself on the history of African peoples. In 1915 he had published a slender volume called "The Negro" which he said some time later "... gave evidence of a certain naive astonishment on my own part at the wealth of fact and material concerning the Negro peoples, the very existence of which I had myself known little despite a varied university career" (*World and Africa* 1965, vii). In 1939, an expanded version was published as *Black Folk Then and Now*. Du Bois' most complete work on the subject, *The World and Africa*, was published in 1946 and later enlarged and republished in 1965, two years after his death. In writing *The World and Africa*, Du Bois drew on an extensive inventory of previously published and unpublished manuscripts. In the foreword, he offers a running critique of the various works that he used, taking care to point out the works that disrespected or devalued the African experience. And he made clear that he imposed his own African-centered perspective on the factual information that he had gleaned from other sources.

Du Bois admitted that he might not have had the ideal academic background and training for embarking on the important task of writing an African-centered history of African peoples but inasmuch as no one else had assumed the responsibility he felt it a duty to do so. As he put it:

With meager preparation and all too general background of learning, I have essayed a task, which, to be adequate and complete, should be based upon the research of a lifetime! But I am faced with the dilemma, that either I do this now or leave it for others who have not had the tragedy of life which I have, forcing me to face a task for which they may have small stomach and little encouragement from the world round about.

If, out of my almost inevitable mistakes and inaccuracies and false conclusions, I shall have at least clearly stated my main issue - that Black Africans are men in the same sense as white European and yellow [sic] Asiatics, and that history can easily prove this-then I shall rest satisfied even under the stigma of an incomplete and, to many, inconclusive work. (Du Bois 1965, xii)



Du Bois' concern with African-centered knowledge went beyond issues of epistemology and extended to the institutionalization of an African-centered approach to knowing. For him, the Black college was the appropriate agency for generating and teaching an African-centered understanding of social reality and for using that knowledge to transform the life conditions of African people. After short stints at Wilberforce and the University of Pennsylvania, in 1897 he joined the faculty of Atlanta University, a private Black university, and remained there until 1910; he served a second tenure at Atlanta University from 1934 to 1944. Before Du Bois came to Atlanta University, two other Black colleges, Tuskegee and Hampton, had become the designated institutions for studying and devising uplift programs for the rural Black population. Du Bois was brought to Atlanta University to start a similar program focusing on urban Blacks.

To fulfill this responsibility, in 1897, Du Bois inaugurated a Black Studies research project that has yet to be matched for its scope and depth. As a centerpiece of their efforts, Tuskegee and Hampton held annual conferences. Workers, experts, and observers came to exchange ideas about the predicament and promise of rural Blacks. Atlanta University held a similar urban-focused conference in 1896, the year immediately preceding the appointment of Du Bois. Prior to his coming, according to Du Bois, the conferences were primarily meetings of inspiration directed toward social reform and propaganda for social uplift (Du Bois 1968, 214). Du Bois changed the focus of the Atlanta University Studies to systematic, scientific studies of the entire Black population. He proposed a ten-year cycle of studies of various dimensions of the problems of Black people. Basic data would be collected and updated every ten years. This would eventually yield, Du Bois thought, a comprehensive scientific description and analysis of the Black predicament which could be used continuously to inform strategies and programs for racial uplift. The focus and content of all of the studies grew out of his African-centered perspective. The sixteen works completed as parts of the Atlanta University Studies remain as examples of the research possibilities of Black Studies. A listing of the titles of some of them will reinforce this point.

Mortality Among Negroes in Cities  
 Social and Physical Conditions of Negroes in Cities  
 The Negro in Business  
 The College Bred Negro  
 The Negro Church  
 Notes on Negro Crime  
 The Negro American Family  
 Economic Cooperation among Negro Americans

The decision to limit the Atlanta University project to the production of scientific studies of the Black condition did not mean that Du Bois forsook the Black Studies objective of linking the production and application of knowledge to social uplift programs; nor did it mean that he was unsupportive of establishing and sustaining mutually supportive links between the campus and the community. Perhaps the best example of Du Bois' effort to link the production and application of knowledge was his proposal submitted in 1942 to the organization of Negro Land Grant Colleges for the establishment of coordinating structures through which the Black land grant college of each southern state would undertake continuous studies of the "... facts concerning the Negroes of the State by



counties, subdivision of counties, villages, towns, cities, wards, blocks, and households" (Du Bois 1968, 315). Each university would establish a division of social sciences and develop curriculums appropriate for carrying out the research. Arrangements would be made with northern colleges to carry out similar research on Blacks in the North. A national planning institute would gather and interpret this extensive body of data that, in turn, could be used by interested parties for racial advancement. Practically all institutions of the Black community including churches, lodges, sororities and fraternities, business groups, health professionals, etc., would be involved in the enterprise. The idea was based on the assumption "...that if the college is to make real and advantageous approach to its community, either its local or its general community, it must be helped by a careful, broad and continuous study of the social and economic set-up of that community" (*Autobiography* 1968, 313).

The Du Bois proposal was actually accepted by the presidents of the Black land grant colleges and the first conference of the Negro land grant colleges for coordinating a program for cooperative social studies was held in Atlanta on April 19-20, 1943.

Unfortunately, for reasons not yet clear, at least to me, Du Bois was forced to retire by the president of Atlanta University in 1944 and his ambitious effort did not survive his departure.

In addition to offering epistemological clarity on the nature and purpose of African-centered knowledge and working for the institutionalization of Black Studies, Du Bois and his scholarship were supportive of the other objectives specified by advocates of Black Studies. His research always portrayed the Black experience in its historical and current unfolding and his scholarship was always driven by his desire to contribute to the intellectual and political emancipation of Black people. His disposition toward that end was best summed up in his statement regarding "Negro" art. He avowed, "I stand in utter shamelessness and say that whatever art I have for writing has been used always for propaganda for gaining the right of black folk to love and enjoy. I do not care a damn for any art that is not used for propaganda. But I do care when propaganda is confined to one side while the other is stripped and silent" (Huggins 1996, 1000).

His seminal work, *Black Reconstruction*, is a prime example of his efforts to place the Black experience in its historical context and contemporary unfolding while, at the same time, contributing to the intellectual and political emancipation of the race. *Black Reconstruction* was an analysis of Reconstruction from an African centered or Black perspective and it was written to refute mainstream White supremacist interpretations and to celebrate the contribution of African Americans in that turbulent period. Prior to writing *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois and other Black scholars had challenged the racist interpretations of White historians of the era, but their challenge had received only marginal attention. In 1929, the editor of *Encyclopedia Britannica* had refused to publish Du Bois' article on Reconstruction because Du Bois insisted on including two sentences that informed readers that "*White historians have ascribed the faults and failures of Reconstruction to Negro ignorance and corruption. But the Negro insists that it was Negro loyalty and the Negro vote alone that restored the South to the Union, established the new Democracy, both for black and white, and instituted public schools*" (found in Lewis, 1995, ix). That shows the partisan nature of White scholarship on Reconstruction.

The publication of *Black Reconstruction* should be seen as an African-centered counterattack in a war to ascribe meaning to this pregnant historical moment and influence the future course of events as the emancipated Black nation struggled for survival. In a special note "To the Reader," Du Bois opened the book by stating categorically that *Black Reconstruction* was based on his African-centered assumptions about the equality and humanity of African people. He acknowledged that those who did not share his views would not be persuaded by his argument and that he would make no effort to change their minds. Specifically he asserted:

It would be only fair to the reader to say frankly in advance that the attitude of any person toward this story will be distinctly influenced by his theories of the Negro race. If he believes that the Negro in America and in general is an average ordinary human being, who under given environment develops like other human beings, then he will read this story and judge it by the facts adduced. If, however he regards the Negro as a distinctly inferior creation, who can never successfully take part in modern civilization and whose emancipation and enfranchisement were gestures against nature, then he will need something more than the sort of facts that I have set down. But this latter person, I am not trying to convince. I am simply pointing out these two points of view, so obvious to Americans, and then without further ado, I am assuming the truth of the first. (Du Bois 1995)

He then proceeded to publish a seventeen chapter, 746 page volume that not only completely recast and reinterpreted the period but also included analyses and assessments of individual historians and their scholarship based upon their attitudes toward Black people. *Black Reconstruction*, in my view, remains a model of African-centered scholarship.

Each chapter of *Black Reconstruction* opens with an epigram that previews the substantive message of the chapter and in the process highlights the African centeredness of his approach. A brief listing of some of the epigrams will reinforce this point.

**Chapter 1 the Black Worker**

How Black men, coming to America in the sixteenth, seventeenth, eighteenth, and nineteenth centuries, became a central thread in the history of the United States, at once a challenge to its democracy and always an important part of its economic history and social development.

**Chapter 2 the White Worker**

How America became the laborer's Promised Land; and flocking here from all over the world the White workers competed with Black slaves, with new floods of foreigners, and with growing exploitation, until they fought slavery to save democracy and then lost democracy in a new and vaster slavery.

**Chapter 3 the Planter**

How 7 percent of a section within a nation ruled five million White people and owned four million Black people and sought to make agriculture equal to industry through the rule of property without yielding political power or education to labor.

**Chapter 5 the Coming of the Lord**

How the Negro became free because the North could not win the Civil War if he remained in slavery. And how arms in his hands and the prospects of arms in a million more Black hands, brought peace and emancipation to America.

**Chapter 16 Back Toward Slavery**

How civil war in the South began again—indeed had never ceased; and how Black Prometheus bound to the Rock of Ages by hate, hurt, and humiliation, has his vitals eaten out as they grow yet lives and fights.

### Chapter 17 the Propaganda of History

How the facts of American history have in the last half century been falsified because the nation was ashamed. The South was ashamed because it fought to perpetuate human slavery. The North was ashamed because it had to call in the Black men to save the Union, abolish slavery, and establish democracy.

In the bibliography at the end of the volume, Du Bois categorized the entries according to their position on the question of the humanity of African people. He called them out by name. For example, one group was designated as Standard-Anti-Negro authors who believe the Negro to be subhuman; another group of scholars was listed as Propaganda, authors who select and use facts and opinions in order to prove the South was right in Reconstruction, North vengeful or deceived and the Negro stupid.

Of course, based on ideological presuppositions one might challenge the conceptualization, orientation, structure, or content of *Black Reconstruction*. African centeredness, as Karenga has reminded us, is a quality of thought rooted in the interests of African people. It is an orientation, and not a dogma of authenticity through which we may struggle to know the world. Du Bois' *Black Reconstruction* is an exemplar in this regard.

Next, let me turn to two themes that are frequently addressed in contemporary Black Studies: feminism or the woman question, and the question of the role and predicament of African people in international affairs. On both of these, Du Bois presaged contemporary thinkers. On the woman question, as Lewis has pointed out, Du Bois was an acknowledged pioneer (Lewis 2000, 12). On the other hand, his personal and professional relationships with women were far short of the ideal reflected in his writings. Du Bois gave his own assessment of his relationship with women in the autobiography in the chapter entitled "My Character" (Du Bois 1968).

In his writings, Du Bois discussed and praised the contributions of women to human growth and development, argued against extant negative stereotypes, and supported women's rights, especially the right to vote. He was especially effusive in his defense of, and praise for, Black women. His essay, "The Damnation of Women," published in 1920, was perhaps his most elegant statement on the issue. Lamenting the general problems of women, he offers a poignant statement that placed the woman question in its universal context: "All womanhood is hampered today because the world on which it is emerging is a world that tries to worship both virgins and mothers and in the end despises motherhood and despoils virgins." He goes on to show how sexism and the derivative stereotypes deny women opportunities for their full development and how, in turn, the subordination of women retards overall human growth and development. He argues that the future woman must have a life work and economic independence.

In praise of Black mothers, Du Bois notes that Africa gave the world what he called the mother-idea. It appears, he said, "...the great black race in passing up the steps of human culture gave the world, not only the Iron Age, the cultivation of soil, and the domestication of animals, but also, in peculiar emphasis, the mother-idea" (Lewis 1995, 301). After detailing the critical role played by women in different African societies and the respect accorded them, he notes how the crushing weight of slavery fell on Black women, and he links in a causal fashion the degradation of Black women with many of the problems faced by Black people in American society. Du Bois concluded that

"The uplift of women is, next to the problem of the color line and the peace movement, our greatest modern cause. When, now, two of these movements - women and color combine in one, the combination has deep meaning" (Lewis 1995, 309).

On the political scene, Du Bois supported the Suffrage Movement and he took to task those in opposition, dismissing their arguments as ancient. For example, in 1915, as the editor of *Crisis* he published an essay opposing women suffrage by the noted Howard University dean, Kelly Miller. He then published his own rejoinder calling Miller's argument sheer rot. He said "It is the same sort of thing that we hear about the 'darker races' and 'lower classes.' Difference, either physical or spiritual, does not argue weakness or inferiority" he fumed.

The aggressiveness and assertiveness that Du Bois displayed in support of women was equally apparent in his devotion to Pan-Africanism.

Du Bois was a lifelong Pan-Africanist. Dating back to his first major work, *Suppression of the African Slave Trade*, he recognized the negative impact that Europe and North America had on the growth and development of Africa and African peoples. Beginning with the first Pan-African Conference of 1900 and continuing throughout his life, Du Bois sought to create a united front of African people, both from the Continent and the Diaspora, to resist Western imperialism. His position on the role and predicament of African people in international affairs was built on at least six major assumptions: (1) prior to the fifteenth century, African and Asian civilizations far outstripped that of Europe; (2) European imperialism dating back to the fourteenth century, particularly the slave trade, stunted the growth and development possibilities of Africa and African people; (3) the discovery of "whiteness," a modern notion dating back only to the nineteenth century, resulted from the need of Europeans to rationalize and justify their exploitation of people or color; (4) following the Second World War, Europe and North America became coequal partners in the exploitation of people of color; (5) African people in the United States and elsewhere in the Americas and on the continent share a common fate and should develop a united resistance to Western imperialism; (6) only through some form of socialism can African people become independent.

His description of the international predicament of African people changed as his understanding of imperialism evolved. Drawing on his letter to Nkrumah to mark Ghana's independence and two speeches he prepared during the last decade of his life, we can begin to reconstruct his final position on the question. One speech was prepared to be delivered at the 1957 Ghanaian independence celebration. The other was delivered in China in 1958 where he celebrated his ninety-first birthday. Parenthetically, it should be noted that Du Bois recognized that his earlier Pan-African work had been paternalistic. He confessed apologetically in his address from China that "Once I thought of you Africans as children, whom we educated Afro-Americans would lead to liberty. I was wrong. We could not even lead ourselves, much less you" (Du Bois 1968, 406).

In a letter to Kwame Nkrumah, the Ghanaian president, and the speech read by his wife to the Ghanaian independence celebration, Du Bois declared that Ghana must be the representative of Africa and exhorted Nkrumah to adopt what he referred to as Pan-African Socialism, a system that would seek to establish the welfare state in Africa. It would seek to develop a new African economy and cultural center standing between Europe

and Asia taking from each that which could be helpful. It would avoid subjection to and ownership by foreign capitalist who seek to get rich from African labor and raw material. "It should try to build a socialism founded on old African communal life, rejecting the private initiative of the West..." (Du Bois 1968, 400).

Nkrumah was urged to pursue a Pan-Africanism that would seek to preserve its own past history:

and write the present account, erasing from literature the lies and distortions about black folk which have disgraced the last centuries of European and American literature; above all the new Pan-Africa will seek the education of all its youth on the broadest possible basis without religious dogma and in all hospitable lands as well as in Africa for the end of making Africans not simply profitable workers for industry nor stool-pigeons for propaganda, but for making them modern, intelligent, responsible men of vision and character. (Du Bois 1968, 400)

Du Bois was especially concerned that the newly independent Africans would not opt for temporary advantage—automobiles, refrigerators, and Paris gowns—spending income in paying on borrowed money instead of sacrificing present comfort for economic independence. He cautioned Pan-Africanists to realize that as buyers of capital goods they were not helpless because the imperialist sellers would have to either sell or face bankruptcy. "You can wait. You can starve a while longer rather than sell your great heritage for a mess of western capitalistic pottage" (Du Bois 1968, 403).

The speech given in China in 1958 was somewhat unusual inasmuch as it was addressed to the peoples of China, Africa, and African Americans. In it he commented briefly on the history of Western exploitation of China, the continuing exploitation of African Americans, and the collusion of the White American worker and owners of capital in maintaining the system. He suggested that Africans and African Americans had been indoctrinated to believe that development is possible only through capitalist exploitation. This he said "... is a lie. It is an ancient lie spread by the church and state, spread by priest and historian, and believed in by fools and cowards, as well as by the downtrodden and the children of despair" (Du Bois 1968, 405). The Chinese, he asserted, know this but Africa and African Americans had yet to learn it.

Regarding relationships between newly independent Africa and America, including African Americans, Du Bois said that he was "...frightened by the so-called friends who are flocking to Africa. Negro Americans trying to make money from your toil, white Americans who seek by investment and high interest to bind you in serfdom to business as the Near East is bound and as South America is struggling with. For this America is tempting your leaders, bribing your young scholars, and arming your soldiers. What shall you do?" (Du Bois 1968, 406-7). He encouraged Africans to come to China and look around. To Africans he exhorted:

China is flesh of your flesh, and blood of your blood. China is colored and knows to what a colored skin in this modern world subjects its owner. But China knows more, much more than this: she knows what to do about it. She can take the insults of the United States and still hold her head high. She can make her own machines, when America refuses to sell to her American manufactures, even though it hurts American industry, and throws her workers out of jobs. China does not need American nor British missionaries to teach her religion and scare her with tales of hell. China has been in hell too long, not to believe in a heaven of her own making. This she is doing. (Du Bois 1968, 407).

Finally let me turn to the Du Bois–Washington conflict and demonstrate how the role played by Du Bois reflected his commitment to the objectives advocated by proponents of Black Studies. Recall that advocates were implored to not only study the world through an African-centered perspective but to also to act based on what they had come to know. The conflict between Mr. Washington and Du Bois was not simply a dispute between two men. Rather the conflict was about the gravest question facing the United States at that time: what to do about, to, or for the newly freed population. Remember we are speaking of the last decade of the nineteenth and the first decade of the twentieth century. At that time, even though Reconstruction had ended, African Americans were desperately clinging to the tenuous political beachhead that they had forged during Reconstruction. A smattering of Black elected officials remained in the US Congress and in state and local governments. Blacks still owned significant parcels of land and some still had the vote. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) and other terrorists were using violence and economic intimidation to drive Blacks off the land and out of the political arena. Given the stark imbalance of power between the two forces, Mr. Washington and others assumed the inevitability of White domination and counseled Black folk to cease agitating for political rights, give up on the idea for college education for Black youth, and settle for vocational or industrial training and concentrate on economic development.

The position assumed by Mr. Washington, however, was not unique to him, nor did it begin with him. It was the position advocated by an imposing segment of the White ruling classes, captains of industry and commerce, philanthropists, and educators—that had assumed responsibility for charting the course for the development of the African American community. With their support, Mr. Washington became the most powerful Black leader of his times. He became the gatekeeper for the Black community. A nod from him could determine the fate of individuals and institutions that depended upon government or philanthropic support, and his power was used by him and his patrons to punish those who challenged the imposed orthodoxy. It was in that context that Du Bois wrote his essay: “Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others.”

That essay was a systematic analysis of the evolution of the Black predicament in America and of the struggle for transforming it. Du Bois places Washington and the Tuskegee machine in an insightful historical and systemic context and offers a logically consistent reason for opposing them. He argued in 1903 that over the past fifteen years, Mr. Washington had asked Black people to give up three things: (1) political power, (2) insistence on civil rights, and (3) higher education of Negro youth. The return, Du Bois insisted, had been (1) the disfranchisement of the Negro, (2) the legal creation of a distinct status of civil inferiority for the Negro, and (3) the steady withdrawal of aid from institutions of higher training for the Negro. Du Bois argued that without political power and an educated leadership class there would be no way to protect nascent Black economic development.

Du Bois concluded his argument by asserting that it was his duty and responsibility and the duty and responsibility of all who shared his view to oppose the forces represented by Mr. Washington. If they did not do so, he averred:

...the thinking classes of American Negroes would shirk a heavy responsibility, a responsibility to themselves, a responsibility to the struggling masses, a responsibility to the darker races of men whose

future depends so largely on this American experiment. ... it is wrong to encourage a man or a people in evil-doing; it is wrong to aid and abet a national crime simply because it is unpopular not to do so.... We have no right to sit silently by while the inevitable seeds are sown for a harvest of a disaster to our children, black and white. (Du Bois 1989, 47)

Du Bois did not limit his opposition to the written word. In 1905, he started the Niagara movement to "oppose firmly present methods of strangling honest criticisms; to organize intelligent honest Negroes; and to support organs of news and public opinion." The Niagara movement eventually gave way to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People and a new chapter in the struggle for racial equality. This was an example of African-centered scholarship and activism at its finest.

#### Note

1. Editors' note: The Emancipation Proclamation was signed in 1863, but slavery was not formally ended, throughout the country until after the end of the Civil War in 1865, the same year that the Thirteenth Amendment was passed.

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## **Du Boisian Thought in Contemporary America: From Double Consciousness to Dual Marginality**

*Rutledge Dennis*

### **Introduction**

W. E. B. Du Bois staged a remarkable social and psychological revolution in American thought, especially Black thought, with the publication of *The Souls of Black Folk* in 1903. The book guided the reader through a brief history of the nation, encompassing the periods of slavery and the slave trade, Reconstruction, the crisis in Black leadership during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, the emergence of post slavery, the color caste system in the South, the semi-freedom experienced by Blacks in the North at the same time, the Industrial Revolution in the United States, the rise of capitalism; and the increasing importance of the emerging realities of Western imperialism. The revolution he staged entailed a deep structural analysis of the hierarchal role of color, race, and class in American society. Of greater importance, however, was his probe into, and the critique of Black and White interiors or psyches. This launched him into a world of symbols, dual and doubleness, and consciousness, false and true, to explain and characterize both the inner and outer worlds of Blacks and Whites. This had never been done before, for no one had heretofore coupled the concept of self with identity to paint a sociological portrait of Black life, and the important ways that life was indelibly linked to the larger, and more dominant context of White life.

The concepts of self and identity are central themes in the Du Boisian world, and constitute intricate features of how he defined both his own life and the surrounding world. Indeed, the concepts are crucial to Du Bois' own self-understanding, first as a man, a Black man, and a citizen of the world, a cosmopolite. These concepts, the role of history, and the hierarchal social structure enabled him to assess the contradictions inherent in the American version of democracy. According to Du Bois, this democracy was dressed to display its glitter and thus hide its material and spiritual impoverishment. Given this, it is understandable how and why the double themes surrounding issues of identity and the self loom so large, in both their sociological and psychological dimensions. Such issues, highlighted in *The Souls of Black Folk*, and scattered throughout Du Bois' work, even when he chooses not to delineate them, provide unique insights into Du Bois' vast intellectual landscape. It traverses the dualities of Blacks and Whites, North and South,

Fisk and Harvard, Europe and America, the West and the East, the Old and New Negro, the Old and New South, and the interior and outer worlds of human existence. Du Bois was larger than life, and his place in American intellectual life is assured, but as we have moved into the twenty-first century it is important to reassess his contributions at that crucial moment at the end of the nineteenth century when the nation stood on the threshold of great change, both internally and externally.

The first half of the paper will examine the relevance of Du Bois' ideas and activities during the last quarter of the nineteenth century and the early decades of the twentieth century. The second half of the paper will assess Du Bois' relevance for the twenty-first century, particularly for Black America.

### **Du Bois' Relevance for the Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Century**

First of all, when Du Bois evoked the concept of "Double Consciousness" in *Souls*, the term could have been co-joined with many issues and events around which a "double" or "dual" theme might be applicable. In the nineteenth century the growing attention to the idea of consciousness, dual consciousness, and split personalities by the new and emerging discipline of psychology and the older discipline of philosophy, and by creative writers in the nineteenth century, provided a rich framework for exploring various dimensions of "the dual" and "the double." Also, "the dual" and "double" are inherent in the concept of the dialectic, an idea traced through the works of Heraclitus, Plato, Kant, Hegel, and Marx. In literature, the works of Poe, Stevenson, Dostoyevsky, among others, also highlight the "double" theme. For Du Bois, following his Harvard mentor, William James, the term was used to express a psychic split where there are Black and White dimensions of an individual's consciousness: where the "true self" is hidden away in disguise while the "false self" takes the stage. As Du Bois himself said, he attended James' lectures, read his articles and books, and, no doubt, assimilated many of James' notions of the divided self, such as the sick soul and the healthy soul, the heterogeneous personality, and states of consciousness. James, however, kept his analysis on a fairly abstract and theoretical plane. Du Bois' creativity removed James' concepts from their intellectual loftiness, and placed them, instead, in the ongoing social and political world of real people struggling to make sense of societal contradictions that were to be reformulated as individual and personal contradictions.

One sees this process at work, for example, when comparing James' philosophical ruminations on the "self," and Du Bois' attempt to demarcate the "self" and the "true self," then to ground the "self-true self" dichotomy in the real world of Black Americans. Whereas, James' concept of self was deduced from the Greeks and the Romans, and from a Christian theology, Du Bois used the term to emphasize the dilemma in Black life emanating from societal contradictions with respect to race and class. As virtually all of Du Bois' books assert, the collective and personal dilemma and anguish for Blacks is the elusive pursuit of the "true" self. It is to Du Bois' credit that he does not posit the problem as a personal one; rather, it is systemic and collective, with group domination as a centralized theme both creating and directing all approaches and avenues governing local and national politics, economics, and social and cultural relations.

According to Du Bois, social contradictions and ambivalences produced a collective double consciousness among Blacks. A consciousness, he knew, had to be developed,

but he was often not certain how this consciousness, double-fold, could be useful. What he did believe was the inevitability of an evolving consciousness among Blacks which would contribute towards their collective sense of identity. As he explained "...a half-awakened common consciousness, sprung from common joy and grief, at burial, birth, or wedding; from a common hardship in poverty, poor land, and low wages; and, above all, from the sight of the Veil that hung between us and Opportunity" (Du Bois 1903, 60). His depiction of an emerging "common consciousness" is similar to Ralph Ellison's memory of his developing common consciousness and cultural awareness that tied him closely to Blacks and the Black community while growing up in Oklahoma. According to Ellison, among the features germane to developing this common consciousness are the following: "... the memory of slavery and the hope of emancipation and the betrayal by allies and the revenge and contempt by our former masters after the Reconstruction... It has to do with...sex and love, with food and drink...with places of worship and places of entertainment; with garments and dreams and idioms of speech; with manners and customs, with religion and art...More important, perhaps, being a Negro American involves a *willed* [Ellison's emphasis] affirmation of self as against all outside pressures ..." (Ellison 1966, 136-37).

The use of "Double Consciousness" in *Souls* would also reflect Du Bois' assessment of how the "Old Negro," emerging from slavery, from Reconstruction, and now, for Du Bois, entering the era of Southern terrorism, lynching, Jim Crow laws, poverty, illness, and disease, could become the "New Negro" (with a "New Consciousness"), a term which would enter the lexicon in the 1920s, when made popular by Alain Locke (1969 [1925]) and others. In *Souls* (1903, 87) we get a glimpse of the making of the "New Negro" with Du Bois describing himself as a representative of this group as he was able to dwell "above the veil," of having sat with Shakespeare and being able to commune with a host of European literary geniuses. Color, then, would be no obstacle to bridging the color line, transcending the veil, or clearly moving back and forth between his Black (African) consciousness and what he assumed would be their White (European) consciousness. So, the shift between the two types of consciousness, akin to a "Dialectical Self," may have been real for Du Bois, and it would entail a delicate dance, one Du Bois would engage in for many decades. Perhaps the "who am I?" question raised in *Souls* may not, could not, have been addressed by Du Bois to refer to himself. Rather, it was more likely a question he thought others, perhaps less facile and astute, might ask themselves. He knew he could move and dwell, given certain situations, and within certain contexts, above the veil. And he did.

It is interesting that beyond mentioning the idea of double consciousness in *The Souls of Black Folk*, the term was never again used by Du Bois, though he would use the term "double" to refer to a "double environment" of Blacks, of having to live in two physical worlds (Du Bois 1940). In a sense the switch from consciousness to environment would suggest a shift from psychology to sociology. It is a mystery why Du Bois would move away from a psychological explanation at a time when psychology was becoming increasingly popular in academic circles in the United States and Europe. The shift could also represent a change in Du Bois' own thinking regarding the very existence of the idea of double consciousness, for as he moved more deeply into Marxist interpretations of American life, he may have seen the need to abandon a position similar to the

then-prevailing views of psychology, especially Freudian psychology and psychoanalysis, which placed its emphasis on the individual, the personal, and the subjective. This psychological emphasis was essentially bourgeois and reactionary.

When Du Bois' work is read in its entirety, another nineteenth-century term emerges from his oeuvre. This is the concept of "will-power" championed by thinkers such as Arthur Schopenhauer, William James, and Friedrich Nietzsche. Reading the work of Du Bois, and the urgency with which he addressed the need for redressing racial and class inequities, by discarding the old and initiating the new, one is reminded of some of Nietzsche's proclamations designed to redefine and revolutionize European thinking. The Du Boisian use of "will," however, was more tailored to a "will to succeed" and a will to carry on the struggle to victory. One sees some of the sense of that "will" used by Dr. Martin Luther King and others during the Montgomery Bus Boycott and other phases of the Civil Rights Movement throughout the 1950s and 1960s.

Du Bois spoke to and for a generation of Blacks, in the North and South, during the end of the nineteenth century who were, so to speak, milling around in a social, cultural, economic, and political wilderness. But to those who read his pamphlets, magazine articles, and books, his message was clear. Europeans had embarked on a mission to annex countries and even continents, enslave populations, and exploit natural resources. Responding to the Berlin Conference of 1885 in which England, France, Germany, Spain, Holland, Belgium, and Portugal met to carve out their territorial spheres in Africa, Du Bois would coin the often quoted phrase that the problem of the color line would be the problem of the new (the twentieth) century. This European land-grab had to be offset, according to Du Bois, by a political movement that would be Pan-African in nature, so as to have the force of thwarting the European quest for worldwide domination. This sentiment led Du Bois and others to organize four Pan-African Conferences and Congresses, the first of which was held in London in 1900 (Du Bois 1940).

Having concluded that science, logic, and rationality could not preempt emotions and the self-interests of dominant groups in the United States and abroad, Du Bois, with little discomfort, moved from an earlier conviction that sociology, education, and science could be key components of effective social reform and social change, to an embrace of the adage: Fight fire with fire, that is fight the propaganda of untruth with the propaganda of truth (Du Bois 1940). Having undergone that change of heart, Du Bois launched a series of print endeavors which he hoped would achieve the end of effectively countering Western propaganda. This was reflected in such enterprises as *Editor of the Atlanta University Studies of the Negro Problem* (1897-1911), *Founder and Editor of The Moon* (1906); *Founder and Editor of The Horizon* (1907-1910), *Founder and Editor, The Crisis* (1910-1934), and *Founder and Editor, Phylon* (1939).

Believing a campaign of propaganda was crucial to Black freedom, Du Bois understood that the appeal for the freedom for Blacks meant that the battle had to be taken beyond the borders of the United States, that many nations and people would be called upon to aid the struggle, and many alliances had to be enacted, hence his work with Pan-Africanists, Socialists, and religious organizations. It was his frontal attack on Western imperialism which made Eastern models of Socialism, then later Marxist models of Communism, so palatable to him. He wanted to provide viable alternatives to the political, social, economic, and cultural cul-de-sac America, especially Black America, found itself in.

His knowledge of Africa and Asia informed him that American and European democracy and capitalism were not the only arrangements possible; that for Blacks, the imperfections of the Socialism and Communism may have paralleled the imperfections of the American version of democracy and capitalism.

Despite Du Bois' assertions that he gave up the world of academics for the world of propaganda (1940), his scholarly works written at the end of the nineteenth century, such as *The Suppression of the African Slave Trade in the United States* (1896), and *The Philadelphia Negro* (1899), have become landmarks in the fields of American history and urban sociology. There were early hints, however, in his scholarly work of his turn toward active intellectual engagement with ordinary Black people. These early hints are to be found in the inchoate formulations of socialism contained in *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). A very pointed socialism would be reflected in *John Brown* written in 1909. *Black Reconstruction* (1935) was, nevertheless, Du Bois' first attempt to portray the Black American experience through a more focused prism of orthodox Marxism. Both books paint a picture of the people, institutions, and an economic system in which both racial and class exploitations were embedded in the fabric of American society. These two books provided new and innovative interpretations of the abolitionist movement and of the ante-Bellum, Slave, and post-Bellum eras. Indeed, in *Black Reconstruction*, Du Bois demonstrated that, contrary to what many perceived to be the case, slavery, the slave trade, and the structure of a rural, semi-feudal, and agricultural economy were all highly compatible with capitalism itself.

Du Bois was so important in the landscape of American thought, covering sociology, philosophy, and politics that one could without hesitation refer to the period between 1903 and the 1950s as The Age of Du Bois, so profound was his presence on the national and international scene. He was clearly an illustration of what has been traditionally called the renaissance man. He stamped his brand of protest on the numerous periodicals for which he wrote, many of which he created. He understood the uses of organizations as vehicles for social change and social reconstruction, whether such organizations promoted Pan-African ideas and issues, Black nationalist perspectives, or Socialist programs and activities.

From this writer's perspective, Du Bois literally created, defined, and redefined the nature of the discourse around the significant issues confronting Black America. His use of the term "double consciousness" helped in projecting a view of the "Black Self" as an entity singular in its uniqueness, yet tied to a collective. The term also suggested that a people, even one newly emerging from slavery, need not be trapped in the straightjacket of a slave personality. The newly freed person could look beyond the veil of oppression to seize the opportunities opened to her in a world of recently won freedom.

But Du Bois eventually came to rest in a place most Blacks did not want to go: membership in the American Communist Party and the renunciation of his American citizenship and the acquisition of Ghanaian citizenship. His was a long journey, and though Blacks did not want to make that phase of the journey with him, they followed his example, admired his devotion, and emulated him in many ways as he took the roads and detours to his final destination.

This brief sketch of the Du Boisian world permits us to understand the dual role, as scholar and activist, Du Bois played at a pivotal point in Black life. The intent was to

make the case for Du Bois' relevance for his times. But all the above is merely a prelude to the article's main purpose: Du Bois' relevance for contemporary America.

### Du Bois' Relevance in the Twenty-First Century

When I wrote my dissertation on Du Bois more than thirty-five years ago the issue that needed settling was Du Bois' legitimacy as one of the founding fathers of the discipline of sociology here and abroad. A cursory look through many contemporary introductory and sociological theory texts confirms a growing recognition of Du Bois as a theorist, urban sociologist, political activist, and one of the earliest proponents of a science of sociology. There is no doubt that Du Bois has bequeathed an intellectual legacy of tremendous value. The question about his legacy now turns on how to interpret that legacy moving forward into the twenty-first century, more than a century after the original publication of Du Bois' earliest writings. The question of his germaneness speaks to his legacy and what—no matter what he has contributed in the past—he has to offer this century and generation. The term “dual marginality” might be an apt concept to begin discussing one of the ideas flowing out of Du Bois' legacy.

Du Bois used “double consciousness” as a term suggestive of intense psychic dimensions, if not trauma. As Du Bois (1940, 130) described them, Blacks were “entombed souls ...looking out from a dark cave.” The characterizations connoted the inner and outer worlds that Blacks inhabited. This two-ness trope has its own dual meaning, signifying existence in a psychic as well as a physical world. Du Bois understood that Blacks moved in and out of the social and economic world of Whites, and doing so were more finely tuned into, as Langston Hughes would say, “the ways of white people.” And, if anything, slave and ex-slave narratives inform us of the mental agility, game-playing, and mask-wearing which were central to the physical and mental survival of subjugated peoples. These narratives reveal that the scope of a Black person's activities was restricted, both in the North and South. And the torment of which Du Bois spoke came from the daily constraints Blacks experienced due to the narrow confines under which they were forced to live their lives. Concerns about identity seemed to be merely a passing glimpse into what was critical. Rather, the emphasis was on getting through the torment, moving on, making the best of one's situation, and caring for family and friends. This had much to do with playing a role, but not *being* the person playing the role. I happen to think there was less anguish than Du Bois projected over identity and “seeing oneself through the eyes of another.” Rather, the anguish was over one's *status* and the general powerlessness experienced, and the reality, clearly understood, that not all humans were forced to play the unnatural role of the world of the eternal slave and the subjugated. Slave narratives illustrated much common sense logic and reasoning surrounding their plight. Feelings of being helpless in many situations, however, did not prevent slaves from exercising acute reasoning about their condition, nor did it prevent them from giving the reader an inside and many layered look into the world of Whites.

### *Dual Marginality*

I have used the term “dual marginality” to describe aspects of the contemporary Black reality. The meaning of this term differs somewhat from the Du Boisian idea of

"double consciousness." The world of Du Boisian "double consciousness" was one of rigid segregation where institutional Black life was at a minimum, where Blacks were excluded from the larger cultural world, and where Black life in all its various manifestations had not yet, and could not have been, fully validated by Blacks themselves. "Dual marginality" depicts a point in time and place in which, due to the victories of the civil rights movement, such as the voting rights and civil rights acts, Blacks secured access to some of the major institutions and organizations within the larger society. Though the veil of "double consciousness" still exists to some extent, Black Americans have been able to play an increasingly important role in majority White organizations and institutions. And unlike the assumptions made by E. Franklin Frazier in his seminal *Black Bourgeoisie* (1957) who indicted Blacks for an unadulterated imitation of Whites, a cursory review of contemporary institutions in which Blacks have entered demonstrates how in fundamental ways, Blacks have reshaped the contours of these organizations and institutions. I am reminded of some of these changes, i.e., in churches where more spirituals are being sung, not in the old way, but in the new "happiness," open-throat style. What Frazier and others failed to realize was that imitation works both ways. It is not simply a one-way street.

The "dual marginality" theme speaks to a contemporary reality not possible during the height of Du Bois' intellectual ascendancy. Currently, many Blacks live in two worlds. This is a reality, not a theoretical abstraction. Unlike the early definition of marginality "double consciousness" which suggested living "between" two worlds, and belonging to neither, or being rejected by both, currently, many Blacks, though not all, live in situations where they exist, both physically and emotionally, in two worlds. Indeed, they may be accepted in both worlds, the inner world of their birth culture, and the larger outer world, to which they had little access while growing up. And for those in the two worlds, there can be said to be a general absence of the anguish originally expressed in Du Bois' assessment of "double consciousness." It may be the opposite. Blacks may reject certain features of their birth culture and community and have chosen to be marginal and place a degree of distance between themselves and the vast members of their community. This is not to say that these marginal members are hostile to those around them. They simply prefer to be involved, but not too involved, engaged, but not too engaged. They are in the community, but on the edges.

Similarly, when they engage with the larger dominant community at work or play, it is always at a distance. Here I am referring to two generations of Blacks who have, over the past thirty-five or forty years, integrated predominately White institutions of higher education or who have entered the White-dominated corporate world. They may be among the few Blacks in their department, division, or agency, and their salaries may be among the highest where they are located.

Du Bois wrote of the strange feeling of the double consciousness, but "dual marginality" takes us beyond "double consciousness" which is primarily a mental construct depicting thought processes and awareness. "Dual marginality" situates us in a place where individuals may be on the fringes, whether self-induced or imposed. Individuals become nonparticipants, or partial participants. This non or partial participation may result from ideas and activities which we believe assault our values, and threaten to diminish our assessment of who we are, and what we aspire to be as individuals, or as members of the group. And though we, and others may fight it, Blacks are still compelled to feel



that we are representatives of the group, feelings generally generated in encounters with members of the dominant group. It is not that Blacks are not friendly in these settings, or that friendships do not emerge. It is rather that in these settings we remind ourselves, and are reminded by others, that we represent a whole people. Therefore, some of the holding back relates to how we see ourselves, how we wish to see ourselves, and how we want others to see us. The main point here is that we may have the access, but lack the desire to participate more fully for reasons accruing from the subtle imposition of identity placed on us by the nature of an integrated environment.

Ironically, similar dynamics may be at work preventing more intense involvement in local Black community affairs. Working at the local university where there exists historical town-gown conflicts, or in a large local corporation where there are corporate-town problems, not living in a Black neighborhood, or even joining predominately White organizations, may cause others to see individuals as being less than committed to Black issues and problems. Blacks may also exclude themselves from situations where leaders in the community opt for positions and actions that they might view as unwise. The result may be a case of community leaders keeping such a person at arm's length. For whatever reasons, an individual may also limit his or her involvement with community leaders and with larger community issues, thus creating or sustaining a marginal stance vis-à-vis the local community.

Some may see this dual marginality as a curse, for it means living on the fringes of both Black and White worlds, but truly not centrally involved in either. The manner in which the dual theme unfolds, as I've described it, calls to mind George Simmel's concept of the stranger. Its links to the idea of dual marginality are striking. Being dually marginal is almost akin to Simmel's stranger, in as much as it entails the state of "being of, but not in." And just as the stranger really has no need to be sheltered in a permanent place, or to be engulfed by the world around him or her, the dually marginal occupies that same sociological and psychological space which Simmel conceptualized. However, existing on the fringes rather than the center, dually marginals may be able to articulate correctives to policies and practices within each community. Perhaps, they may be more keenly objective on matters where not being too involved offers new perspectives on old issues. The presence of dual marginals may help dominant societies see and define situations and events differently, just as they might similarly assist nondominant communities by offering fresh insights not held by those closest to these circumstances.

My yet to be completed study on "The Making of Black Intellectuals" will, I hope, provide new insights regarding Black intellectuals currently working in the institutions of dominant groups. The "dual marginality" theme resonates well for the activities of Black Intellectuals. My tentative findings indicate that though many Blacks have moved into largely White academic and intellectual circles, they continue to maintain a presence, on many levels, in the Black world. That presence may not always be salient, but it exists. The same is true of them in their respective White worlds. The topic of the making of Black intellectuals is an interesting and sociologically and politically rich area of inquiry that should shed much light on whether many of us who have moved into White institutions have, as many have charged, completely forgotten our roots.

As Blacks move into various fields of the dominant culture's domain, they have brought, unabashedly, a wide array of their own Black cultural heritage with them. One aspect of



Du Bois' legacy to America, especially Black America, is the example of his own life which demonstrates that one can partake of some features of the majority culture while retaining features of one's own. This is why even now different groups respond to Du Bois in any number of ways. For example, whereas integrationist groups will laud his declarations for people of all races and ethnicities to form alliances and seek common ground, Nationalists will cling to Du Bois the Nationalist or Pan-Africanist. The "dual marginality" theme would also suggest that the Black sociocultural framework has been, and continues to be, in a state of flux, whether we speak of music, art, philosophy, or sociology. In sociology, long before Joyce Ladner (1973) and Robert Staples (1976) wrote of the "death of White sociology," and the creation of a "new" Black or African American vision of sociology, Du Bois laid out a framework for developing such a sociology. He argued for a new kind of sociology rooted in the African and the Black experiences, one not so enamored of statistics, and one not so dismissive of the life and experiences of Black Americans themselves. To this end, quite a few contemporary sociologists have embarked on approaches which seek to carve out, elucidate, and demarcate the perimeters of a Black sociology, or as others might say, an American sociology with a Black theme.

The reality is that a Black sociology already exists, as does a Black politics. We need only to explain more fully what we mean by such a sociology or politics. And, we need to examine much more closely what we are doing when we say we "doing" Black politics or Black sociology. We speak, for example, of German, English, French, or Russian sociology and politics, because we know that these sociologies and politics begin with, and extend a narrative about the cultural foundation of these societies. These national sociologies and politics capture and represent the social and cultural habits implicit in the historical and contemporary way of life of a people, so that these studies depict how they think, how they live, and what they believe. In addition, like these national sociologies and politics, Du Bois' developed methodological approaches designed to tap into the uniqueness of acquiring information from suppressed and oppressed communities. He needed, and had, special eyes which enabled him to see, define, and evaluate Philadelphia (the big city) and Farmville (the small town) differently.

### Conclusion

Du Bois' thoughts and actions on Black intellectual, professional, and academic life are at the forefront of much of our intellectual discourse today. Without a Du Bois as an intellectual we might not have the rich array of professional and academic Black organizations which exist today, such as the Association of Black Sociologists, the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, the Black Psychiatrists of America; the Association of Black Psychologists, and the Black Anthropological Association, among the many such organizations. Du Bois made the case, and followed a logic which we continue to use today: that while we should be knowledgeable about the larger dimensions of our disciplines we need to be both attentive and vigilant to the special needs and issues affecting Blacks; that we should not be so submerged in the dominant structure that we neglect those people, places, and values which continue to be the foundation of our intellectual and spiritual life. This point was especially stressed by Du Bois when he wrote of the role of Black educational institutions, especially the all-Black colleges and universities and their role in educating the Du Boisian-educated cadre, the Talented

Tenth. Parenthetically, he extolled the virtues of religion and the Black church, asserting that Black intellectuals and scholars should be involved in religious institutions even if they do not believe in the spiritual messages being conveyed. He had a very practical and functional view of the role of religion in the Black community as the keeper of collective morals and values. In an era of financial stress when states and private donors are providing fewer funds to financially strapped Black colleges and universities, many of these schools face severe cutbacks, some closures. Du Bois argued for the continued existence of these schools because he believed issues of race would continue to be a factor in America. The specialness of the Black college has parallels with a host of Roman Catholic schools such as Notre Dame, and with Brandeis, the highly regarded Jewish university.

Du Bois is important to us today because he knew then, as we know now, that the struggle for justice, freedom and equity would not be easily fought and won, and he was insistent that the fight for freedom and justice should not cease until all the rights and opportunities are made available to Blacks and other citizens. He also demonstrated that when one organization failed us, as was true of Du Bois' conflict with the NAACP, we should not hesitate to create another to fill the void. Du Bois taught us that organizations can and should be weapons to perfect the use of positive propaganda in order to neutralize negative propaganda. He was indefatigable in his quest to use existing media outlets, as well as to create outlets through which a people's story can be told.

Du Bois is also germane today because he alerted us to the necessity of tying the history and experience of Black Americans to the historical, economic, and political forces shaping not only this nation but other nations, and people. He was one of the early founders of the Pan-African Movement whereby the common threads of Africa and the African Diaspora were constantly being explicated. He was among the first to write of Africans in South America, the Caribbean, North America, and Europe. In so doing he acknowledged the conditions under which people and societies have great similarities despite surface differences. Placing groups and nations within contexts of their origins, terrain, values, and economy, made the point that events can be better explained when situationally connected to other events. But despite apparent differences, he saw all societies and nations as engaged in the great drama of life where there are often dire consequences for those with losing hands and great rewards for those with winning hands. Both winners and losers, according to Du Bois, are actors on stage, in the grand scheme of things.

Du Bois also knew that given the differences in the histories and conditions of Black and White life, it was necessary for Blacks to expand their world view of Black Americans, so as to demonstrate how they fit into the world of other Africans in the Diaspora, in Latin America, the Caribbean, and Europe. In his books on Africa, Du Bois linked the social structure and institutional life of the continent as having a well-documented existence long before the coming of the European. And his central theme on Africa was to show the devastating impact of Western imperialism and slavery on the social, cultural, political, and economic life of the continent. Du Bois is important today because we now understand this reality more than ever, and this knowledge has brought forth ongoing efforts to engage Africans in the diaspora, in South America, the Caribbean, North America, and Europe, on a variety of issues.

Lastly, Du Bois has great relevance today because for many of us, he is a superb example of the scholar-activist and the public intellectual. Though some personalities may

best fit into one role or the other, Du Bois provides an opportunity for us to see a process in which the scholar produces, but the activist part of the scholar seeks to enact social policy. There are very few examples of scholar-activists. James Weldon Johnson comes to mind, yet his scholarship is more literary and his activism, as the first Black head of the NAACP, was not as direct, nor as confrontational as Du Bois'. Du Bois embraced the scholar-activist role when he concluded that only social action would move a society prone to inactivity and hostility. How this scholar-activist role is played today will depend upon a host of actions and situations. For example, will the activism be local, regional, statewide, or national? Will it be international? There are numerous ways in which the scholar-activist role can be played. What is apparent is Du Bois played it for almost seventy years. There is still a need for it.

Du Bois, the public intellectual, was the first activist-scholar and public intellectual to make the case for a discussion of race as narrative for the entire nation, and even the world. As a public intellectual, he literally made it impossible for Whites to push race, freedom, and social justice aside as incidental and abstract concepts with no bearing on the everyday world of citizens. One has only to read the numerous themes permeating *The Philadelphia Negro*, *The Souls of Black Folk*, *Dusk of Dawn*, and *Darkwater* to appreciate this. His role as public intellectual can be clearly understood as one of the objectives of The Negro American Academy. It would entail the act of highlighting serious national and world issues and bringing these to the public in a manner conducive to the public's understanding of such issues. Through his public advocacy, Du Bois, the warrior-prophet, informed the nation, verbally assaulted foes and misguided friends, to make the case for a new America, one which did away with distinctions between first and second class citizens, which would lift its feet from the neck of its Black citizens and allow them their rightful place in the sun. He wanted to be—and knew he was—a gadfly to those who held the reins of oppressive domination over others. But he could do no less, as he made the liberation of his people one of his major objectives.

The legacy of Du Bois looms large today because his work, and our work, is not yet finished. This is why Du Bois the sociologist, historian, political scientist, poet, novelist, playwright, journalist, agitator, and bourgeois radical lives on. We cannot become duplicates of Du Bois, for his life and contributions must be seen as products of his times. We can, however, hold, as he did, the view that as long as there is social injustice and oppression, there is work to be done.

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## **W. E. B. Du Bois: The Prime Minister of the State We Never Had**

*William Strickland*

### **Du Bois' Struggle Against White Supremacy, 1887–1903**

*White supremacy is the unnamed political system that has made the world what it is today...[but] ...You will not find this term in introductory, or advanced, texts on political theory... There will be no mention of the basic political system that has shaped the world for the past several hundred years.*

—Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract* (1997)

The nineteenth century seemed the age of European invincibility. It was the age of Rudyard Kipling's paternalist designation of the non-White world as "the white man's burden," and the age when Europe renamed the colonial world in its own image, e.g., as the Dutch East Indies, French Indochina, the British West Indies, ad infinitum.

The imperial implementation of this worldview was concretized in 1884–1885 at Chancellor Otto von Bismarck's Berlin conference where the rival European nations temporarily put aside the differences which were later to erupt into World War I, and divided up the continent of Africa among themselves. Germany, France, England, and Italy staked out their individual claims in what came to be known as "the Scramble for Africa," while Belgium contented itself with the prize of the Congo.

Similarly, in the former "new world," America completed its historical sequence of western expansion in 1890 by slaying the Sioux chief Big Foot—and most of his people—at the Battle of Wounded Knee in South Dakota. And then, having consolidated its dominion "from sea to shining sea," America joined the imperial cavalcade in 1893 by overthrowing the Hawaiian monarchy of Queen Liliuokalani at the behest of American sugar plantation owners in Hawaii (Kinzer 2006, 29–30).

It was the first, but not the last, American overthrow of a foreign government. Five years later, President William McKinley, in the aftermath of the Spanish–American War, mocked Cuba's right to independence by declaring America's right to rule Cuba "under the law of belligerent right over conquered territory" (Kinzer 2006, 41). Like Rome before them, Europe and America sought to straddle all the known world.

But this movement of global hubris did not go unchallenged. There were mutinies in India, wars in Asia, rebellions in Africa...and there were diplomatic efforts as well.

### The Pan-African Conference of 1900

In London, for instance, the very first meeting of representatives of the African diaspora was convened in 1900 by the Trinidadian lawyer, Henry Sylvester Williams, for the purpose of renegotiating colonial and imperial relations to better the global lot of the Black race.

This meeting of thirty-two Black men and women from Africa, America, Canada, and the West Indies in July of 1900 represented, according to its conference chairman, Bishop Alexander Walters of America "...The first time in the history of the world [that] black men...[and women]...gathered together from all parts of the globe with the object of discussing and improving the condition of the black race" (Geiss 1974, 185).

Fully cognizant of the significance of their role, and accepting its awesome responsibility, at the end of the three-day conference, the members issued a Declaration "To the Nations of the World," penned by the conference's secretary, Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

The words of that declaration, its analysis, and the accuracy of its prophecy have, ever since that day, essentially framed the discussion of race in the modern world. It read:

...In this the closing year of the nineteenth century, there has been assembled a congress of men and women of African blood, to deliberate solemnly upon the present situation and outlook of the darker races of humankind. The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line, the question as to how far the differences of race—which show themselves chiefly in the color of the skin and texture of the hair—will hereafter be made the basis of denying to over half the world the right of sharing to their utmost abilities the opportunities and privileges of modern civilization. (emphasis mine) (Du Bois 1990, 738)

Although Du Bois' sentence: "The problem of the twentieth century is the problem of the color line," has been famously, and almost unfailingly, associated primarily with his 1903 classic, *The Souls of Black Folk*, it was in London, at Sylvester Williams' conference, that these words were first uttered.

Notice too, that the statement spoke not only for Africans and African-descended people but also for that greater part of the world which comprised "the darker races of mankind." This Appeal was therefore not one of narrow nationalism but a more inclusive racial identification for the uplift and emancipation of all the downpressed peoples.

Moreover, the Pan-African conference, so nobly conceptualized by Henry Sylvester Williams, was to be the forerunner of a succession of Pan-African Congresses led by Du Bois over the next half century after Williams' untimely death in 1912.

But who was this thirty-two-year-old Black American? And how came he at such a young age to willingly take on the role of Advocate and Champion of the race?

### The Evolving Political Identity of W. E. B. Du Bois (1868–1903)

To most Americans, and especially to most Black people, the name W. E. B. Du Bois triggers a moment of iconic recognition of one of the most legendary figures of Black history. Pressed to explain who they think Du Bois was, some will say that he was "the father of Pan Africanism" or reference his being a founder of the NAACP and editor, for nearly a quarter of a century, of the NAACP's magazine, *The Crisis*. Others seem primarily to link Du Bois to Booker T. Washington, citing Du Bois as Washington's staunchest and most unremitting critic—and though that association is not completely

accurate historically,<sup>1</sup> the misunderstanding should not be our prime concern. Rather, what should concern us most is the political import of that reflexive pseudomemory and the fog it spreads over our best grasp of the true significance of Du Bois' racial politics, and America's. Because, although Du Bois' essay in *The Souls of Black Folk*, "Of Mr. Booker T. Washington and Others," did, specifically, but calmly and judiciously, set forth his disagreements with Washington's propensity to denigrate the race in order to curry favor with the biased White opinion of the North and South, Du Bois' principal villain was not Washington, but America.

Du Bois' objection to Washington's approach was that it countenanced unmanly struggle and absolved America, inappropriately, of its responsibility for the racial hell that characterized most Black people's lives in the post-Reconstruction and Jim Crow eras. That is why Du Bois ends his essay on Washington not with an Appeal to the Nations of the World but this time with a specific political appeal to the race which was also a clarion call for action:

The black men of America have a duty to perform, a duty stern and delicate—a forward movement to oppose *a part of the work of their greatest leader*. So far as Mr. Washington preaches Thrift, Patience, and Industrial Training for the masses, we must hold up his hands and strive with him, rejoicing in his honors and glorifying in the strength of this Joshua called of God and of man to lead the headless host. But so far as Mr. Washington apologizes for injustice, North or South, does not rightly value the privilege and duty of voting, belittles the emasculating effect of caste distinctions, and opposes the higher training and ambition of our brighter minds—*so far as he, the South, or the Nation, does this—we must unceasingly and firmly oppose them.* (emphasis mine) (found in Avon Library 1965, 252)

Three years after the London conference, therefore, writing in 1903, not in London, but in Atlanta in the American South, Du Bois' voice had grown more militant. (Perhaps because, according to the *Chicago Tribune*, 104 Black persons were lynched that year, or one every three days.)

He, like others before him, and many, many others to come (including Marcus Garvey) had been radicalized by America's heartless racial practices. But in a sense his journey from reflection to radicalism was a road Du Bois had long seemed destined to travel.

#### Du Bois' Early Years—Great Barrington (1868–1885)

W. E. B. Du Bois was born in 1868 in the western Massachusetts town of Great Barrington, the same year that the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution of the United States was passed to legally guarantee the rights of citizenship to Black Americans. But this constitutional "right" was swiftly abrogated by the United States Supreme Court: first in 1883 when it overturned the Civil Rights Act of 1875; and again in 1896 when, in the infamous case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, the Court sanctioned segregation as legally permissible under the myth of "separate but equal." America's ambivalent relationship to Black people was thus the context of Du Bois' birthright.

Yet, Du Bois' childhood in Great Barrington, in his own recollections, bordered on the ideal. He regarded himself as a "New Englander" and "a Republican" and later wrote that, "Had it not been for the race problem early thrust upon me and enveloping me, I should have probably been an unquestioning worshipper at the shrine of the established social order and of the economic development into which I was born" (Du Bois 1968, 155).

It was also in Great Barrington that Du Bois became a fledgling journalist.



At the age of fifteen, he began writing about events in the town and about the life and times of the Black community for T. Thomas Fortune's two New York weeklies, *The New York Globe* and *The Freeman* (Lewis 1993, 39).

### Du Bois Goes South: The Fisk Years (1885–1888)

Du Bois continued to write for T. Thomas Fortune's papers for the next two years; submitting some twenty-four articles in all (Lewis 1993, 39). But in 1885, after graduating as valedictorian of his senior class the year before, Du Bois left Great Barrington to venture South and study at Fisk University, the renowned Black school in Nashville, Tennessee.

It was in Tennessee, the birthplace of the Ku Klux Klan, that Du Bois, two decades after the Civil War, would truly discover "the soul of black folks." And it was in East Tennessee that he would be moved to ancient folk memory by "the sorrow songs" of a people still living in the shadow of slavery.

East Tennessee would be the experience that kindled Du Bois' racial consciousness and cultivated in him a racial empathy that would crystallize his identity as a "race man." It was in the post-Reconstruction South that Du Bois discovered his people, his identity, and his cause:

I have called my tiny community a world, and so its isolation made it; yet there was among us but a half-awakened common consciousness, sprung from common joy and grief, at burial, birth, or wedding; from a common hardship in poverty, poor land, and low wages; and, above all, from the sight of the Veil that hung between us and Opportunity [sic]. (found in Avon Library 1965, 257)

With that new racial clarity, the question became: How could he best represent and alleviate their common plight? The answer seemed to be through the written word. So, not surprisingly, the vehicle to which Du Bois turned was his student newspaper, *The Fisk Herald*.

Utilizing that forum, Du Bois, who became the paper's editor in his junior year, proceeded to write about the life of Southern Blacks and Whites from his own personal perspective. But, in 1887, he assumed the role not of racial reporter but of racial spokesman by writing "An Open Letter to the Southern People."

In addressing his appeal to the outside, overbearing White South, Du Bois, to some degree, anticipated the later Appeal to the World of the Pan-African Conference of 1900. But the message itself, to a startling extent, mirrored the themes of conciliation and racial interdependence which Booker T. Washington was to make famous almost ten years later at the Atlanta Cotton States Exposition of 1895 in his historic speech "Cast down your bucket where you are."

The similarities indeed approach the uncanny for, like Washington, Du Bois alleged that the interests of Southern Blacks and Southern Whites... "are one... [so] .... Let us then, *recognizing our common interests* (for it is unnecessary to speak of our dependence upon you) work for each other's interest, casting behind us unreasonable demands on the one hand and unreasonable prejudice on the other. *We are not foolish enough to demand social equality or amalgamation, knowing full well that inexorable laws of nature regulate and control such movements. What we demand is to be recognized as men, and to be given those civil rights which pertain to our manhood.*" (emphasis mine) (Aptheker 1983, 4)



Like Washington, Du Bois was prepared to bargain away social equality and even impute racial differences (presumably to superior genetic endowments, i.e., "laws of nature.") But, unlike Washington, he mildly criticized Southern mores, e.g., "casting behind us...unreasonable prejudice" ... [then in language quite at odds with Washington's calculated and respectful discourse with Whites] ...he "demands to be recognized as men." That Du Bois' position was inconsistent is rather glaring since social equality cannot be bargained away to gain gender, civic, and human respect. Du Bois also ended his letter in a quite un-Washington-like way by warning of a possible future racial confrontation:

I might name many ways in which your policy toward us could be broadened to our mutual advantage in the end, but such is not my purpose; it is not against particular acts that I inveigh, but against the spirit that prompts them: it is not that I care so much about riding in a smoking car, as the fact that behind the public opinion that compels me to ride there, is a denial of my *manhood*... If you *correct* this evil you will find that in the future, as in the past, you will have in us staunch friends in sunshine and storm; if you do *not* the breach can only widen, until a vast throng of fellow-citizens will come to regard each other as natural foes. (emphasis in the original) (Aptheker 1983, 4)

The absolute uniqueness of the *Fisk Manifesto*, the self-confidence it exudes—and the daring—can only be appreciated when one compares it, again, to Washington's plea for racial tranquility and cooperation.

Washington at the time of the Atlanta speech was thirty-nine years old, and a college graduate. He had been the master of Tuskegee for almost a decade and a half; he had toured the country doing fundraising, and had spoken before Congress. Du Bois, on the other hand, was merely a nineteen-year-old college undergraduate. Yet, he felt an unmistakable racial duty to speak out in behalf of the race and to counsel his racial "betters" not only about the racial politics they should pursue, but also to offer a mild critique of their social behavior.

Was this bravado or something more? Had Du Bois' specialness in Great Barrington, always having been the best student and graduating valedictorian of his class—as he was soon also to do at Fisk—emboldened Du Bois beyond his years and accomplishments? Or was he paying homage to a conviction that would not be denied? We can only speculate, but there are significant clues in his 1888 commencement speech at Fisk when he, surprisingly, chose to speak of the political triumphs of Count Otto von Bismarck, the "Iron Chancellor" of Germany from 1862 to 1890.

In Du Bois' eyes, "The fate of Europe [was] in Germany and Germany is Bismarck. The Man of Iron....brilliant; stubborn; —reckless, careful, a patriot, a despot: The Man of One Idea" (Lewis 1993, 77). That one idea of course being first the unification of Germany and then the elevation of a united Germany to the status of being one of the preeminent powers in Europe.

Du Bois acclaimed Bismarck as a man "of unbending purpose," a "shrewd" and "wily statesman"; a leader who "hurled Prussia into war against three times her number and with the grim determination of a man who knows he is risking all, he struck the fatal blow and Austria fell...But his genius did not end with the rapidity of military preparation or the audacity of attack; behind...[all] ...was the shadow of the master hand of the statesman" (quoted in Lewis 1993, 77).

Reading this speech it is impossible not to conclude that Du Bois identified with Bismarck, that he subscribed to the Great Man theory of history, and that he aspired to be a racial statesman who might unify his race as Bismarck had unified his nation.

With Bismarck as his model, it did not seem to matter to Du Bois if people understood him or agreed with him. He too would sally forth against "the great odds," against the naysayers and the doubters because, in the end, men of vision like Bismarck and, presumably, himself, would overcome.

But Bismarck was the Prime Minister of a nation who had at his disposal the resources of a state and, when necessary, an army. But what resources was the young Du Bois, now twenty years old, to call upon to attain his goal of racial statesmanship in his racially hostile land? (In 1888, for example, the year of Du Bois' Fisk Commencement Address, the *Chicago Tribune* reported one hundred and forty-two lynchings in America.)

Nevertheless, realizing that he himself was, ultimately, all that he could really rely upon, Du Bois determined to hone his educational skills to the highest by seeking the best education possible in order to intellectually arm himself for the battle ahead. He did so, inspired, more than likely, by the Bismarckian example that one man can save a nation—or a people.

### The Harvard Years, 1888–1892

Entering Harvard as a junior, Du Bois studied politics and philosophy and kept up his interest in Germany. He graduated cum laude in 1890 and was chosen to be one of Harvard's six commencement speakers. His subject this time was "Jefferson Davis As a Representative of Civilization." As might be imagined, for a young Black scholar orating before a mostly White audience that included the Governor of Massachusetts and the wife of ex-President Grover Cleveland, to project the ex-President of the Confederacy as a prototype exemplar of civilization was a surprising development that attracted widespread, and largely approving, media attention (Lewis 1993, 100–1).

Du Bois drew certain parallels to Bismarck in his semi-eulogy of Jefferson Davis whom he described as a "typical Teutonic hero...an Anglo-Saxon ... and imperious man who defied disease, trampled on precedent [like Bismarck] and never surrendered" (quoted in Sundquist 1996, 253). Again, like Bismarck.

Du Bois depicted Davis as the archetype "of the strong man—individualism coupled with the rule of might—and it is this idea that has made the logic of modern history, the cool logic of the Club." He acknowledged that the Anglo-Saxon approach of "might over right" had been successful but that it only advances "a part of the world at the expense of the whole ... [that] the advance of civilization [thus made] has always been handicapped by shortsighted national selfishness." And he suggested that such "a system of human culture whose principle is the rise of one race on the ruins of another is a farce and a lie." (emphasis mine) (Aptheker 1983, 15)

Thus, as in his *Appeal to the Southern People*, Du Bois granted the superior achievements of the White race but bid it to use its superior gifts to aid the Negro and the African. Whites should assist the rise of Negro people who may represent a different kind of human merit, but who deserved the assistance of the mightier race in the greater scheme of things because, he argued, "You owe a debt to humanity for this Ethiopia of the Outstretched Arm, who has made her beauty, patience, and her grandeur, law" (quoted in Lewis 1993, 101).

Du Bois would eloquently enlarge on this theme of the human significance and historical contribution of a neglected and underappreciated people in *The Souls of Black Folk*...

As would Martinique's Aimé Césaire, a cofounder of Negritude, some forty years later, in his marvelous surrealist poem, *Return to My Native Land*:

Hurrah for those who have never invented anything  
 those who never explored anything  
 those who never tamed anything  
 those who give themselves up to the essence of all things  
 ignorant of surfaces but struck by the movement of all things  
 free of the desire to tame but familiar with the play of the world.

(Césaire 1969, 75)

But we see something else in the Harvard address besides the solicitousness and dutiful curtsying to White America that resembled Du Bois' *Fisk Appeal*. His remarks now manifest a certain boldness and a certain taboo-breaking confrontation with the premises of Anglo-Saxon and American superiority. Deftly, but unmistakably, Du Bois, in modern parlance, speaks truth to power. His delicately phrased but delegitimizing analysis presupposes an equal footing with his fellow Americans that would not have been out of place in a truly democratic society but was treading on forbidden soil in Jim Crow America. Nevertheless, the speech seems to confirm the fact that Du Bois had decided to pursue his ambition to be the race's spokesman... Come what may.

#### Du Bois, Rutherford B. Hayes, and the Slater Fund

That Du Bois was determined to prepare himself to be the best race leader he could be and that he would brook no interference with his goal; confronting whatever or whoever was necessary in pursuit of his own betterment—and the race's—is made abundantly clear in Du Bois' challenge to the Slater Fund for the Education of Negroes and its chair, former President Rutherford B. Hayes.

After graduating from Harvard, but staying on to study for his M.A. degree in history, Du Bois applied to the Slater Fund that had advertised its willingness "to subsidize any young colored man" interested in furthering his education in Europe. Du Bois promptly applied but was turned down. Moreover, ex-President Rutherford B. Hayes alleged to the press that the Fund had been unable to find any worthy applicants.

Du Bois' response is a priceless demonstration of his willingness to confront the powers that be:

The announcement that *any agency of the American people was willing to give a Negro a thoroughly liberal education* and that it had been looking in vain for men to educate was to say the least rather startling. When the newspaper clipping was handed me in a company of friends, my first impulse was to make in some public way a categorical statement denying that such an offer had ever been made known to colored students. I saw this would be injudicious and fruitless, and *I therefore determined on the plan of applying myself. I did so and have been refused along with a number of cases beside mine.* (emphasis mine) (Aptheker 1983, 15)

He then went on to chastise the ex-President for being a party to this insincere charade:

As to my case I personally care little. I am perfectly capable of fighting alone for an education, if the trustees do not see fit to help me. On the other hand the injury you have—unwittingly I trust—done the race I represent, and am not ashamed of, is almost irreparable. (Aptheker 1983, 15)

Then, after expounding at length on the damage to the race's reputation by such demeaning and unfounded slanders of its abilities, Du Bois told Hayes that he owed

an apology to the Negro people...[because]... We are ready to furnish competent men for every European scholarship furnished us off paper. But we can't educate ourselves on nothing and we can't have the moral courage to try, if in the midst of our work our friends turn public sentiment against us by making statements which injure us and which they cannot stand by. (Aptheker 1983, 15; see also Lewis 1993, 126)

To his credit, Hayes did not take offense but recommended that Du Bois apply again to the Fund. Finally after a year and a half of correspondence, sterling letters of recommendation, and Du Bois' explanation of his study project, the Slater Fund, in May of 1892, voted to give him a \$350 scholarship and a \$350 loan to underwrite his education for one year at a German university. Consequently, in the summer of 1892, Du Bois embarked for Kaiser Wilhelm's and Otto von Bismarck's Second Reich, and the University of Berlin.

### The German Years (1892-1894)

Europe modified profoundly my outlook on life... (Du Bois 1968, 156)

Conditioned by America "not to regard white folk as human in quite the same way" as he, in Europe

... [Whites] slowly...became, not white folks, but folks. The unity behind all life clutched me. I was not less fanatically a Negro, but "Negro" meant a greater broader sense of humanity and world fellowship. I felt myself standing not against the world, but simply against American narrowness and color prejudice with the greater, finer world at my back. (Du Bois 1968, 157)

Europe in general and Germany in particular were revelations to Du Bois. They connected him to larger humankind in a way he had not found possible in America. Traveling to Poland with a friend from the University of Berlin, for example, he discovered ethnic and religious oppression outside the United States in the case of Austrian and German prejudice against Polish Jews.

He was also exposed to a new scholarship of sociology and political economy and "began to understand the real meaning of scientific research and the dim outline of methods of employing its technique and results in the new social sciences for the settlement of the Negro problem in America" (Du Bois 1968, 160). But most of all he was exposed to new racial theory in the form of Pan-Germanism as advocated by its foremost disciple, the historian, Heinrich von Treitschke, whose ideas about racial unity and the role of race as a motive and determining force in history influenced a generation of Germans to believe in German supremacy and Germany's destiny for world leadership.

Some of von Treitschke's teachings were clearly racist, but what seems to have most influenced Du Bois was his notion of race as a positive and undeniable force in history. Relating to that racial hypothesis led Du Bois quite easily to the kindred concepts of Pan-Negroism, Pan-Africanism, and racial idealism. Suddenly the world became comprehensible and navigable in a way that it had never been before.

But in addition to von Treitschke, Professors Gustav Schmoller and Adolph Wagner also had a profound impact on Du Bois' academic and methodological thinking.

Schmoller taught Du Bois that the role of social science was to explain social phenomena through the collection of empirical data; first the research, then the interpretation. Wagner on the other hand opposed the school of laissez-faire economics that Du Bois had learned at Harvard, and espoused state intervention to affect desirable economic outcomes.

Armed with this new knowledge, Du Bois, on his twenty-fifth birthday, reviewed his quarter-century of existence and pledged a self-oath:

Be the Truth what it may I will seek it, on the pure assumption that it is worth seeking and heaven nor Hell, God nor Devil shall turn me from my purpose till I die. ...I therefore take the work that the Unknown lay in my hands and work for the rise of the Negro people, taking for granted that their best development means the best development of the world. (Aptheker 1985, 290)

From the point of view of American racial thought, Du Bois' new views on race bordered on heresy, for to propose that there was any discernible link to the progress of Negroes and the progress of Humankind flew in the face of everything that crass racists and the more sophisticated social Darwinists believed. Yet, that was now Du Bois' basic supposition, the product of his new European Enlightenment. That he therefore returned to America a different Du Bois is without question. He himself, for example, describes his reaction to his return as "Days of Disillusion" which he contrasts with his years in Europe, "As a student in Germany, I built great castles in Spain and lived therein. I dreamed and loved and wandered and sang; then after two long years I dropped suddenly back into 'nigger'-hating America!" (Du Bois 1968, 183).

For this man of consummate language to define America thusly and so strongly condemn its racial ways is a marker of his new alienation. It also suggests that his belief in the nation's ability to racially transform itself was now a doubt-filled hope.

### **Moral Criticism, Truth-Seeking Scholarship, and Race Organization (1895-1900)**

Although he would have preferred to have finished his graduate studies in Germany and was supported by his professors who were willing to permit him to do so ahead of the normally required time period, other faculty members objected to this special treatment. So, Du Bois returned to Harvard to win its first Black doctorate and write his dissertation on "The Suppression of the African Slave Trade, 1638-1870," published in 1896 as the first volume of the Harvard Historical Series.

The outlook represented in the dissertation shows that in the decade that had passed since his Fisk years, Du Bois increasingly had come to embrace a political-intellectual tradition of critiquing America that could be traced back to David Walker and was embodied in Du Bois' own time by Ida B. Wells and the monumental Frederick Douglass who had once asked America, "What is Your Fourth of July to Me?" Revealingly, therefore, the dissertation muses over America's moral failing in the last chapter, called "A Lesson For Americans":

It behooves the United States...in the interest both of scientific truth and of future social reform, carefully to study such chapters of her history as that of the suppression of the slave trade... [because] ...The most obvious question which this study suggests is: *How far in a State can a recognized moral wrong be safely compromised?* And although this chapter of history can give us no definite answer suited to

the ever-varying aspects of political life, yet it would seem to warn any nation from allowing through carelessness and moral cowardice, any social evil to grow... *From this we may conclude that it behooves nations as well as men to do things at the very moment when they ought to be done.* (emphasis mine) (Du Bois 1965, 199)

Du Bois' questioning of America's racial contradictions had now grown more and more into a questioning of the nature and meaning of America itself. But he did not abandon his own pursuit of "scientific truth." Utilizing the research methods he had learned in Germany, Du Bois single-handedly conducted the magisterial social study of *The Philadelphia Negro*, which is the first empirical sociological study of its kind in America. But despite successfully completing this stupendous and unmatched feat, Du Bois was virtually ignored by the University of Pennsylvania under whose auspices the study had been undertaken<sup>2</sup>; nor did he receive job offers from any White university. He therefore accepted a position at Wilberforce, a Black college in Ohio, which turned out to be a largely unhappy experience.

From Wilberforce he returned to the South, to Atlanta University, to oversee the racial research we now know as the famous Atlanta University Studies, a project which was rebuffed by White scholars when Du Bois proposed it to them at the American Academy meeting in Philadelphia in 1899:

The American Negro [he told them] deserves study for the great end of advancing the cause of science in general. No such opportunity to watch and measure the history and development of a great race of people ever presented itself to the scholars of a great nation." (emphasis mine) (Du Bois 1968, 200)

Probably persuaded that "science" had already proven all it needed to prove concerning the Negro as a species and likely unpersuaded that the Negro represented "a great race," the White Academy declined to join Du Bois' project. Characteristically then he carried on, on his own.

In the meantime, though, he had turned to the race for intellectual succor, joining Alexander Crummell to form the American Negro Academy, an organization of Black scholars and intellectuals.

Meeting in Washington in March of 1897, Du Bois helped to elect Crummell as President of the Academy and then delivered a speech entitled "The Conservation of Races," which was an historical and philosophical retrospective, heavily influenced by the racial ideas of German nationalist thinkers like von Treitschke (Lewis 1993, 17).

"The history of the world," Du Bois said, "is the history not of individuals but of groups, not of nations but of races, and he who ignores or seeks to override the race idea in human history ignores and overrides the central thought of all history" (Lewis 1993, 171). On the eve of his thirtieth birthday, therefore, Du Bois had turned the Great Racial Negative into a Great Racial Positive. Races made history and there was a place for Negroes in the Hall of Fame of Human Progress.

This then was the keenly racially conscious Du Bois who would answer Henry Sylvester Williams' call and venture to London for the First Pan-African Conference. And it is this Du Bois whom we need to view not simply as the individual genius that he undoubtedly was but view him and his life of struggle and achievement—and betrayal by his native land—as a metaphor for the essential meaning of Black life in America. Because Du Bois' lifespan of nearly a century, from 1868 to 1963, represents approximately one quarter

of all the years that Black people have lived on America's shores and Du Bois' travails and hopes and rejections represent as well, in microcosm, nearly all the struggles and experiences that Black people have waged—and endured—in their effort to overcome racial inequality—and worse—in American society.

So, advocate, statesman, negotiator, defender, champion, ambassador, griot, and peerless challenger of the system, Du Bois was all these things and more of—and for—our national self...He was the best Prime Minister we ever had for our state that never was.

*Your country, How came it yours? Before the Pilgrims landed we were here...*

*The Souls of Black Folk*

### Notes

1. It was not Du Bois but his fellow Massachusetts native son, and younger Harvard graduate, William Monroe Trotter, who flailed Washington endlessly in his newspaper, *The Boston Guardian*, years before Du Bois' essay in *The Souls of Black Folk*.
2. Du Bois' *The Philadelphia Negro*, published in 1899, is a study of unparalleled and path-breaking scholarship that was ignored for decades by academe. Conducted by Du Bois by himself(!) the house to house research was a fifteen-month study of the eight thousand Negroes of the Seventh Ward of Philadelphia, undertaken between August 1896 and December 1897.

Nor was it a long-range, off-site study since Du Bois, with his new bride of three months, lived "in one room over a cafeteria...in the worst part of the 7<sup>th</sup> Ward. We lived there a year in the midst of an atmosphere of dirt, drunkenness, poverty and crime. Murder sat on our doorstep, police were our government, and philanthropy dropped in with periodic advice."

But a dangerous environment was not all Du Bois had to contend with: "I was given no real academic standing, no office at the University, no official recognition of any kind; my name was even eventually omitted from the catalogue; I had no contact with students, and very little with members of the faculty, even in my department."

Long before Ellison's novel then, in late nineteenth-century academia Du Bois was *The Invisible Man*...And is it not now evident why Du Bois should properly be the race's role model for "overcoming"?

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## **Editors' Introduction**

The "Works in Progress" section of the NPSR consists of brief essays covering the various facets of the field of Black politics. The rationale behind this initiative is to showcase the works of senior political scientists whose research agendas and career work merit the attention of the political science profession.

In particular, the editors of the NPSR are looking to create a forum in which Black political scientists describe in the most accessible terms the ways in which they go about crafting their research. The contributors to this section lay out the rationales behind their choice of research topics, the explanation behind their choice of methodologies, and whatever extraprofessional commitments they carry with them as they pursue their research within the confines of the political science discipline. We also intend for these essays to serve as background for younger scholars as they go about assembling their own research agendas which will involve their posing new research questions and employing new methodologies in enlightening the conditions and experiences of African Americans and other similarly situated minorities. For this reason we choose to title this section "Works in Progress." The following are the four inaugural essays in this series.

## THE HISTORY OF THE

The history of the world is a story of the human race, of its struggles, its triumphs, its failures, and its progress. It is a story of the human mind, of its discoveries, its inventions, its art, and its science. It is a story of the human heart, of its loves, its hates, its hopes, and its fears. It is a story of the human spirit, of its courage, its faith, its hope, and its charity. It is a story of the human race, of its struggles, its triumphs, its failures, and its progress. It is a story of the human mind, of its discoveries, its inventions, its art, and its science. It is a story of the human heart, of its loves, its hates, its hopes, and its fears. It is a story of the human spirit, of its courage, its faith, its hope, and its charity.

## **Editors' Interview with Ronald Walters**

*Ronald Walters*

**1. [Would you provide a brief description of your current research project or your most recently completed project?]**

My most recently completed project was a coedited work, with Dr. Toni-Michelle Travis on the District of Columbia, *Democratic Destiny and the District of Columbia* (Rowman and Littlefield Publishers, 2010). This was a unique project that was brought to me by a group of freshly minted African American PhDs who had worked with me on a leadership conference on the Black economic condition. Eventually, I agreed to edit the project, if Dr. Travis would join, and it became a very productive enterprise that was focused on politics and public policy. That is, the work interrogated, from the perspective of all of the mayoral administrations except the current one, and five selected public policies, to what extent the constitutionally mandated, but strange relationship between the District of Columbia and the Congress has distorted the quality of democracy experienced by the governance of the District and the outcomes for citizens. We conclude that for many reasons, this relationship has been damaging to the just aims of government and must be changed. The initiation of this project was unorthodox inasmuch as authors generally initiate a project, but it was delightful to work with motivated contributors, for whom, except in a couple of cases, this would have been their first publication. In that sense, it was also exceptionally rewarding to myself—and I am sure Dr. Travis—that this project would help launch the careers of several new professors in the discipline of Political Science.

**2. [Is your research inspired by or does it anticipate any potential benefits for minority populations? In what ways?]**

For over forty years, my research has sought to address the political condition of African American peoples. I came of age during the Civil Rights era and, like many of my colleagues, inherited the progressive values of that age with respect to how I would utilize my profession. The pressures were also substantial because it was the dawn of Black Studies, and the thirst of those who had inherited new political rights in 1964 and 1965 pushed many of us to engage the aspirations our communities for empowerment tactics and strategies. I remember that a friend of mine and I would talk on the phone and one question we would ask each other at odd intervals was, "what does that have to do with the liberation of black people." This question has guided my selection of research topics since that time.

**3. [What methodology is the most useful for your project, or in your research (statistical or qualitative)?]**

My work is and has been interdisciplinary, since as a young scholar attempting to break through the rejection slips of the major journals, I came to understand the standards by which I was being evaluated for publication and decided that many of them, while useful to the discipline, were not useful to the truth I was attempting to discover, consistent with my larger objectives. So, I came to be somewhat suspicious of the disciplinary narrowness, not only with respect to subject matter, but also with respect to methodologies. I came to believe that what was needed more than anything then was the correct interpretation of the studies that were done on African American political life. The sum total of that concern was that I was not led to produce much original data from self-initiated studies, but to test the studies that were being done against what I knew from my deep involvement in community politics to arrive at concepts that were consistent with the Black truth as I understood it.

Perhaps I should also say that my work has been even more eclectic than usual because my MA and PhD degrees were in International Affairs, but when I began my profession as head of a Department of Afro-American Studies at Brandeis University, the student demand for courses in African American politics led me to specialize in this field. Thus, for most of my career I have carried two specialties: African American Politics and Comparative Politics—which at many times provided enlightening insights in my work especially on the African Diaspora.

**4. [What body of theoretical literature have you found to be the most useful in conceptualizing your research?]**

The two people who influenced my development most were Professors Marion Irish and Thomas Schelling. Dr. Irish came to American University as I was selecting my doctoral dissertation on U.S. Foreign Policy toward Africa. Although she was not an internationalist, she became my Chair. That was a very special relationship because as a southern Political Scientist, she knew a great deal about what was happening in civil rights such as the Emmett Till killing, Dr. King's writings, and other things that were consistent with the movement. So, she guided me on the methods and structure of my dissertation and held seminars with me on southern politics. In my course on theories of international relations, I encountered a book by Thomas Schelling, *The Strategy of Conflict* and I began to wonder then about the limits of the kind of conflict to which his theory was applicable and came to believe that some of them were useful in the study of social conflict. The strange thing is that he went on to win the Nobel Prize for his theories that were essentially devoted to the study of nuclear warfare, and we ended up on the same faculty at the University of Maryland where, as an economist, he admitted a few years ago that he wanted to work on the problem of the extent to which his ideas had relevance to social conflict theory. In any case, my use of the idea of Leverage was taken from his work (although the way in which he elaborates the theory was not useful) and it became a primary theory of my book, *Black Presidential Politics in America* (SUNY Press). Beyond that, I have enjoyed a collaboration and learned much from Dr. Robert Smith in the field of African American Leadership. While his focus was on empirical studies, mine was concerned with case studies, believing that much of the datum that might inform more sophisticated theories of African American leadership was missing.

To be sure, Political Scientists study African American leadership as they evaluate major political leaders and others, but they rarely apply the work of leadership scholars such as James MacGregor Burns and others. Otherwise, my work has been characterized by the use of historical and conceptual themes, seeking to discover new subjects for presentation to the public. An example of this is a manuscript I have just finished on slavery in the twentieth century.

**5. [What readership did you have in mind when assembling your project (readers in a subdiscipline mainly, political scientists generally, policy makers, African American intellectuals, a concerned general readership)?]**

The readership that I usually have in mind is students in the field of Political Science and general lay readers who want to understand specialized works in this field. Again, I have had a strong community orientation and find that people want to read works of Black Political Scientists, but most of them are unattainable because of the heavy statistical and disciplinary bounding in which they are written. I believe that we could do much better at interpreting our work to engage lay audiences with our ideas and findings. But what I believe has happened is that publication has turned in another direction because of the pressures of tenure evaluation and the like.

**6. [Where in the discipline of political science would your research fall (in the mainstream, beyond the borders of the current mainstream as you perceive the mainstream to be, in a particular branch of the discipline or subdiscipline, introducing new paradigms in the study of politics, other)?]**

As indicated, I have not paid much attention to the strictures of the discipline as a guide to the placement of my work or the selection of subject matter. So it falls on the borders of the discipline. As long as it is in the mainstream of the African American community, I have been satisfied because of the many errors in works on racial politics that we take as authoritative. For example, in the late 1980s the work of Carmines and Stimson (*Issue Evolution*) emerged as a definitive work on African American politics. However, reading the work, I ran across the sentence: "We have repeatedly observed that the racial issue evolution proceeded at an impressive pace during period such as the decade of the 1970s when racial concerns were not central to American party politics"(110). Moreover they assert that racial concerns in party politics were eclipsed by the Vietnam war. These ideas suggest a profound lack of understanding of the dynamics of the African American engagement with the Democratic party system in the late 1960s and 1970s. The challenge of the Civil Rights movement placed great pressures on the Democratic party for racial fairness and accountability. Several commissions were created in 1968 and 1972 to ensure fairness. In 1974, as adviser to the Black Democratic Caucus, I saw them demand to be included in the writing of the Democratic party Charter (it had had no such document before that) which evoked considerable chaos in the party leadership. Then, in 1972 the Gary Convention also challenged the party for policy accountability, as the National Black Political Agenda was taken to the candidates for their evaluation. Black conventions were held in 1974 and 1976 that were directly concerned with issues that the Democratic party would take into the presidential campaign. I could go on with such detail, but my major point remains if it does not inform the theory of issue evolution one can have only so much faith in the statistical rendering one finds to support a concept.

Moreover, it should be said that after forty years, the discipline of Political Science is better at the inclusion of African American faculty in its publications, but that many authors still practice what might be called "footnote Apartheid." Works on "race" by non-African Americans routinely do not include, or minimally include African American scholarly works, reference the work cited above, or virtually any other. It is as though the entire subject of African American Politics exists at the margins of the discipline; a curious thought, since racial dynamics are central to so much of what America is as expressed in the chaff of its daily social concerns.

## **The Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance: The Elections and Presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama**

*Robert C. Smith*

I recently completed the book-length manuscript, *The Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance: The Elections and Presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama*. From the time it appeared likely that Obama would become the first Black president, I knew I would write a book on his election and presidency. Beginning with my dissertation in 1976, I have devoted much of my research to describing and trying to understand the consequences of the processes of incorporation of Black leaders into the political system. Viewing these processes as a near-inevitable outcome of the civil rights movement, an abiding concern of my research for more than three decades has been that these processes also would inevitably result in the marginalization of the Black poor, leaving them leaderless and the processes of their full incorporation into the society stalled. The Obama "phenomenon," as it has been frequently labeled, reinforced this concern. Thus, while rejoicing in and contributing to Obama's election, I told anyone who would listen that his election and presidency could likely be good for America; good for the system but probably bad for Black people because it would likely reinforce the already powerful illusion that racism is no longer a significant barrier to the full incorporation of the African American ethnic community. Related to this illusion, Gary Wills writing of JFK's election recalls "the old story: for 'one of your own' to get elected, he must go out of his way to prove he is not *just* one of your own. The first Catholic President had to be secular to the point (as we used to say in Catholic schools) of supererogation" (1982, 61). In Obama's case "supererogation" would require him—probably more so than Kennedy—to lean over backwards so as not to appear to be doing anything "for his own" people.

Given this understanding, the problem became how to go about the work, theoretically and methodologically. Knowing that in the decades ahead there will be countless books on Obama, I wanted to craft a work that would be innovative and enduring. And, as with all of my work, I wished it to contribute—to the extent academic work can—to the full and complete liberation of Black people. In *We Have No Leaders*, my penultimate work on post civil rights era Black politics, I state two interrelated propositions that provide a



partial theoretical grounding and a methodological point of departure for study of Obama's election and presidency.

**Proposition I:** In the post civil rights era virtually all of the talent and resources of the leadership of Black America has been devoted to integration into the institutions of the American society and polity. Meanwhile the core community that they would purport to lead has become increasingly segregated and isolated, and its society, economy, culture and institutions of internal uplift and governance have decayed (Smith 1996, 278).

**Proposition II:** Compared to the experience of other ethnic groups in the United States this situation is near unprecedented. The integration or incorporation of Irish, Jewish, Polish and Italian American leaders into the institutions of the society and polity roughly paralleled the integration of their communities as a whole (Smith 1996, 279).

These two propositions suggested a historical, comparative study of the elections and presidencies of Kennedy and Obama, the first two "ethnic"—non-White Anglo-Saxon Protestant Americans elected president. To further ground the study theoretically I decided to use Michael Hechter's theory of ethnic, cultural, economic, and political incorporation. Hechter (1975) developed his theory in research on the "Celtic fringe" in British national development; specifically to explain why Wales and Scotland were incorporated into the United Kingdom while Ireland followed the course of nationalism and independence. The explanation for these differential patterns of ethnicity is the greater extent of subordination of the Catholic Irish, and as Hechter puts it, to "the especially brutal policies perpetrated by the English and Anglo-Saxon settlers in Ireland" (1975, 270). Although developed to explain ethnic politics in the British Isles, I adapt Hechter's theory to explain the differential patterns of Catholic Irish and African American subordination and incorporation in the United States.

The actual research involved a year or so of what Wildavsky (1989, chap. 3) called "Reading with a Purpose" in the literatures on Catholic Irish and African American subordination, and the subsequent processes of full incorporation for the former and semi-incorporation of the latter. This literature is extensive and a good bit of is directly concerned with comparing the Catholic Irish and African American experiences. There is also an extensive literature on Kennedy and the 1960 election. The major weakness of the study is the relative paucity of literature on Obama, the 2008 election, and his presidency. But this is unavoidable in all studies of the phenomenon at this point. This work along with the many others in-progress will contribute to remedying this weakness. I suspect these other works will both confirm and challenge the central findings of this study.

## Appendix

*The Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance: The Elections and Presidencies of John F. Kennedy and Barack Obama*

### List of Chapters

#### Introduction

#### Chapter 1 Understanding Ethnicity and Ethnic Incorporation In the United States

#### Chapter 2 Comparing the Subordination of Irish Catholics And African Americans

- Chapter 3** Identity, Solidarity and Culture: Irish Catholics And African Americans
- Chapter 4** Boston and Chicago and the Rise of Kennedy and Obama
- Chapter 5** Ethnic Men: The Al Smith and Jesse Jackson Campaigns
- Chapter 6** The Incorporation of the Catholic Irish, and the Semi-Incorporation of African Americans
- Chapter 7** Kennedy and Obama: Charisma, Character and Ethnic Identity
- Chapter 8** The Paradox of Religion and Race in the 1960 and 2008 Elections
- Chapter 9** The Politics of Ethnic Avoidance in the Kennedy and Obama Administrations
- Chapter 10** Conclusion

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- Chapter 1. Introduction and Objectives of the Study  
Chapter 2. Literature Review  
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Chapter 12. References

The following table shows the results of the study. The data was collected from a survey of 1000 patients. The results show that the majority of patients (85%) were satisfied with the care they received. The remaining 15% of patients were dissatisfied with the care they received. The reasons for dissatisfaction were related to the quality of care, the cost of care, and the accessibility of care.

## **Studying Changes in Black Congressional Behavior from Carter to Obama**

*Katherine Tate*

As Black elected officials have moved up in numbers and have amassed more leadership clout in government, an important question that has emerged is, are they as passionately committed to the Black political agenda as they once were? Incorporation, I contend, is a two-sided, dynamic process. As Blacks have entered into politics to change the policies of this nation, they themselves have undergone change as legislators. Through incorporation, Black legislative leaders have become less radical and more pragmatic. By less radical, I mean that Black legislators are less likely to challenge party and Democratic presidential leadership through ideological debate. They are less likely to vote as a united liberal faction on the floor against party and presidential leadership as well.

Using statistics from *Congressional Quarterly (CQ) Almanacs*, I find that the Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) is now less oppositional and more supportive of a Democratic president and the Democratic Party than during the Carter administration. I have also developed a new measure of Black legislative effectiveness using *CQ* data, namely, CBC members' votes for key legislation that the House majority approves or rejects in a given year as a percentage. The *CQ* lists about a dozen key bills annually that are matters of great controversy, reflect presidential politics, or potentially impact many Americans. This new measure critically establishes how ideological Black members of Congress are, that is, whether they are overwhelmingly unlikely to vote with House majorities on important bills.

I hypothesize that as the CBC has become less radical. The organization has, become more effective, voting for measures that win the House majority's approval. The data show that, indeed, the CBC's legislative effectiveness scores have increased over time. In the Carter administration under a Democratically controlled House, Black legislators voted with the House majority 45–61 percent of the time. But in 1987, even with Ronald Reagan in the White House, that figure increased to 76 percent of the time. The CBC legislative effectiveness scores would plummet (with some rare exceptions) after the Republicans took over as the House majority in 1995–2006. However, once the Democrats regained their House majority following the 2006 elections, the percentages shot up to 77 in 2007 and 89 in 2008.

While I contend that incorporation and Black advancement in party leadership positions helped cement CBC support for the Democratic Party and the president's legislative agendas, the problem is that the legislative effectiveness scores for the Democratic Party increase over time as well. In fact, as party unity on votes increased in Congress, members of both parties increasingly have voted, when their party is the House majority, with the House majority. Thus, it remains an empirical challenge to establish that minority incorporation as much as party polarization and divided government made Black House members more likely to vote for or oppose bills in line with the House majority. Currently, my study of the CBC moves away from using strictly institutional measures of analysis by paying greater attention to such things as newspaper coverage of the group's politics, together with their votes on budget resolutions and specific bills, including welfare reform, and levels of Black political unity on burning issues like gay marriage and the War on Terror. This broadens the analytical terrain in which to tackle the question of why Black leadership is tending toward political incorporation.

As with so many Blacks, I wonder what Black political incorporation really means. As Blacks seize new opportunities to lead the nation, I think it means less Black radicalism. For instance, while President Obama called to apologize to Shirley Sherrod in 2010, a Black federal worker who was unjustly terminated for making a statement that initially appeared she was prejudiced against Whites, a line has been drawn in his administration where forms of Black radicalism will not be tolerated. This began under President Clinton, who attempted to admonish Blacks for making arguably anti-White statements in singling out and criticizing a rap artist for her remarks in 1992. Lani Guinier's nomination to head the civil rights division of the Justice Department was withdrawn because she was deemed too "radical" in her critique of standard election practices.

Generational replacement may also be changing Black political leadership styles and policies as much as incorporation. We have now a new generation of Black and minority leaders. As a matter of fact, I belong to Obama's generation, being a child when the 1964 Civil Rights Act passed, outlawing racial employment discrimination, when the Voting Rights Act passed in 1965, and when in 1967 the Supreme Court struck down state laws forbidding interracial marriage. The old guard is passing on, and others are retiring, as Julian Bond of the NAACP did in 2010. House Representative John Conyers of Michigan continues to serve in Congress. While Conyers remains radical in his policy opinions, he has also become less oppositional in his votes. Chairing the House Judiciary Committee, Conyers is now in his eighties.

In conclusion, armed with different and new statistical measures beyond the standard roll-call ideological or interest group summaries, I find that studying the legislative behavior of African Americans over time is fascinating. Along with the election of the nation's first Black president in 2008, we are in an exciting period for Black politics scholars. Many changes are taking place, and it is up to us to assess the political significance of these events.

# **Aaron Henry of Mississippi: A Political Biography of a Man and a Movement for Black Empowerment, 1927-1996**

*Minion K. C. Morrison*

## **The Nature of the Project**

My current research project is a political biography of Aaron Henry and the social movement in Mississippi from 1952 to 1996. Aaron Henry was a leader of the civil rights movement in a state where racial segregation and exclusion from participation in public life was perhaps the most extreme in the United States on the eve of the national civil rights movement. Henry was originally associated principally with the NAACP, but found favor with every civil rights entity that entered the campaign for change in Mississippi. He used his extraordinary leadership skills to accomplish historically significant goals: establishing a confederation of organizations in the 1960s which successfully challenged and subsequently dismantled the segregated Democratic Party of Mississippi; becoming a major player in the hierarchy of the National Democratic Party; and rising to the office of a Mississippi state legislator.

Henry was a successful pharmacist who abandoned his career for a life as a social movement and political leader. After establishing his business in the Delta town of Clarksdale, Mississippi, in the early 1950s, Henry became increasingly unhappy with the racial regimen in the South. This was his inspiration for intensifying his objections and challenges to that system. He did this at the cost of a great deal of personal sacrifice. He had to summon up a degree of fierce courage and patience in countering the strong efforts of segregationists to maintain the status quo. Henry first organized a street movement in his hometown which then evolved into his taking a major role at the center of a movement that swept over the entire state in the early 1960s. He presided over the activities of a host of groups and activists, all of whom found in him the central glue that held together these disparate forces. His leadership gave voice and organizational skill to a singular purpose in defeating the racist regime in power installed in power since the fall of Reconstruction.

## **Why this Project?**

The project was a major undertaking that deviated from the repertoire of skills I have used in a thirty-year career as a professional political scientist. While the bulk of my work

is empirically based, with an appreciation for historical evidence, it was hard to imagine how my critical faculties would have to be altered in uncovering evidence that was strewn about the country in research libraries and archives. This occurred even as I told a story (not uncommon in my work) of political mobilization among citizens generally opposed to authorities, and/or bereft of the benefits of social and political life by discrimination. Therefore, while I was a bit stretched in acquiring the data and analyzing it, the questions I formed were close to home indeed.

Much of my work, including the analysis of racial politics, is distinctively comparative (the eyes through which I also see my work on the United States) and seeks to understand how oppressed citizens mobilize to alter their circumstances within the social and political structure. My foci have been racial politics in the United States, the Americas generally, and colonized/racialized continental Africa. A central question has been: under what conditions do citizens, who are, for reasons of race and/or colonial status, barred from full participation in the political and social life of their communities, make claims to full citizenship? Then, I try to understand how people challenge this imposed and subordinate status. From this point of view, the political biography of Henry is consistent. It is the story of his struggle to help mobilize African Americans to achieve full citizenship rights, and to exercise them in a context of segregationist Mississippi, perhaps the most challenging circumstances in the country in the 1950s and 1960s.

### **Implementing the Project**

The project evolved after a conversation with one of Mississippi's most distinguished literary figures, who lamented that no one had told Henry's story, a man he deemed to be one of the most important in Mississippi political history. I did not disagree, but it had never occurred to me to pursue it. That brief conversation led to the development of a formal project that then took on a logical structure that I will describe.

The first question for a biographer is: what is the nature of the documentation available for credibly telling the story? An answer to that question became apparent almost immediately. The personal documentation of Henry's life was voluminous, and much of it is professionally organized in a particular library. So, I was not starting from scratch. There was enough of this material alone to compose an outline of the story. A second stroke of good luck was that Henry had recorded a fragmentary autobiography that covered about one half of his active life as a social movement leader. (This unfinished manuscript was subsequently published.)

Meanwhile, because of Henry's wide-ranging political affiliations, significant primary material was found in private collections and university libraries. These documents, too, had the advantage of professional organization and preservation, allowing me to crosscheck those materials with Henry's personal documents. I supplemented this with personal interviews, and an interpretive analysis of the subject's legislative activity and political party work.

### **The Project within the Discipline and Beyond**

I first knew the work of Aaron Henry from my own modest activism in the Mississippi civil rights movement. Developing a large biographical project, however, turned on the



utility of this story in expanding the theory and knowledge base about racial politics in a discipline that undervalues and often marginalizes such study.

The detailed description of Aaron Henry's activities and the movement that nurtured and propelled him to prominence is a major documentary record of one of the most significant social movements in the United States. The record will provide a model for those who continue to strive for full equality and political empowerment of African descendants especially in the southern United States, as well as for those living in the distinct communities of the African diaspora.

My work is framed as a social and political biography which also integrates substantive theory from the political mobilization and social movement literatures into it. However, it is fundamentally about race and ethnicity. In the context of the major racial contenders for power in the civil rights struggle of the 1950s forward, there is significant potential for discussion of issues of interracial interaction, collaboration, and struggle. The project also lends itself to cross-disciplinary discussions, particularly with areas such as sociology, social psychology, and history. The primary readership is expected to be political scientists, historians, and specialists on racial politics. Because of the interdisciplinary character of the analysis it will have general appeal to students of civil rights, and to activists associated with the period.

### **The Product**

Precisely how did the social change leadership emerge in a state with the most formalized and ritualized racial system in the country? And how was it that Aaron Henry came to occupy the central position in orchestrating a social change movement that transformed the racial system in Mississippi, and, ultimately, in influencing the formulation of the campaign that also transformed the nation? It began in the Mississippi Delta, the place of his birth. It is a land that in its spectacular fertility and enduring flatness led to an immense concentration of African descendants as agricultural laborers. The racial system was drawn in stark relief in this vast cotton-producing delta, which, fed by the waters of the mighty Mississippi River, sustained a virtual agricultural aristocracy. It was in the harsh conditions of caste stratification that the clearest elements of a civil rights leadership formed in Mississippi. Many of these leaders, like Aaron Henry, however, had a level of economic independence that was somewhat beyond the reach of reprisals from the ruling economic and political class. These individuals became a part of a vast network that Henry commanded through the years that the NAACP emerged, first within the shadows of the region's repressive caste system, and subsequently as a civil rights organizations with a public face. The NAACP thus succeeded in getting some of the most vulnerable people to take out memberships in the banned organization, schoolteachers among them. The NAACP also persuaded some of the most visible community leaders to provide resources for the movement—among them ministers who opened their churches for first secret then public protest meetings. Soon there was a critical mass of social change activists in the Delta who joined Henry in forming a resistance movement which in turn invigorated individual leaders who carried out movement work elsewhere. Aaron Henry soon became not just the leader of a local chapter, but also president of the larger state chapter.

The nature of the racial system in Mississippi made any project for social change a very tall order, unlikely to be carried off by a single individual. The repression was so

organized and the rituals of subordination so deeply ingrained that it was inevitable that a variety of forces were required to overturn this system. But among the multiple forces that eventually emerged, each had idiosyncrasies associated with their separate purposes, places of action, and leaders' personalities. Conflicting agendas are inherent in such circumstances and the "Mississippi movement" was no different. Success was contingent on finding a means to cement all of the organizations and personalities so that their larger goal of racial transformation could be achieved. That is the vital role that Aaron Henry played, and he was profoundly important in articulating an early vision that remained the core of the racial transformation in the racialized society and politics in Mississippi. Henry had a variety of personal skills for forming and maintaining a confederation of movement activists. He amassed a vast array of resources which he helped to deploy in overpowering the formal and ritual elements of racial deference and discrimination that were the dominant forces in virtually all aspects of Mississippi life.

My manuscript is organized in the following way. It begins with Henry's childhood. The milieu into which he was born was unexceptional. He was part of a typical African American family that was largely defined by the system debt peonage of tenant farming. But the oppressive drudgery of this caste way of life was not to last long for Henry, whose family abandoned the plantation on which they lived for a life in town, freeing themselves from the proverbial dependence of the sharecropping system. The family desired to be self-reliant in a style akin to what family members knew of the Booker T. Washington ideal, which even in Henry's time, still had some currency in the surrounding Delta community. Both of his parents subsequently developed businesses that provided relative independence, a path that Henry followed. He was precocious and benefitted from some elements of the profound and ironic integrity in the segregated schools that inspired his determination for social and political change.

Henry's graduation from high school was succeeded by enlistment in the Army, where he encountered segregation and discrimination and challenged it. It is here that he first openly affiliated with the NAACP. After the service he returned to the South and obtained a pharmacy degree at Xavier University. He subsequently married a schoolteacher, and in short order became a successful entrepreneur and an activist.

The first press that Aaron Henry made for social change was in his hometown of Clarksdale where he led a massive mobilization utilizing tactics such as public street demonstrations and assaults on segregated spaces. Social movement theory helps to situate this part of the story. Amidst a huge White counter mobilization, Henry unleashed his own army of allies from his vast arsenal of contacts which culminated in a two-year campaign against the emblems of entrenched segregation. His campaign virtually immobilized the opposition.

Henry then moved onto a broader stage to work among an ensemble of civil rights groups that were intent on escalating their challenges against the entire state of Mississippi. The most important symbolic event foreshadowing the expansion of the a social movement into the realm of political mobilization was Henry's 1963 run for state governor. It was clearly a "mock election" meant to demonstrate the potential power of the African American electorate and to dramatize its continued disfranchisement. This symbolic event established the centrality of Henry's leadership. Subsequent to this event, he then led a "third political party" movement that culminated in the creation of the Mississippi

Freedom Democratic Party. As is well known, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party went on to demand the ouster of the state's all-White delegation from the 1964 Democratic National Convention. The effort failed, but it effectively set Henry on a course to demolish the segregated party and subsequently to assume leadership of a reinvented and integrated State Democratic party—a sea change in racial politics in Mississippi.

Henry thereafter took the reins of the party, despite the refusal of the traditional elite to cooperate in the Party's transformation. This part of the story includes detailed accounts of Henry's dexterity in managing and deploying an array of allies, with whom he had connections in the now governing national Democratic alliance, including Presidents Kennedy and Johnson and their most senior aides, as well as a host of legal experts. These connections helped Henry engineer the successful integration of the State Party.

Having achieved the control of the state party, Henry and his collaborators set their sights on other core sectors of Mississippi life that still reflected the old ways—the media, education, health care, housing, and employment. In this he sought redistribution of resources in ways that would begin to correct centuries of inequality and that would substantially improve the real life chances of those whose lives were truncated by enduring racism. He won many of these battles—in street protests, at the bar of justice, and subsequently at the ballot box. Indeed, the culmination of his career came with his election to the state legislature from a Delta district. With this accomplishment he succeeded in merging a social movement with political mobilization while maintaining his individual sense of integrity.

The first of these is the fact that the United States is a young nation. It is only about 150 years old, and its history is therefore a history of rapid growth and change. The second is the fact that the United States is a large nation. It covers a vast area of land, and its population is one of the largest in the world. The third is the fact that the United States is a diverse nation. It is made up of many different peoples, races, and religions, and this diversity has been a source of both strength and conflict. The fourth is the fact that the United States is a nation of immigrants. It has been built by people from many different parts of the world, and this has helped to shape its unique character. The fifth is the fact that the United States is a nation of pioneers. It has a long history of exploration and discovery, and this has helped to expand its territory and influence. The sixth is the fact that the United States is a nation of innovators. It has been the birthplace of many important inventions and discoveries, and this has helped to make it a world leader in science and technology. The seventh is the fact that the United States is a nation of idealists. It has a long history of fighting for freedom and justice, and this has helped to make it a model for other nations. The eighth is the fact that the United States is a nation of dreamers. It has a long history of pursuing the American Dream, and this has helped to make it a land of opportunity for all. The ninth is the fact that the United States is a nation of believers. It has a long history of faith and belief, and this has helped to give it a sense of purpose and direction. The tenth is the fact that the United States is a nation of doers. It has a long history of taking action and making things happen, and this has helped to make it a nation of achievement.

## **The Practice of Expanding Boundaries in Black Politics**

These book reviews inaugurate a decided intentionality to bring the scholarship of black politics, black political economy, and black political thought into conversation with historically oriented gender and ethnic studies, and critical theories of race, gender, and sexuality. Thus our reviewers take up key questions that have shaped the direction of the research agenda for members of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists including: race, class, and gender; Black nationalism; Black public opinion; the role of migration on elections and political resistance; the meaning of the civil rights movement in the contemporary period; the battles over political historiography that would leave us either inheriting a postracial or a postcivil rights moment; the question of how interest groups censor their most disadvantaged members; and theories about the nature of exploitation that require us to both turn toward and away from Marx. Herein, Southern political history has been examined as the flowering of a powerful Black religious philosophy, the most important site for examining the economic limits of the civil rights movements, as well as developing very sophisticated and advanced means for undermining White supremacy.

Our reviewers include a range of scholars with impeccable credentials and impressive records across academic rank whose racial and gender justice activism and expertise includes: theologians who blog about White supremacy in the evangelical church; activists who archive the papers of Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., and members of the Black Panther Party; historians who have analyzed the history of Black urban migration in the South and the West; fiction writers and poets who have organized sustained grassroots immigrant rights, affordable housing rights and critical resistance to the carceral state; and students who have entered the discipline with grave trepidation and wide suspicions and yet fearless boldness—something akin to what calculus teacher Jaime Escalante called “*ganas*” (the desire to win) on their own terms.

There is a social, geographic, juridical, and politically interested border of life and death mapped by the man-made catastrophes of Hurricane Katrina, the British Petroleum oil spill in the Gulf of Mexico, the millions dead in two wars, the return of vigilante xenophobia, the murder of Oscar Grant and the thousands he represents, the pervasive silences that cloak the ubiquitous violent crimes against black women, and an increasingly perplexed Obama administration. As an intellectual community, we would do well to attend to these sooner than later—if only to honor the best that Black political thought has claimed.

The books being written by our members have a much broader audience outside of the discipline of political science and we fail to acknowledge this to our detriment. We have allies who have also crafted incredible spaces to do their work on the margins—that are also paradoxically the ethical heart—of the disciplines. We have allies who understand that whether black people (women and men, the young and the old, the gay and the straight, the ones with U.S. citizenship and the ones without, the free and the caged) live or die is the measure of their humanity. I have urged reviewers to tackle the politics of the possible and the politics of the courageous in order to add a word of consideration to our conclusions about our audience and the stakes of the intellectual project which black political science undertakes. And they have answered, inspired, and challenged by what we do as Black political scientists.

A fundamental practice of expanding the boundaries of Black politics requires that we continue to read literatures and use methods beyond those conventionally used in the discipline of political science. Or as poet Donna Kate Rushin wrote in the foreword to the seminal woman of color feminist text *This Bridge Called My Back* (Kitchen Table Press, 1983) “Stretch or Die.”

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Lewis, Shelby F. ed. *Historical Inevitability: The Role of Hurricane Katrina in the New Orleans Saga* (Atlanta, GA: The Katrina Task Force, National Conference of Black Political Scientists with the Congressional Black Caucus Foundation, 2009), 267 pp.: (cloth).

Among the many works on Hurricane Katrina, *Historical Inevitability: The Role of Hurricane Katrina in the New Orleans Saga* clearly presents the call for new histories, social theories, and public policies. The systematic, political, economic, and institutional failures and fault lines that defined the Katrina tragedy revealed a profound intellectual crisis present throughout the disciplines. Each of the authors makes a significant contribution to the project of reforming the conscience of a fundamentally troubled intellectual community.

In the Katrina and Human Rights section, cofounder of the Hurricane Katrina Internally Displaced Persons Human Rights Campaign of the U.S. Human Rights Network, Tonya Williams, writes that man-made global climate change has led to the proliferation of "natural disasters." Williams' essay, "Natural Disasters, Displacement, National Racial Minorities and Human Rights: The Case of the U.S. Gulf Coast" examines the related consequences of mass impoverishment, forced migrations, and the intensification of racial and ethnic exploitation. During Hurricanes Katrina and Rita, the federal government abandoned its populations, while simultaneously abdicating its treaty obligations under the United Nation's Guiding Principle of Internal Displacement. In this age of disaster, it is a "moral imperative" that future federal responses conform to international human rights standards and not the human rights standards of Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama. "Racial Discrimination and Ethnic Cleansing in the United States in the Aftermath of Hurricane Katrina: A Report to the United Nations' Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination" was written by the cofounders of the New Orleans-based Advocates for Environmental Human Rights, Monique Hardin and Nathalie Walker along with Kali Akuno, former Director of the People's Hurricane Relief Fund and the Director of Human Rights Education for the U.S. Human Rights Network. The authors argue that government and private sector policies intentionally prolonged the displacement of African Americans. These government and private sector policies are best theorized, according to the authors, as ethnic cleansing in the region. They conclude that the federal disaster provisions under the Stafford Act provide none of the guarantees of the United Nations' Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination or its Guiding Principles on Internal Displacement: guaranteed humanitarian assistance; the right of the displaced to return; protection against discriminatory governmental action; or the guarantee of housing, education, and medical services. The authors advocate UN intervention to speed U.S. compliance and the return of the displaced.

The "History, Race, Politics and the Environment in New Orleans" section begins with an essay by international development specialist Shelby F. Lewis, "The New Orleans Saga: A Continuum." After listing several dozen major works on the role of race in the aftermath of Katrina, Lewis concludes that these works do not "include plausible analyses of the historical distinctiveness of racial oppression in New Orleans, locally situated strategies of racial oppression and local strategies for resisting racial oppression" (35). After providing a valuable history of race relations in the city, the author argues that the response to Katrina reproduced the region's historic schisms: "inhumanity, corruption, racism, neglect, and generational poverty" (57). The solutions offered include the appointment of a federal Katrina administrator, a national commission, criminal prosecutions, economic and educational support, and an intense reexamination of United States and New Orleans history. The authors of "Government Response to New Orleans' Environmental Problems in the Wake of Hurricane Katrina" are Beverley Wright, founder of the Deep South Center for Environmental Justice at Dillard University, and Robert D. Bullard, Director of the Environmental Justice Resource Center at Clark Atlanta University. They found racial disparities present in all phases of the tragedy: "disaster preparedness, communication, physical impacts, psychological impacts, emergency response, clean-up, recovery, and reconstruction" (73). Several issues are highlighted: toxic cleanup, the politics of waste disposal, a crumbling water system, toxic Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA) trailers, and the racially organized levee protection system. Wright and Bullard offer a new comprehensive urban environmental reconstruction program for New Orleans and the nation. "Race, Empowerment and Crisis Management: Mayoral Leadership in New Orleans and Hurricane Katrina" by Professors William Nelson, Jr. and Stefanie Chambers identified several pre-Katrina weaknesses that served as primary contributors to the disaster: unprecedented rates of poverty; the lack of a strong Black middle class; and a weak tradition of activism. Additionally, Mayor Nagin's over reliance upon the business elite marginalized working class Black communities. Nagin's lack of an evacuation plan for all residents was compounded by his panic attacks during the first days of the crisis. Finally, his turning the city planning function over to the real estate industry's Urban Land Institute resulted in the exclusion of community organizations (PHRF, ACORN, Common Ground, etc.) from the decision-making process and an effective ban on rebuilding in many Black neighborhoods. For the authors, "Hurricane Katrina demands that political scientists develop new theoretical and analytical lens for viewing the effectiveness and legitimacy of democratic processes" (108).

The "Katrina and Public Policy" section begins with "Citizen Participation: Informing Public Policy for Rebuilding New Orleans," an essay by Peter W. Dangerfield, the late Director of Total Community Action in New Orleans, along with J. Kelley Terry and Judith Williams. Decrying the exclusion of low income residents from policy discussions, the authors review the applicable literature on citizen participation. They then analyze a Total Community Action survey of 700 of the 2.2 million Gulf Coast residents who filed for assistance from FEMA, after Hurricanes Rita and Katrina, to determine what is preventing them from returning to their home communities. The survey revealed that displaced low income residents were particularly discouraged by several factors: high rates of unemployment and low wages; the lack of childcare, affordable housing, stable educational opportunities, and health care facilities; and a "lack of confidence in elected government,



business and community leadership" (159). They consider massive investment in poverty reduction policies, systematic outreach, and guaranteed participation in Reconstruction as prerequisites for the return of working class African American residents. Authored by MaryNell Morgan and Ife Williams, "Hurricane Katrina and Public Policy: The Case of New Orleans" is a theoretical inquiry into the origins of systemic governmental failures before, during, and after Hurricanes Katrina and Rita. These failures are a product of a fundamental breach of the social contract. Despite numerous hearings and reports, it is argued that the federal government is neither prepared to prevent disasters nor to stem the intensification of racial and class inequalities. Professor Mae C. King's theoretical intervention in "Katrina, Race, and Foreign Policy," finds that "the government response to Katrina victims was more like a calculated 'foreign policy' response evident during a refugee crisis in an impoverished African nation where the welfare of the victims is secondary to utilizing the disaster to advance other political and commercial goals" (181). Also, the barriers faced by the one hundred thirty countries and international organizations who attempted to deliver aid revealed the extremes of poverty, incompetence, and racism in the United States. The policies applied after Katrina were similar to the structural adjustment programs imposed upon African countries by the IMF and the World Bank: privatization, deregulation, the reduction of social programs, the weakening of organized labor, devastating unemployment, low wages, the decline of small businesses, and the collapse of public education, transportation, and health care systems.

The "Katrina and Education" section begins with education and development specialist Gloria J. Braxton's interview, "Perspectives on Black Education Post-Katrina: A Critical Conversation with Dr. Joyce King about Private vs. Public Ownership of Education." Professor King holds the Benjamin E. Mays Endowed Chair of Urban Teaching, Learning, and Leadership at Georgia State University. Powerful and exceptionally vocal advocates of the privatization of public assets, including Economist, Milton Friedman, and campaigners within the national charter school movement, catapulted Louisiana into the largest public school privatization experiment in the nation's history in the midst of the Katrina tragedy. King describes the educational crisis in New Orleans as a civilizational crisis defined by "mass Black criminalization and incarceration; a school to prison track; and the dismantling of public education in America" (192). An intellectual crisis within academic disciplines and the society as a whole represents African Americans as being "beyond rescue." Simultaneously, racism denies the possibility of group-based solutions. According to King, required is a "mass movement for educational, social, and economic justice that includes investment in our communities and in people" (201). A faculty member of Dillard University for twenty-three years, King describes two years of desperation in "The Odyssey of a Katrina Survivor: A Faculty Memoir." Her multistate search for housing, employment, friends, and a safe place for her mother, mirrors the experiences encountered by numerous Gulf Coast residents. Yet, she believes she is better off than those still unable to return due to the "misplaced priorities" of the federal government. "Hopefully, our nation and its officialdom will follow its democratic instinct or ideology to the fullest by providing help for its desolate citizenry instead of sending millions upon millions of dollars in foreign places-including Iraq and Afghanistan-through-war-mongering and international aid" (215-16).

The "Katrina's Children" section begins with an essay by Olivia Golden and Margery Austin Turner of the Urban Institute, "Resiliency Is Not Enough: Young Children and

the Rebuilding of New Orleans." Although trauma and displacement will have long-term impacts upon the children impacted by the disaster, hasty experiments and quick fixes have characterized the response, instead of what is required, the highest quality childcare and early childhood education. The best of the HOPE VI public housing experiment is offered as a potential model for affordable housing and community rebuilding. In 2009, Members of the Katrina Task Force of the National Conference of Black Political Scientist visited several New Orleans organizations to learn how they were addressing Post-Traumatic Stress Disorders among the city's children. In "Advocates for Katrina's Children," Shelby F. Lewis and Mae C. King discuss their visits with several organizations' projects addressing the needs of children: the Tremé Community Center, the Martin Luther King, Jr. Charter School for Science and Technology, the Avery Alexander Social Action Forum, the Children's Defense Fund, Dillard University, and the Institute for Women and Ethnic Studies. The authors learned that the elimination of people, stores, churches, and landmarks broke the fabric of many Black communities. Instead of focusing upon rebuilding strong families, social networks, the indigenous culture, and whole communities, relief agencies and NGOs supported the agendas of elite institutions: the closure of public schools; support for private schools with public funds; and neglect of the need for mental health services. This crisis of values intensified the crises faced by communities and children. Accordingly, a sixteen-year-old female student named JJ reported, "What I would like to tell people about my experience during and after Katrina is never quit. Never forget... People were treated very badly by the government and the police.... They shot people and kicked them out of their houses to put the Army in. This bad treatment was based on race. You never heard people in the news talking bad about White neighborhoods, only Black ones" (236). In "Katrina and Its Children: A Bibliographic Essay on Available Resources on the Impact of Hurricane Katrina on the Children of the U.S. Gulf Coast," Professors James D. Steele and Claude W. Barnes examine two types of materials: literature published on the impact of the tragedy upon children and material available through several major search engines. After reviewing media, university, and government sites and publications, they conclude that the literature is dramatically skewed toward economic infrastructure concerns rather than human development. The work concludes with a series of recommendations drawn from the essays. This section ends with the following conclusion: "The use of instruments of the State power to terrorize, exploit, oppress and disenfranchise African Americans during and after Katrina was nothing less than tyranny" (255).

Taken as a whole, *Historical Inevitability* reveals that the current regional, national, and global neoliberal policy framework is a crisis-generating framework that intensifies during disasters. Dedicated to the commodification of communities, the creation of new enclosures, and the shredding of existing social compacts, this development model inevitably intensifies racial, ethnic, class, and gender conflicts. As Lewis suggests, the patterns of inequality in New Orleans must be closely examined to explain how these processes operate on the ground. Such an examination would reveal that the philosophic and policy origins of neoliberalism lie in the neoplantation South and so do the solutions to the multiple social crises documented in this work.

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Walker, Clarence E., and Gregory D. Smithers. *The Preacher and the Politician: Jeremiah Wright, Barack Obama, and Race in America* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2009), 160 pp.: ISBN 0-8139-2886-9 (cloth).

As America increasingly becomes a nation that is majority non-White, Whites are and will be exposed to the unsanitized views of peoples who were, heretofore, held silent by their political and cultural marginalization in the American polity. The ability of the nation, Whites, and the White-dominated media to survive the entry of out-groups into the political mainstream will in many ways decide the future of America.

Walker and Smithers, in their intriguing book, *The Preacher and the Politician*, attempt a rather complex task. First, they must place the Reverend Jeremiah Wright in historical context in the American tradition of prophet of righteousness and spokesman for an angered God who demands that the nation "let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream," Amos 5:24.

Second, and far more difficult, they try to situate Barack Obama next to the Reverend Wright in such a manner that Obama reflects the same passion as the Reverend Wright who is described as a, "Christian moralist who places his moral beliefs above patriotism." The authors succeed admirably in the first task and this makes the book a very important contribution to the literature on race and politics. But they fail in the second task.

Walker and Smithers paint a very grim picture of America's racial past and how it still haunts us even in the age of Obama. Particularly disturbing are the antiaffirmative action, antigay marriage, and antiabortion referenda taking place around the country and also the popularity of the conservative News shows. Both before the nomination and after his election, Obama has been dogged by claims that he was not born in the United States, that he is a Muslim, and a Marxist who sympathizes with terrorists. All of this put together shows that we do not live in a "post-racial" America. Race is still the hardest thing for people to talk about even as we elected the first president who presumably self-identifies as Black.

The fact that the Obama presidency was nearly derailed by the controversy surrounding the Reverend Wright is also disturbing. The lack of media focus on who Rev. Wright represents shows that America has a long row to hoe before it becomes post racial. The media never seemed to understand that Rev. Wright represents a historic line of preachers in Black America in a church where Blacks can express the pain they feel. It is a place that few Whites take notice of. To call America "post-racial" suggests that Whiteness is normative, a concept that the Black church and certainly Rev. Wright would reject. In fact, the Black church is founded on the assumption that Blackness is normative, not Whiteness.

Walker and Smithers position Wright in the historic tradition of the White and Black preachers of the antebellum and postbellum era who prophesied America's doom for the sins of slavery. This tradition includes David Walker, Henry McNeal Turner, Frederick Douglass, Richard Allen, as well as White Puritans, Congregationalists, and Quakers. This history is where Walker and Smithers really shine and make the book such a good read.

What really shocked White America about hearing Wright's sermons was that they did not contain the familiar idea that White was right. The press missed an opportunity to educate themselves and the White listening public about a culture that was very much in their midst, a culture whose sole purpose was to defend, protect, and challenge Black men and women in ways that would equip them to combat the daily harangues from Whites.

After reviewing Wright's childhood growing up in Germantown Philadelphia, his education and ministry, they describe him as a Black Christian nationalist, a Black liberation theologian, and a Black church social activist. Still, Walker and Smithers are critical of some of the comical assertions of Afrocentrism which seek to turn Eurocentrism on its head by replacing many of the outrageous claims of Whites with equally outrageous claims by Blacks.

Walker and Smithers correctly state that the greatest threat to the post civil rights America is not Afrocentrism, it is post racialism which, while claiming to end racial inequality, actually seeks to hide America's past and normalize whiteness. This is what Rev. Wright preaches against.

If only Walker and Smithers stopped there. It is in trying to place the politician, Barack Obama, next to the antipolitical preacher, Jeremiah Wright, and make the two seem similar, that the book fails. The last half of the book concentrates on Obama's "A More Perfect Union," race speech given in Philadelphia on March 18, 2008.

Walker and Smithers combine Obama's mixed race heritage with the parts of Obama's speech where Obama shows his understanding of the Black cultural dilemma in a nation where White is normative. The problem is this: That was less than half of Obama's speech. Most of the speech was sympathetic to White bigotry as Obama engaged in the same race-baiting he condemned.

So when [whites] are told to bus their children to a school across town; when they hear that an African-American is getting an advantage in landing a good job or a spot in a good college because of an injustice that they themselves never committed; when they're told that their fears about crime in urban neighborhoods are somehow prejudiced, resentment builds over time. (Obama's speech on race given in Philadelphia, PA, on March 18, 2008)

Can you imagine a president, Black or White, who received 95 percent of the Black vote, raising the issue of school bussing or affirmative action to support White opposition to them? Any person who does should not be compared to the Reverend Jeremiah Wright preaching his jeremiads.

The book makes no reference to Barack Obama's 2004 Democratic national convention speech where he made the ridiculous claims:

Now even as we speak, there are those who are preparing to divide us, the spin masters and negative ad peddlers who embrace the politics of anything goes. Well, I say to them tonight, there's not a liberal America and a conservative America -- there is the United States of America. There's not a black America

and white America and Latino America and Asian America -- there is the United States of America. (Democratic National Convention in Boston, MA July 27, 2004)

Is Obama not preaching post racialism? President Obama's 100th-day news conference has become folklore as he responded to the query of what he would do specifically to help Blacks. Mr. Obama responded.

Well, keep in mind that every step we're taking is designed to help all people, but folks who are most vulnerable are most likely to be helped, because they need the most help... So -- so my general approach is that if the economy is strong, that will lift all boats. (President Obama's 100th-Day Press Briefing, April 29, 2009, Washington, DC)

There is no evidence, neither has there ever been any evidence, that a rising tide decreases Black versus White inequality.

I not only recommend the Walker and Smithers book, I highly recommend it because it finally shows the Reverend Jeremiah Wright as the true American he has always been. Walker and Smithers took on an impossible task in trying to compare a mere politician, Barack Obama, to a mighty, modern-day prophet of God, the Reverend Jeremiah Wright. America should listen up.

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Gooding-Williams, Robert. *In the Shadow of Du Bois: Afro-Modern Political Thought in America* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2009), 368 pp.: ISBN 9780674035263 (cloth).

Gooding-Williams' *In the Shadow of Du Bois* (The 2010 Best Book on Race, Ethnicity, and Political Thought of the American Political Science Association, and Honorable Mention, David Easton Award, American Political Science Association, Foundations of Political Theory Section) brings into light the brilliant political savvy of one the most venerated scholars in American history. A book long overdue, it sets the tone for the type of scholarship that Du Bois has warranted for some time. In this book, Du Bois emerges as the most important architect of modern political theory within the African American intellectual tradition. Looking at the early Du Bois at the turn of the twentieth century, Gooding-Williams has written the first book that offers an in-depth treatment of the various layers in Du Bois' philosophical musings about politics. For Du Bois, racial uplift was to be driven by a practical politics undergirded by a practical philosophy.

"What kind of politics should African Americans use to counter White supremacy?" In Du Bois' day, this was the key question—one that Gooding-Williams uses to set up his book's main arguments. Du Bois endeavored to combat two negative forces: racial prejudice brought on by White supremacy and the putative "backwardness" of African Americans. For Du Bois, backwardness was reinforced by racial prejudice, not by some inborn, natural characteristic rooted in biology. The Negro Problem was at its base a sociopolitical problem, not one of biology. In order to combat racial prejudice and White supremacy, Du Bois promulgated a "politics of expressive self-realization." This asserts that "to be effective and authoritative black politics must remember the people...and not simply rule them...that it must add a dose of cultural nationalism to its civic nationalism." Gooding-Williams exposes the complexity of Du Bois' intellectual compassion—his gesture to both reason and emotion in a way that brings to bear his essential racial sensibility: his expressive love for his people and for the ways in which practical political ideas would lead them to freedom. Thus, the practical politics that would bring about racial uplift would be borne out of an understanding of the "common history" of African Americans.

The primary strength of this book is its richness in its ability to situate Du Bois squarely in his time and place—within the context of a segregated, social Darwinist-leaning America. He did not make the usual mistake of cross-pollinating the philosophies of the younger Du Bois of, say, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), with the more mature Du Bois of, say, *Black Reconstruction* (1935) or *Dusk of Dawn* (1940). Du Bois was a relatively young academic in his middle to late thirties at the turn of the century when he

developed some of his most critical ideas about politics. Gooding-Williams stays true to that essence. In this book, Gooding-Williams examines each of Du Bois' earliest writings by re-examining the texts that Du Bois read and by re-exploring the art he loved. This shows off Gooding-Williams' ability to stretch beyond his field (of political science) to offer a most useful, even masterful, literary analysis alongside his superlative examination of Du Bois' *Souls*. It is in this examination of Du Bois' most famous work that Gooding-Williams is able to reveal the blueprint of Du Bois' thinking on politics. He shows us that Du Bois' development of the double consciousness was, really, a diagnostic of the failings of African American political leadership. In this book's re-examination, double consciousness is the false self-consciousness that comes from looking at oneself from the revelation of another. Alexander Crummel was the prime example of an African American leader whom Du Bois saw as a failed martyr whose "double tragedy" was his failure to connect the history of African Americans to the political reality of the day, and for his disconnection from the "ethos of Black folk." Crummel, as well as the Black John in *Souls*, represents the trap of double consciousness, this sense of a false consciousness that forces one to deny that the African American identity is defined in large measure by historical experiences—particularly, the history of the suffering of the black slave and the cultural expression thereof. The story of double consciousness plays out like a personal narrative in Gooding-Williams' analysis. Wagner's *Lohengrin* best encapsulates what double consciousness means for Du Bois himself—it is the impossible union between what is supernatural and what is earthly; more, between what is imagined and what is real. In the thinking of Du Bois, the world of racial harmony where a Black man could experience the world in the same way—real or imagined—as that of a White man, is perhaps unimaginable, unfathomable or at best a far-reaching notion. In this sense, *Lohengrin* is about Du Bois' musings about race, about himself, about his life—thus, *Lohengrin* serves as the basis for his construction of double consciousness. By examining Du Bois' affinity for European art and music and for his appreciation and desire for the African aesthetic and culture, Gooding-Williams superbly examines double consciousness in a way quite novel and inventive. Instead of double consciousness merely serving as a theoretic trope for describing African American life (as many scholars have done and continue to do), it is characterized in Gooding-Williams' re-examination as a functional philosophical mechanism through which the young scholar peered into himself, into his thoughts, into his life—in order to recognize the deep trappings and multidimensions of racism and the need for a "politics of expressive self-realization."

In answering the question that Gooding-Williams raised at the outset, he makes a clear case that Du Bois' political theory was driven by his desire to connect the import of history and culture to political action. For Du Bois, "men of culture" ought to be those who guide and uplift the race. A political leader, then, must reflect back in order to move forward. In so doing, "The Sorrow Songs," the final chapter of *Souls*, would reveal a collective message, a shared folk spirit, that would send African Americans down the right path toward deliverance.

Gooding-Williams provides useful intertextual analyses of Du Bois alongside his mentors, contemporaries, and intellectual progeny. He examines Du Bois' intellectual affinity to Frederick Douglass. In this book, Douglass is the early radical but one of Du Bois' central intellectual progenitors nonetheless. Gustav Schmoller is the architect of



the social scientific framework—*Geisteswissenschaften*—that Du Bois uses to tackle the Negro Problem. Gooding-Williams exposes how Du Bois' political theories have impacted continuous debates in the academy, including one between Anthony Appiah and Lucius Outlaw about "The Conservation of Races."

Gooding-Williams offers the contemporary scholar interested in examining race politics a fresh approach to Du Bois' early scholarship. *In the Shadow of Du Bois* is not leisure reading. It is a rigorous and sophisticated work, a critical text that should serve up many new questions not only about Du Bois' political theories on race, but about his understandings about race. More important, Gooding-Williams, in providing an outstanding, critical philosophical and literary analysis, shows the contemporary scholar on Du Bois how to delve deeper. It is not enough to merely read Du Bois in isolation. It is imperative, as Gooding-Williams urges, to shadow Du Bois: to read what he read, to listen to what he listened to, and to try to see what he witnessed. It is evident that Gooding-Williams followed Du Bois. His investigations into his musings have brought to light new perspectives on Du Bois' thinking about race and politics.

Barrington S. Edwards  
The Loomis Chaffee School

The second condition is a general one, which requires that the patient be a resident of the United States. This condition is satisfied by the fact that the patient is a resident of the United States. The third condition is a specific one, which requires that the patient be a resident of the United States. This condition is satisfied by the fact that the patient is a resident of the United States.

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THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN MEDICAL ASSOCIATION

PUBLISHED WEEKLY

Button, James W., Sheila L. Croucher, and Barbara A. Rienzo. *Blacks and the Quest for Economic Equality: The Political Economy of Employment in Southern Communities in the United States* (University Park: Pennsylvania State University Press, 2009), 208 pp.: ISBN 978-0-271-03555-0 (cloth).

In *Blacks and the Quest for Economic Equality*, readers are reminded that, although the Civil Rights Movement's largest gains occurred nearly a half century ago, race continues to be a salient factor in ascertaining one's prospects for advancement and economic development. In this thoroughly researched book, coauthors Button, Croucher, and Rienzo explore six Florida communities in-depth to reveal the factors that continue to mark racial economic disparity in the South in both the private and public sectors.

The authors divide the six cities in the study into two categories that they label the Deep South and the New South. The Deep South communities are those that have traditionally been part of the Old South and are largely found in the Northern part of Florida. They include Crestview, Lake City, and Quincy. The New South or Border South communities are in the central and southern parts of the state, and are communities that are less tied to traditional Southern racial mores. The New South towns considered in the study include Titusville, Daytona Beach, and Rivera Beach.

Through thorough qualitative and quantitative analysis, including exhaustive statistical analysis, interviews, and a well-documented reading of other findings in the field, the authors provide concrete evidence that racial bias and inequality are alive and well in both the Deep South and the New South. While gains have been made over the past four decades, significant economic gaps continue to plague the African American community.

Button, Croucher, and Rienzo demonstrate that in the private sector, proactive efforts to diversify the workforce have had limited success. The only fields with significant levels of Black employment are service-oriented fields, including department stores, restaurants, and hotels. For the most part, larger corporations and those in close proximity to African American communities tend to be much more inclusive and proactive regarding affirmative action training and programs than smaller companies.

Diversity is very common in the parks and recreation departments across the South. In civil service and public safety roles, however, African American representation in the workforce is tied to the strength of the Black electorate, and the size of the pool of Black elected officials. Another factor related to hiring and promotion of minorities is the presence of a progressive city manager who has the expertise to initiate affirmative action training and inclusive hiring practices, particularly for more highly skilled positions.

The study demonstrates the relative ineffectiveness of affirmative action in adding significantly to Black employment in the South. While most Blacks are in favor of

affirmative action, the majority of Whites believe it is unfair. Through interviews, however, the authors show that many Whites also believe Blacks are unqualified and do not work as hard as others, and therefore are not worthy of promotions. This is particularly true in places where African Americans make up a larger percentage of the population, leading Whites to view minorities as a threat for limited high-level jobs.

Many have speculated that competition with women and other minorities has resulted in fewer job opportunities for African Americans. While White women have advanced more quickly than African Americans, when they are in supervisory positions, they also tend to promote more Blacks than White male managers. Unfortunately, the cities explored in the book all had relatively low numbers of Latino workers, so while no evidence suggested that competition with Hispanics negatively affects Black employment, further research and analysis is warranted.

The book concludes with several suggestions as to how to improve economic development for Southern Blacks in the coming decades. Given the significance of education in providing opportunities, the authors suggest increasing the cultural relevance of the curriculum, working aggressively to hire African American teachers and administrators, and establishing more magnet schools to increase integration opportunities. They also suggest skill and job training programs for adults who need to acquire new skills to compete for promotions and skilled jobs. They also call for more federal funding to enforce antidiscrimination laws and regulations.

Although the study focuses on Florida, the study's methodology and conclusions do ring true for the South in general. Further study of communities in Alabama, Georgia, South Carolina, and Louisiana are necessary to confirm or alter the findings of this book. Also, the lack of a major city in the study limits its findings. Studies of employment opportunities in Miami, Tampa Bay, Jacksonville, Atlanta, New Orleans, Jackson, and Orlando are necessary to make any firm conclusions about Black economic advancement in the South. Still, this study provides a great baseline against which to measure and evaluate additional research.

One of the most glaring weaknesses of the study is the lack of significant immigrant populations in any of the cities and communities. Given the growth of the Latino population throughout the nation over the past few decades, a more thorough analysis of the effects of larger immigrant communities on Black employment and opportunities is needed.

The study explores the impact of the gains of the civil rights movement in voting rights and desegregation on employment opportunities. For the most part, the substance of the analysis is that employment and economic advancements have not matched the gains of the civil rights arenas like voting. What has not been adequately explored are the inherent limitations for economic advancement that were embedded in the goals and strategies of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and other civil rights organizations. Although economic boycotts were a common feature of protest movements, little attention was given to economic development or job opportunities. Only near the end of Dr. King's life, in the Memphis sanitation worker strike and with the ill-fated poor people's campaign, did the economic concerns of Blacks and the broader nation gain the focused attention of movement leaders. Further academic explorations of the connections between the goals and strategies of the civil rights movement and its lack of success in providing greater economic opportunities are warranted.

*Blacks and the Quest for Economic Equality* is a well-researched study that will provide a baseline of the possibilities and limitations of Black economic development in the South over the past several decades. This work not only verifies the economic disparity facing African Americans, it also offers some recommendations as to how to begin to remedy these problems moving forward. Additionally, this study should inspire other scholars to explore the urban south and to further evaluate the effects of immigrant populations on Black employment. For any public official or academic who wants to better understand the challenges that limit Black economic advancement in the South, this book is a must read.

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Arnold, Kathleen R. *America's New Working Class: Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Biopolitical Age* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2008), 256 pp.: ISBN 0-2710-3276-6/ 9-7802-7103-277-1 (cloth).

The basic persistence of oppression, disenfranchisement, and exploitation can be contentious in the era of neoliberalism. As Wendy Brown observes, “[the state’s] power and privilege operate increasingly through disavowal of potency, repudiation of responsibility, and diffusion of sites and operations of control” (quoted in Arnold, 117). Therefore, dynamic shifts in the role of the state, the globalization of capital and labor, and other such contemporary processes certainly appear to challenge the conceptual grip of classic social and political theory over our understanding of the dynamics of rapid social change. Kathleen Arnold not only rejects these ostensible challenges, she also creates a conceptual framework which orients disparate political, economic, and ideological questions within a historical continuum. The book, *America's New Working Class: Race, Gender, and Ethnicity in a Biopolitical Age*, is principally concerned with state power under the circumstances of globalization; the deployment of prerogative power; the production of bare life and exploitation; asceticism; and the rise of “the new working class”—a sector of workers composed of African Americans, women, labor migrants, the very poor, and the unemployed rather than White males. However, despite the clarity of some of her insights, Arnold’s analysis is not free of its own contradictions.

Arnold defines her key concept of asceticism as the valorization of thrift, productivity, self-abnegation, and the internalization of personal responsibility in the service of disenfranchisement and exploitation. As an ideological form independent of economic and political motives, the author identifies asceticism in the nexus between global capital and the state, along the border which separates “subject citizens” from the bare life of marginal groups, and as an organizing ethos of U.S. society. In this way, Arnold articulates several discerning ideas, such as how ascetic values not only obscure oppressive relations of power, also how they are used to cast the disenfranchised as parasitic “exploiters” of the public. Rhetoric formulations that convey criticisms of “welfare mothers,” the unemployed, and undocumented immigrants are clear examples of the use of the concept of asceticism. Furthermore, the welfare programs that are supposedly meant to uplift the new working class are actually determined by the interests of capital, ascetic values, and the expansion of state surveillance and control. This amounts to a convergence between welfare and prerogative power as mutually constituent forms of arbitrary state control.

Extending this argument along a historical axis, Arnold deconstructs the idea that liberal democracy has the goal of promoting the common good through rational governance. The critical evidence for this contention comes in the discussion of early liberal democratic thought with particular attention to Locke. Arnold’s reading of the Lockean origins of

the state highlights the exercise of prerogative power—extralegal state action—as being within and constituting the normative purview of state authority. Ultimately, the author rejects the distinction between the state's extralegality in foreign affairs and its domestic practice of rational governance. Instead she shows that prerogative power and the exercise of force domestically is a foundational element to the liberal democratic state.

These groundings lead to Arnold's examination of the relationship between the political and the economic. Unlike the previous argument, which holds that disenfranchisement is foundational to the nation-state, exploitation for Arnold is not inherent in capitalism, as the successes in achieving labor rights in the late 1800s would attest. Moreover, Arnold credits these successes, which might be seen as theoretical refutations of Marx's critique of capitalism, to the actions of the state, which in this instance would appear to have achieved some autonomy over the interests of capital "[in]correcting the harsher effects of capitalism" (110). Therefore, Arnold rejects the idea of exploitation as integral to the interests of capital. Instead, she considers exploitation to be one of many consequences of a state's occupying a position requiring the resort to the use of political disenfranchisement and arbitrary power. In other words, due to the ideological contradictions that pit nationalism, liberalism, and capitalism against each other, Arnold argues that contemporary globalization has necessitated a "partnership" between capital and the state.

Arnold asserts further that the politically divisive nature of asceticism as understood and valued by political elites also underlies the fragmentation and hierarchization of social groups. Following Edna Bonacich's split market theory of ethnic antagonisms, Arnold argues that economic globalization induced and reinforces regimes of racism, sexism, classism, immigrant exploitation, and ethnic conflict by economically and ideologically motivating perceived cleavages among classes, genders, ethnicities, and races. Therefore, since the mid-twentieth century, asceticism and identity politics have created a matrix of domination around identities ultimately viewed as parasitic, criminal, or even illegal claimants in the public sphere. As a whole, though, these disenfranchised groups share a linked political interest since they are all devalued as being subject to state surveillance, disenfranchisement, and job-slotting into low-tier work. The ideational structure of asceticism forms the basis of their mutually conflictual interrelations.

Closing with a discussion of resistance, Arnold warns of the danger of conceptualizing political action within the binaries laid out by neoliberalism. She instead insists on an inclusive project which recognizes the "other," which emphasizes "agonistic democratic action" as true commitment to democratic values, and which holds binaries in "healthy tension" within institutional means of protest in order to produce new subjectivities and resistance.

However, as expansive and integrated as Arnold's analysis is, her reliance on progressive politics camouflages the potential gravity of the analysis. One such instance is her characterization of the relation between capitalism and the state as a partnership, or alternatively, her rejection of Marx's base/superstructure model. Taking the political enfranchisement and increasing unionization of workers since the late 1800s as evidence for a capital-state partnership, Arnold suggests, fairly unconvincingly, that the existence of unionization "undermined the possibility of [workers'] economic exploitation" (4). Yet these gains, positive though they were, could not be taken as evidence of the state correcting capitalist exploitation, since exploitation in Marx's theory is an inherent component of the capitalist mode of production. While this political participation which Arnold lauds



as the corrective to class antagonism may be able to achieve higher wages, this is not to be confused with the abolition of the wage system. In fact, she does entertain this idea and with it the radical extent of Marx's critique, stating "it could be argued, per Marx, that exploitation is the extraction of surplus-labor, which then means that not only is the working class being exploited, but so also are a whole host of other workers" (133), yet she quickly dismisses this line of reasoning.

Arnold's definition of exploitation persistently argues that exploitation is not determined at the economic base. Rather exploitation encompasses political and ideational conditions as well. Though she describes this as "a more expanded view of Marx's own conception of exploitation" (133), the consequence of this reformulation is that the study eschews the inherent exploitation of wage relations and conceptualizes exploitation as mitigable by political action. The impetus for adopting this "expanded view" is implied to be the presumed alleviation of capitalist exploitation through political enfranchisement. This characterization does not suffice to substantiate the conception of a conflictive partnership between the state and capital over the mere Advance of capitalism's interests.

Furthermore, the interests of capital and the state are not always as disparate as Arnold characterizes them to be. In one instance, she discusses how the global economy encouraged more open borders in the United States, yet in the interest of its sovereignty, border restrictions were reinforced by the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act. This opposition in which global capitalism favored open borders and in which the state favored closed ones, can be misleading, since one can clearly see how the mass deportation of laborers as well as the threat of such actions also undercut the position of the working class.

A consistent motif within this text is that its conceptualizations and arguments allow one to take a theoretical position which preserves the possibility of a liberal course of political and collective action. In the arena of economics she contends not only that exploitation is not inherent to the capitalist system, but that it can be remedied through placing political demands on the state. This move substitutes a structure of antagonism (the capitalist mode of production), which necessitates systemic challenge/resistance/repudiation even by a purported means of institutional access (the liberal-democratic state) which necessitates participation. In matters of the divisions within the new working class, she argues that intergroup conflict has its origins in economic and ideational causes. It is a sort of false consciousness which can be corrected by conscientization. What escapes this position is when oppression, exploitation, or disenfranchisement operate within the terms already established by their structuring logic, such as when exploitation defines capitalism, or when racism or sexism function *de facto* despite their institutional disavowal, or when disenfranchisement is foundational to liberal democracy—as Arnold suggests. In fact, this book succeeds in its fundamental problematization of global capitalism, bureaucracy, and the liberal democratic state, yet attributes these problems to the contemporary moment of neoliberalism and globalization. This leads the analysis towards a politics which accepts institutional engagement without a challenge to the structure of relations. Arnold's narrative, which finds its adversary in neoliberalism and advises a liberal course of action, has little to offer readers outside this binary framework.

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Browder, Glen. *The South's New Racial Politics: Inside the Race Game of Southern History* (Montgomery, AL: New South Books, 2009), 128 pp.: ISBN 978-1-60306-050-9/1-60306-050 -2 (paper).

One of Sidney Harris' most famous science cartoons depicts two academics looking at a blackboard with a mathematical equation. In between the two sides of the formula is the famous phrase "Then A Miracle Occurs." One of the professors tells the other "I think you should be more explicit here in step two."

The South's racial history can be like that S. Harris cartoon. In between the "heroic drama" of the civil rights movement and the momentous 2008 Election, the history books and even political science texts have left those words about a miracle occurring. We want to know more about step two.

Thankfully, former Alabama Congressman Glen Browder has written the book *The South's New Racial Politics*, which attempts to tell us about that second step...and many other steps in the story of the South and its racial history. He purposefully glosses over the details of Southern slavery and the battles of the civil rights era to tell us more about that overlooked era from the 1970s through the early 1990s.

This is not the era of the Pulitzer-Prize-winning photo, the inspirational essay from a county jail, or the political speech delivered from a pulpit or podium on the steps of the White House, legislative capitol, or school grounds. It is the time of the backroom deal, the subtle neighborhood picnic, and the door of the legislator's office that stays open an extra hour. To take a book quote further, it may not make good Hollywood, but it does make good policy...and good history.

In focusing on a different time, some ugly scabs once healed over are ripped open. We all know about the Wallace's "Stand in the Schoolhouse Door" at Foster Auditorium at the University of Alabama, but less so about the dirty 1966 election in Alabama. We have heard accusations of vote buying, but discover the sordid details of flushers and tributes, then and now. And we are shocked to learn that accommodation may be harder to come by in Washington than Montgomery.

Our tour guide of this "undiscovered country" is none other than an idealistic political scientist who had the good fortune to roam the corridors of Goat Hill and the U.S. Capitol, as well as the union halls and civic organizations on the campaign trail, as a participant, not a spectator. He has brought along some top-notch Southern scholars like V. O. Key Jr., Earl and Merle Black, Charles Bullock and Larry Sabato for some perspective, while introducing a new generation of analysts including Matthew J. Streb and Artemesia Stanberry. Their insights are mixed with quotes from Browder's contemporary congressional representatives based in Southern states, among them, Pete Peterson, L. F. Payne, and Lindsay Thomas.

What we learn strikes a balance between the eternal optimists and consummate pessimists. The "race game" is still alive in the South, sadly played by both races. But moderation appears to be replacing extremism and the region has evolved into what he colorfully terms "a halfway house." In this "new racial system" that he has uncovered, there is not only a greater frankness, but also an improvement in biracial accommodation on a number of issues. One gets the impression that the goal line has not been reached, but the team appears to have at least made several first downs, and perhaps crossed midfield.

This does not mean *The South's New Racial Politics* contains all of the stories and answers. First, I understand the author's decision to bypass greater coverage of the segregation era and the Civil Rights Movement, given the voluminous attention already devoted to the issue. But the Civil War and Southern Reconstruction, which is central to the rationale of the segregation, is almost entirely overlooked. This does not mean we need a blow-by-blow coverage of battles, or another lecture on the divisive issues of the time. But it is important to understand how the final phase of the war, waged against the civilians, generated a bitter backlash against the federal government and Blacks, seen by Whites as pawns in maintaining a near-permanent occupation and relegation of the South to second-class status. The reaction is hardly excusable, but it would help for the contemporary debate if the events of the 1860s and 1870s were at least understood by others as contributing to that peculiarity of post-Civil War segregation. It also explains why partisanship and ideological debates have relegated race-related concerns in the South to secondary status, but not yet eliminated them. To steal from Governor Wallace, the 1864-1876 period may explain why "segregation now" happened, but also why "segregation tomorrow and segregation forever" became unnecessary for White Southerners in favor of greater cooperation across races.

A second suggestion involves the provision of greater detail on the "inside politics." For pages, we hear about the stealthy actions of legislators in advancing the progress of reform, and our appetite for further information is whetted. We do hear tales of bargains for budgets and board membership by both races, but surely there must be more to the story. And we would like more of it, either for a "how-to" primer or simply for pure interest in a subject that has clearly grabbed our attention. But perhaps those details will be forthcoming in future publications from former Congressman Browder.

On the whole, I will be recommending *The South's New Racial Politics* for my family, fellow professors, political science majors in my American Government class, and even students in my interdisciplinary "American Experience" course, which shows how Browder's book is written for a wide audience.

But it will not be put on others' reading list just because it is easy to get through. In addition to the insightful observations about the region, the text provides an important launching point for what should be a national dialogue on the subject of race. As Browder points out, the South has begun to confront its past and present. Too often, I have seen evidence of one of his conclusions: such problems of race are hardly confined to this region. Other examples of racism, "the race game" and even a quiet new racial system of accommodation occur across the country, but tend to be swept under the rug by those

who see, or want to see, this as a problem exclusively bedeviling the South. Rather than remain the national whipping post on the subject of intolerance, perhaps the South and its recent examples could serve as the basis for that dialogue, and teach, rather than be taught.

John A. Tures  
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Price, Melanye T. *Dreaming Blackness: Black Nationalism and African American Public Opinion* (New York: New York University Press, 2009), 240 pp.: ISBN 0-8147-6745-1/978-0814767450 (paper).

To understand how ideologies of race and nation shape Black American public opinion in the postcivil rights era is to grapple with a set of difficult questions: How does racial difference continue to constitute systemic inequalities after the legal end of segregation? What stories do African American people tell themselves about the civil rights and Black Power movement legacies? How does intraracial difference determine how Black people think and act in the public sphere? And how does Black Nationalism provide, still, a vital language with which people think, talk, and dream about a new world? Melanye T. Price's *Dreaming Blackness: Black Nationalism and African American Public Opinion* (NYU Press, 2009) explores understandings of Black Nationalism in an era increasingly referred to as "post-racial," using both everyday speech and quantitative analysis to examine "how black people, given the calamitous history they have endured in their American sojourn, make sense of their political world" (3).

When Price's thirty-two focus group participants, which include a diverse set of Black-identified people from the Columbus, Ohio area, followed the suggestion to "dream blackness," to talk about what an all-Black America would mean to them, their responses revealed the extent to which Black public opinion is constituted by difference more than cohesion. While many rejected separatism in favor of racial integration, others offered conditional support for a Black nation and a few expressed willingness to live in an all-Black America. Black Nationalism in African American public opinion, the exercise shows, "still resonates, still animates, and still divides" (161). Reaching beyond linked fate as an explanation of Black political participation, Price argues that disagreement within the Black community is a vital element of Black political involvement. The focus on everyday conversation, in the author's attempts to show how the fault lines in postcivil rights Black politics come to light in discussions of Black Nationalism, is particularly useful. Combining data from focus groups with survey data analysis, Price shows how factors such as age, socioeconomic status, and affective evaluations of Whites and other Blacks affect opinions about Black Nationalism. This important monograph gives readers a map for navigating a complex world of contemporary Black public opinion by shedding light on how attitudes about Black Nationalism affected and were affected by Bill Cosby's infamous comments at an NAACP commemoration in 2004, as well as by Hurricane Katrina in 2005, and the election of the U.S.' first African American president in 2008.

The eight chapters of *Dreaming Blackness* are organized so as to maximize Price's deft handling of qualitative and quantitative analysis. The first two chapters introduce the reader to the ideology of Black Nationalism. They provide an analysis of writings by

Black Nationalists such as Maria Stewart and Marcus Garvey, and they describe how the study's focus groups are organized. Chapters 3 and 4 provide a meaningful discussion of the focus groups. Then *Dreaming Blackness* turns to a statistical analysis of postcivil rights Black public opinion. Chapters 5 and 6 present a convincing case for the author's Black Nationalist Index, which is a measure for predicting an inclination toward Black Nationalism. The Index is based on Price's analysis of the 1996 National Black Election Study (NBES). Chapter 7 analyzes the "dreaming blackness" exercise to which the book's title refers, after which Price offers a conclusion and an elegant afterword in which she summarizes her findings and places her work in the context of Barack Obama's election to the U.S. presidency.

Although Price's historical overview of Black Nationalism is troubling in its reliance on a top-down model of inquiry which relies on single leaders—from David Walker to Stokely Carmichael—the author's subsequent use of focus group data to define Black Nationalism provides a brilliant counterpoint to the historical discussion by showing how Black citizens "come to know what they know about politics and how they express those ideas through everyday talk" (3). In Price's discussion of the correlation between Black Nationalist sentiment and expressions of blame and victimization in Chapter 4, a young student named Andrea blames Blacks themselves for enduring racial inequalities while a natural hair care owner, Keesha, blames systemic racism for problems within Black communities emerging after the civil rights era. "Maybe there is racism that I just don't notice," Andrea says, "but I myself personally I don't believe in the, you know, the white man's trying to keep me down and it's the white man's fault that I didn't get this job" (91). On the other hand, Keesha argues, "I think that first of all we have to recognize that the system has been designed to put us where we are, which means that we have to create our own system" (96).

Adding depth to previous work on Black Nationalism as well as the 1996 NBES survey data, the everyday talk in *Dreaming Blackness* shows how people form political opinions in meaningful ways outside of the arenas of formal politics. The focus groups show, in fact, how political engagement at the level of "everyday talk" frustrates our attempts to make sense of the heterogeneity of Black political worldviews through the frame of charismatic leadership. While the author opens the focus group discussions by asking participants to talk about Martin Luther King Jr. and Malcolm X, for example, "very few participants invoked the dichotomy that [the respondent] hypothesized except to talk about how one or the other man was potentially misunderstood..." (36). In this way, the author's study of "everyday talk" proves a vital contribution to how scholarship on Black politics can be enlarged by paying attention to the banal and ordinary ways that people fashion their ideas about voting and candidate evaluation, trust and cynicism, race-based political organizations and advocacy groups, and other political elements generally found in more structured, large-scale surveys.

While *Dreaming Blackness* is an ambitious monograph which brilliantly explains how factors such as age, class, gender, and relationship with White people shape Blacks' attitudes about Black Nationalism, its aims might be more fully realized if it could account for the specific historical situation in which the NBES and the focus groups take place. How, precisely, has racial injury been reorganized after the legal end of segregation? How have postcivil rights developments such as globalization, mass incarceration,



privatization, and changes in immigration policy, combined with the emergence of an ideology of colorblindness, and reinvented racialized inequalities since the passage of the Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts of the 1960s? How have these emergent postcivil rights trends necessarily changed the landscape of Black public opinion regarding Black Nationhood? While Price points out that discussions "about race and politics are often shaped by the context in which they take place" and that the "important events of the day and the background of the individuals involved all strongly influence the subjects addressed and the tone of the discussion" (103), the important work in *Dreaming Blackness* is at times limited by a vague description of the present.

Nevertheless, from the candid statements about race and nation that emerge in the focus groups to the validation of the Black Nationalist Index, *Dreaming Blackness* presents a convincing case for enlarging the ways in which we study the complexities of Black political behavior and attitudes after the civil rights era. *Dreaming Blackness*, still, is a richly layered text that promises to be an enlightening addition to courses in American politics and African American studies.

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For the purpose of this study, the author has selected a group of 100 cases of acute myocardial infarction, which have been reported in the literature during the past 10 years. The selection of these cases was based on the following criteria: (1) the cases were reported in the English literature; (2) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (3) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (4) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (5) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (6) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (7) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (8) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (9) the cases were reported in the last 10 years; (10) the cases were reported in the last 10 years.

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Martinez, Deirdre. *Who Speaks for Hispanics? Hispanic Interest Groups in Washington* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2009), 185 pp.: ISBN 978-0-7914-9357-1 (cloth).

This morning brought news of a New Jersey father of four beaten to death by White teenagers because he was a Salvadorian immigrant. Arizona is on fire. Across the nation hate crimes, and open, in your face, racism against Latin Americans is on the rise, as are the demands of Latin Americans for improved social conditions. Given this state of affairs, Deirdre Martinez's book, *Who Speaks for Hispanics? Hispanic Interest Groups in Washington*, could not be more timely. Latin Americans and their organizations are increasingly moving into the national spotlight. Martinez's book explores how the League of United Latin American Citizens (LULAC) and the National Council of La Raza (NCLR) have come to their current policy positions on the key issues of education and immigration reform, two central concerns of Latinos nationwide. Martinez asks: who are the two largest Washington, DC-based organizations that claim to represent "all Hispanics" and how do they develop their stances on key policy issues affecting that population. However, the unevenness of the case studies prevents Martinez from really exploring the question of whom these organizations actually represent and how they do it. She misses key elements that could make this study the robust and sophisticated analysis that today's political climate demands. Thus, her book appears to be an incomplete version of what could have been a very crucial study at this pivotal historical juncture.

LULAC and NCLR were selected because they present a similar organizational type based on their longevity, structure, issue focuses, their mutual claims to represent the same broad swath of the nation's Hispanic population, and their strong relationships to policy makers, corporations, and funders. The organizations' competing claim to be the representative of "all Hispanics," while supporting starkly contrasting policy recommendations immediately raises the question of who influences their policy decisions. One of the drawbacks of adopting the label Hispanic is that it tends, as all pan-ethnic labels do, to homogenize a very diverse group of people. Martinez, who has ample personal experience as a policy analyst and legislative staffer, chooses the term to reflect the norms of Washington lingo with regards to how each organization describes its constituents. But Martinez fails to fully investigate their claims to a diverse representation, partially because of a lack of organizational and demographic data. If this study had more closely analyzed how income, corporate or political ties, educational attainment level of the presumed constituents, their immigration status, national origin, and the racial differences among Latinos played out within these organizations, the author would have been able to more fully answer her fundamental question of *how* they claim to represent all Hispanics. We would know, for example, whether Native Americans or Afro-Latinos, significant

sections of the Latino population, participate in these organizations or influence their decision-making processes and how that inclusivity translates into national policy choices.

This is not to say that race equates with political beliefs, but Martinez notes repeatedly that for much of its early history, LULAC aggressively promoted Hispanic identity as equivalent to Whiteness, and pursued policies that undercut the efforts of African Americans to end segregation, in order to gain White privileges for Hispanics. LULAC now claims to represent "all" of the people categorized by the U.S. census as Hispanic, a category that includes non-White and Black Hispanics. So one wonders how they have remedied their relationship with the Afro-Latino community and whether demographic inclusivity has been a factor in their shift toward more progressive stances on immigration or toward their propublic school opposition to charters. Martinez's interviews suggest that the influence of the Chicano movement as well as changing demographics within the Hispanic category have indeed influenced these organizations' policy stances. Greater attention to his point would have given density to the discussion of how policy decisions are made. Additionally, the author declares, "whether or not they accurately represent the views of the majority of Hispanics, while important, is almost beside the point; the reality is that they are perceived as leaders of the Hispanic community and will likely continue to represent Hispanics in Washington policy debates" (3). So while using the question of representation to capture the reader's attention, Martinez avoids it in an attempt to study political decision processes as if they were divorced from the identities of the players.

One troubling contradiction in Martinez's study is the lack of inquiry into the role of ideology on policy decision making. The author legitimizes policy shifts to the right several times as enhancing the capability of these groups to represent "all" Hispanics but fails to explain why inclusivity of necessity must be conceptualized as a shift to the right. It is noted that LULAC has become more progressive due to demands from a resurging membership base, suggesting that with immigration, a shift to the left allowed the organization to attract and be inclusive of more grassroots members. Yet, proimmigrant policy stances adopted by LULAC are derided by Martinez as emotional, unpractical, and representing an unwillingness to compromise. Acknowledging that most Latino organizations oppose conservative proposals such as national IDs and employer sanctions, Martinez astonishingly applauds NCLR for adopting these positions. The fact that NCLR supports more traditionally conservative stances than LULAC on both charter schools and immigration, when NCLR is an organization that came out of the more progressive Chicano movement era and LULAC has been deeply conservative throughout much of its long history, reveals the urgent need for a larger inquiry into the dynamics of representation and ideology that this study lacks.

The author instead turns to organizational theory, extending John Kingdon's multiple-streams model into the process of interest group decision making to see whether multiple factors shape decisions or whether one large consideration, such as the desire to please funders, overrides other influences to control policy agendas. Martinez notes that several scholars have criticized LULAC and similar large advocacy organizations because it is believed that funders and political elites dominate their policy decision making, which brings their connection to the grassroots and their claim to all Hispanics

into question. By evading the questions of representation and ideology in her application of Kingdon's theory, Martinez is not able to sufficiently challenge such scholars once and for all. To miss the mark like this is disappointing, as her interviews and organizational documents support her claim that the decision-making process may be more complex, dynamic, and open to input from multiple levels than other scholars have suggested.

The book's main flaws, however, are methodological. Martinez presents two chapters detailing the history of each organization's position on charter schools and education within the larger context of Latino political organizing. Conversely, her case study on immigration, which also attempts to present a historical sketch and explore policy alternatives and decision making, is only twelve pages and appears to be a hastily drafted afterthought. The book's documentation includes a document review of organization policy stances and analysis for both organizations, twenty participant interviews on NCLR, and fourteen interviews on LULAC (17). There are secondary sources on organizational and interest group theory, policy making, funding and philanthropy, public opinion polls, charter schools, education in regards to Latinos, and limited sources on immigration. There is a surprisingly small selection of literature on Latino-led political organizing in the United States that comes through in the limited overview of immigration. Martinez cites internal organizational documents including board meeting minutes, strategic plans, annual reports, position statements from NCLR that greatly assist in deconstructing their internal decision-making process, but does not include similar citations for LULAC. Occasionally quoting LULAC platform statements, resolutions, convention votes, and other LULAC organizational documents without thorough citations, forces Martinez to base the argument more heavily on interviews than is desired.

Further ethnographic research that could support or refute the accuracy of the opinion polls and participant interviews would have allowed readers to draw more robust and objective conclusions about Hispanic/Latino community opinion and whether Martinez refutes other studies by B. Marquez (1993, 2003) and I. D. Ortiz (1996) that suggest that NCLR, LULAC, and organizations like them are beholden to funder and corporate interests and are increasingly out of touch with Latino communities. Martinez acknowledges that members' participation in trade unions translated to LULAC deciding to oppose charter schools because the issue had been framed as antiunion, but she does not pursue how differences of class, educational level, personal or financial ties to corporations, and other affiliations also affect member, staff, and board views. Further documentation, as well as a deeper assessment of representation and ideology, would have greatly strengthened her argument.

Martinez's interviews provide an insightful and intimate look into the workings of two important policy organizations. Unfortunately, while the conclusions may be accurate, Martinez lacked the documentation and depth of analysis needed to clearly refute Marquez, Ortiz, and others who propose the single dominating factor theory in regards to larger interest group policy decision making. Thus, the book engages, but fails to take off as anticipated. In these violent and precarious times, the struggle for the Latino community to gain equity and end racism demands much more.

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Strolovitch, Dara Z. *Affirmative Advocacy: Race, Class, and Gender in Interest Group Politics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago, 2007), 284 pp.: ISBN 0226777405/9-7802-2677-7405/9-7802-2677-7412/9-7802-2677-7450 (cloth).

By definition, advocacy organizations are meant to protect the interests of those they claim to represent. This is true regardless of which specific constituencies the organization claims as part of its membership. The fundamental question that Dara Strolovitch asks is to what degree do social justice advocacy organizations serve all of their constituents—including those who are more and less advantaged. Unlike other, more general studies of interest group politics, this book focuses on organizations charged with addressing the persistent inequalities that work to marginalize specific groups from America's political system. In conducting this investigation, the author examines the values that organizational officers espouse regarding social justice for their constituents as well as the strategic, political practices that these organizations engage in.

Strolovitch's book examines how advocacy organizations prioritize their energies and resources given the complex political contexts in which they must operate. While *de jure* discrimination has largely subsided, it has been replaced by increasing *de facto* inequalities. This has created a situation in which advocacy organizations must adapt their strategies to reveal the ways that social policies, which are often framed in objective and neutral terms, actually produce systematically negative and harmful outcomes for specific groups. Such a political landscape complicates the work of advocacy organizations while also intensifying the need for them. The author points out that social movement and advocacy organizations are especially crucial for marginalized groups because their interests are often overlooked by America's two major political parties. In this sense, advocacy organizations can provide alternative forms of representation for groups which may otherwise be completely alienated from political dialogues and debates. Strolovitch therefore frames her study as a systematic examination of the strategies that these organizations employ and the issues they choose to address in order to achieve their goals. She pays special attention to those who face intersectional forms of oppression by considering how these individuals are represented by the organizations that claim to speak for them.

The book is centered on the theoretical concept of pluralism and the question of whether social movement interest groups increase the political voice of their constituents or actually mobilize bias by de-prioritizing the issues relevant to their weakest, most marginalized members. The social movements of the 1950s, 1960s, and 1970s spawned a wealth of advocacy organizations for marginalized groups which claimed to give voice to those who had been largely excluded from America's decision-making apparatus. These organizations' efforts have proven fruitful on many fronts, as evidenced by advances in civil rights, women's rights, and rights for members of lesbian, gay, bisexual, and transgender

(LGBT) communities. However, while social justice organizations may claim to represent various marginalized groups, Strolovitch's study attempts to de-homogenize the concept of marginalization by honing in on organizational practices as they relate to those group members who are intersectionally marginalized at multiple points.

*Affirmative Advocacy* is organized as a synthesis of qualitative and quantitative research findings derived from a survey of 286 organizations which are a part of the social and economic justice interest group community, as well as in-depth interviews with officers and staff from forty of these organizations. The author emphasizes application of multiple methodologies as a means of accurately determining the factors that influence organizational representation as well as providing insight into disparities between organizational perceptions of advantaged and disadvantaged group issues. She uses the book to explore the implications of several key issues, including the concept of intersectional representation, the advocacy strategies employed by organizations, and the nature of coalition building among the universe of social justice-oriented interest groups.

The book categorizes advocacy organizational constituencies into three groups: majorities, advantaged subgroups, and disadvantaged subgroups. While the concept of constituent majorities is relatively straightforward, advantaged and disadvantaged subgroups are constructed through societal perceptions of their power, acceptability, and social status. Advantaged subgroups consist of individuals who, while they may be members of marginalized groups, also occupy more privileged positions relative to other, less advantaged group members. The divisions and power differentials that exist within marginalized groups can lead to what Cathy Cohen calls "secondary marginalization" wherein subgroup members of marginalized groups become further alienated when their issues are framed as less important or even detrimental to the well-being of the broader subgroup.<sup>1</sup> Strolovitch's study illuminates the ways that advocacy organizations can engage in this type of marginalization by expecting disadvantaged group members to sacrifice their interests in order to further the interests of more advantaged constituents.

One of the most interesting points in the book reminds us of social movement organizations' historical failure to address issues of intersectional oppression. Strolovitch points to the women's suffrage movement and its neglect of African American women as well as labor unions and their past support of anti-immigration policies as illustrative examples. In these and other cases, when African American women and immigrant subgroups gave voice to their experiences of multiple exclusion, representatives of advocacy organizations at first responded by claiming that they needed to gain political access and influence by addressing more mainstream subgroup issues before they could work to address more "complicated" forms of oppression. This position effectively de-prioritized issues that were relevant to more disadvantaged subgroups while allowing advocacy organizations to continue making the claim that they were working on behalf of the broadest possible constituency. Though such de-prioritization may have been more explicit in the past, Strolovitch's findings suggest that advocacy organizations continue to neglect their most marginalized and disadvantaged constituents while prioritizing issues of importance to already advantaged groups.

The book's survey and interview data show that advocacy organizational officers understand their missions in broad terms as extending beyond dues-paying members to



encompass a wide range of groups impacted by social and economic inequalities. This includes advantaged and disadvantaged subgroups. Yet, in spite of such expansive interpretations of organizational mission, Strolovitch finds that these advocacy organizations often prioritize the issues relevant to advantaged subgroups of their constituencies more often than they attend to disadvantaged subgroups. In fact, the issues of advantaged subgroups are often framed as though they affect a majority of constituents, even when disadvantaged subgroup issues affect more people. In essence, Strolovitch's study finds that organizations expect their intersectionally disadvantaged constituents to "demonstrate collective consciousness and group solidarity by identifying 'up' the hierarchy, [but] the analogous forms of 'groupness' and solidarity are not demanded of advantaged group members" (61). In spite of the book's worrisome findings which show a lack of adequate representation, Strolovitch also attempts to point readers toward the hopeful realm of possibility.

The book concludes with a discussion of best practices which the author has identified through the course of her investigation. These practices are meant to provide a framework through which organizations can become better able to engage in representative and redistributive advocacy. According to the author, these suggestions are meant to assist organizations in addressing their representational imbalance by intentionally structuring their activities to provide "affirmative advocacy," which attempts to achieve social justice aims by directing organizational activities toward addressing the needs and interests of their least advantaged members. Strolovitch frames these suggestions as a means for organizations to capitalize on the opportunity to expand their representation of disadvantaged subgroups. She provides somewhat detailed explanations of these practices, which include creating specific organizational mandates that explicitly require organizations to represent intersectionally disadvantaged constituencies. Another suggestion is that organizations rely on decision-making rules which create protocols for identifying and acting upon issues based on their importance to intersectionally marginalized constituencies. Finally, the author suggests that organizations increase their attentiveness to intersectional disadvantage by prefiguratively addressing these issues through their internal practices. Quite simply, advocacy organizations can reorient themselves to their own internal values and goals and make stronger efforts to represent intersectionally disadvantaged members through such activities as contract negotiations, the creation of professional standards, and the development of internal policies and procedures. By addressing intersectional issues from the inside out, Strolovitch argues that advocacy organizations can begin to embody the changes they would like to see within the larger society.

*Affirmative Advocacy* takes an interesting and in-depth look at the degree to which advocacy organizations represent all of their members, especially those who are affected by interlocking systems of oppression and marginalization. The study speaks to the ways that advocacy organizations perceive their work and their constituents. This is useful on a larger scale because both organizations and disadvantaged subgroup members can utilize the book's findings to reform practices that prioritize advantaged subgroups at the expense of disadvantaged subgroup members. The most striking finding of the study is the fact that many advocacy organizations actually recreate the bias of America's larger society while claiming to represent the broadest possible constituencies of marginalized

groups. These organizations often seem to work hardest on behalf of their most privileged constituents while neglecting issues of concern to those with fewer resources. With this in mind, this study should serve as a wake up call for organizational officers, reminding them that there is still a great deal of work to be done.

#### Note

1. Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 1999), 90.

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## **Beyond Tactical Withdrawal: An Early History of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists\***

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### **Foreword**

While surely these are not the final words on this important topic, this is a revision of an earlier version of a paper written for the fortieth anniversary of NCOBPS program. That version, due to spatial limitations and time constraints, omitted discussion of some important events that shaped the eventual creation of the NCOBPS. Relying on old-fashioned, pre-e-mail correspondence, the intention of this revision is tell a more complete, historically accurate story of events that occurred between April and September 1969. I would again like to thank Dr. Mack H. Jones for a close reading of the earlier version and an appropriate critique of what it overlooked.

During the height of the most recent peak in the struggle for Black liberation in the United States, the civil rights movement (CRM) of the 1960s and 1970s, the clarion call to organize was one of the most profound and most promising developments. The call to organize was profound because it rendered superfluous the simplistic debate about integrationism versus separatism as a strategy for Black progress by affirming that self-directed and self-defining organizations of those with common purposes and objectives are absolutely necessary, though not sufficient, conditions for progress. The NCOBPS was one of the organizations that grew out of this awareness of the need to organize and the virtue of organizing.

**Mack H. Jones, "NCOBPS: Twenty Years Later,"  
*National Political Science Review*, 2, (1990): 3**

If we do not transmit these rich memories, interests, and understandings of how the discipline has functioned in a highly discriminatory fashion, and how American institutions have organized political life according to the racist preferences of American slave owners and their descendents in the present, new generations of Black political scientists will enter the field and either be absorbed alone in an uncritical manner, or find themselves unwelcome but unable to understand the whys and wherefores. New White political scientists will be unsocialized by our influence. And generations of American students, Black as well as White, will have no knowledge or understanding of the politics of race

that we have worked so carefully to understand and to publish because it will have gone untransmitted.

**Dianne M. Pinderhughes, "NCOBPS: Observations  
on the State of the Organization," *National Political Science  
Review*, 2 (1990): 17**

There are a variety of historical contexts in which to situate the founding of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS). Three historical settings are particularly relevant, for each of the following is a part of the story of how and why NCOBPS was established in September 1969. It is useful to understand the founding of NCOBPS (1) within the context of the evolution of African American professional organizations; (2) within the context of the Black Power movement of the late 1960s; and perhaps most importantly, (3) within the context of a conference of African American political scientists, based in historically Black colleges and universities (HBCUs), and representatives of the American Political Science Association (APSA) and other organizations held on the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University in April, 1969.<sup>1</sup>

*Within the Context of the Evolution of African American Professional Organizations*

The evolution of African American professional organizations can be traced to the founding of the National Medical Association in 1895.<sup>2</sup> These professional organizations came about at two moments in the history of African American life, moments that, in turn, reflected how African Americans responded to institutional racism and its legacy effects. As seen in Table 1, Phase One in this evolution runs from 1895, with the founding of the National Medical Association, to 1937, with the founding of the College Language Association.<sup>3</sup> The logic of this classification scheme is not only temporal in nature, but it also reflects an understanding of the way in which the founders of these organizations chose to respond to a key contributor to the multifaceted Black predicament, institutional racism. As such, in Phase One, African American professional organizations can be characterized as "*circumstantially autonomous*." The nature of institutional racism, dominant in the United States at this time, was such that African American professionals were generally barred from membership in the larger professional organizations, founded and led by Whites.<sup>4</sup>

Phase Two of this schema, on the other hand, runs from 1968 into the late 1970s. Most of the African American professional organizations that emerged during this time are characterized herein as "*intentionally autonomous*." It is fitting to situate the emergence of NCOBPS in the context of the evolution of organizations founded during the second phase (1968 to the late 1970s) in the development of African American professional associations. Unlike the African Americans who established professional organizations in the first phase in the development of such organizations, 1895–1937,<sup>5</sup> the founders of organizations established in the second phase in the development of African American professional organizations (see Table 1), although not confronted with any *formalized racial bar*, sometimes found in the policies and practices of the comparatively larger, White-dominated professional organizations/associations, conditions which made them feel the need to establish alternative professional organizations. Many of the professional

**Table 1**  
**Phases in the Development of African American Professional Organizations**

<b>Phase One (1895-1937)</b>	<b>Type of Organization</b>	<b>Phase Two (1968-1976)</b>
<i>Organizations &amp; Year Founded</i>		<i>Organizations &amp; Year Founded</i>
National Medical Association (1895)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
National Dental Association (1913)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
National Bar Association (1925)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
National Technical Association (1925)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
Association of Social & Behavioral Scientists (founded as the Association of Social Science Teachers—1935)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
College Language Association (1937)	Circumstantially Autonomous	
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Association of Black Social Workers (1968)
	Intentionally Autonomous	Association of Black Psychologists (1968)
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Conference of Black Political Scientists (1969)
	Caucus within a Majority White Professional Organization	National Economic Association (1969)
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Association of Black Accountants (1969)
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Society of Black Engineers (1971)
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Black Nurses Association (1972)
	Intentionally Autonomous	National Organization for Professional Advancement of Black Chemists & Chemical Engineers (1972)
	Caucus within a Majority White Professional Organization	The Association of Black Sociologists (1976)

organizations founded in Phase Two typically had two, sometimes three goals in mind: (1) to provide a forum for African Americans in the same profession to share their experiences and to establish professional networks; (2) to increase the numbers of African Americans in these professions; and (3) in some cases, to harness their collective expertise

toward the amelioration of various adverse conditions that disproportionately affected African Americans in the larger society. While all of the professional organizations founded in Phase One can be described as, *circumstantially autonomous*, the organizations founded in Phase Two were for the most part, *intentionally autonomous*, i.e., their founders intentionally declared these organizations to be separate and a part from any national or regional professional organization that was dominated by Whites. Professional organizations founded by African Americans in Phase One did not break away from the larger White-dominated professional organizations to which many members of a given profession belonged. They did not "break away" from the larger White-dominated professional organizations because, for the most part, African Americans were barred from these organizations at the time that they were founded. However, the goals that were embraced by the professional organizations founded in Phase One were virtually the same as those African American professional organizations that were founded in Phase Two. While these goals of the African American professional organizations founded in these two eras were essentially the same, a much more explicit expression of aggressive self-determination, organizational autonomy,<sup>6</sup> and boastful race pride<sup>7</sup> characterize the Phase Two organizations when compared to their predecessors of Phase One.

*Within the Context of Black Power and "Tactical Withdrawal"*

Close examination of the founding dates of most of the Phase Two organizations in Table 1 indicates that these organizations were established in the aftermath of the 1967 publication of Carmichael and Hamilton's seminal work, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*. The central tenet of this generationally significant work was the concept "Black Power."<sup>8</sup> In their explanation of this concept, Carmichael and Hamilton wrote,

It is a call for black people in this country to unite, to recognize their heritage, to build a sense of community. It is a call for black people to define their own goals, to lead their own organizations and to support those organizations. It is a call to reject the racist institutions and values of this society. The concept of Black Power rests on a fundamental premise: *Before a group can enter the open society, it must first close ranks*. By this we mean that group solidarity is necessary before a group can operate effectively from a bargaining position of strength in a pluralistic society. (Carmichael and Hamilton 1967, 44) (emphasis original)

NCOBPS therefore was a product of the spirit of the times. NCOBPS was a product of what can be called the "Black Power Zeitgeist." While some of these Phase Two organizations did not break away from larger White organizations with which they shared professional affiliations, many of these African American professional organizations nonetheless took action that might be characterized as a "tactical withdrawal."

At the outset of Essay II in *The Politics of the Black "Nation"*, Matthew Holden Jr. offers this pensive observation: "White supremacy is the single most important fact in the *environment* of black politics. How to cope with white supremacy is the single issue most overtly debated within black politics" (Holden 1973, 42). He goes on to posit and explain three "major forms of external politics" that African Americans have practiced in response to this dominant political reality. These responses are clientage, opposition, and withdrawal. Holden further delineated two varieties of the "withdrawal" response: separatism and tactical withdrawal. This first variety, *separatism*, Holden goes on to tell

us, takes two dominant forms: (1) political separatism of the sort associated with the Garvey movement of the 1920s that espoused a "back to Africa" response to dealing with White supremacy, or the Republic of New Africa that once called for the creation of a separate nation within the United States carved out of five states on the Gulf of Mexico. Another variety of separatism Holden calls "cultural separatism" which he associates with "cultural nationalism." The United Soul (US) political formation,<sup>9</sup> led by Maulana Ron Karenga, readily comes to mind as an example of what Holden sought to describe when he focused on cultural nationalism. Various flavors of Afri-centricism could be argued to be the most recent version of the cultural nationalism that Holden identified.

(2) *Tactical withdrawal*, on the other hand, is a strategy in which a given group of people remove themselves "from those areas in which they think themselves unlikely to win (or in which they see nothing of importance) to an area in which they think they are likely to win (or in which they do see something of importance)" (Holden 1973, 70). Holden adds that this political expression takes two forms: "caucus separatism" and "street level populism." This essay is concerned with an historical examination of NCOBPS as a *qualified manifestation* of the first of these two types of tactical withdrawal—"caucus separatism." The need to qualify this characterization, as we shall see below, rests on the fact that while NCOBPS, as we now know it, eventually became what has been described above as an "intentionally autonomous" African American professional organization, its origins can be traced to a Black Caucus-like formation established at the September, 1969 annual meeting of the APSA.

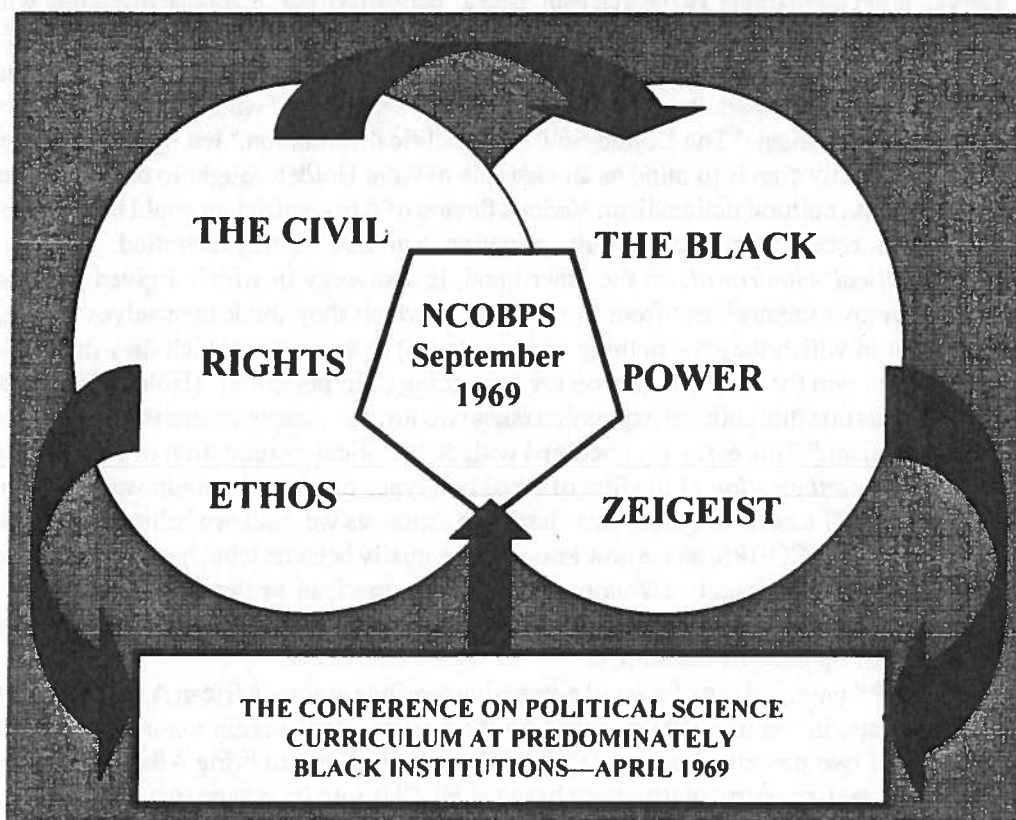
NCOBPS emerged out of a set of competing tensions among African American political scientists, in the late 1960s, regarding their sense of alienation vis-à-vis the APSA in terms of two perceived issues: (1) APSA's lack of efforts to bring African American political scientists, particularly those based at HBCUs into its governance structure, and (2) its failure to include in its annual meeting panels on topics of particular concern to African Americans. One line of argument among African American political scientists, who embraced the aforementioned concern, took the position that the struggle to change the orientation of the APSA vis-à-vis African Americans should occur *from within* the organization. Another line of argument took the position that "tactical withdrawal" was a more strategically advantageous route for, within an autonomous organization, African Americans could control and occupy positions of authority, shape the content of intellectual debate, and craft an action-oriented agenda, an agenda that addressed the multifaceted Black predicament both in the United States and throughout the African Diaspora.

Holden correctly argues that *tactical withdrawal* was born at a time in the history of African American politics, the 1960s and 1970s, in which ideas that had deep roots among Black folks, "self-determination," "separatism," and "Black power" achieved a very positive reception among African American people.

Yet what emerged at the annual APSA meeting in September 1969, had its roots in a seminal four-day conference that was held on the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University in April 1969. This conference (and therefore, NCOBPS in due course), was shaped, in turn, by the confluence of two sets of contextual factors that had a profound shape on the landscape of American politics, particularly in the South, in the mid-to-late 1960s. These factors can be labeled the "Civil Rights Ethos," with its signal demands for economic, political, and society inclusion within the larger society and the "Black



Figure 1  
Contextual Factors that Shaped the Birth of NCOBPS



Power Zeitgeist,” with its emphasis on the need for African Americans to control their own institutions (see Figure 1).

*The Historic April 1969 Meeting in Baton Rouge*

Sometime in the late 1960s the Ford Foundation (FF) became interested in increasing the number of African American faculty able to enhance the curricula at HBCUs.<sup>10</sup> The FF approached four HBCUs about assembling faculty in four disciplinary areas to discuss these ideas: mathematics (at Morgan State University); sociology (at Dillard University); economics (at then Fisk College); and political science (at Southern University). In political science, the key point of contact at Southern University was Dr. Jewel Prestage, then chairperson of the Department of Political Science. Taking full strategic advantage of a relationship with the FF, in what was likely to have been late 1968, Prestage approached the Foundation about the possibility of funding a four-day conference on the Southern University campus at Baton Rouge. Prestage indicates that a pivotal role in arranging the funding for this conference was played by Dr. Samuel DuBois Cook, then at the FF.<sup>11</sup> Prestage approached the late Evron Kirkpatrick, then executive director of the APSA, to cosponsor a gathering of African American political scientists to meet to discuss (1) the “lack of Black participation in affairs of the Association” and (2) “the



paucity of political science courses and programs in predominately Black institutions..." (Prestage et al. 1969; see also Woodard 1977).<sup>12</sup> Prestage, given her familiarity with the professoriate in political science in HBCUs, invited a number of faculty persons from those institutions to attend the four-day conference.<sup>13</sup> Between April 17 and 20, 1969, thirty-five political scientists from HBCUs, joined by representatives of the APSA, the FF, the Voter Education Project (VEP), the Institute for Services to Education (ISE), the Educational Testing Service (ETS), the Southern Regional Council (SRC), and the U.S. Department of Transportation (USDOT) met on the Baton Rouge campus of Southern University.<sup>14</sup> The chair from the Department of Political Science at Washington and Lee University and the director of the Institute for Research in Social Science were also in attendance at this meeting.<sup>15</sup> According to the official record of this conference (hereafter: the Prestage Report), it had four objectives:

1. [To make] a critical appraisal of political science curricula in predominately Black colleges and universities;
2. [To provide] a medium for discussing, with representatives of the American Political Science Association, problems of ...Black political scientists, especially those at Black colleges; and
3. [To explore] the possibility of establishing some continuing relationship between political scientists at predominately Black institutions and the American Political Science Association; and
4. [To discuss] the possibility of continuous contact and discussion and periodic meetings among Black political scientists in America in an effort to increase the number and quality of Blacks in the discipline and the opportunities available to them (Prestage Report 1969, 322-23).

It is useful to recount the discussions that occurred on two of these objectives. Out of these discussions emerged some core concerns that set the stage for the emergence of what would later be called NCOBPS.

The first session of the Conference was devoted to a discussion of political science curricula in predominately Black colleges. While "no recommendations were formally adopted by the Conference regarding changes in the [political science curricula in] Black colleges," (Prestage Report 1969, 326), a line of reasoning advanced by Mack Jones, then chair of the Department of Political Science at Atlanta University, was expressed that reflected some of the concerns associated with the Black Power Zeitgeist, much in evidence among the work of African American intellectuals at the time. In this regard, the Prestage Report points out that during this session,

[Mack] Jones spoke to the question of the role of political science departments at Black colleges in what he called "the Black liberation struggle." Jones argued that any educational system serves to reinforce the legitimacy of the existing order and to dispose the subjects to supportive behavior. Since the objective of the Black liberation struggle is to subvert the existing order insofar as it reflects the racism which abounds in American society, Jones argued that the Black colleges and their political science departments should seek to promote disenchantment among Black students so that they will be encouraged to challenge rather than support the existing order. (Prestage Report, 324)

The position taken by Jones was not uniformly endorsed during this session, however. One participant took the position that "political science departments at Black colleges must relate to the Black liberation struggle, but...Black students must be trained also to function with the

prevailing order" (Prestage Report, 324). The tension between these positions is somewhat evident in a summary of what emerged (*or did not emerge*) from this session:

The major issue discussed by [those who attended this session] was whether political science curricula in predominately Black colleges should be tailored to meet the special needs of the Black community. Most of the participants supported an affirmative reply, but some held the opposite view. Race, the latter argued, is an irrelevant consideration. No consensus on the special role of political science departments in the Black liberation struggle was evident. A wariness to discuss the question of teaching as a system weakening agent [the position endorsed by Mack Jones] was observable. (Prestage Report, 326)

The fourth session was entitled, "Greater Involvement of Blacks in the Professional Associations" focused on involvement (or lack thereof) by African Americans in both the APSA and the Southern Political Science Association. The late Walter Beach, then Assistant Director of APSA, described past involvement by African American political scientists in "committee and panel structures of the" APSA, while the late James Prothro, then program chair for the 1969 annual meeting of the Southern Political Science Association, "made an appeal to the conferees to volunteer for roles as paper presenters, discussants and panel chairmen" (Prestage Report, 334). The official record of this session indicates that the "general consensus of attitudes among the conferees [who attended this session] was,"

1. that the American Political Science Association in the past has, for the most part, failed to include Blacks in its deliberations
2. that such failure deprived the Association of a source of information and assistance, especially in the promotion of political science as a discipline
3. that Blacks up to this point felt "alien" to their White colleagues
4. that future participation by Blacks should be on a larger scale and embrace a wider and more representative sample of the predominately Black schools served by most of the Black members of the profession. (Prestage Report, 334)

A sense of alienation on the part of many of the African American political scientists vis-à-vis the APSA can be seen in two resolutions that emerged from this session:

1. It was resolved that those attending the Conference on Political Science Curriculum should convey their keen disappointment to the present members of the national Committee on the Status of Blacks (CSB) for failing to attend this particular conference. The sense behind the resolution was that members of the CSB should have participated in this, the first meeting of Black political scientists, to discuss problems. Three members of the Committee were informed and invited to participate.<sup>16</sup>
2. It was also resolved that the Association be informed of the collective wish of the Blacks attending the Conference on Curriculum that more Black representation be made a part of the Association's activities in all areas. Such representation, it was felt, should be the result of planning rather than chance.

At the conclusion of this four-day conference, ten recommendations were made:

1. The participants in this conference should reassemble in New York City in September 1969 at the Annual Meeting of the APSA. Definite steps should be taken by the Director of this conference to seek funds to enable all participants to attend the New York meeting.

2. This Conference should reconvene one year from now to assess the various issues and conditions which served as the focus of this year's session.
3. The APSA CSB should be expanded to represent and reflect the range of predominately Black institutions where Black political scientists are employed.
4. More Black representation should be made a part of the Association's activities in all areas and that such representation should be the result of planning rather than chance.
5. Black political scientists must move toward development of the "art of grantsmanship," seek ...leaves of absence for research and study, aim for wide dissemination of research findings and continue critical evaluation of published work in the field, make some effort at community involvement.
6. The APSA should establish a Committee on Undergraduate Education as it is related to Graduate Programs in Political Science.
7. Blacks teaching in Black institutions should be a part of panels appointed to construct examinations in political science and all other examinations in political science and all other examinations and program administered by ETSs.
8. Blacks teaching at Black institutions should make up at least 50 percent of any special panels designed to construct special tests for Blacks or otherwise deal with special problems of Blacks.
9. Summer institutes for retooling should be investigated as a possible means for providing undergraduate teachers with time to reflect and construct research proposals.
10. Special efforts should be made to get more Black students into graduate schools in the South and a special organ of communication ought to be created (*Newsletter*) to keep Black political scientists informed regarding this and other matters.

At the conclusion of this historic conference, while it was reasonably clear *what* this aggregation of African American political scientists wanted from the APSA, it was far less clear *how* they were to get any action on these recommendations. Events that took place at the annual meeting of the APSA in New York City in September 1969 set the stage for "tactical withdrawal" and the birth of NCOBPS.

What the official record of this four-day meeting *does not* show is that some of the African American political scientists who met in Baton Rouge not only decided to reassemble at the annual meeting of the APSA in September 1969, but they also made a decision to form themselves as a Black Caucus. While a number of assignments had been made at the Baton Rouge conference on what various attendees were to bring to the September 1969 meeting, Alex Willingham and Mack Jones had been asked to prepare a working paper that would provide the *raison d'être* for the emergent Black Caucus. Only they, it appears, came to New York in September 1969 with what had been asked of them. In this working paper written by Willingham (with assistance from Mack Jones), apparently written prior to the September 1969 meeting, we are told about the name of this formation [initially called the Black Caucus] "as well as the preliminary organization plans [that] were suggested by a sub-group of black political scientists who met during April at the Conference on Political Science with special reference to black colleges" (Willingham and Jones 1969).

#### *Within the Context of the September 1969 APSA Annual Meeting*

By the start of APSA's annual meeting in September 1969,<sup>17</sup> the Black Power Zeitgeist in the United States was in full-blown ascendancy.<sup>18</sup> Fueled by the direct action tactics of the CRM, after 1966, African Americans not only confronted White authority in many arenas throughout American society, but challenges by African Americans occurred

within this nation's professional organizations as well. What occurred within the APSA was emblematic of such a challenge. At the end of the historic conference in Baton Rouge in April 1969, the consensus among those present was that they would reconvene at the APSA convention in September. An "insider account" of what occurred among some of the African American political scientists who were in attendance at the APSA convention in September, tells us that this meeting was historic for a number of reasons:

First, because of the large number of political scientists in attendance; secondly because more blacks than ever before appeared on panels; and thirdly, because for the first time in the history of the Association the blacks attempted to organize themselves into a cohesive body in order to bring about changes in the Association and the discipline as they relate to blacks. (Gray and McLemore 1969, 1)

The genesis of the changes that came to be more clearly articulated by a core of African Americans in attendance at this meeting can be traced to the conference just five months earlier in Baton Rouge. The APSA conference extended over five days from September 1 to 5. On the first day of the conference, David Easton, then president of the APSA, met with some of the African Americans in attendance prior to the official opening of the conference. Those present at this meeting tell us that, "Black political scientists generally discussed their dissatisfaction with the APSA and debated means whereby the grievances could be satisfied" (Gray and McLemore 1969, 2).

On September 2, many of those who had attended the meeting in Baton Rouge in April met to discuss the possibility of a follow-up meeting. It was among a group of these conferees that the Conference of Black Political Scientists was established, with Edward Jackson, then a member of the faculty in the Department of Political Science at Southern University, Baton Rouge, as chairman. Many of those who attended the April meeting had been highly critical of the fact that no one from the newly formed CSB in the Profession had attended that meeting. In the evening of September 2, Paul Puryear, then chair of the CSB, met with many of the other African Americans in attendance. Puryear explained what the CSB had been able to accomplish in such a short period of time.<sup>19</sup> He also indicated that the membership of the CSB, per the insistence of those in attendance at the Baton Rouge conference, had been expanded from its five initial members to fifteen. Furthermore, Puryear indicated that "the Association had, at the [insistence of the CSB], agreed to award five fellowships per year for the next ten years to black political science students who plan to do graduate study in political science" (Gray and McLemore 1969, 4). Some of those present at this meeting, according to this insider account, questioned why only five fellowships per year were being offered by the APSA.

Following this meeting with Puryear, on the same evening, the first meeting of the Conference of Black Political Scientists was called to order by Mack Jones. During the course of this meeting, Alex Willingham, then a graduate student at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, presented a working paper on the state of the discipline which took what was then characterized as a "Black perspective." Mack Jones had contributed to this effort. Some of the major arguments expressed in this paper merit attention for these arguments were to later become the ideological foundations of NCOBPS.

While the central line of reasoning expressed in the Willingham/Jones paper was essentially a critique of mainstream political science, i.e., "to point out the failures of past work and suggest some improvements that might be made," it was so much more. One of the

major positions articulated in this paper was theoretical in nature, while the second was a call to political action. The intended audience for this paper was the nascent Black Caucus. The Black Caucus, in turn, was seen as the formation which would allow "black political scientists to develop patterns of communication and interaction beyond those [then] provided by the [American Political Science] Association" (Willingham and Jones 1969, 1).

The theoretical perspective in the Willingham/Jones effort was labeled the "Black Perspective." As was commonplace in the late 1960s and early 1970s, many African American intellectuals inside academia, critiqued both the extant curriculum and virtually all institutions where Whites were in positions of leadership as reflecting a "White point of view" (as if such a point of view were an undifferentiated whole). Correspondingly, such a point of view then gave rise to a counter-"Black perspective," leaving aside any serious consideration of any and all intraracial differences, i.e., socioeconomic class, ideology, geo-spatial location, etc., that existed then and have now expanded (add sexual orientation and gender) among African Americans. In what might be called the first stab at explicating this *racialized* perspective (which actually turned out to be an ideological perspective within the boundaries of race)—as it related to the discipline of political science, Willingham and Jones (1969, 2-3) tell us,

As black political scientists we need to explore and analyze the American political system from a black vantage point. We should begin to relate our biographies to the American political process and try to understand and interpret it by drawing upon our experiences and the canons of logic. Thus as the inevitability of a normative basis for the selection research topics, curriculum innovations, etc., becomes increasingly clear, we wish to clarify our own values and to do our thing accordingly. In summary fashion, we aim to make political science blacker and this in accordance with the liberating (progressive) sectors of the black community.

One will note toward the end of this effort to explicate what constitutes a Black perspective toward the discipline of political science, that these trailblazers concede that the so-called "Black community" may indeed have within it some internal differentiation, i.e., "we aim to make political science blacker and this in accordance with the liberating (progressive) sectors of the black community." This acknowledgment of such internal differentiation however tended to be rhetorically subordinate to the emphasis on race as the dominant unifier. Ironically, notwithstanding this rhetorical emphasis on race, when the issue of confronting the APSA and its leadership unfolded, internal ideological differences among many of the African Americans who took part in the deliberations of the Black Caucus began to reveal themselves.

We see further evidence of the dominant emphasis on race in a considerably clearer explication of the Black perspective toward the discipline of political science later in their paper where Willingham and Jones again tell us,

We need to reflect on the plight of black people in America with a view to developing principles to guide the black struggle for parity in this country. We need to analyze what has happened, what is happening, and what these developments portend for the struggle. We must write, with abandon, explaining political events and giving credible advice to our sisters and brothers while simultaneously confronting those in positions of power and trust with the reality of blacks in the American political system. (9)

Close examination of these words directs our attention to the on-going movement on the part of African Americans (herein labeled the post-King portion of the CRM) to actively remove racial barriers from all arenas of American life. The Black political

scientist, operating from a "Black perspective," as Willingham and Jones saw it, not only analyzed myriad conditions that adversely impacted Black folk in America, but also had an obligation to craft tactics and principles that would provide some direction to the activist efforts where racial parity, free of racial barriers, could be pursued. In the Willingham/Jones scheme of things, not only was there a need to reflect on and write about the plight of Black folk in America, but they also placed emphasis on the need for the Black political scientist to be engaged in the "liberation of the Black community."<sup>20</sup>

The second point of considerable emphasis in the Willingham/Jones paper can be called the "call to action." A cardinal principle of the Black Power Zeitgeist, of which the arguments in the Willingham and Jones paper are expressions, was the duty and obligation of all African Americans to be engaged in "the various movements on the part of black people for liberation" (Willingham and Jones 1969, 6). They go on to write, "It is one of the crucial failures of political scientists, but the black political scientist especially, that so much of what is most meaningful in the increasingly protracted struggle of Afro-American people has come neither from the ranks of academia nor from political science."<sup>21</sup> Black political scientists, therefore, they argued must "work to facilitate the liberation of black people" (Willingham and Jones 1969, 13). Leaving for another time the question what this notion of "liberation" meant in operational terms (a major shortcoming of arguments of this nature, quite commonplace among Black intellectuals during this time), it was indeed clear that Willingham and Jones called for the Black political scientist to be an *engaged activist-scholar*. With this in mind, they closed their paper with a charge to the emergent Black Caucus:

The overriding problem, then, of the Black Caucus is to clarify the role of the black political scientist and continuously to work out those kinds of questions, projects, etc. that he should engage in if the conditions of black people are to be radically changed. Our concept of 'training' must come to mean the identification and development of those skills that will contribute to the goal of liberation. (Willingham and Jones 1969, 13)

Following a lively discussion of the Willingham/Jones paper a discussion that focused on the prospect of making demands on the Association ensued. This discussion, in short order, led to a decision that "a confrontation [of the APSA] with demands made by this motion was voted positively by the group" (Gray and McLemore 1969, 7). The irony of this action is that it appeared to represent the proverbial cart before the horse for *following* the decision to confront the Association with a set of demands, a committee of the Black Caucus was appointed to generate these demands.<sup>22</sup> This insider account reveals that there was some uneasiness among those assembled on this issue of confronting the Association with a set of demands. After some discussion the decision to generate a set of demands was rescinded. The insider account reveals that among those assembled there were those who held fast to the position that the leadership of APSA should be confronted with a set of demands, while others took a less strident approach and were clearly uncomfortable with the direct action approach. A third position held by Willingham and Jones who both, on tactical grounds and ideological grounds, took the position that making demands on the APSA should not have been a priority issue.<sup>23</sup>

There is some evidence to suggest that a similar philosophical difference had been present among those who attended the conference in Baton Rouge. In fact, one insider account



reveals that a decision had been made in Baton Rouge to form a "Black Caucus," at the APSA meeting, hence the formation of the Conference of Black Political Scientists.

By the fourth day of the APSA convention, attention among the insurgent members of the Conference of Black Political Scientists (aka: the Black Caucus) returned to the issue of demands. A set of nine demands was initially generated, but by consensus, reduced to six. Characterized by someone who was present at the meeting as "moderate demands," these demands were that the APSA:

1. Support and finance in political science an extensive exchange program among Black colleges and universities, especially between schools with fully staffed departments and under-staffed departments.
2. Establish a special fund for Black faculty research.
3. Use its influence to provide tangible support for the creation of an Institute for Black Politics to be housed at a Black University.
4. That Black representation on the Executive Council of the APSA be expanded beyond the current Black tokenism.
5. The APSA create an administrative position at the level of Associate Director to be filled by a Black person who will be concerned on a continuing basis with the problems of Black people in the profession.<sup>24</sup>
6. [The Black Caucus demanded] that the APSA sever its relationship with any company or firm discriminating against Blacks in any form.

Following some consensus building around this set of demands, the discussion then turned to tactics, i.e., how would the demands be presented to the leadership of APSA? It was agreed that the demands would be attached to something called the Greenberg Resolution,<sup>25</sup> an initiative of the Caucus for a New Political Science, a White leftist formation within the APSA that had been formed two years earlier in 1967 (see Roelofs 1968). Mack Jones was selected as the spokesperson who would present the demands before the Association at its business meeting.

On the evening of September 4, 1969, following the introduction of the aforementioned Greenberg Resolution, the presiding officer recognized Mack Jones who offered two amendments to the Greenberg Resolution. The second of these two amendments is significant for it included the six demands that had been crafted earlier by a faction of the Conference of Black Political Scientists. Jones also included in this second amendment that these demands be referred to the CSB, who in turn, would take these demands before the Council of APSA for final resolution. At least one participant suggests that the decision to refer the demands to the CSB had been endorsed by the majority of the so-called Black Caucus. Suffice it to say, by the time of the next annual meeting of the APSA, in September 1970, the Conference of Black Political Scientists, born at the APSA annual meeting in September 1969, had broken away from the APSA, had made its "tactical withdrawal," and renamed itself as the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. Mack Jones served as its first president. NCOBPS held its first annual meeting at the Pascal Hotel in Atlanta, Georgia, from May 7 through 9, 1970. The names of over one hundred people appear on the attendance roster of the first day of this historic occasion.<sup>26</sup> Each year for the next forty-one years, NCOBPS held a meeting to discuss those issues that its founders felt could not receive the necessary attention within the confines of the APSA.

### The Need for NCOBPS in the Twenty-First Century

The foregoing discussion leads to the inevitable question: *In the early twenty-first century, is there still a need for an organization like the National Conference of Black Political Scientists?* I answer unequivocally, "yes." Two closely interrelated reasons lead me to this conclusion. First there continues to be a need to offer to the larger society, critical commentary on the multifaceted nature of the Black predicament in the United States and throughout the African Diaspora. A better understanding of this predicament and the amelioration of the conditions associated with its component parts, are inextricably linked with the exercise of authority held by various levels of government, and the exercise of power by a range of nongovernmental entities. Writing in the last decade of the twentieth century, John Hope Franklin offered this prescient observation:

I venture to state categorically that the problem of the twenty-first century will be the problem of the color line. This conclusion arises from the fact by any standard of measurement or evaluation the problem [of the color line] has not been solved in the twentieth century, and this becomes a part of the legacy and the burden of the next century. Consequently, it follows the pattern that the nineteenth century bequeathed to the twentieth century and that the eighteenth century handed to its successor. (Franklin 1993, 5)

Evidence of the legacy about which Franklin wrote can easily be acquired through the use of a readily available tool of the Information Age, an Internet search engine. Entry of the keywords "racial disparities" and "United States" yields no less than 133,000 hits.<sup>27</sup> Of course, it is safe to assume that many of the websites identified through the use of a search engine are duplicates. Notwithstanding this fact, close examination of the websites where both of these keywords appear reveals a wide range of empirical research on racial disparities from cradle to grave. These racial disparities constitute what I characterized earlier in this essay as *the multifaceted Black predicament*. The websites that I uncovered point to research from a variety of disciplinary perspectives on racial disparities in infant mortality; rates of infectious diseases; rates of pregnancy-related mortality; rates of preschool immunizations; health care delivery; the incidence of cancer; the incidence of HIV/AIDS; incarceration; the effects of law enforcement; mortgage-lending practices; patterns of mortgage foreclosure; distributions of poverty and wealth; voter registration and turnout, voter disfranchisement, and death penalty sentencing. To be sure, much of this research reveals that there are a number of intervening variables such as income, family type, geographic location, level of education of the head of household, gender of head of household, age, and lifestyle that help to explain these racial disparities. Untangling the relationship between these factors and the incidence of these racial disparities has been the lifework of many political scientists.

Need political scientists who are interested in this complex set of interrelated issues be a part of the NCOBPS? Not necessarily. Are, however, those affiliated with the NCOBPS likely to be interested in and engaged in the investigation of these problems? An examination of the topics presented at its annual meetings, some first-hand knowledge of the attendant discussions of the various topics that have occurred at these annual meetings, reinforced by more than a passing familiarity with some the conference papers and publications of its many of its members, strongly indicates that *interest in the multifaceted Black predicament and the amelioration of its attendant problems are more likely to be at*



*the core of the intellectual activities of NCOBPS than in any other professional political science organization.* Simply put, there continues to be a need for an organization where discussions of the multifaceted Black predicament, the subtle and sometimes not so subtle impacts of institutional racism and its legacy, and the role of government in ameliorating the conditions associated with this predicament, *are given a central importance.* This importance is derived from the confluence of these aforementioned factors which have shaped the quality of life of people of African descent in both the United States and the Diaspora in the past, and continue to shape our quality of life in the present. Such emphasis on this confluence of factors is not likely to occur in an organization that emerged out of a different set of historical circumstances.

Finally, there is the issue of professional socialization. Newer and younger faces are seen each year at the annual meetings of NCOBPS. I have been attending the annual meetings of the APSA for the past ten years<sup>28</sup> and I have seen young people of African descent at those meetings who are both graduate students and faculty. The overwhelming majority of these new and younger faces is either teaching at or enrolled as graduate students in traditional White institutions (TWIs).

As I indicated, the gradual shift in the range of colleges and universities from which attendees to the annual meetings of NCOBPS come, clearly indicate that the critical mass of faculty persons who were once concentrated in the HBCUs of the South, and significant concentrations of African American graduate students who once tended to be enrolled in either Atlanta University or Howard University, are now dispersed throughout a range of traditionally White institutions of higher education from Harvard in the East to Stanford in the west and a range of TWIs in between. With that dispersion of political scientists of African descent throughout the United States, knowledge of the history of the NCOBPS and the circumstances that gave rise to its birth, have understandably been little known. This absence of knowledge arguably constitutes a blind spot in the professional socialization of not only political scientists of African descent, but all political scientists who wish to know more about the political sociology of the discipline and the challenges that confronted the mainstream political science in the late 1960s. In this regard, Dianne Pinderhughes, the nineteenth president of NCOBPS (1988–1989) and, almost twenty years later, the first African American female president of the APSA (2007–2008), appropriately pointed out over two decades ago, that “[NCOBPS] carries the memories of earlier generations of Black political scientists, of institutional discrimination, of challenges to the profession, of the absolutely critical role of race in American political life and history” (Pinderhughes 1990, 17). No other professional organization is likely to play this vital role in the socialization of political scientists, in general, and political scientists of African descent, in particular. *In the early twenty-first century, is there still a need for an organization like the National Conference of Black Political Scientists?* I conclude with an unequivocal “yes.”

#### Notes

- \* Based on an earlier essay, “NCOBPS: The First of Our Forty Years,” presented at the fortieth annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists in Houston, Texas, March 18–21, 2009.
- 1. The official record of this conference, *Report of the Conference on Political Science Curriculum at Predominately Black Institutions* (hereafter, the Prestage Report), was prepared under the leadership of

conference director, Dr. Jewel Prestage, then chair of the Department of Political Science at Southern University, Baton Rouge. Dr. Prestage was joined in the preparation of the official record by the following persons, listed by their institutional affiliations at the time that this conference was held: Russell Adams (North Carolina College); Mack Jones (Atlanta University); Robert Martin (Howard University); Lois Moreland (Spelman College); and Alex Willingham (then a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and on the faculty of Southern University, Baton Rouge). A complete copy of this report can be found in *PS: Political Science & Politics* II, no. 3 (Summer 1969): 322–36. This report and material related to the status of African American political scientists in the profession can also be found in Woodard (1977).

2. At the time of its founding, the National Medical Association was known as the National Negro Medical Association of Physicians, Dentists, and Pharmacists. See Olakanmi (2008). The Olakanmi background paper is the most comprehensive, single source document on institutional racism in national professional associations that this author has uncovered in the course of this research. See also Baker et al. (2008).
3. This time span covers the period in which the National Medical Association, the National Dental Association, the National Bar Association, and the College Language Association were founded. All of these organizations, founded by African Americans who generally held postbaccalaureate degrees, emerged during a period of time when professional organizations controlled by Whites, sometimes as a matter of organizational policy, excluded African Americans from membership.
4. The exclusion of African Americans from this Nation's most prominent professional organizations, as a matter of social practice as opposed to the policies of these national organizations, can be best understood by considering the founding dates of these White professional organizations: the American Medical Association (AMA, 1847); the American Dental Association (ADA, 1859); the American Bar Association (ABA, 1878); and the Modern Language Association (MLA, 1883). The APSA was founded in 1903. We should keep in mind that slavery was abolished by the Thirteenth amendment to the U.S. Constitution in 1865, and Reconstruction was ended by the Hayes-Tilden compromise in 1876 (see Logan 1965). By the time that the APSA was founded, the majority of African Americans—perhaps 90 percent—lived in the southern region of this country where the American version of apartheid was most vicious and most rampant. Research shows that while the ABA, the ADA, and the AMA, as *national organizations*, had no racially restrictive membership provisions at the time of their respective establishment, the nature of the ADA and the AMA as national organizations made up of state and local dental and medical associations was such that the bylaws of many of these associations, especially those in the American South, permitted exclusion on the basis of race as a matter of policy. As such, racial exclusion within the ADA and the AMA was a de facto, as opposed to a de jure reality throughout the nineteenth century and well into the twentieth. Ironically, the Executive Committee of the ABA admitted three African American members in 1912. However, "When the Executive Committee discovered that it had unknowingly elected three members 'of the colored race,' the committee rescinded its prior action, stating that 'the settled practice of the Association has been to elect only white men to membership'" (Hunt quoted in Olakanmi 2008, 6).
5. This time span covers the period in which the National Medical Association, the National Dental Association, the National Bar Association, the Association of Social Science Teachers (later known as the Association of Social and Behavioral Scientists), and the College Language Association were founded. All of these organizations, founded by African Americans who held postbaccalaureate degrees, emerged during a period of time when professional organizations controlled by Whites excluded African Americans, in a de facto as opposed to a de jure fashion, from membership. See Olakanmi (2008).
6. See especially Dawson's discussion on "African American autonomy" (Dawson 2001, 27).
7. Notice the prevalence of the use of the racial identifier "Black" in the titles of most of the Phase Two organizations. This is consistent with the oft-voiced mantra of the Black power inspired youth of the Phase Two era, "Say it loud, I'm Black and I'm Proud," and popularized in the 1969 song of the same name by the enduring legend of Soul music, James Brown (*the hardest workin' man in sho' business*). See Rose (1990).
8. I was a junior in college when I read this book. The late Stokely Carmichael (later Kwame Toure) visited my campus (the University of Pittsburgh) in the spring of 1968. In the summer of 1968, African American students at Pitt, like so many other African American college students at that time, established a Black student organization, the Black Action Society. I was the chair of this organization during its activist zenith from 1968 to 1969.
9. See Brown (2003) for an insightful treatment of Maulana Karenga and the U.S. organization.
10. This portion of the essay heavily relies on numerous telephone and e-mail exchanges with Mack Jones (retired from Clark-Atlanta University), the first president of NCOPBS, an equally valuable telephone interview with Jewel Prestage, former chair of the Department of Political Science at Southern University,

- Baton Rouge, and a telephone interview with Samuel DuBois Cook. The interview with Prestage took place in January 2004, while the telephone interview with Samuel DuBois Cook occurred in August 2004. The author thanks Hanes Walton Jr. for facilitating access to Dr. Cook. Prestage and Jones were present at the April 1969 meeting. Cook assisted in preconference planning. Mack Jones was the chair of the Department of Political Science at what was then Atlanta University when that institution, in 1971, with the assistance of Dr. Cook, received a six-year, \$1,750,000 grant from the FF to establish a Ph.D. program in political science. In an insightful essay on the growth of graduate education in the Department of Political Science at Atlanta University, Jones writes, these funds from the FF were used to underwrite "eight new faculty positions, 26 competitive graduate fellowships, a lecture series, library acquisitions, establishing and staffing a departmental reading room and ... other supportive activities." Jones added, "Howard University was given a like sum to strengthen its already existing program" (Jones 1993, 7).
11. Samuel DuBois Cook, former president of Dillard University (1974–1997) and the first African American to hold a faculty position at Duke University (1966–1974), was a program officer in higher education and research at the FF from 1969 to 1971. He had been on the faculty in the Department of Political Science at Southern University, Baton Rouge, between 1955 and 1956. In 1956, Cook moved to what was then Atlanta University to serve as chair of the Department of Political Science (Interview with Cook 2004). Among the many accomplishments that Dr. Cook achieved while at the FF, the funding of this conference should be considered in conjunction with two other signal events that had a major impact on the growth in the number of African American political scientists. In 1971, both Atlanta University and Howard University received funds from the FF to expand the doctoral training opportunities at these two institutions. See Jones (1993). Woodard and Preston (1985, 83) tell us that between 1934 and 1984, Howard University ranked as the top producer of African Americans in political science with twenty-one Ph.D. graduates. Work by Ards and Woodard (1992), however, indicate that by 1989 forty-four African Americans had earned the Ph.D. in political science from Clark-Atlanta University (Atlanta University merged with Clark College in 1988). The FF grant was therefore clearly one of the factors that had a tremendous impact on the growth of Ph.D. graduates from Clark-Atlanta University.
  12. Research shows that the APSA established the CSB in February 1969. While the author made two efforts to contact Paul Puryear, the first chair of the CSB, Dr. Puryear did not respond. Some of the early members of the CSB were Mack Jones, Alex Willingham, Shelby Lewis, Vernon Gray, and the late William Robinson—ironically, all past presidents of NCOBPS. The composition of the CSB was expanded from its original number of five members, to sixteen, after the April 1969 meeting at Southern University, Baton Rouge. In fact, one of the recommendations that emerged from the April 1969 meeting was that CSB "be expanded to represent and reflect the range of predominately Black institutions where Black political Scientists are employed."
  13. *The Report of the Conference on Political Science Curriculum at Predominately Black Institutions* (hereafter: the Prestage Report) indicates that the following faculty persons, then based at various HBCUs, were in attendance at the April 1969 meeting: Russell Adams (North Carolina Central); George Breathett (Bennett College); Malcolm Byrnes (Xavier University, New Orleans); Addison Carey Jr. (Southern University, New Orleans); Bernard Chadwick (Grambling College); Jean Fields (Spelman College); John B. Furney (Dillard University); Robert L. Gill (Morgan State); Roy Glasgow (Bowie State); David W. Hazel (Central State); Lois B. Hollis (Albany State); Tobe N. Johnson (Morehouse College); Mae C. King (Virginia State); Raphael Lewis (Philander Smith College); Robert E. Martin (Howard University); Leslie McLemore (Southern University, Baton Rouge); Alvin J. McNeil (Prairie View College); Calvin Miller (Virginia State); Jake C. Miller (Fisk University); Lois B. Moreland (Spelman College); A. Njaka (Tuskegee Institute); Paul L. Puryear (Fisk University); Adolph Reed Sr. (Arkansas A M & N College); Alfred Robertson (Southern University, Baton Rouge); William P. Robinson Sr. (Virginia State College); Lula Tassin (Tuskegee Institute); Nathaniel P. Tillman Jr. (Delaware State College); Tandy Tollerson III (Fisk University); Alexander J. Walker (Morgan State); Hanes Walton Jr. (Savannah State); Robert J. Ward (Alabama State); Alex Willingham (Southern University, Baton Rouge); and Maurice Woodard (Prairie View). At the time, McLemore, Willingham, Robert J. Ward, and Maurice Woodard were also Ph.D. students at University of Massachusetts, University of North Carolina, University of Missouri, and University of Kansas, respectively.
  14. The persons from these organizations were Evron Kirkpatrick and Walter Beach (APSA); Samuel DuBois Cook and Sally Oleon (FF); Thaddeus Olive (VEP); Francis Mark (ISE); Earl Medlinsky and Richard Burn (ETS); and Alfred Clinkscales (USDOT).
  15. These persons were William Buchanan and James W. Prothro, respectively.
  16. There is a certain irony here inasmuch as two months before the April 1969 meeting at Southern University, the APSA Council established a CSB in the Profession at a special meeting on February 16, 1969. Then APSA President David Easton appointed the original Committee which consisted of five persons:

three African Americans and two Whites. The late Walter Beach indicated in an interview conducted by the author, in December 2003, that the idea for the CSB may have come from Evron Kirkpatrick who had been friends with Ralph Bunche, the first African American APSA president (term: 1953–1954). However, as indicated herein, no members of this committee attended the April 1969 conference. It is unclear why no members of the CSB attended the April conference. It is clear, however, that those who attended the conference regarded their absence as an affront. One possible explanation for the absence of members of the CSB at the April 1969 conference, however, may be found in the fact that at the time of the conference, the CSB, as a committee, had not even held its first meeting. Its first interim report, presumably written by its first chair, Paul Puryear, in the Summer 1969 issue of what was then the newsletter of APSA, *PS: Political Science and Politics*, indicates that the CSB had met twice—on May 21, 1969 and then again on August 1, 1969 (see CSB in the Profession 1969). Certainly it is possible that the CSB, as a committee, met *before* the April 1969 conference, but these aforementioned dates suggest it did not.

17. This section of this essay relies on an "insider account" of what occurred among some of the African American political scientists who were in attendance at the September 1969 meeting. See Gray and McLemore (1969).
18. The most useful treatment of the concept, *Black Power*, is provided by the person who popularized it, Kwame Ture (aka: Stokely Carmichael). See Carmichael and Thelwell (2003), especially Chapter 23, "Black Power and Its Consequences," 520–63. See also Smith (1981).
19. Its two major accomplishments were the authorization of a survey that compared working and research conditions of African American political scientists with those of their White counterparts in various colleges and universities, and another study on the "cognitive value orientation of American political science." The first of these two studies was completed by Paul Puryear, Maurice Woodard, and C. Vernon Gray, and published in September 1977. Dr. Mae King, who was then on the staff of the APSA provided some of the background research for this report. See Woodard (1977). A status report on this second study appeared as an appendix in the Interim Report of the APSA CSB, in August 1969. It was authored by Dr. Russell Adams, and entitled "Interim Report Subcommittee on Cognitive Values." It is unclear as to whether a final report was ever generated.
20. While this sort of rhetoric went largely unquestioned and unexamined in the late 1960s and early 1970s, forty years later it should be pointed out that rarely did African American intellectuals of the day critically interrogate the operational meaning of the word "liberation," a term uncritically borrowed from anticolonial struggles in Africa and Southeast Asia. Ousting Europeans from places they had conquered in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, by politically organized "national liberation fronts," often-times by armed struggle was one thing, but the struggle for racial parity in the United States not only employed different tactics, but its outcome, the political incorporation of former direct action protestors and the physical elimination of others, was also different. See Reed (1999).
21. This lament that more Black political scientists were not more engaged in activism outside of the academy is understandable for the time in which it was written, but runs counter to knowledge of a reality that applies to academic life then and today: it is very difficult to be in two places at one time, particularly where one of those courses of action involves organizing on the ground, raising funds to make that organization possible, and on occasion, confronting sources of authority figures who sometimes resist. This said, the engaged scholar-activist that Willingham and Jones understandably called for in this paper, then, and now, was/is the exception and not the rule.
22. As I reflect on what occurred at this meeting, I fondly recall that earlier in 1969, I, along with a group of undergraduate students at the University of Pittsburgh, had presented the administration at the University of Pittsburgh with a set of demands in January, 1969. When rebuffed by the administration, we seized the University's main computer center facility in early evening. By midnight, the administration capitulated, signed our demands and our brief takeover ended. A Black Studies Department and increased enrollment of both African American undergraduate and graduate students followed over the next months and years. This scene was repeated throughout higher education for the remainder of that year and into the early 1970s.
23. Elsewhere, Willingham and Jones make clear that each of them did not initially support making demands on the APSA for both tactical and philosophical reasons. In a letter to Leslie McLemore and Vernon Gray (then graduate students at the University of Massachusetts, Amherst), dated October 10, Mack Jones writes: "I am not convinced that making 'demands' on white folks ought to be a priority issue. I am more inclined toward the view that Black political scientists ought to be debating issues relation to 'what we can do' in terms of teaching and research to facilitate the liberation struggle" (see Jones 1969). Almost two weeks later in a letter to McLemore and Gray, Willingham (1969) offers these clarifying observations about the demands that emerged at the APSA meeting: "I had hoped that the purpose(s), forms etc.

of the [Black] Caucus would be debated and decided upon at the New York meeting and I certainly did not feel especially constrained to see the formulation and presentation of demands as [the] top priority issue." For this reason, while Willingham refused to serve on a committee that was formed to generate the demands of the Black Caucus, he nonetheless, in an act of racial solidarity (which he humorously referred to as "pork chop nationalism"), went along with the decision to confront the APSA with a set of demands (see Willingham 1969). Ironically, though Jones did not propose confrontation, along with the generation of a set of demands priority issues, those who crafted these demands nonetheless asked Jones to present them at the APSA business meeting. With some reservation, he agreed to do so. Here the cliché "politics makes strange bedfellows," is apropos.

24. While it is unclear as to whether she held the position of "Associate Director," such an administrative position was indeed held by Dr. Mae King at the headquarters of the APSA by early 1970. That position was subsequently held by Dr. Maurice Woodard. Both are currently members of the Department of Political Science at Howard University.
25. This resolution read, "That the American Political Science Association urges all scholars conducting research into ghetto communities to redirect a major portion of all royalty payments received as a result of that research back to the ghetto by contributing to minority self-help organizations, businesses, and cooperatives." This resolution was referred to the APSA Committee on Ethics on the fourth day of the 1969 annual meeting. Further research will have to be conducted to determine if it was ever adopted.
26. Thanks to Mack Jones for providing me with a copy of the registration list from the first day of the first annual meeting of NCOBPS.
27. Notwithstanding the number of duplicates that probably appear among this number using the Google search engine, even if reduced by half, this is a tremendous body of information that covers a wide range of economic, political, and sociobehavioral activity.
28. I held a membership in the APSA between 1969 and 1979 and then let the membership lapse. I renewed my membership in APSA when Matthew Holden Jr. became president of the APSA in 1999 and have maintained it since that time. Holden was the editor of the *National Political Science Review* between 1994 and 1995. Since the completion of the initial draft of this essay, I have been elected to the Council (board of directors) of the APSA for a two-year term, 2009–2011.

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