“In the ninth edition of *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom*, Professors Robert C. Smith and Sherri L. Wallace have updated the best African American politics book in the nation. This volume contains a wealth of information about the continuing quest of African American candidates and voters for economic and political power. By writing such a fine book, the authors have continued to further the legacy of the ‘Dean of Black Politics’—the late Professor Hanes Walton, Jr.”

**Sharon D. Wright Austin**, *Professor of Political Science, The University of Florida*

“Characterizing it as an undergraduate textbook undersells what *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* truly is. The authors demonstrate in painstaking detail that U.S. politics doesn’t make sense without explicitly considering race. Appreciating freedom means coming to grips with the reality that so many were initially denied it and died fighting for it. The nation progresses—often begrudgingly—towards its ideal of Democracy because of these Freedom Struggles. Such efforts, while central to Black politics, have improved the conditions of every American.”

**Ray Block, Jr., Associate Professor, Department of African American Studies, The Pennsylvania State University**

“The ninth edition of *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* provides timely updates to this seminal introductory Black Politics textbook. The authors expand on their critical assessments of social movements and presidential politics to explore the recent expansion of the BLM (Black Lives Matter) movement, as well as policies of the Trump administration leading up to the 2020 presidential election.”

**Diarra O. Robertson, Associate Professor of Government, Bowie State University**

“*American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* is the most comprehensive book on African American politics in the political science discipline. It situates White supremacy and institutional racism as central to American exceptionalism and illustrates how African Americans have contested the boundaries of the U.S. constitutional process and political institutions. The book further provides a layered portrait—from the perspective of African American lawmakers, leaders, activists, policymakers, and opinion leaders—of the U.S. political culture, federalism, media and politics, and foreign policy.”

**Sekou Franklin, Associate Professor, Middle Tennessee State University**

“Without question, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* is the premier textbook in the field of Black Politics. The ninth edition shines in multiple ways. It provides readers with a firm grounding in how today’s struggles against racial inequality—from socioeconomic
exclusion, health disparities, police- and state-sanctioned antiblack violence, limited political empowerment, and inequities in wealth accumulation—are rooted squarely in America’s failure to reconcile its exclusionary practices with its inclusionary ideals. The updated chapters on black representation in Congress, on the nationwide protests denouncing police brutality, and on the post-Obama electoral landscape are invaluable in that regard. Although the chapters showcase the continuity of black agitation for equality, the chapters also highlight the ways in which multiracial coalitions can achieve long-lasting equality through structural reforms and attitudinal changes.

Tyson King-Meadows, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Maryland Baltimore County

“The ninth edition of American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom is the most definitive account of African American Politics that exists in the field. It should be required reading for anyone interested in understanding the gap between the promise and the practice of American democracy. The authors provide an indictment of the tenuous path toward freedom, while asserting the agency and commitment of those challenging exclusion. The treatment of longstanding patterns with more contemporary developments—such as the coronavirus pandemic—is rich, nuanced, instructive, and powerful. Smith and Wallace help provide a greater understanding of American Politics by centering the importance of African American Politics.”

Khalilah L. Brown-Dean, Associate Professor of Political Science, Quinnipiac University

“In a strikingly straight-forward fashion, this timely and updated ninth edition of American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom provides cutting-edge and comprehensive coverage along with detailed analysis of the institutions and processes of government and politics in the United States from the vantage point of America’s Black citizens. The focus and nature of African American political participation is a centerpiece of this textbook, which is now the gold standard for the study of African American politics. It boldly delves into the unvarnished reality of the African American political experience, thus yielding an essential work for serious students, policymakers, and practitioners. In today’s climate of protest and participation this now classic work rises to the occasion with the provision of historical precision, clarity, and consequential guidance with regard to the American polity and the global context within which African American politics operates.”

Michael Clemons, Professor, Political Science and African American Studies, Old Dominion University
This dynamic and comprehensive text from nationally renowned scholars continues to demonstrate the profound influence African Americans have had—and continue to have—on American politics. Using two interrelated themes—the idea of universal freedom and the concept of minority–majority coalitions—the text demonstrates how the presence of Africans in the United States affected the founding of the Republic and its political institutions and processes. The authors show that through the quest for their own freedom in the United States, African Americans have universalized and expanded the freedoms of all Americans.

New to the Ninth Edition

- Updated sections on intersectionality, dealing with issues of race and gender.
- Updated section on African American music, to include the role of Hip Hop.
- Updated sections on mass media coverage of African Americans and the African American celebrity impact on politics, adding new mention of the CROWN Act and the politics of Black hair.
- Updated section on the “Black Lives Matter” movement, adding a new section on the “Me Too” movement.
- Updated sections on African Americans in Congress, with a new mention of the Squad.
- Updated voting behavior through the 2020 elections, connecting the Obama years with the new administration.
- A comparison of the 2016 and 2020 presidential elections.
- A discussion of the way in which race contributes to the polarization of American politics in the 2020 presidential campaign.
- An analysis of the racial attitudes of President Trump, and the institutionally racist policies of his administrations.
- Updated chapter on state and local politics, including a new section on state executive offices and Black mayors.
• Updated sections on material well-being indicators, adding a new section on the coronavirus pandemic and the Black community.
• The first overall assessment of the Obama administration in relation to domestic and foreign policy and racial politics.

Hanes Walton, Jr. (1941–2013), Professor of Political Science, University of Michigan, was an architect of the modern study of African American politics. Over four decades of prodigious research (including 25 books) and conceptual refinement he helped to make the subfield of Black politics an important area of study in political science. His last book was The African American Electorate: A Statistical Portrait.

Robert C. Smith, Professor of Political Science Emeritus, San Francisco State University, is the author of multiple books and articles and of the Encyclopedia of African American Politics. His most recent books are Conservatism and Racism, and Why in America They Are the Same and John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama, and the Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance, as well as the forthcoming From the Bayou to the Bay: The Autobiography of a Black Liberation Scholar and Power, Philosophy and Egalitarianism: Women, the Family and African Americans.

Sherri L. Wallace, Professor of Political Science, University of Louisville, has received awards for excellence in teaching and instructional design and has published articles on college textbook diversity, women of color in academe, race and politics, and community economic development.
Praise for the Eighth Edition

“The eighth edition of Walton, Smith, and Wallace’s landmark text is better than ever. Cemented as the introductory leading text in Black Politics since its inception, this text explores the vast landscape of African Americans’ experiences as part of the American political fabric. Brilliantly, the revised edition continues its tradition of excellence by providing readers with historical details for in-depth exploration of the Black American political community. As African Americans grow increasingly diverse, the book aptly expands the text’s inclusive framework that engages many intersectionalities of Black political activity and includes a cogent and powerful analysis of the presidency of Barack Obama and its significance. This book is required reading for anyone interested in Black politics, Black American life, and the role of America’s institutions in the journey toward freedom in the Black experience.”

Ravi K. Perry, Howard University

“American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom is the preeminent text from noted scholars in the field of Black politics. The authors provide an alternative understanding to the foundation of American politics, which is certain to broaden students’ perspectives about the true meaning of freedom in America. The new edition provides up-to-date, detailed information about the Obama presidency and the future of Black politics in America. This text is essential to any course in American politics.”

Angela K. Lewis, University of Alabama at Birmingham

“American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom is the definitive textbook in the field of Black Politics. In this most recent edition, the authors offer an in-depth analysis of the presidency of Barack Obama, examine the influence of African Americans at the state and local levels, and provide a timely assessment of the 2016 congressional and presidential elections.”

Diarra Osei Robertson, Bowie State University

“American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom is a very comprehensive, informative book that details the major actors, events, and issues in African American Politics. It is a must-read for students, scholars, and laymen alike.”
Sharon D. Wright Austin, University of Florida
“I began using *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* as the textbook for my African American Studies courses with the sixth edition, and I enthusiastically anticipate the release of this eighth edition. This text documents the significance of the Barack Obama presidency while continuing to define the historic importance of terms such as *freedom*, *racism*, *inherently inferior*, and *the three-fifths clause*, as it relates to African Americans in these United States.”

Samuel Craig, Wayne County Community College District
“*American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* offers the most thorough assessment of African American politics in the discipline of racial politics. It provides both historical and theoretical insight into African Americans’ relationship to foreign policy, the federal courts, Congress, the U.S. Presidency, federalism, elections, social movements, public opinion, and the Constitution. The book shows that African American political agency is constitutive of the American political tradition, and is a must-read for all political observers interested in understanding African American politics and American politics in general, including scholars, students, elected officials, and policy advocates.”

Sekou Franklin, Middle Tennessee State University
American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom

Hanes Walton, Jr.
Late of University of Michigan

Robert C. Smith
San Francisco State University

Sherri L. Wallace
University of Louisville
We are grateful to our families for their endurance and support.
To Alice, Brandon, and Brent
To Scottie, Blanch, Jessica, Scottus-Charles,
Karysa, and Grayson
To Christopher, Lou, Courtney, Gregory, Kristi, and Greg

“Do not call the forest that shelters you a jungle.”
—Ghanaian Proverb
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Overview of the Text

The ninth edition of this text arrives at an inflection point in minority–majority coalition politics and the quest of Blacks for universal freedom: The re-election or defeat of the first white supremacist, racist president in more than 100 years; a marked shift of the Democratic Party in a more left–liberal direction in general and on race specifically; and the nationwide uprisings against the police murder of African Americans.

This book examines the institutions and processes of American government and politics from the perspective of the African American presence and influence. We want to show how the presence of Africans in the United States affected the founding of the Republic and its political institutions and processes from the colonial era to the present. Blacks, for example, took no part in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence or the design of the Constitution; however, their presence exerted a profound influence on the shaping of both these seminal documents. So it has been throughout American history.

The structure follows standard works in political science on American government and politics. It is unique, however, in two respects.

First, it is organized around two interrelated themes pursued throughout much of the textbook: The idea of universal freedom and the concept of minority–majority coalitions. We argue, in their quest for their own freedom in the United States, Blacks have sought to universalize the idea of freedom. In their attack on slavery and racial subordination, African Americans and their leaders have embraced doctrines of universal freedom and equality. In doing so, they have had an important influence on the shaping of democratic, constitutional government and on expanding or universalizing the idea of freedom not only for themselves but also for all Americans.

Blacks have not acted alone. Indeed, given their status as a subordinate racial minority group they could not act alone. Rather, in their quest for freedom Blacks have sought to forge coalitions with Whites via minority–majority coalitions (or, more precisely, minority-inspired majority coalitions). Historically, however, because of the nation’s ambivalence about race, these coalitions tend to be unstable and temporary; requiring that they be constantly rebuilt in what is an ongoing quest.
The second distinctive aspect of this study is that it is historically informed. In each chapter, we trace developments over a period of time. Relevant historical background is critical to understanding the evolution of race and the American democracy. Such material also brings contemporary events into a sharper focus.

Our principal rationale for writing this book is that we saw a void in the available literature. More importantly, we believe that race is the most important cleavage in American life, with enormous impact on the nation’s society, culture, and politics. Indeed, as we show throughout this book, race has always been the enduring fault line in American society and politics—thus the need for a volume that treats this important topic with the seriousness it deserves. We seek to accomplish this in a study that has historical sweep and depth and is comprehensive in its coverage; a book that is readable and interesting to undergraduate students while maintaining the highest intellectual standards. We believe the study of the rich, varied, and critical presence of African Americans in all areas of the political system demands nothing less.

The intellectual tradition of this text emerges out of the African American Politics subfield. The scholars who are the founders and innovators in the study of Black Politics created this scholarly subfield out of nothing. Principally, working in Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs), without major financial support or grants and with large numbers of classes and students, these scholars decades ago launched in small steps and limited ways a new area of academic study. They published in obscure and poorly diffused journals and little-known presses, which resulted, in many instances, in their work being overlooked and undervalued due to racism’s manifestations in academia, allowing much valuable work to remain unseen. Not only was the result of their research made invisible, but these scholars themselves became invisible in the profession. Of this unseen tradition it has been written:

The second research tradition in America’s life is the unheralded, the unsung, unrecorded but not unnoticed one. Scholars belonging to this tradition literally make something out of nothing and typically produce scholarship at the less recognized institutions of higher learning. These are the places, to use Professor Aaron Wildavsky’s apt phrase, where the schools “habitually run out of stamps” and where other sources of support are nonexistent. … [Yet] here … scholars … nevertheless scaled the heights, and produced stellar scholarship.¹

They persisted and persevered. It is out of this tradition that the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) was founded in 1969 by some of these scholars who created the association’s own academic journal. The first was the *Journal on Political Repression*, published from 1975 to 1979. It was
relaunched as the *National Political Science Review* (NPSR) and published from 1989 to 2019. To commemorate NCOBPS’ 50-year anniversary and the new chapter in the study of Black politics and the next generation of scholars, who will continue the intellectual quest of developing and disseminating knowledge to study and promote Black politics via a global African diaspora lens, in 2020 the *National Review of Black Politics* (NRBP)—a refereed journal published quarterly by the University of California Press—became the association’s official publication. It marks a historic transition that affirms the association’s scholarly legacy and intellectual prominence by linking the association with a premier university press. The Guest Editor for the inaugural edition were the authors of this work, Robert C. Smith and Sherri L. Wallace.²

In the beginning, these scholars’ work was scattered and sometimes difficult to locate;¹ yet it formed the basis for a new vision and perspective in political science. Beginning in 1885, the discipline of political science emerged during an era of concern about race relations and developed its study of race politics from this perspective.

The race relations perspective became the major consensus in the discipline on the study of race until the 1960s. In essence, this framework on the study of African American politics focused on the concern of Whites about stability and social peace rather than the concerns of Blacks about freedom and social justice.⁴

Challenging the dominant consensus in the mid- to late 1960s, Black political scientists offered a different, more empowering perspective on political reality, which became known as the African American Politics (or Black Politics) view or perspective.³ Instead of focusing on how the African American quest for freedom might distress Whites and disrupt stability and social peace, this new perspective focused on how an oppressed group might achieve power to provide solutions to long-standing social and economic problems. This perspective deals with freedom and power rather than stability and social peace as articulated by Mack Jones’ “Dominant–Subordinate Group” theoretical framework (see Chapter 1 for full explanation). Our approach is part of this intellectual tradition.

The purveyors of this tradition include Professor Robert Brisbane and Tobe Johnson of Morehouse College, the ever-erudite Samuel DuBois Cook at Atlanta University, Professors Emmett Dorsey, Bernard Fall, Harold Gosnell, Ronald Walters, Robert Martin, Vincent Browne, Nathaniel Tillman, Brian Weinstein, Morris Levitt, and Charles Harris at Howard University, and Jewel Prestage at Southern and Prairie View A&M University. Their insightful ideas, cogent theories, and brilliant teaching made this book possible. When we, the original authors—the late Hanes Walton, Jr. (1941–2013) and Robert C. Smith—sat down at the Holiday Inn in Jackson, Mississippi, in March 1991 (at the annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists), to develop the book theme and lay out its goals and structure, we were standing on the
shouders of these pioneering political scientists. They built the intellectual founda-

tion. We hope this work makes them proud. We hope it will do the same for our children and generations to come.

Finally, a note on the terms used. We alter the “N-word” when quoted. We use the terms Black or black—capitalized as noun or subject and lowercased as descriptor for a theory, concept, or phrase—and African American (no hyphen) interchangeably, having no preference for either and viewing each as a legitimate and accurate name for persons of African descent in the United States. We recognize that for the significant populations of people of African descent that have recently immigrated, often described as “pan-ethnicity,” to the United States from a myriad of countries across the African diaspora, such terms can be contentious; however, our use aligns with our historical focus. For instructors, it might be a good idea to discuss the history of the different uses of or provide links to materials that trace the use of the terms used to describe African Americans and the terms African Americans use to describe themselves as active political agents in their struggle for freedom and acts of “self-determination.”

New to This Edition

This new ninth edition includes three core additions. The first is an assessment of the 2020 presidential and congressional elections in relationship to the themes of the text. We pay particular attention to the race–gender interactions in the 2020 Democratic primaries and explore the extent to which Biden was able to resurrect or recreate the Obama “rainbow coalition” in the general election. Second, we analyze the record of the Trump administration on race, and explain our classification of him as both the first white supremacist and the first racist president in more than a century.

While we focus on the 2020 election in Chapter 9, given the significance historically of the election of the first Black president, we have retained for purposes of history the fundamentals of Obama’s campaigns and elections in 2008 and 2012. The third core addition in this new edition is an overall, general assessment of the record of the African American elected officials in advancing the “Black Agenda.”

All chapters have been updated with new content and the latest data available, specifically:

• **Revisions to Chapter 1 “Universal Freedom Declared, Denied.”** This chapter has been updated to include a summary table on the Constitutional provision relating to the presence of Africans in America to serve as a visual and point of reference.

• **Revisions to Chapter 3 “Political Culture and Socialization.”** This chapter has been completely rewritten with more discussion on “Elements of Black
Culture” and updated material on the political significance of African American music, including Hip Hop, and the African American Church.

- **Revisions to Chapter 4 “Public Opinion.”** This chapter’s discussion on the various strands of African American ideology have been updated, and civil rights activist and LGBTQ pacifist Bayard Rustin is highlighted in “Faces and Voices in the Struggle for Universal Freedom.”

- **New addition to Chapter 5 “African Americans and the Media.”** This chapter includes a new section on the CROWN Act and the politics of black hair, and revision to the African American celebrity impact on politics.

- **New addition to Chapter 6 “Social Movements and a Theory of African American Coalition Politics.”** This chapter includes a discussion of the political significance of the increasing ethnic diversity of the Black community as a result of immigration from Africa and the Caribbean. Also, it provides extensive coverage of the “Black Lives Matter” and “Me Too” movements, including an intersectionality analysis of the movements.

- **Revisions to Chapter 7 “Interest Groups.”** This chapter now includes a discussion on African American women interest group activities from an intersectional approach. The discussion on “The State of Black Nationalist Movements” has been updated substantially. The coverage of the African American reparation movement has also been revised.

- **Revisions to Chapter 8 “Political Parties.”** This chapter has been rewritten to refine the discussion on the role of race in the polarization of American politics. It also presents full overviews of the election of the first African American president, and the significance of the Jesse Jackson campaigns on Barack Obama’s first campaign including the 2008 primaries and caucuses; and of the 2008 and 2012 general elections. This chapter includes more examination of race and gender challenges to identities and loyalties when it comes to supporting and voting for presidential candidates.

- **New addition to Chapter 9 “Voting Behavior and Elections.”** This chapter includes full coverage of the 2020 presidential and congressional elections, focusing on: The role of race and gender in the Democratic primaries and in the Trump–Biden contest; an interpretation of the Trump “phenomenon” as a manifestation of white nationalism; and the results of the congressional elections with respect to partisan control of Congress and the size of the Black congressional delegation.

- **Revisions to Chapter 10 “The Congress.”** In this chapter, the section on substantive representation has been expanded for a more detailed discussion. A mention box on the “Squad,” a cohort of young women of color newly elected to Congress, has been added.

- **Newly structured Chapter 11 “The Presidency and Bureaucracy.”** This chapter combines previous separate chapters on the presidency and bureaucracy. It also includes an assessment of the race policies of President Obama,
reclassifying him from “race neutral” to “antiracist,” and the classification of Trump as a white supremacist and a racist. The bureaucracy focus has been reduced and revised as a reflection of presidential power, and the chapter includes a discussion of institutionally racist policies implemented by the bureaucracy under Trump.

- **Revisions to Chapter 12 “The Supreme Court.”** This chapter includes new material on the Voting Rights Act, and the latest Supreme Court case testing institutional racism.

- **Revisions to Chapter 13 “State and Local Politics.”** This chapter includes: A historical overview of state and local governments during the brief era of universal freedom during Reconstruction; a discussion of constitutionalism and federalism in the states and the significance of the period of devolution; descriptive and substantive representations of Blacks in state legislatures, executive offices, and courts, highlighting intersectionality and Black women in state politics; an examination of the impact of Republican control of state governments on rights- and material-based freedoms; a discussion on the challenges for Black majority rule in “Black regime” cities and “Black-belt” counties; and a brief highlight of Black mayors in cities with populations of 40,000 or more.

- **Revisions to Chapter 14 “Domestic Policy.”** This chapter has been substantially revised, focusing on measures of material well-being in the African American community to examine historic and systemic patterns in structural inequality as manifested in rates of unemployment, underemployment, poverty, incarceration, education, and median net worth; including a new section examining the impact of the COVID-19 pandemic.

**Features of This Innovative Text**

- Structured to accord with American government texts and courses, featuring content in all major subfields specifically relevant to African American politics.

- Each chapter opens with an updated Learning Objective keyed to chapter content.

- Each chapter concludes with a Summary and Critical Thinking Questions.

- Selected Bibliographies for each chapter include new suggested readings for students. Note that, unless otherwise stated, all websites have been accessed in September 2020.

- Boxes throughout the text focus on “Faces and Voices in the Struggle for Universal Freedom” to highlight key actors in the history of the struggle for universal freedom.

- Figures, tables, and photos have been updated (where possible) throughout.
Acknowledgments

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About the Authors

Hanes Walton, Jr., a pioneering scholar of Political Science and Professor at the University of Michigan, is a graduate of Morehouse College. He earned his master’s degree in Political Science from Atlanta University and was the first person to earn the doctorate in Political Science from Howard University. He served on numerous editorial boards of academic journals, was a consultant to the National Academy of Sciences, the Educational Testing Service, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. He was a Ford, Rockefeller, and Guggenheim Fellow and held memberships in several honor societies,
including Pi Sigma Alpha, Alpha Kappa Mu, and Phi Beta Kappa. He also worked on Capitol Hill in the office of Congressman Mervyn Dymally (D, CA). He was the recipient of the 1993 Howard University Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award. Shortly after the revisions for the seventh edition, Dr. Walton died, on January 7, 2013. He was the architect of this text, and its two interrelated themes—the idea of universal freedom and the concept of minority–majority coalitions—are the product of his fertile mind. Hanes was also an architect of the modern study of African American politics. Over four decades of prodigious research (including 25 books) and conceptual refinement, he helped to make the subfield of African American politics a major area of study in Political Science. His last book was *The African American Electorate: A Statistical Portrait*. His death leaves a large void in the field, and in our personal and intellectual life, but his friendship and intellectual legacy are abiding sources of comfort and inspiration. In 2013, the American Political Science Association established the Hanes Walton, Jr. Award to recognize a political scientist whose lifetime of scholarship made a significant contribution to our understanding of racial and ethnic politics and illuminates the conditions under which diversity and intergroup tolerance thrive in democratic societies.

**Robert C. Smith** is Emeritus Professor of Political Science at San Francisco State University. An honors graduate of the University of California, Berkeley, he holds a master’s degree from UCLA and a doctorate from Howard University. He is the author or co-author of dozens of articles and 14 books. His most recent books are *Conservatism and Racism, and Why in America They Are the Same* and *John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama, and the Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance*, as well as the forthcoming *From the Bayou to the Bay: The Autobiography of a Black Liberation Scholar* and *Power, Philosophy and Egalitarianism: Women, the Family and African Americans*. He is currently completing *Character: The Presidency of Donald Trump*. He is general editor of the State University of New York (SUNY) Press African American Studies series. In 1998, he was the recipient of the Howard University Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award. His *Encyclopedia of African American Politics* was published in 2003. In 2018, as a tribute to his late mentor, co-author, and friend, he published a definitive history of his works entitled *Hanes Walton, Jr.: The Architect of the Black Science of Politics*.

**Sherri L. Wallace** is Professor of Political Science at the University of Louisville. By participating in the American Political Science Association’s Ralph Bunche Summer Institute in 1988, she discovered her love for the discipline. She earned her master’s and doctorate degrees from Cornell University, where she also received a President’s Council for Cornell Women Fellowship for her dissertation research. She has published articles on college textbook diversity, women of color in academe, race and politics, and community economic development. She teaches African American politics, American politics, public policy, state
politics, and urban politics. She is the recipient of awards for teaching excellence, instructional design, and diversity service. She actively engages in service in the discipline having served as an officer or member on standing (executive) committees, organized sections, and program and award committees for the National Conference of Black Political Scientists and American Political Science Association.

Notes


2 “NCOBPS at Fifty: Living the Legacy” [Special issue], *The National Review of Black Politics*.

3 The NCOBPS historical archive is stored at the Robert W. Woodruff Library of the Atlanta University Center.


PART I

Foundations
So, what is this thing called freedom? In 1865, General Oliver O. Howard, commissioner of the Freedmen’s Bureau, asked an audience of newly freed slaves, “But what did freedom mean? It is necessary to define it for it is apt to be misunderstood.”¹ William Riker writes, “The word ‘freedom’ must be defined. And volumes have been written on this subject without conspicuous success on reaching agreement.”² Orlando Patterson begins his book Freedom in the Making of Western Culture with the observation that “Freedom, like love and beauty, is one of those values better experienced than defined.”³ Finally, John Hope Franklin, in From Slavery to Freedom: A History of Negro Americans, writes,

It must never be overlooked that the concept of freedom that emerged in the modern world bordered on licentiousness and created a situation that
approached anarchy. As W.E.B. Du Bois has pointed out, it was the freedom to destroy freedom, the freedom of some to exploit the rights of others. It was, indeed, a concept of freedom with little or no social responsibility. If, then, a man was determined to be free, who was there to tell him that he was not entitled to enslave others.4

The idea of freedom is therefore a contested idea, with many often conflicting and contradictory meanings. Since the idea of freedom—universal freedom—is central to this book, in this first chapter we must attempt to define it because, as General Howard said, it is apt to be misunderstood.

In the last several decades, an important body of scholarship has emerged on how the idea and practice of freedom began in Europe and the United States. These historical and philosophical studies suggest that the idea of freedom—paradoxically—is inextricably linked to the idea and institution of slavery.5 With respect to Europe, “it now can be said with some confidence,” according to Patterson, “that the idea and value of freedom was the direct product of the institution of slavery. Where there has been no slavery there has never been any trace of freedom even as a minor value.”6 And in the United States, “without the institution of slavery America in all likelihood would have had no democratic tradition and would not have come to enshrine freedom at the very top of the pantheon of values.”7 In other words, the very idea of freedom in the Western world has its origins in the struggles of the slave to become free.8

While there is much of value in Patterson’s studies, we are not persuaded by his argument that freedom in its origins is a uniquely Western value. On the contrary, we believe freedom is a fundamental driving force of the human condition. And while slavery was undoubtedly important in the genesis of the idea of freedom in the Western world, it is also likely that the idea in the West stems from other sources such as the desire of people to be free of harsh rule, treatment, or prohibitions that fall short of slavery (freedom of religion, for example).

Freedom: A Typological Analysis

The word freedom is difficult to define. Indeed, a number of writers on the subject have concluded that the effort to construct an objective or universal definition may be futile. Increasingly, therefore, students of the subject have sought not to define the term in one all-encompassing definition but rather, given the rich, varied, and conflicting meanings of the word, have sought instead to develop typologies of freedom that are broad and varied enough to cover the diverse shades of meaning held by scholars as well as ordinary women and men.

Table 1.1 displays three typologies of freedom. These typologies are drawn from the most recent scholarship on the subject. Again, these writers do not attempt to develop one universal definition of the term but see freedom as having
multiple shades of meaning. Patterson identifies three types of freedom. *Personal freedom* is defined as giving a person the sense that, on the one hand, he or she is not coerced or restrained by another person in doing something desired, and, on the other hand, that one can do as one pleases within the limits of that other person’s desire to do the same. *Sovereign* or *organic freedom* is simply the power to act as one pleases, without regard for others, or simply the ability to impose one’s will on another. *Civic freedom* is defined as the capacity of adult members of a community to participate in its life and governance.  

Foner discusses four notions of freedom—he prefers the term *rights*—that were part of the political vocabulary of the nation’s leaders on the eve of the Civil War. *Natural rights*, those rights or freedoms inherent in one’s humanity, are what Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence referred to as life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. *Civil rights* can be defined as equality of treatment under law, which is seen as essential to the protection of natural rights. *Political rights* involve the right to vote and participate fully in governing the community. *Social rights* involve the right to freely choose personal and business associates.

King identifies “four meanings of freedom within American/western thought that link up with the language of freedom and the goals of the civil rights movement.” *Liberal freedom* is the absence of arbitrary legal or institutional restrictions on the individual, including the idea that all citizens are to be treated equally. *Freedom as autonomy* involves an internalized individual state of autonomy, self-determination, pride, and self-respect. *Participatory freedom* involves the right of the individual to participate fully in the political process.
Collective deliverance is understood as the liberation of a group from external control—from captivity, slavery, or oppression.\textsuperscript{12}

Clearly, there is considerable overlap among the types of freedom addressed by Patterson, Foner, and King, especially in the realm of politics or the right of citizens to equal treatment under law and the right to vote and participate in the governance of the community. However, two of the types identified have special relevance to the African American experience and to this book’s theme of universal freedom. First, throughout their history in the United States, African Americans have consistently rejected the idea of organic or sovereignal freedom, the notion that one person or group should have the freedom to impose their will on another without regard to the rights of others. This is the freedom of might makes right, of the strong to oppress the weak, of the powerful to dominate the powerless, and of the slave master to enslave. From its beginning, African American political thought and behavior has been centrally concerned with the abolition of this type of freedom, and in doing so African Americans developed the idea of universal freedom—a freedom that encompasses natural rights, civil rights, and social rights. In rejecting the Patterson notion of sovereignal freedom, Blacks in the United States fully embraced King’s idea of freedom as collective deliverance. As part of a captive, oppressed, enslaved people, one could expect nothing less. However, in fighting for their own liberation, for their freedom, Blacks have had to fight for universal freedom, for the freedom of all people. As Aptheker puts it, “The Negro people have fought like tigers for their freedom, and in doing so have enhanced the freedom struggles of all people.”\textsuperscript{13}

**Freedom, Power, and Politics**

All the typologies of freedom listed in Table 1.1 are related in one way or another to power or the lack of power, and power is central to politics and political science. As Lasswell and Kaplan write in their classic study *Power and Society*, “The concept of power is perhaps the most fundamental in the whole of political science: The political process is the shaping, distribution and exercise of power.”\textsuperscript{14} The definition of power, like freedom, however, also has an ambiguous, elusive quality.\textsuperscript{15} At a minimum, scholars agree that A has power over B to the extent that A can affect B’s behavior or get B to do something B otherwise would not do. Max Weber, one of the founders of modern sociology and political science, writes, “In general, we understand by ‘power’ the chance of a man or a number of men to realize their own will in a communal action against the resistance of others who are participating in the action.”\textsuperscript{16} Political scientists generally analyze power in terms of (1) its bases, (2) its exercise, and (3) the skill of its exercise in particular circumstances, situations, or contexts. With respect to African American politics, Mack Jones postulates that whites occupy a “superordinate” or dominant position in relationship to Blacks.\textsuperscript{17} That is, historically whites have
had a near monopoly on the critical or “hard” power bases (wealth, size, status, technology, and violence) and used it to subordinate Blacks and maintain control over them. Blacks, on the other hand, have attempted to acquire power, often the “soft” power bases of morality, religion, and appeals to democratic principles, to alter their subordinate status in a quest for universal freedom. In this sense Black politics, Jones writes, “is essentially a power struggle between blacks and whites” characterized by an asymmetrical power relationship between the groups. However, in order to fully understand Black politics and distinguish it from other group conflicts in the United States, Jones contends that it is necessary to specify that the subordination of Blacks is justified on the basis of the ideology of white supremacy. We discuss the ideology of white supremacy later in this chapter, but in sum: In analyzing African American politics as a quest for universal freedom we need to think in terms of Blacks seeking to alter their subordinate status vis-à-vis whites and the asymmetrical power between the groups in the context of the ideology of white supremacy.

Thomas Jefferson and the Writing of the Declaration

After voting to declare independence, the Continental Congress appointed a committee to draft a document setting forth the reasons for the revolution. The committee was composed of Robert Livingston, Roger Sherman, Benjamin Franklin, John Adams, and Thomas Jefferson. The other members turned the task of drafting to Adams and Jefferson, and according to Adams, Jefferson was asked to actually write the document because his writings were characterized by a “peculiar felicitousness of expression.” The Declaration, however, is not the creation of one man. Rather, “eighty-six substantive revisions were made in Jefferson’s draft, most of them by members of the Continental Congress who also excised about one fourth of the original text.” Jefferson was said to be extremely displeased by the changes in his draft and for the remaining 50 years of his life was angry, arguing that Congress had “mangled” his manuscript.

Most of the substantive changes or deletions in Jefferson’s draft—including the most famous—focused on the long list of charges against King George III. Most historians say that the charges against the King as listed in the Declaration are exaggerated, and in any event they are misplaced, since many of the actions complained of were decisions of the Parliament rather than the King. The King, however, made a more convenient target than the anonymous, amorphous Parliament.

The most famous of the changes deleted from Jefferson’s draft was the condemnation of the King for engaging in the African slave trade. Jefferson had written the following:

He has waged cruel war against human nature itself, violating the most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of a distant people who never offended him, captivating and carrying them into slavery in another
hemisphere, or to incur miserable death in their transportation thither. This piratical warfare, the opprobrium of infidel powers, is the warfare of the Christian King of Great Britain. Determined to keep open a market when MEN should be bought and sold, he has prostituted his negative for suppressing every legislative attempt to prohibit or restrain this execrable commerce; and this assemblage of horrors might want no fact of distinguished die, he is now exciting these very people to rise among us, and to purchase that liberty of which he deprived them, by murdering the people upon whom he also obtruded them, thus paying off former crimes committed against the liberties of one people, with crimes which he urges them to commit against the lives of others.\textsuperscript{23}

This passage, which was to be the climax of the charges against the King, was obviously an exaggeration and an especially disingenuous one; the colonists themselves (including Jefferson) had enthusiastically engaged in slave trading and, as was made clear to Jefferson, had no intention of abandoning it after independence. Jefferson recalls that “the clause too, reprobating the enslaving of the inhabitants of Africa, was struck out in compliance to South Carolina and Georgia, who had never attempted to restrain the importation of slaves and who still wished to continue it.”\textsuperscript{24} Not only was there opposition to the passage from the southern slave owners, but more tellingly, as Jefferson went on to say, “our northern brethren also I believe felt a little tender under these censures; for tho’ their people have few slaves themselves yet they have been pretty considerable carriers of them.”\textsuperscript{25} In other words, virtually all the leading White men in America, northerner and southerner, slave owner and non-slave owner, had economic interests in the perpetuation of slavery. A good part of the new nation’s wealth and prosperity was based on the plantation economy. To be consistent, one might have thought that the Continental Congress would also have deleted the phrase on the equality of men and their inherent right to liberty. They did not, apparently seeing no inconsistency since the words did not mean what they said (see Box 1.1).

The magnificent words of the Declaration of Independence declaring freedom and equality as universal rights of all “men” were, however, fatally flawed, compromised in that the men who wrote them denied freedom to almost one-fourth of the men in America. To understand how the idea of universal freedom was fundamentally compromised, one needs to see Thomas Jefferson as the paradigmatic figure: author of the Declaration, preeminent intellectual—acquaintance through correspondence of eminent African American intellectual Benjamin Banneker—and also a racist, a white supremacist, and a slave owner.\textsuperscript{26}

**Racism and White Supremacy Defined**

We have described Jefferson—one of the great men of American history and one of the most enlightened men of his day—as a racist and white supremacist;
therefore, we should define these terms since they are key distinguishing features of the African American experience in the United States. They are also central to the analysis presented throughout this book. Racism and the ideology of white supremacy are fundamental to an understanding of certain crucial features in the development of the American democracy as well as the different treatment of Black and White Americans.

Racism as a scientific concept is not an easy one for the social scientist. It is difficult to define with precision and objectivity; also, the word is often

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**Like Humpty Dumpty Told Alice, “When I Use a Word It Means What I Say It Means”**

Before the ink was dry on Jefferson’s Declaration, there was controversy about what was meant by the words “all men are created equal.” Rufus Choate, speaking in 1776 for southerners embarrassed by Jefferson’s words, said Jefferson did not mean what he said. Rather, the word men referred only to nobles and Englishmen who were no better than ordinary American freemen. “If he meant more,” Choate said, it was because Jefferson was “unduly influenced by the French school of thought.” (Jefferson was frequently accused of being influenced by Jean Jacques Rousseau’s writings; a charge that he denied.)

On the eve of the Civil War, Chief Justice Roger B. Taney, in his opinion in the Dred Scott (1857) case, said that on the surface the words “all men are created equal” applied to Blacks. Yet he concluded, “It is too clear for dispute that the enslaved African race were not intended to be included, and formed no part of the people who framed and adopted the Declaration.” Similarly, during his famous debates with Abraham Lincoln, Stephen Douglas argued that the phrase simply meant that Americans were not inferior to Englishmen as citizens.

It was Lincoln’s genius at Gettysburg in his famous address to fundamentally repudiate Choate, Taney, and Douglas in what Garry Wills calls an “audacious” and “clever assault.” Lincoln accomplished this by claiming that the Civil War had given rise to a “new birth of freedom” that had been conceived by Jefferson “four score and seven years ago” when he wrote the Declaration. Conservative scholars have long attacked Lincoln’s “radical” redefinition of the meaning of the Declaration. Wilmore Kendal, writing a century after Gettysburg, argued that the word men in the Declaration referred to property holders or to the nations of the world but not men as such, writing blatantly that “the Declaration of Independence does not commit us to equality as a national goal.”

As Daniel Boorstin, the former librarian of Congress and author of the celebrated The Americans: The Democratic Experience (New York: Vintage Books, 1974), writes, “We have repeated that ‘all men are created equal’ without daring to discover what it meant and without realizing that probably to none of the men who spoke it did it mean what we would like it to mean.”

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d Ibid., p. 46.
used indiscriminately and in an inflammatory way. We start by distinguishing between racism and the set of ideas used in the United States to justify it. The latter we refer to as the ideology of white supremacy or black inferiority. In the United States, racism was and to some extent still is justified on the basis of the institutionalized belief that Africans are inherently inferior people. We refer to an individual who holds such beliefs as a *white supremacist*.

By racism we mean, following the definition of Carmichael and Hamilton in *Black Power*, “the predication of decisions and policies on considerations of race for the purpose of subordinating a racial group and maintaining control over it.” The definition says nothing about why this is done, about racism’s purposes or rationales; thus it does not imply anything about superiority or inferiority of the groups involved. It does not say, as many definitions and concepts of racism do, that racism involves the belief in the superiority, inherent or otherwise, of a particular group and that on this basis policies are implemented to subordinate and control the group. Rather, the definition simply indicates that whenever one observes policies that have the intent or effect of subordinating a racial group, the phenomenon is properly identified as *racism*, whatever, if any, the justificatory ideology may be.

Carmichael and Hamilton’s definition is particularly useful to political scientists because it focuses on power as an integral aspect of the phenomenon. For racism to exist, one racial group (or individual) must have the relative power—the capacity to impose its will in terms of policies—over another relatively less powerful group or individual. Without this relative power relationship, racism is a mere sentiment: Although group A may wish to subordinate group B, if it lacks the effective power to do so, the desire remains simply a wish.

Carmichael and Hamilton also write that racism may take two forms: individual and institutional. Individual racism occurs when one person takes into consideration the race of another to subordinate, control, or otherwise discriminate against an individual; institutional racism exists when the normal and accepted patterns and practices of a society’s institutions have the effect or consequence of subordinating or discriminating against an individual or group on the basis of race.

It is in this sense that we refer to Thomas Jefferson as a white supremacist and a racist. He believed that Blacks were inherently inferior to whites, stating in his *Notes on Virginia* that they were “inferior by nature, not condition” (see Box 1.2). He was also a racist, individually and institutionally, in that he took the race of individual Blacks into consideration so as to discriminate against them, and he supported, although ambivalently, the institution of slavery that subordinated Blacks as a group.

Just in case readers may infer that white supremacy is a phenomenon of the past, one need only look to the election of Donald J. Trump, the first president since Woodrow Wilson to express openly white supremacist and racist views (see Chapter 11 for more discussion).
CHAPTER 1  Universal Freedom Declared, Denied  11

BOX 1.2

Thomas Jefferson’s Notes on Virginia and the Idea of the Inferiority of the African People

In the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson engaged in a kind of moral reasoning to reach his conclusions as to the self-evident equality of men. In his Notes on Virginia, written several years later, he engaged in a more scientific approach to the analysis of the problem of racial inequality. In doing so, Jefferson the slaveholder made an eloquent condemnation of slavery, proposing his view of a just and equitable way to end slavery in the United States while simultaneously offering what he took to be scientific proof of the inferiority of the African people. Understanding Jefferson’s views on race is therefore critical to an appreciation of how racism fundamentally compromised the idea of universal freedom at the very creation of the American Republic.

In 1780 Francois Barbe-Marbois, the secretary of the French delegation in Philadelphia, sent a letter to each of the state governors requesting that they answer questions on particular customs and conditions in their states. Jefferson delayed his response until after he left the governor’s office. Although Jefferson offered a general assessment of conditions in the state, his Notes are best known for what he said about slavery, the African people, and Virginia society.

While defending the institution of slavery Jefferson nevertheless saw it as evil and unjust, writing, “There must doubtless be an unhappy influence on the manners of our people produced by the existence of slavery among us. The whole commerce between master and slave is perpetual exercise of the most boisterous passions, the most unremitting despotism on the one part, and degrading submission on the other.” In a famous passage that would be echoed by Abraham Lincoln during the Civil War, Jefferson suggested that God would surely punish America: “Indeed, I tremble for my country when I reflect that God is just; that his justice cannot sleep forever.

... The almighty has no attribute which can take side with us in such a contest.”

Since slavery was an evil but a necessary one, given the need for labor in the plantation economy, Jefferson proposed a revision in Virginia law that would gradually free the slaves; train them; provide tools, seeds, and animals; and then transport them to a new land as a “free and independent people” while simultaneously sending ships “to other parts of the world for an equal number of White inhabitants” to replace them.

Jefferson anticipated that the inevitable question would be why not simply free the slaves and integrate them into Virginia society, thereby saving the money involved in colonialization of the slaves and the transportation of the whites. His response was first that “deep rooted prejudices entertained by whites, ten thousand recollections by the blacks of injuries they have sustained, the real distinctions which nature has made and many other circumstances” made impossible the integration of the Black and White populations on the basis of freedom and equality.

Indeed, Jefferson believed that if the races were not separated, “convulsions” would occur, probably ending in the “extermination of one or the other race.”

Jefferson was not satisfied to base his argument for racial separation on these essentially practical arguments. Rather, he wanted to be “scientific,” to base his conclusions on the “facts,” on his “empirical observations.” Thus, in the Notes he advocated what was one of the first of many “scientific proofs” of black inferiority as justification for black subordination. First, he argued that Blacks compared to whites were less beautiful, had a “strong and disagreeable odor,” and were more “ardent after their female.” Ultimately, however, for Jefferson the basis of black inferiority was his “suspicion” that Blacks were “inferior in faculties of reason and imagination.”
Noting that the differences he observed between Blacks and whites might be explained by the different conditions under which they lived, Jefferson rejected this explanation, concluding it was not their “condition” but their “nature” that produced the difference.¹

*¹ This distinction between Jefferson’s moral reasoning in the Declaration and his scientific approach in the *Notes* is the central theme of Jean Yarbrough, “Race and the Moral Foundation of the American Republic: Another Look at the Declaration and the *Notes on Virginia*,” *Journal of Politics* 53 (February 1991): 90–105. Yarbrough argues that “the self-evident truths of the Declaration rest on a kind of moral reasoning which is morally superior to and incompatible with the so called scientific approach Jefferson adopts in the *Notes*” (p. 90).


Thomas Jefferson, *Notes on the State of Virginia*, p. 138–39. This was also the view of Abraham Lincoln (see chap. 11). In *Democracy in America* (New York: Knopf, 1945)—probably the single most important and influential book ever written on the subject—Alexis de Tocqueville also reached the same pessimistic conclusion that Blacks and whites could not live together on the basis of freedom and equality. Tocqueville thought that whites would either subjugate the Blacks or exterminate them. See *Democracy in America*, vol. 1, edited by Phillips Bradley (New York: Vintage Books, 1945): chap. 18.

Thomas Jefferson is the embodiment of the contradiction in the American democracy between its declaration of universal freedom and equality and its practice of slavery.

Source: White House Collection/White House Historical Association.

### Philosophy, Politics, and Interest in Constitution Formation

The framers of the Constitution were influenced in their work by their readings in philosophy and history. But the framers were also practical politicians and men of affairs, and, as in all politics, they were men with distinct interests. In what is generally a sympathetic portrayal of the framers, historian William Freehling writes, “If the Founding Fathers unquestionably dreamed of universal freedom, their ideological posture was weighed down equally with conceptions of priorities, profits, and prejudices that would long make the dream utopian.”³¹

³¹ The first or principal priority of the framers was the formation and preservation of the union of the United States. This priority was thought indispensable to the priority of profit—that is, to the economic and commercial success of the nation.
And as Freehling notes, their concern with profits grew out of their preoccupation with property, and slaves as property were crucial; thus, “it made the slaves’ right to freedom no more ‘natural’ than the master’s right to property.”\textsuperscript{32} It was this crucial nexus between profits, property, and slavery that led the men at Philadelphia to turn the idea of universal freedom into a utopian dream. Of this nexus, Joel Kovel in \textit{White Racism: A Psychohistory} writes:

> Thus, the first feature underlying our history of racism is the nexus of ideas about property. ... [I]n America rationalization was applied right at the beginning to an extreme interest in dominated property—property that moreover became totally identified with people who happened to have black skin, the color that had always horrified the West. Here we strike at the root of our racism.\textsuperscript{33}

### African Americans in the Constitution

As far as we can tell from the records of the federal convention, slavery was not the subject of much debate at that gathering. Certainly, its morality was never at issue, although there were several passionate opponents of slavery present, including the venerable Benjamin Franklin, president of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery. But neither Franklin nor any other delegate proposed abolition at Philadelphia, knowing that to do so would destroy any possibility of union. Hence, slavery was simply just another of the issues (such as how the small and large states were to be represented in Congress) that had to be compromised to accomplish the objective of forming the union.

Table 1.2 provides a summary of the provisions relating to the presence of Africans in America. Slavery is dealt with explicitly in four places in the Constitution, although the words \textit{slave} and \textit{slavery} are never used. It was James Madison, generally considered the “Father of the Constitution,” who insisted that all explicit references to slavery be excluded.\textsuperscript{34} It is worth noting, as Joe R. Feagin does, that while the Constitution’s racist provisions relating to slavery have been overridden by amendments, they have not been deleted. This is because, as Feagin writes, “At no point has a new Constitutional Convention been held to replace this document with one created by representatives of all the people, including the great majority of the population not represented at the 1787 Convention.”\textsuperscript{35}

### The Three-Fifths Clause, the Slave Power, and the Degradation of the American Democracy

Before the Sixteenth Amendment was adopted (permitting Congress to tax income directly), Congress could impose and collect taxes only based on a state’s population. The larger a state’s population, the greater its tax burden. For this
### TABLE 1.2 Constitutional Provisions Relating to the Presence of Africans in America

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Constitutional Provision</th>
<th>Common Phrase</th>
<th>Concise Passage(s)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article I: Legislative</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2, paragraph 3</td>
<td>Three-Fifths Clause</td>
<td>Counted “those bound to serve for a term of years ... three-fifths of all other Persons” (enslaved Africans) for the purposes of determining federal “direct taxes” and the allocation of apportioned congressional seats in the House.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 9, paragraph 1</td>
<td>Slave Trade Abolition</td>
<td>Prohibited Congress from abolishing “importation” (i.e. ending slave trade) until 1808.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article IV: The States</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 2, paragraph 3</td>
<td>Fugitive Slave Clause</td>
<td>Required the return of fugitive slaves to masters. Reinforced by 1793 and 1850 Fugitive Slave Acts.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Article V: Amendment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>The Southern Veto</td>
<td>Prohibited that amendments made prior to 1808 could “affect the first and fourth Clauses in the Ninth Section of the first Article” (i.e. slave trade and its tax provisions).</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 13th Amendment</strong></td>
<td>Abolition of Slavery</td>
<td>Outlawed slavery and involuntary servitude in the United States, giving sole power to enforce to Congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ratified on December 6, 1865]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 and Section 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 14th Amendment</strong></td>
<td>Citizenship Rights</td>
<td>Due Process and Equal Protection of civil rights and liberties; protections and guarantees to citizens by Congress.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ratified on July 9, 1868]</td>
<td>Universalization of Freedom</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1–Section 5</td>
<td>Race Suffrage</td>
<td>Right to vote cannot be denied “on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude,” giving sole power to enforce to Congress. (Voting franchise for Black men.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 15th Amendment</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ratified on February 3, 1870]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 and Section 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>The 19th Amendment</strong></td>
<td>Sex Suffrage</td>
<td>Right to vote cannot be denied “on account of sex,” giving sole power to enforce to Congress. (Voting franchise for all women.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[Ratified on August 18, 1920]</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Section 1 and Section 2</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Source: The United States Constitution.*
reason, the southern states insisted that the slaves not be counted, as, like horses and cows, they were property. However, for purposes of representation in the House (where each state is allocated seats on the basis of the size of its population), the South wished to count the slaves as persons, although they, of course, could not vote. This would enhance the South’s power not only in the House but also in choosing the president (since the number of votes a state may cast for president in the electoral college is equal to the total of its representation in the House and Senate). The northern states, on the other hand, wished to count the slaves for purposes of taxation but not representation. Hence, the great compromise—the Three-Fifths Clause. In Article I, Section 2, paragraph 3:

Representatives and direct taxes shall be apportioned among the several states that may be included within this union, according to their respective numbers which shall be determined by adding to the whole number of free persons, including those bound to service for a Term of years and excluding Indians not taxed, three fifths of all other persons.

In attempting to justify or explain this compromise, Madison (in The Federalist Papers No. 54) disingenuously puts his words in the mouth of a fictional southerner:

The Federal Constitution, therefore, decides with great propriety on the case of our slaves, when it views them in the mixed character of persons and property. ... Let the slaves be considered, as it is in truth a peculiar one. Let the compromising expedient of the Constitution be mutually adopted which regards them as inhabitants, but as debased by servitude below the equal level of free inhabitants; which regards the slave as divested as of two fifths of the man.36

But as Professor Donald Robinson so astutely observes,

It bears repeating ... that Madison’s formula did not make blacks three-fifths of a human being. It was much worse than that. It gave slave owners a bonus in representation for their human property, while doing nothing for the status of blacks as nonpersons under the law.37

We are able to precisely and comprehensively document the extent of this bonus over time with the specific number and percentage of House seats provided by the Three-Fifths Clause to the slave holding states. In Figure 1.1 and Figure 1.2, we see the number and percentage of additional House seats gained by southern and border states as a consequence of the clause. In the first congressional election in 1788, five states (Georgia, Maryland, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia) gained 14 seats or a bonus of 48 percent, allowing
them to reach near parity in the number of House seats (47–53) with the eight larger northern states. This bonus in numbers increased until 1830 and in percentages until 1860, when the numbers began to decline somewhat. Over the nine censuses and reapportionments of House seats from 1778 until 1860 (the Clause was abolished during the 1860s as a result of the Civil War), the mean or average bonus percentage of seats was 25.

Similarly, Figure 1.3 shows the percentage of additional electoral votes going to the slave states as a result of the Three-Fifths Clause, ranging from a low of 8 percent in 1792 to a high of 19 percent in most presidential elections between 1788 and 1860 (the mean over these 19 elections was a 17 percent bonus). This helped the southern states to elect four of the first five presidents.

This is the essence of the slave power and how it degraded the American democracy even among White men. It gave, for example, a White man in Virginia who owned a hundred slaves the equivalent of 60 votes compared to a Pennsylvania White man who owned no slaves having one vote.
CHAPTER 1  Universal Freedom Declared, Denied

The slave power was so pervasive and corrupting that Timothy Pickering, George Washington’s and John Adams’ secretary of state, coined the terms “Negro President” and “Negro Congressmen” to refer to those presidents and members of Congress elected on the basis of the three-fifths bonus. Not only did this slave power elect “Negro Presidents” and “Negro Congressmen,” but it also resulted in “Negroes” serving as speakers of the House and chairs of the Ways and Means Committee (79 and 92 percent of the time, respectively, until 1824)—then and now the most powerful House committee.

The Three-Fifths Clause was effectively repealed with the adoption of the Thirteenth Amendment. Ironically, however, this resulted in an increase in the power of southern racists and white supremacists. This is because the emancipated slaves were now counted as whole persons, but from the 1870s to the 1970s, most of these whole Black persons were denied the right to vote. The authors of the Fourteenth Amendment had anticipated that the former slave owners would attempt to deny the vote to Blacks. Therefore, they included in it a provision (Section 2) providing that those states that deprived Blacks (actually

### FIGURE 1.2

The Percentage of Additional Seats Given by the Three-Fifths Clause to the Slave States in the House of Representatives.

The right to vote would be deprived of the proportionate number of seats in the House. But this provision was never enforced. So in effect the slave power of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became the segregation power of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Whether slave power or segregation, however, it continued to degrade the democracy and deny African Americans universal freedom (see Box 1.3).

The other clauses dealing explicitly with slavery include Article I, Section 9, paragraph 1, prohibiting Congress from stopping the slave trade before 1808 and limiting any tax on imported slaves to $10; Article IV, Section 2, paragraph 3, requiring the northern states to return slaves who escaped to freedom back to their bondage in the South; and Article V, prohibiting any amendment to the Constitution that would alter the 1808 date or rate of taxation on imported slaves. As far as we know, none of these provisions caused much controversy at the convention, although the fugitive slave clause in Article IV initially would have required that escaped slaves be “delivered up as criminals”; this, however, was modified to relieve states of the obligation, later reinforced with the passage of the 1793 and 1850 Fugitive Slave Acts (see Table 1.2).

The framers, while committed to freedom, had a limited, non-universal vision of it. Freedom was for some—the some who were White men with property, including property in other men, women, and children. Professor Robinson cautions us, “One wants to be fair to the framers, and above all to avoid blaming them as individuals for the sins of the culture, in which we all share. We must be
BOX 1.3

Slavery and the Electoral College

The electoral college is the mechanism used to elect the president of the United States. In the American democracy, a person is elected president not on the basis of winning a majority of the votes of the people but rather on the basis of winning a majority of votes in the electoral college. The electoral college is actually 51 electoral colleges representing the states and the District of Columbia. Each state is granted as many electoral college votes as it has members of Congress, which means that each state and the District of Columbia has at least three electors (based on two senators and a minimum of one member of the House). In all states except Maine and Nebraska, the electoral college votes are based on the principle of winner takes all.

The candidate who wins most of the votes of the people (even if this is less than a majority in a multicandidate race) receives all the state’s electoral votes. Thus, a hypothetical candidate running in California who receives 39 percent of the vote in a four-person race would receive 100 percent of the state’s 55 electoral votes. This system of choosing the president means that a loser can become the winner. That is—as in the 2000 election of George W. Bush and the 2016 election of Donald Trump—a person can lose a majority of the votes of the people but nevertheless become president by winning a majority of the electoral votes. This undemocratic system of choosing the president is rooted partly in slavery and was part of several compromises the framers of the Constitution made to accommodate the interests of slaveholders, which undermined the interests of Blacks and compromised the principle of democracy.

The framers of the Constitution confronted three alternatives in considering how the president might be elected. The first was election by Congress. This alternative was rejected because it violates the principle of the separation of powers. The second alternative was election by the legislatures of the states. It was rejected because it would have violated the principle of an independent federal government. The last—and most obvious and most democratic—method was election by the people. This alternative was rejected because some of the framers said the people would not be educated or informed enough to make a good choice. However, election by the people would also have disadvantaged the slaveholding southern states. James Madison, who at first favored election by the people, changed his mind in favor of the electoral college because he said election by the people would disadvantage the South since their slaves could not vote. The electoral college compromise did not disadvantage the southern states; it gave them a bonus by allowing them to count their slaves in determining electoral votes on the basis of the Three-Fifths Clause used to allocate seats in the House of Representatives. In its earliest years of operation, the electoral college did work to the advantage of the South, as four of the first five presidents elected in the first 30 years were slave owners from Virginia.

The electoral college also represented other compromises that undermined democratic principles. While it gave the states with the largest population the larger share of electoral votes, it gave the smaller states a two-seat bonus based on their senators. It left the manner of choosing the electors up to the states except that they were prohibited from holding any federal office (including being members of Congress) and from meeting together as a group (the electors meet separately on the same day in each state’s capital). The electors may be chosen in any manner a state’s legislature determines—by the legislature itself, by appointment of the governor, or by the voters. (It was not until the 1840s that all states allowed the people to choose the electors in direct elections.) Once selected, the electors are free to vote for anyone they wish (as long as the person meets the constitutional qualifications of age, native-born citizenship, and residency), even if the person did not run in the first
careful not to imply that they should have done better unless we are prepared to show how better provisions might have been achieved politically.” Fair enough. But Robinson continues, “At the same time, we must be lucid in recognizing the terrible mistakes made at the founding. In the end the framers failed on their own terms.”

Or as Thurgood Marshall, the first African American justice of the Supreme Court, said in a speech in 1987 marking the 200th anniversary of the Constitution,

… nor do I find the wisdom, foresight, and sense of justice exhibited by the framers particularly profound. To the contrary, the government they devised was defective from the start, requiring several amendments, a civil war, and momentous social transformations to attain the system of constitutional government, and its respect for the individual freedoms and human rights, we hold as fundamental today. When contemporary Americans cite “The Constitution,” they invoke a concept that is vastly different from what the framers began to construct two centuries ago.

### Constitutional Principles and Design

In designing the Constitution, the framers were guided by two overarching and interrelated principles. First, the primary object of government was the protection of private property, and second, the power of government had to be limited to avoid tyranny. These two principles are interrelated because a government of unlimited powers could itself become a threat to private property, thereby undermining one of its core purposes. These two principles gave rise to what are the two most important contributions of the framers to the art and practice of
government: The idea of the separation of powers of the government into distinct parts or branches and federalism.

In *The Federalist Papers No. 10*, James Madison, a man of little property himself, wrote, “The diversities in the faculties of men from which the rights of property originates is not less an insuperable obstacle to uniformity of interests. The protection of these faculties is the first object of government” (emphasis added). How does government carry out its first object in a democratic society? The problem confronting the framers, stated simply, was this: In a democratic, capitalist society where only a minority has property but a majority has the right to vote, it is likely the majority will use its voting rights to threaten the property rights of the minority. To avoid this danger while preserving what Madison called the “spirit and form” of democracy was the principal objective of the framers in designing the Constitution.

How is this objective attained? The principal means is through the separation of powers. Again, we quote Madison. Writing in *The Federalist Papers No. 47* he argued, “No political truth is certainly of greater intrinsic value or stamped with the authority of more enlightened patrons of liberty than that … the accumulation of all powers, legislative, executive and judiciary, in the same hands … may justly be pronounced the very definition of tyranny.” It was not, however, the mere separation of powers of the government into four distinct parts (including the two parts of Congress); in addition, the Constitution allowed the people—the voters—to elect directly only one of the four parts: The House of Representatives, arguably the least powerful of the four.

The second major principle of constitutional design was federalism, a system of government in which powers are shared between a national (federal) government and the governments of the several states. The last of the Bill of Rights, the Tenth Amendment, establishes this federal system by delegating some powers to the federal government, prohibiting both the states and the federal government from exercising certain powers, and reserving all others to the states. The major powers of the federal government were limited to regulating commerce and the currency, conducting diplomacy, and waging war. Everything else done by the government was to be done by the states.

As Robinson writes, when this system of government was being devised, “tensions about slavery were prominent among the forces that maintained the resolve to develop the country without strong direction from Washington.” In limiting the power of the federal government in Washington, the framers simultaneously limited the possibility of universal freedom. Again, to quote from Robinson’s *Slavery in the Structure of American Politics*:

Therefore, in the United States a political system “exquisitely” sensitive to elements of which it was composed and whose structure, both formal and informal, was geared to frustrate and facilitate public action at the national level could not be expected to produce action to end slavery, particularly when the group with the most immediate interest in overthrowing slavery was itself completely unrepresented.
African Americans, however, given their status first as slaves and subsequently as a poor, oppressed minority, have always found the status quo unacceptable. They favored—and favor today—rapid, indeed radical, change in the status quo. They have also favored action by the federal government rather than by the states. Historically, African Americans and their allies have made an important contribution to universalizing freedom through their support for a powerful federal government. The power of the federal government has increased markedly during three periods in American history: The Reconstruction Era in the 1860s, the New Deal Era in the 1930s, and the civil rights–Great Society Era of the 1960s. In two of these periods, the Black quest for freedom was central to the expansion of federal power (see Chapter 2 for more detailed discussion of these three periods of expanding federal power). As we show in the chapter on public opinion, Chapter 4, African Americans remain the most distinctively and persistently liberal of all the various groups of the American population, strongly supporting an activist, interventionist federal government.

Faces and Voices in the Struggle for Universal Freedom

James Forten (1766–1842)

James Forten contributed to universal freedom by working to make the principles of equality expressed by Jefferson in the Declaration of Independence real for all persons. Forten was part of the founding generation of Americans. Born in Philadelphia to a family of free Black persons, as a boy he fought in the American Revolution, and by the time of his death in 1842, he was among the wealthiest men in the United States. A master sailmaker, Forten employed an integrated workforce and used his wealth to organize and finance the abolitionist movement. In 1813, he published A Series of Letters by

James Forten.

Source: Granger Historical Picture Archive.
a Man of Color. In this pamphlet, Forten argued that freedom was universal. Anticipating Frederick Douglass’ famous 1852 “Fourth of July Address” and Martin Luther King, Jr.’s famous 1963 “I Have a Dream” speech, Forten wrote,

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that God creates all men equal, is one of the most prominent features in the Declaration of Independence, and in the glorious fabric of collected wisdom, our noble Constitution. This idea embraces the Indian and the European, the savage and the saint, the Peruvian and the Laplander, the White man and the African, and whatever measures are adopted subversive of this inestimable privilege, are in direct violation of the letter and spirit of our Constitution, and become subject to the animadversion of all.

Forten defied the odds; and his life, work, and writings demonstrated that African Americans were equal to the White men of his generation who founded the Republic.


Summary

Freedom is a major value in Western and American culture. Yet freedom as a value in the West and in the United States has its origins partly in the struggles of slaves for freedom. While espousing the value of freedom, many Western philosophers and many of the founders of the American Republic embraced racism and the ideology of white supremacy, which gave them the freedom to deprive others of their freedom. Thus, in writing the social contract—the Constitution—that established the United States, African Americans were left out, thereby setting in motion the centuries-long African American freedom struggle. Power—the central concept in politics and political science—is intimately related to freedom. Whites with power used it to fashion a notion of their freedom that allowed them to destroy freedom for Africans and African Americans. African Americans, on the other hand, with relatively little power, developed the idea of universal freedom as part of their ongoing struggles to reclaim their own freedom.

The American Constitution is a remarkable document, widely admired around the world as one of freedom’s great charters. However, from the outset it was a terribly flawed document that compromised the Declaration of Independence’s promise of universal freedom and equality. From Thomas Jefferson’s Declaration to the writing of the Constitution at Philadelphia, the founders of America compromised the idea of universal freedom in pursuit of a union based on property, profits, slavery, and the ideology of white supremacy. As a result, they created a government of limited powers, one that would act cautiously and slowly. The African American freedom struggle,
however, has always required a government that could act decisively—whether to abolish slavery and segregation or to secure social and economic justice. The Constitution itself therefore is one of the factors that has limited, and continues to limit, the African American quest for universal freedom.

Critical Thinking Questions

1. James Baldwin, an African American novelist, playwright, and activist, wrote, “Words like ‘freedom,’ ‘justice,’ and ‘democracy’ are not common concepts; on the contrary, they are rare. People are not born knowing what these are. It takes enormous and, above all, individual effort to arrive at the respect for other people that these words imply.” Given this context, what do words like freedom, justice, and democracy mean to you?

2. Given the types of freedom defined in this chapter, which are most relevant to the African American experience and universal freedom?

3. Define “power” and discuss the relationship between freedom and power.

4. Trace the social construction of race and white supremacy in relation to the development of democracy in the United States.

5. How has the Constitution limited, and how does it continue to limit, the African American quest for universal freedom?

Notes


6. Patterson, “The Unholy Trinity,” p. 559–60. Patterson, in Freedom in the Making of Western Culture, contends that freedom is a uniquely Western value and that “almost never outside the context of Western culture and its influence, has it [non-Western culture] included freedom. Indeed, non-Western peoples have thought so little about freedom that most human languages did not even possess a word for the concept until contact with the West” (p. x).


Notes

9 Patterson, *Freedom in the Making of Western Culture*, p. 3–5.
18 Ibid.
19 Ibid.
21 Joseph Ellis, “Editing the Declaration,” *Civilization* (July/August 1995): 60. See Becker’s *The Declaration of Independence* for a detailed analysis of the various changes made in Jefferson’s original draft.
22 Ellis, “Editing the Declaration.”
25 Ibid.
29 Ibid.
32 Ibid.
40 For discussion of the last effort to enforce Section 2 organized by the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), see Carmichael and Hamilton, *Black Power*, chap. 4.
42 Ibid.
44 *The Federalist Papers*, p. 78. In a way, whether Madison or any of the other framers were themselves men of property is irrelevant since, as Donald Robinson writes, “Every one of them had made a pile of money, married a wealthy woman or committed his professional life to the service of wealthy clients.” Donald Robinson, *To the Best of My Ability: The Presidency and the Constitution* (New York: Norton, 1987): 65.
47 Ibid. In his more recent book on the American political system, Robinson calls for major modifications in the separation of powers so that the federal government may act more coherently and rapidly. See his *To the Best of My Ability*, chap. 12.
3 Ibid., p. 132–33.
4 Ibid., p. 155.
8 Of the 190-plus governments in the world, about 17 are federal—mostly in large nations such as Australia, Canada, India, and Nigeria.


12 Wilson, *Congressional Government*, p. 77.

13 Schattsneider, *The Semi-Sovereign People*.


16 Ibid.; see especially chaps. 6–10.


18 Foner, *Reconstruction*, p. 34.


21 Ibid., p. 240. In its 2000–2001 term, the Supreme Court provided striking examples of how the Fourteenth Amendment is applied to protect the rights and freedoms of persons who are not of the Black “race.” In *Troxel et vir v. Granville* (#99–138, 2000), the Court declared unconstitutional a Washington state law that granted grandparents visitation rights to the daughter of their deceased son, over the objections of the girl’s mother. In declaring the law unconstitutional, the Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment’s due process clause provides protection against government interference with certain fundamental rights and liberties of all persons, and that one of those rights is the right of parents to make decisions about rearing their children without government intrusion. In an ironic decision—given the origins and purposes of the amendment—in *Bush v. Gore* (#00–949, 2000), the Court used the amendment’s equal protection clause to, in effect, award the presidency to Bush, the candidate opposed by more than 90 percent of the Blacks for whom the amendment was originally adopted.


24 In 1833 the Supreme Court in *Barron v. Baltimore* held that the Bill of Rights applied only to the federal government.


28 The term *pernicious* is used by Hall, Wieck, and Finkelman in *American Legal History* to describe the opinion, p. 241.


30 Ibid., p. 140.


32 Traditionally, the idea of due process of law as it is found in the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments was *procedural*—that a person would have a fair trial and hearing. *Lochner* and similar decisions introduced the notion of *substantive* due process—the idea that the substance of a legislative act in and of itself could be unfair and thus a violation of due process.

33 *Gitlow v. New York*, 268 U.S. 652 (1952). Benjamin Gitlow was a communist who advocated violent revolution. He was convicted under New York’s criminal anarchy law. In deciding the case, however, the Court did not overturn his conviction but simply made the theoretical point that the free speech clause applied to the states.

34 Another reason that the commerce clause rather than the Fourteenth Amendment was used is that it permitted the leaders of the Senate to refer the bill to the Commerce Committee (which was chaired by Senator Warren Magnuson, a pro-civil rights liberal from Washington) rather than the Judiciary Committee, which was chaired by James Eastland, a racist, white supremacist from Mississippi. See Robert Loevy, *Hubert Humphrey and the Civil Rights Act of 1964: First Person Accounts of Congressional Enactment of the Law That Ended Racial Segregation* (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1996).


41 *United States v. Morrison et al.*, 529, U.S. (2001). In this case a female student at Virginia Polytechnic Institute sued three male students she alleged raped her.

42 In this case several Florida State University professors sued the state board of regents, contending that younger faculty members were treated more favorably when it came to salaries and promotions. In this case, the Court also ruled that the Eleventh Amendment gave the states immunity from most suits by individuals in federal court.

43 In this case, Alabama in one instance demoted an employee after she was treated for breast cancer, and in another refused to make accommodations for an employee who
said his health required that he work in an environment free of carbon monoxide and
cigarette smoke.
44 John T. Noonan, *Narrowing the Nation's Power: The Supreme Court Sides with the*
45 Linda Greenhouse, “Supreme Court Expands Rights of States in Maritime Suit,”
46 Ibid.
48 *Tennessee v. Lane* (slip opinion) #02–1667 (2004).
49 Adam Cohen, “Can Disabled People Be Forced to Crawl up the Courthouse Steps?,”
1 Glenda Patrick, “Political Culture,” in G. Sartori, ed., *Social Science Concepts: A*
2 Pamela Johnston Conover, “Political Socialization: Where’s the Politics?,” in
W. Crotty, ed., *Political Science: Looking to the Future. Political Behavior*, vol. 3
3 Ibid., p. 273–85.
4 Gabriel Almond and Sidney Verba, *The Civic Culture: Political Attitudes in Five*
interesting studies of political culture in the United States, see Donald Devine, *The*
*Political Culture of the United States* (Boston, MA: Little, Brown, 1972); Daniel
Elazar, *American Federalism: A View from the States* (New York: Crowell, 1972);
and Gabriel Almond, “The Intellectual History of the Civic Culture Concept,” in
G. Almond and S. Verba, eds., *The Civic Culture Revisited* (Boston, MA: Little,
5 William Reisinger, “The Renaissance of a Rubric: Political Culture as Concept
348.
7 Matthew Holden, Jr., *The Politics of the Black “Nation”* (New York: Chandler,
8 Ibid.
9 These and related data are analyzed in detail in Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race
10 Fredrick Harris, *Something Within: Religion in African American Political Activism*
11 V.P. Franklin, *Black Self-Determination: A Cultural History of the Faith of Our*
*Fathers* (Westport, CT: Lawrence Hall, 1984).
12 Holden, *The Politics of the Black “Nation,”* p. 18. Note: The original N-word is
altered by the authors.
13 Houston Baker, “Completely Well: One View of Black American Culture,” in N.
Huggins, M. Kilson, and D. Fox, eds., *Key Issues in the Afro-American Experience*
1996 General Social Survey, National Opinion Research Center, University of
Chicago.


16 Smith and Seltzer, *Race, Class and Culture*, p. 92.


19 Smith and Seltzer, *Race, Class and Culture*, p. 54–57.


33 A study by Gallup reported that African American graduates of HBCUs are more than twice as likely as African American graduates of non-HBCUs to recall experiencing support measures like experiential learning opportunities, long-term projects, and extracurricular activities that prepared them to be engaged in their professional workplaces and communities, and to thrive financially (see “Gallup-USA Funds Minority College Graduates Report,” p. 5–6, www.gallup.com/services/186359/gallup-usa-funds-minority-college-graduates-report-pdf.aspx). These findings are supported by the work of Ebony O. McGee and David Stovall, “Reimagining Critical Race Theory in Education: Mental Health, Healing, and the Pathway to Liberatory Praxis,” *Educational Theory* 65 (2015): 491–511. McGee and Stovall argue that “‘Weathering,’ … is a phenomenon [that is observable among African American students at predominantly White colleges] characterized by the long-term physical, mental, emotional, and psychological effects of racism and of living in a society characterized by white dominance and privilege. [It] severely challenges and threatens a person’s health and ability to respond in a healthy manner to their environment. This can cause wear and tear, both corporeal and mental, and lead to a host of psychological and physical ailments, including heart disease, diabetes, and accelerated aging” (p. 491).


35 M. Kent Jennings, “Survey Research and Political Socialization,” in J. House, et al., eds., *A Telescope on Society: Survey Research and Social Science at the University of Michigan and Beyond* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2004): 101–02. Jennings, the principal investigator of this four-wave study who has followed the same members of a 1965 senior class over 32 years, summarizes the latest research on the model from the study’s vantage point.


5 Ibid., p. 2–3.
10 Louis Harris, *A Study of Attitudes Toward Racial and Religious Minorities and Women* (New York: National Conference of Christians and Jews, 1978): 16. By the late 1990s, only 10 percent of whites agreed with the statement that Blacks were an inferior people.
13 Sniderman and Hagan, *Race and Inequality*.


Ibid., p. 253.


See “Special Symposium on Michelle Obama,” *Politics & Gender* 15(3) (September 2019).


Ibid.

“Reaction to Katrina Split on Racial Lines,” *USA Today*, September 13, 2005.


36 Ibid. See also “Black, White, and Blue: Americans’ Attitudes on Race and Police.”


39 Ibid., p. 5.


41 Ibid. See also Fred Lee Hord and Jonathan Scott Lee, I Am Because We Are: Readings in Black Philosophy (Amherst, MA: University of Massachusetts Press, 1995).

42 Ibid.


44 Free and Cantril, The Political Beliefs of Americans, p. 36.

45 Norman Nie, Sidney Verba, and John Petrocik, The Changing American Voter (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1976): 253–54. While Blacks tend to be liberal on the issues (except social/moral issues), they tend not to self-identify as liberal. Rather, most choose the conservative or moderate label. For example, in its most recent survey PEW found 28 percent of Blacks identified as liberal, 40 percent as moderate, and 30 percent as conservative. See Hannah Gilberstatdt and Andrew Daniller, “Liberals Are the Largest Share of Democratic Voters,” PEW Research Center, January 17, 2020.


47 Newport, “Blacks as Conservative as Republicans on Some Moral Issues.”

48 Dawson, Black Visions, p. 19.

49 Ibid., p. 20.

50 Ibid.

51 Ibid.

52 See Angela K. Lewis, Conservatism in the Black Community: To the Right and Misunderstood (New York: Routledge, 2013): 30.

53 Ibid., p. 30.

55 Dawson, Black Visions, p. 273–80; and Tate, What’s Going On?
57 Ibid., p. 30. See also Dawson, Black Visions, p. 21.
58 Block, Jr., “What About Disillusionment?,” p. 27.
60 See Block, Jr., “What About Disillusionment?,” p. 28.
61 Ibid., p. 30.
62 See ibid., p. 27–51.
63 Ibid., p. 28.
68 See Jordan-Zachery, “‘Talking’ about Gender While Ignoring Race and Class,” p. 52.
70 Dawson, Black Visions, p. 153.
71 Ibid., p. 140. See also Alexander-Floyd, “Why Political Scientists Don’t Study Black Women, But Historians and Sociologists Do,” p. 3–17.
75 Alexander-Floyd, “Why Political Scientists Don’t Study Black Women, But Historians and Sociologists Do,” p. 15.
76 Dawson, Black Visions, p. 20.
77 See the discussion of the poll results of Black women voters in the report, “The Fifth Annual Power of the Sister Vote,” conducted by Essence magazine and the Black

78 Ibid., p. 5.

79 Ibid., p. 6.


82 See Taeku Lee, Mobilizing Public Opinion: Black Insurgency and Racial Attitudes in the Civil Rights Era (Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press, 2002); and Harris-Lacewell, Barbershops, Bibles and BET.


7 Summary statistics were taken from Reach Media, Inc., accessed online on January 27, 2016 at www.reachmediainc.com/.

8 Data from two studies conducted by Nielsen and Essence magazine were used, “Powerful. Growing. Influential. The African-American Consumer 2014 Report” and “The Total Audience Report December 2014.” Both can be accessed at http://sites.nielsen.com/africanamericans/.


15 The National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders (popularly known as the Kerner Commission) was appointed by President Johnson to investigate the causes of the civil unrest. The commission’s findings pointed to the absence of Black reporters and scant coverage of the Black community as factors contributing to the discontent that led to the uprisings. Also, many newspapers and television stations found that without Black reporters they could not adequately cover the rebellions, since White reporters were reluctant to go into the Black community or did not understand what they saw and heard.


20 Brian Behnken and Gregory Smithers, Racism in American Popular Media (Santa Barbara, CA: ABC-Clio, 2015).


23 Michael Eric Dyson, Come Hell or High Water: Hurricane Katrina and the Color of Disaster (New York: Basic Civitas, 2006): 72.


25 Ibid., p. 98.


27 Ibid., p. 627. See also Craig Harrington, “Fox News Completely Ignores the ‘Mothers of the Movement’ during the Democratic National Convention,” Media Matters, July 26, 2016.


41 Ibid., p. 134–35.


43 Towler, Crawford, and Bennett III, “Shut Up and Play.”

44 Ibid.


48 Students who were politically conservative also disagreed on the use of the NFL's Rooney Rule—the policy that requires teams to interview candidates of color for top positions. This mirrors White conservatives’ opinions in opposition to paying college football and basketball athletes, the majority of whom are non-White. See Kevin


4 In drawing a distinction between material- and rights-based issues and coalitions, we do not mean to imply that the right to health care or a job might not be appropriately viewed as a civil or citizenship right. Rather, the point is that in the United States a sharp line is usually drawn between economic and political or civil rights, a distinction African Americans and their leaders, willingly or not, have embraced. See Dana Hamilton and Charles Hamilton, The Dual Agenda: Social Policies of Civil Rights Organizations, New Deal to Present (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996).


8 Franklin, From Slavery to Freedom, p. 182.

9 Quoted in Bennett, Before the Mayflower, p. 149.


17 Ibid., p. 128.


23 Historians disagree as to whether Watson was always a racist or whether his attitudes changed over time with changing circumstances.

24 This quote is from Roper, *C. Vann Woodward*, p. 121.


26 On the progressives, see Hofstadter, *The Age of Reform*, chaps. 4–7.


30 Ibid., p. 215.


40 Ibid.

41 Ibid.


51 Page, “Black Immigrants, An Invisible ‘Model Minority.’”

53 Ibid., p. 83.

54 Ibid.

55 Ibid., p. 6.

56 Ibid., p. 39.

57 Ibid., p. 17.

58 Ibid., p. 17.


61 Taken from the NAACP website: www.naacp.org/nations-premier-civil-rights-organization/.


71 The last of the 1960s civil rights acts—the Fair Housing Act of 1968—was enacted shortly after Dr. King’s murder, in part as a kind of final memorial tribute to him. Prior to his death the bill appeared to be stalled in Congress.


73 Smith, *We Have No Leaders*, chaps. 1–2.

74 The Meredith March was initially organized by James Meredith, the first known African American to graduate from the University of Mississippi, as a “march against fear.” It was designed to demonstrate to blacks in the state that they need not fear to exercise their newly gained civil rights. On the second day of the march, Meredith was shot and wounded. The civil rights leadership then decided to continue the march in Meredith’s honor and as a means to demonstrate to the nation the continuing climate of fear and violence in the state. See also Aram Goudsouzian, *Down At the Crossroads: Civil Rights, Black Power and the Meredith March Against Fear* (New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2014).


76 Ron Karenga, born Ronald McKinley Everett, changed his name to Maulana Ndabezitha Karenga, and is professor and chair of Africana Studies at California State University, Long Beach. He holds two Ph.D.’s—one in political science and the other in classical African ethics of ancient Egypt. He is best known internationally as the creator of the Pan-African movement and the African-American holiday of Kwanzaa.

77 By political repression, we mean “a process by which those in power try to keep themselves in power by attempting to destroy or render harmless organizations and ideologies that threaten their power”; see Robert Goldstein, *Political Repression in Modern America* (Cambridge, MA: Schenkman Press, 1979): xvi. The FBI’s program of political repression was called COINTELPRO (for “counterintelligence program”). The black groups targeted by the program included the SNCC, the SCLC, the Nation of Islam, and the Black Panther Party. See: Nelson Blackstock, *COINTELPRO: The FBI’s Secret War on Political Freedom* (New York: Vintage Books, 1975); and Stephen Tompkins, “Army Feared King, Secretly Watched Him, Spying on Blacks Started 75 Years Ago,” *Memphis Commercial Appeal*, March 21, 1993, p. A1.


79 Quoted in Paul Hagner and John Pierce, “Racial Differences in Political Conceptualization,” *Western Political Quarterly* 37 (June 1984): 215.

80 Ibid. Employing data from the Interuniversity Consortium for Political Research at the University of Michigan, Hagner and Pierce identified four major levels of political conceptualization—ideological, group benefit, nature of the times, and no political content. The “group benefit” category measures the extent to which individuals
evaluate political issues in terms of their negative or positive impact on the group or 
group interests.

81 Ibid., p. 215.
82 Smith, We Have No Leaders, chap. 2.
84 Ibid.
85 See Jo Freeman, ed., Social Movements of the Sixties and Seventies (New York: 
Longman, 1983).
86 Elliott Francis, “MLK Comic Book Helped Inspire Arab Spring,” WAMU, August 
spring.php.
87 Carson, In Struggle, p. 13.
88 Although the goals were somewhat different in each state, in all three there was a 
consensus set of values and beliefs that the confederate flag was a symbol of slavery, 
white supremacy, inequality, and injustice. Each of these flag protests were local with 
the Mississippi and Georgia movements emanating out of efforts in South Carolina. 
Each also had embedded within them a generalized American quest for freedom from 
this symbol of slavery and segregation. South Carolina lowered its flag only after the 
fatal massacre of nine parishioners gunned down in the historical Emanuel AME 
Church in Charleston in 2015.
89 Robert Bullard, Dumping in Dixie: Race, Class and Environmental Quality, 
a 1983 U.S. Government Accountability Office (GAO) study—documents that toxic 
west dumps, garbage incinerators, and other environmentally hazardous sites are 
much more likely to be located in mostly black neighborhoods and communities, 
particularly in the South (regardless of class), than in either affluent or poor white 
neighborhoods.
90 For a review of the scholarly literature on new social movements, see Alvin B. Tillery, 
Jr., “What Kind of Movement is Black Lives Matter? The View from Twitter,” The 
Journal of Race, Ethnicity, and Politics 4 (2019), 297–323. See also Russell J. Dalton, 
Challenging the Political Order: New Social and Political Movements in Western 
92 Jerome Karabel, “Police Killings Surpass the Worst Years of Lynching, Capital 
huffingtonpost.com/jerome-karabel/police-killings-lynchings-capital-punishment_b_ 
8462778.html.
93 The title of the Facebook post was “A Love Note to Black People” and it ended with 
New York Times, November 18, 2015, http://nyti.ms/1SFUnQY. See also Herbert 
Black Past, August 23, 2015, www.blackpast.org/perspectives/black-lives-matter- 
growth-new-social-justice-movement.
95 Alicia Garza, “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement,” the feminist wire, 

97 Garza, “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement.”


99 Karabel, “Police Killings Surpass the Worst Years of Lynching, Capital Punishment, and a Movement Responds.”

100 Garza, “A Herstory of the #BlackLivesMatter Movement.”


104 Launched in December 2014 by the African American Policy Forum (AAPF) and Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies (CISPS), the #SayHerName campaign “brings awareness to the often invisible names and stories of Black women and girls who have been victimized by racist police violence, and provides support to their families.” Quoted from https://aapf.org/sayhername.


107 Ibid., p. 8.

108 Nadia E. Brown, Ray Block, Jr., and Christopher Stout, “Here’s How to Teach Black Lives Matter,” *Washington Post*, June 11, 2020, https://www.washingtonpost.com/politics/2020/06/11/heres-how-teach-black-lives-matter/. This blog links to a micro-syllabus that includes a broad collection of readings on BLM, from its origins to how it fits into the narrative of social movements, and includes discussion of police violence and subsequent Black responses, as published in the journal *Politics, Groups, and Identities* from 2013 to 2020. The project emanated out of the renewed focus on BLM in the mass media following the high-profile deaths of three Blacks killed by the police in 2020.


110 Ibid., p. 298.


114 Ibid.


118 Tillery, “What Kind of Movement is Black Lives Matter?”

119 Ibid.

120 Clayton, “Black Lives Matter and the Civil Rights Movement.”

121 Pinckney, “In Ferguson.” The author quipped, “a gay guy and a woman,” at the mention of Bayard Rustin, the architect of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, who put emphasis on building coalitions among Black groups, White liberals, labor unions, and religious progressives, and Ella Baker, who had an activist career as an organizer for tenants’ rights (1930s), voter registration for the NAACP (1940s), field organizer for SCLC (1950s), and youth organizer for SNCC (1960s); she favored broad coalitions and decentralization in activism.

122 Tillery, “What Kind of Movement is Black Lives Matter?”

123 Clayton, “Black Lives Matter and the Civil Rights Movement.”


127 Kilgo, “Riot or Resistance?”


136 Ibid., p. 300.

137 In May 2020, Kennedy Mitchum, a 22-year-old African American woman and college student at Drake University, noticing how her White peers would “cut and paste” the definition of racism to defend their arguments, wrote to the editors of the Merriam-Webster dictionary to request that the definition be revised to better reflect how systemic racism is in society. The editors replied to her and agreed to revise the entries to better reflect contemporary language usage and connotations. See Christine Hauser, “Merriam-Webster Revises ‘Racism’ Entry After Missouri Woman Asks for Changes,” New York Times, June 10, 2020, www.nytimes.com/2020/06/10/us/merriam-webster-racism-definition.html.


141 Bekiempis and Gabbatt, “US Cities and States Take Moderate Steps to Reform Police Departments.”


145 Bekiempis and Gabbatt, “US Cities and States Take Moderate Steps to Reform Police Departments.”
149 Ibid.
151 See the ongoing, activist list of “262 Celebrities, Politicians, CEOs, and Others Who Have Been Accused of Sexual Misconduct Since April 2017” at www.vox.com/a/sexual-harassment-assault-allegations-list.
154 Lindsay-Dennis, Williams, and Jackson-Pomeroy, “#MeToo.”
155 Ibid.
156 Raphael, “The #MeToo Movement Through the Black Lens.”
157 Ibid.
158 Ibid.
159 Ibid.
160 Leung and Williams, “#MeToo and Intersectionality,” p. 367.


6 Gloria Hull, Bell Scott, and Barbara Smith, *All the Women Are White, All the Blacks Are Men, But Some of Us Are Brave: Black Women’s Studies* (New York: Feminist Press, 1982).


8 Ibid., p. 153.


10 On the historical origins of black nationalist thought, see Sterling Stuckey, *The Ideological Origins of Black Nationalism* (Boston, MA: Beacon, 1972); and Sterling Stuckey, *Slave Culture: Foundations of Nationalist Thought* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967). In these texts, it is noted that Turner was a bishop of the African Methodist Episcopal church. He served as a chaplain in the Union army and as a member of the Reconstruction, Georgia constitutional convention. Also, he organized the Colored Emigration League, published a monthly newsletter, and established the Afro-American Steamship Company. In addition, he was the first Black leader to declare that God is black—a notion advanced by Marcus Garvey and some sects of the Black Muslims.


13 Ibid., p. 114.


12 Quoted in ibid., p. 55.

13 Ibid.


20 Ibid., p. 135.
26 Ibid., p. 57–63.


Harris, *Survey on Race, Politics and Society*, p. 11.


Ibid.


Mitt Romney, “47 Percent” comments, www.youtube.com/watch?v=M2gvY2wqI7M.

Ibid.


On these various schemes used in the South to deprive Blacks of the vote, see Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Politics* (Philadelphia, PA: J.B. Lippincott, 1992): 33–54.

Data reported for the year 1867 are extracted from *Annual Cyclopedia and Register of Important Events of the Year 1867*, vol. VII (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1869): 461; and for the years 1879–1964, Perry H. Howard, *Political Tendencies in Louisiana*, revised and expanded (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1971): 421–22. Calculations prepared by the authors; thus, some year intervals are irregular due to various data sources.

For an engaging memoir of one of these courageous individuals, see John H. Scott (with Cleo Scott), *Witness to the Truth: My Struggle for Human Rights in Louisiana* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2003).

For citations to and discussions of these cases, see Walton, *Black Politics*, p. 33–40.


10 Ibid.


12 Ibid.


22 Ibid.

25 Ibid.
27 Ibid. See also Matthew Yglesias, “The Great Awokening,” Vox, April 1, 2019.
28 Edsall, “The Democratic Party is Really Three Parties.”
29 Ibid.
31 Aaron Coleman, “Black Culture Won’t Save Kamala Harris,” The Nation, November 28, 2019.
37 Ibid., p. 617.
38 Ibid., p. 619.
39 Foner, Reconstruction, p. 343.

49 Due to COVID-19 restrictions, many states increased absentee and early in-person voting, which are represented by either telephone surveys or in-person exit polls at polling locations, see CNN Exit Poll, 2020, www.cnn.com/election/2020/exit-polls/president/national-results.


7 In *Baker v. Carr* (369 U.S. 186, 1962), the Supreme Court held that the Fourteenth Amendment’s equal protection clause required that state legislative districts be equal in population, and that each legislator represent roughly the same number of people. In *Wesberry v. Sanders* (376 U.S. 1, 1964), the Court applied this equality in representation principle to congressional districts.


9 Ibid., p. 6, chap. 3.


16 Congresswoman Eleanor Holmes Norton, who is black, represents the District of Columbia. Each of the U.S. territories—Puerto Rico, Guam, the Virgin Islands, and American Samoa—are allowed to send delegates to the House. These delegates are allowed to vote in committees and participate in floor debates, but they are not allowed to vote on the floor. The delegate from the Virgin Islands is also black.


29 Ibid.


34 For a detailed case study of the Humphrey–Hawkins Act, see Smith, *We Have No Leaders*, chap. 7.


7 Lincoln did not favor the abolition of slavery (frequently calling abolitionism “dangerous radical utopianism”), but rather opposed its extension beyond the South to the Midwest and the West because he wanted these lands preserved for free (White) labor on free land. See Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).


9 Quoted in ibid., p. 45.

11 Ibid.


13 The commander-in-chief clause was used by Franklin Roosevelt to incarcerate Japanese Americans as a World War II measure, which at the time was held to be constitutional by the Supreme Court although it was a clear violation of the Fifth Amendment prohibition on the deprivation of liberty without a trial.


16 Ibid., p. 48.


22 Kenneth O’Reilly, Nixon’s Piano: Presidents and Racial Politics from Washington to Clinton (New York: Free Press, 1995). O’Reilly argues that Andrew Jackson was the “first (and arguably the only) chief executive in American history not to consider slavery a moral evil,” p. 31.

23 Ibid., chap. 1.


26 Samuel Tilden, governor of New York, apparently won a majority of the vote for president, but the Republicans controlled enough southern electoral votes to give the presidency to Hayes in exchange for his promise to withdraw federal troops and leave the South alone with respect to the treatment of Blacks. See C. Vann Woodward, Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction (Garden City, NY: Doubleday, 1956).

27 Harrison’s support for antilynching legislation came about not as a result of the lynching of Blacks, but rather after 11 Italian citizens were lynched in New Orleans. The Italian government filed a strong protest, and Harrison responded with his proposed legislation. See O’Reilly, Nixon’s Piano, p. 59.
28 Ibid., p. 111. Roosevelt was even reluctant to send a written message to the annual NAACP convention.


31 As Franklin Roosevelt had feared, Truman’s support did cost him the support of White southern Democrats, who walked out of the 1948 convention, formed a third party, and ran Strom Thurmond for president. Thurmond carried four southern states.


38 On Bush’s flip-flop on the 1990 and 1991 civil rights bills, see Smith, We Have No Leaders, p. 170–82.


41 O’Reilly, Nixon’s Piano, chap. 9.

42 For discussion on Clinton’s electoral strategy, see: O’Reilly, Nixon’s Piano; and Smith, We Have No Leaders, chap. 9.


45 Dewayne Wickham, Bill Clinton and Black America (New York: Ballantine Books, 2002).


48 Ibid.

49 Ibid.


63 Ibid.

64 Ibid.

65 Ibid.

66 Ibid.

67 Ibid.


77 Gallup News Service Polls, Roper Center.


81 Smith and Seltzer, Polarization and the Presidency, p. 265.


86 Quoted in Michael Nelson, Trump’s First Year (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2018): 137.

89 Ibram Kendi, “The Day Shit Hole Entered the Presidential Lexicon,” *The Atlantic*, January 13, 2018. Another clear example of a Trump white supremacist belief: He reportedly told one of his aides in the 1990s that “laziness is a trait in Blacks. It really is. I believe that. It’s not anything they can control.” Although Trump at first denied the comments, he later said they were “probably true.” See Mark Bowden, “The Art of the Donald,” *Playboy*, May 1997.
95 Ibid., p. 53.
96 Ibid., p. 50.
99 Ibid.
102 For analysis of policy roles of Black presidential appointees from the Nixon administration to the Bush administration, see Smith, *We Have No Leaders*, chap. 5.
104 Ibid., p. 9.
105 Ibid., p. 49.
106 Ibid., p. 9.
109 Ibid., p. 20 and 49.
110 Ibid., p. 20.
111 Ibid., p. 4.
113 U.S. Census Bureau, 2006–2010 American Community Survey (5-Year ACS Data)—Table Set 5, “Federal Sector Jobs by Sex and Race/Ethnicity by Citizenship Status.”
114 Ibid.
121 “HUD Looks to Drop Anti-Discrimination Language,” CNN, April 7, 2018.

2 Dred Scott was a slave residing in Illinois, a free state. When his owner returned to Missouri, a slave state, Scott argued that as a result of living in Illinois, he had become free and remained free even in Missouri. The Supreme Court of Missouri rejected Scott’s claims, and he appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States, which upheld the decision of the Missouri court. Historians contend that this decision (described by Horace Greeley at the time as “wicked,” “atrocious,” “abominable,” and “detestable hypocrisy”) was one of the factors that helped to cause the Civil War. Greeley is quoted in Hall, Wiecek, and Finkelman, American Legal History, p. 213.
Notes


5 Robert Dahl, “Decision Making in a Democracy: The Supreme Court as a National Policy-Maker,” *Journal of Public Law* 6 (Fall 1957): 281. In his analysis of the Court, Dahl concluded that its main function is to confer legitimacy on decisions taken by the political branches.


9 Ibid.


12 On this debate, see Edwin Meese (Reagan’s attorney general, for the judicial self-restraint view), and William Brennan (the former justice, for the activism view), *The Great Debate: Interpreting Our Written Constitution* (Washington, DC: Federalist Society, 1986).


19 175 U.S. 528 (1899).

20 305 U.S. 337 (1938).


31 In San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez (411 U.S. 1, 1973), the Court ruled by 5–4 that basing school financing on the property tax, although it created wide disparities between wealthy and poor districts, did not violate the Equal Protection Clause.
35 Ibid.
37 Ibid.
38 Ibid.
39 Easley v. Cromartie (#99–1864, 2001). The case was originally Hunt v. Cromartie (after James Hunt, the governor of the state at the time of the appeal); however, the Court renamed the case to reflect the name of the new governor, Michael Easley.
40 Shelby County, Alabama v. Holder, Attorney General et al. (slip opinion) #12–96 (2013).
41 Ibid.
42 Ibid.
43 Ibid.
44 Ibid.
47 Grutter v. Bollinger et al. (slip opinion) #0–241 (2003).
48 Ibid.
50 Ibid.
51 Ibid.
52 Ibid.


59 Ricci v. DeStefano, 557–US.

60 Lewis v. Chicago (slip opinion) #08–974 (2010).

61 Bostock v. Clayton County, Georgia (slip opinion) #17–1618 (2020).


65 Ibid.

66 (Slip opinion) #903–1841 (1995). This case involved a suit by White contractors challenging a minority set-aside in federal highway construction.


16 King-Meadows and Schaller, *Devolution and Black State Legislators*, p. 219.
17 Ibid.
21 Ibid.
24 Ibid.
32 Ibid. See also Hero, *Faces of Inequality*.


37 Ibid., p. 25.

38 Ibid. See also Menifield and Schaffer, *Politics in the New South*, p. 10.


40 King-Meadows and Schaller, *Devolution and Black State Legislators*, p. 182.


42 King-Meadows and Schaller, *Devolution and Black State Legislators*, p. 218.

43 Ibid., p. 220.

44 Ibid., p. 222.


48 Ibid., p. 150.


51 Ibid. See also Bouie, “The Other Glass Ceiling.”


55 Ibid.


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