

The Permanence of Race: Governor Deval Patrick and the Deracialization Concept

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### ABSTRACT

This dissertation examines the deracialization concept through a case study of Governor Deval Patrick's first administration and reelection campaign. The study uses critical discourse analysis to explore how race as a discursive social construct was present in the speeches made by Governor Deval Patrick from June 2007 through June 2010. The discursive presence of race is also explored during Governor Patrick's reelection campaign in the reporting of the *Boston Globe* and the *Bay State Banner* newspapers, a mainstream newspaper and an African American newspaper, respectively, that both endorsed Patrick's campaign for the unprecedented reelection of a black governor. This study finds that Governor Patrick used strategic framing and racial signifiers in his public discourse; Patrick symbolically affirmed his blackness and politically advocated issues, especially in education, sensitive to black and underprivileged communities. This case study proves problematic for the deracialization concept. Important to Patrick's discourse is his framing of issues through explicit appeals to the American dream and a message of inclusivity for all Massachusetts residents that includes racially marginalized groups.

There were differences in representation of Patrick in both newspapers, but in regards to race the *Bay State Banner* emphasized specific issues of importance to the black community whereas the

*Boston Globe* portrayed Deval Patrick as the more likable candidate amongst his political opponents without any emphasis to Patrick's race.

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## DEDICATION

I dedicate this dissertation to my sister Marlena Johnson. Although you are no longer here you have been with me throughout.



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## Introduction: Breaking Ground

I cannot recall the specific day, but it was some time in the latter part of 1989 when our mother interrupted my sister and me from playing video games. She called us frantically into her room for what seemed like an emergency. When we entered the room, my stepfather motioned to the television as they watched silently. I was not sure what I was watching on the television at the moment; I just knew it was an interview of some sort and that it had to be important. Once the interview was interrupted for a commercial break, my stepfather broke his silence and the first thing I remember him saying was, “That’s Colin Powell, he’s a five star general!” The significance of that statement did not register with two kids: my sister barely a pre-teen and me not quite ten years old yet. Sensing our befuddlement, my stepfather said with pride, “the only person that can tell him what to do is the President of the United States--that it!”

Over the years, other significant events required an immediate conference in my parents’ bedroom with all the focus on the television. The 1992 Rodney King police brutality case in Los Angeles and subsequent riots had a clearer meaning for me. A few years later, the O.J. Simpson televised police chase and trial had me pondering another riot if he was found guilty. At barely ten years old watching Colin Powell or as a teenager watching the O.J. Simpson verdict, one fact was clear, race mattered. By the time I was an adult in 2005 watching live television coverage of Hurricane Katrina, I had a firm understanding of race in America and I understood why my despondent stepfather slowly shook his head in disbelief, without him having to speak a word.

The most monumental event in recent history was when President Elect Barack Obama made his acceptance speech in Chicago's Grant Park on that cold November night in 2008. As he delivered his speech from behind bullet proof glass, the country watched long time civil rights activist Jessie Jackson stream tears down his face during what was an emotional moment for many. When I spoke to my mother that evening, I could tell that she had also shed tears of joy for this historic moment. Friends who know me to be outspoken on issues of race were surprised to find me pensive about President Obama's election speech. When speaking to my mother, she made a statement that helped me understand why I was not as excited, "You know what this means? There are no more excuses, a black man is president of the United States, anything is possible!" With President Obama's first term nearly complete, sociologists and academics in many disciplines continue to wrap their heads around what this election means along with the political pundits, activist, and the everyday person in the beauty salon. The most problematic assessment of Barack Obama's election is the contention that race is no longer a problem.

United States' Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy was prophetic for his 1961 prediction that America could have its first black president in thirty or forty years; Kennedy's estimate was off by only seven years but still a valid prediction since so many Americans thought it would not happen. With the United States' long history of racial oppression and intolerance for non-whites, the excitement of having a black president is understandable but the belief that America's racial problems are solved is uninformed. When Kennedy made his bold prediction, James Baldwin, the civil rights activist and writer, matched Kennedy's proclamation with a more important statement:

Bobby Kennedy recently made me the soul-stirring promise that one day – thirty years, if I'm lucky – I can be President too. It never entered this boy's mind, I suppose – it has not entered the country's mind yet – that perhaps I wouldn't want to be. And in any case, what really exercises my mind is not this hypothetical day on which some other Negro

“first” will become the first Negro President. What I am really curious about is just what kind of country he’ll be President of.<sup>1</sup>

Now that the hypothetical day is here, that black men have now obtained the highest offices in national and state politics. It is hard to imagine that Baldwin would be any less critical of the moral fiber of America: the concentration of black youth socialized in failing schools, facing bleak employment prospects, and accepting prison life as a part of their life course.<sup>2</sup> These were critical issues Baldwin concerned himself with before his death in 1987; he did not get to see L. Douglas Wilder elected governor of Virginia in 1989. Baldwin may have been most critical of the strategies black elected officials must employ to be elected into high profile positions. Baldwin believed that America’s greatest challenge in terms of race relations rested in its ability to confront the root of the problem. The electoral strategy employed by black politicians addressed in this study, really emerged in the late 1980s before Baldwin could offer his commentary.

The election of Barack Obama in 2008 sent shockwaves all over the world. However, the election of Governor Deval Patrick of Massachusetts two years before, in comparison, only made ripples beyond Massachusetts. Deval Patrick is only the second black governor elected in the United States. He is the first black governor of Massachusetts, and while the country has been following and assessing the performance of the nation’s first black president much like a soap opera, Governor Deval Patrick became the only black governor to win re-election in 2010.

Governor Patrick and President Obama are two of the most prominent of the new styled black politicians who have defied conventional wisdom of what many people thought was

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<sup>1</sup> James Baldwin, *The Cross of Redemption: Uncollected Writings*, Randall Kenan ed. (New York: Pantheon Books, 2010), 9.

<sup>2</sup> Beck Pettit and Bruce Western’s article “Mass Imprisonment and the Life Course: Race and Class Inequality in U.S. Incarceration,” *American Sociological Review* 69:2 (2004), in 1999 found amongst black men with low skills that they expected to serve prison time at some point in their lives.

impossible. Black political aspirants who seek high profile offices depend on a large amount of white voters, their crossover ability, more than their substance on racial matters identify them as deracialized. Deracialization is described as a campaign and governing style that deemphasizes race when possible. This ability of black political aspirants to get elected by a coalition of voters, especially whites, contributes to the belief that America is now a post-racial society. The idea we have transcended race is a product of the desire for America to appear as if race no longer matters.<sup>3</sup> This has lead scholars to be critical of the deracialization strategy, and rightfully so, if it is contrary to the goal of what proponents of black politics thought black elected officials would do--challenge racial inequality.

However, there is a problem with the application of the deracialization concept. It is assumed that when a black elected official is able to garner a large percentage of white voters, that candidate deemphasizes race to appeal to white voters. This is problematic for two reasons: first, it assumes that a black elected official avoids racial problems and attempts to downplay their own racial identity; second, the deracialization classification places black elected officials in a single category where their political campaigns and governance may vary from one politician to the next in terms of issues and relationship to black voters. These two assumptions require closer examination to assess the constellation of meanings associated with someone who has been labeled deracialized. Different black elected officials who receive significant support from white voters can be qualitatively different in campaign style, substance, and the ways in which they strategically negotiate race in their respective political contexts. The deracialization concept will have greater analytical clarity when the particular features of campaigns and administrations

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<sup>3</sup> See Eduardo Bonilla Silva, "From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA," *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27:6 (2004). Bonilla Silva describes a process where America's white-black racial dichotomy is beginning to resemble the racial stratification systems of Latin America where race is seen as less of a factor or purport to be color-blind.



are studied in relation to each other with an understanding of the specific racial dynamics of the political context.

To illustrate the problem with the first assumption, take for instance the infamous incident of Harvard University Professor Henry Louis Gates's arrest. Gates, an older black man, was arrested in his home in Cambridge Massachusetts on July 16, 2009. Gates had returned home from a research trip in China. Upon his arrival at his home Gates found his front door was jammed and Gates, with the assistance of his driver, forced the door open. Gates was in his home by the time the police arrived after a witness reported what was thought to be a burglary. The event made national headlines and it was debated in the media whether it was a case of racial profiling or was Gates simply arrested for disorderly conduct. Both President Obama and Governor Patrick gave public statements about the controversial arrest. Both Obama's and Patrick's statements were anticipated by the public because they are black men holding executive positions in government. The arrest of Gates was viewed by many, especially blacks, as a case of racial profiling, where other people viewed it as an unfortunate situation that was not necessarily racial. One Boston Globe headline read, '*Obama: Cambridge police acted 'stupidly' in Gates arrest*' and another headline read, '*Gov. Patrick: Arrest 'every black man's nightmare.'*'

It would be unwise to make any conclusions about Obama and Patrick based on statements made about a perceived racial incident, given that they are in two different positions, with Obama being on a larger stage. However, Patrick's reported statement did not deemphasize race in the way Obama's reported statement did. By simply making a character attribution to the police officers race is minimized. On the other hand, Patrick's direct statement of black men's fear of being arrested signifies a racial problem between blacks and the justice system. Ultimately, both Obama and Patrick avoided accusing the police of racial profiling. A central

question in this study is to what extent can we say Governor Deval Patrick is deracialized and what do his crafted public statements say about race?

The second assumption about deracialization supports the implicit idea that a black elected official has a particular view about race and its primacy in America. In Governor Patrick's autobiography, *A Reason to Believe: Lessons From An Improbable Life*, the last chapter states what he believes is the primary problem in America, beyond race. "For centuries, our perennial challenge has been the gap between our reality and our ideals."<sup>4</sup> Patrick's exceptional life experience, fortified a belief in American idealism; but, he also demonstrates a racial awareness based on his experiences that gives him a commitment to social justice. In the same chapter, Patrick commented on Barack Obama's Democratic nomination for President and it is apparent that he does not subscribe to notions of a post-racial America: "And then this young, charismatic man comes along and invites us to believe in him, and he is a *black* man--someone from a despised quarter of the society--who makes the election not about race but about those very values."<sup>5</sup> This statement is indicative of Patrick's racial worldview where higher ideals and values supersede race and a commitment to those ideals will lead to social justice in areas of race. If we take his words at face value, then the question becomes to what extent do his values, which are informed by social justice, address issues of race directly and indirectly, and what utility does the deracialization concept really have if he is simply categorized as either racialized or deracialized?

In other words, the literature on black elected officials operates on a dichotomy where a black politician is either racialized or deracialized. Someone like Deval Patrick is categorized as

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<sup>4</sup> Deval Patrick, *A Reason To Believe: Lessons From An Improbable Life* (New York: Broadway Books, 2011), 197.

<sup>5</sup> Patrick 2011, 216.

deracialized amongst other politicians like President Barack Obama, and Newark Mayor Cory Booker. Black figures like Jesse Jackson, Al Sharpton, and Tavis Smiley are racialized, and in the cases of Jackson and Sharpton, they were unsuccessful in their presidential campaigns. There are several distinctions that can be made between the different figures, but in terms of their particular brand of politics this dichotomy can be rather problematic. For example, in the case of Jesse Jackson, someone who is clearly racialized, he adopted a more universal approach in his second presidential campaign in 1988 to appeal voters beyond the black community, compared to his race specific presidential campaign in 1984. In the case of Barack Obama, someone who deemphasizes race in comparison to Jackson, due to Obama's racial identity he was pushed to address racism during his presidential campaign in 2008.<sup>6</sup> Although it is easy to see the differences between Jackson and Obama, the success of someone like Governor Patrick challenges this dichotomy in that he may resembles Jesse Jackson in ways, and President Obama in other ways. One of the aims of this dissertation is to show that the complexities of race, in recent decades, requires a greater understanding of how black elected officials negotiate race in their attempts to remain politically viable. Deval Patrick's path to the Governor's office is detailed in his autobiography and gives insight into the development of his own racial outlook.

### **Notes From an Improbable Life**

Central to Deval Patrick's story is his ascendance to the Governor's office from his humble beginning on the south side of Chicago where he experienced the perils of poverty, but also the values of growing up in a community. Deval Patrick was born in 1956; he recounts as a

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<sup>6</sup> Obama's race speech is titled, "A More Perfect Union." Then Senator, Barack Obama was forced to address the subject of race in his campaign after a racially explicit video of his former church Pastor became controversial and was seen as detrimental to his campaign.

baby being put in a turkey pan and placed in the oven just so he could stay warm in the tenement building his family shared with three other families. Deval, his mother, and sister moved in with his grandparents when his father left the family for New York to pursue his musical career when Deval was still very young. Patrick's grandparents instilled him and his sister with strong values and ethics, to motivate them to one day become middle class and offset the experiences of living in an impoverished neighborhood. At a young age, Patrick recalled walking to a park near his home to hear Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. speak. But at an early age he also witnessed his uncle shooting up heroine in his grandparent's home. Throughout Patrick's administration and re-election he used the positives and negatives in his childhood to symbolize the struggles that Massachusetts endured during a trying recession. Beyond his family, Patrick credits his school teachers for helping him develop a vision to see beyond the poverty in his neighborhood. He described these neighborhood conditions as bad enough for anyone to give into despair.

Deval Patrick's success in school earned him recognition through the *A Better Chance Program*. This program gave him the opportunity to attend high school at Milton Academy, a boarding school in Milton, Massachusetts. Patrick said this transition changed his life by placing him in a drastically different environment where all the students were placed in optimal positions to excel. Patrick tells the following story to illustrate his two different worlds. When he was told that he would need a sports jacket to attend the school, his mother took him to the store and bought him a windbreaker jacket. On the first day of class, he showed up dressed differently than all the other students who were wearing sports blazers. More than this early embarrassment, Patrick experienced racism in Milton that his grandparents did their best to insulate him from in Chicago. Patrick said he experienced racial profiling, recollecting being stopped by Milton police officers on several occasions who randomly asked for identification without probable cause. He

also recalled when some of the white students broke into the vending machine in his dormitory and he was the only one questioned about the theft as if he was already presumed guilty, most likely due to his race. Patrick stated, “But the curse of being black is always having to wonder whether the things that go wrong in your life are on account of your race.”<sup>7</sup> Part of Patrick’s adjustment to Milton was that he learned to adapt his mannerisms to fit in better with his largely white male schoolmates. He also found June Elam, the mother in the only black family in Milton and she became his surrogate mother in his home away from home. June would take him to black neighborhoods like Roxbury to get his haircut yet she also taught him to deal with race so that he did not become bitter. She told him in reference to race, “It’s their problem, you know who you are don’t you?”<sup>8</sup>

Patrick did well at Milton Academy and like many of his classmates enrolled at Harvard University. While living in Massachusetts, he re-established a relationship with his estranged father who was still living in New York. Patrick described his father as a pro-black and militant man, who embraced his African heritage and took pride in the cultural and intellectual traditions of ancient Egypt, to which he attributed the foundations of western civilization. His father was critical of Deval’s schooling at elite white institutions and the ways that he had become comfortable in them. Patrick saw firsthand how his father harbored a lot of bitterness from his experiences with racism, which reinforced Deval’s conviction to not let racism have that effect on him.

However, Patrick admitted he still sought approval from his father. When he graduated from Harvard before attending Harvard Law, he received a travel fellowship award from the

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<sup>7</sup> Patrick 2011, 54.

<sup>8</sup> Patrick 2011, 48.

Rockefeller Institute to work in Africa and see the places that his father spoke of proudly. A theme for Patrick was reconciliation; he enjoyed being able to talk to his father about his actual experience in Africa where he traveled to Egypt, Nigeria, and Cameroon. He also worked in Sudan for months assessing the needs of men to create job programs for the villages outside of Khartoum. He used his experience in Sudan, living in the Muslim world, to emphasize the importance of perspective and tolerance of different people while appreciating your own culture. Patrick described his ambivalence about being American, which he referred to as “lump in the throat patriotism,” but when he was in Sudan, he said he truly felt American and not just a racial category in America. He also experienced how people far more impoverished than he was during his childhood in Chicago, still fostered a deep humanity and love for one another and a sincere appreciation for religion in their lives. Thirty years after, he said that his Sudan experience fortified his decision to stand up for Muslim Americans who were racially profiled in the wake of the September 11, 2001 attacks on the World Trade Center. His experience as someone who had been treated as an outcast would not allow his political opponents to change his position on supporting Muslim Americans despite claims that he was meeting with terrorists.

Throughout his autobiography most of the discussion of his adulthood emphasizes his values. When he finished Harvard Law School in 1978, he moved to California where he clerked for a lawyer. Once in California he met his future wife Diane who is also a lawyer. When they met through a mutual friend, Diane was trying to escape an abusive marriage. Patrick said helping her in that situation taught him what it truly means to love, giving more than expecting to receive. Once they were married and living in Brooklyn, New York, Patrick stated that he and his wife were ready to live the life of lavish upstart lawyers but then they had their two daughters in the 1980s and fatherhood taught him even more about being selfless.

As a Christian, Patrick does not speak about his religion but he believes that faith is more important to how you live than specific religious doctrines. In his autobiography, Patrick talks about the Cosmopolitan Community Church, the church he grew up in only blocks from his home in Chicago. In that church, he experienced faith by observing how the older black women ran the church. He was touched by the hardships that those women experienced throughout their life yet they maintained their ability to encourage him over the years and mold him into who he would become: “But the old ladies at Cosmopolitan keep calling to me. It is probably thanks to them that social justice has been at the core of my professional life.”<sup>9</sup> His professional life includes working for the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights during the Clinton Administration, as well as for Texaco and Coca Cola in the private sectors before going into politics.

Deval Patrick’s most notable case during his time with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund was when he defended Albert Turner, one of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr.’s top lieutenant in Alabama and the planner of the 1965 Bloody Sunday March from Selma to Montgomery. Turner was accused of voter fraud by Reagan’s Justice Department. Patrick said he was enraged that Turner could face jail time because he was effective in getting high voter registration in rural Alabama counties. The defense of Turner was led by Lani Guinier but the presiding judge was appointed by Reagan. Patrick and Guinier realized that what was at stake was more than just Turner’s imprisonment, but an entire black community of sharecroppers who were being targeted because their electoral strength was being realized. Patrick experienced how intimidation had been used on the black community for decades to prevent them from organizing. While working the case, Patrick and Guinier would be followed by unmarked Crown Victoria FBI cars for

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<sup>9</sup> Patrick, 149.

speaking to residents of the black community. Initially, members of the black community would not speak to Patrick and the other lawyers due to intimidation but eventually they mobilized at a church rally that reminded Patrick of the Cosmopolitan Community Church back home and his belief in social justice. Patrick said that he and Lani Guinier had tears of joy when the jury came back with a “not guilty” verdict and the courthouse erupted like a spirit-filled church revival.

The Albert Turner case is one example of Patrick’s commitment to social justice. He also recalled that when working as an Assistant Attorney General he responded to a wave of black church burnings throughout the South. In the private sector, Patrick served as general counsel at Texaco, who at the time was facing racial discrimination lawsuits in employment, for two years. He then worked for Coca Cola where he also served as general counsel for discrimination cases. At Coca Cola, he focused on the global mistreatment of workers, particularly at the Columbian bottling plant. Patrick stated even when in the boardrooms, “Social justice was never far from my mission...” and “I learned that I would not leave my conscience at the door for any job.”<sup>10</sup>

Patrick believes that his sense of social justice is central to how he governed during his first term, even when it meant standing up to the Black Ministerial Alliance who opposed marriage equality, months before he found out that his daughter Katherine was lesbian. Governor Patrick was shocked when two Hyatt hotels, one in Boston and the other in Cambridge, laid off ninety-eight house keepers, mostly black and Latino, because they had been employed for too long. The chain wanted to replace them with lower wage employees; Patrick could not do anything officially but he felt he had to do something. Patrick communicated with the Hyatt management and told them “the financial bottom line is not the only bottom line.” There is a moral line as well and he warned that he would direct state employees and events to other hotel

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<sup>10</sup> Patrick, 163.



competitors. Patrick stated, “But if social justice means anything in politics, it means opening up the process to those who have been left out, to hear *their* voices and return *their* calls.”<sup>11</sup>

### **An Interdisciplinary Approach**

What Deval Patrick wrote in his autobiography is not what he would say in his official capacity as governor addressing his constituents, where he has to portray himself in a manner that displays leadership in various contexts on a wide variety of issues. This study examines the rhetoric of Governor Patrick during the tenure of his first term. Most of the background literature comes from the field of political science but the theoretical foundations are grounded in a sociological understanding of race. Critical discourse analysis is an interdisciplinary method of analysis that is adapted to this study.<sup>12</sup> This is the first case study that uses in-depth rhetorical analysis of a black elected official over the course of an administration. The importance of studying Deval Patrick is that he provides a case study of a high profile black elected official operating on a statewide level instead of a city or congressional district. In doing so Patrick was able to be reelected while infusing ideas of social justice within his political discourse throughout Massachusetts.

In chapter one, *Facing the Racial Problem*, the theoretical lens of Racial Formation theory is used to outline how race as a social construction is central to American life and how the way race is discussed is subject to contestation. A dominant theme in American public discourse is colorblindness and for many Americans political discussions of racial inequality are

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<sup>11</sup> Patrick, 166.

<sup>12</sup> See appendix for details on the interpretive process.

considered passé.<sup>13</sup> This chapter includes an analysis of the way race has been articulated by prominent figures over time, who framed race as a problem that is detrimental not just for blacks and other racially oppressed groups, but for whites as well.

In chapter two, *The Politics of Deracialization*, the history of the concept is explored as a mode of black politics with an analysis of Deval Patrick's relationship to black politics as Governor of Massachusetts. The relevant literature on deracialization is reviewed with an emphasis on how deracialization as a concept is contested by scholars as a form of black politics and how it is utilized by black elected officials to crossover to white voters. This chapter concludes with a brief discussion of Governor Patrick's 2006 campaign and the black political struggle in Boston, the capital of Massachusetts, where Patrick's connection to black politics is most visible.

Chapter three *Framing Race and The American Dream*, begins with a discussion of the economic collapse that occurred during Deval Patrick's first term. It is followed by a discussion of specific racial disparities in Massachusetts, focusing on Boston where a third of the state's black population resides. The bulk of this chapter explores how Deval Patrick framed issues of race and social justice during his first administration. Using critical discourse analysis, speeches made by Governor Patrick from 2007 through 2010, during his first administration, illustrate how he framed race within a discourse of the American dream. This chapter also explores how he challenged the four frames of colorblind ideology through the use of frame bridging and frame

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<sup>13</sup> A recent Newsweek magazine article discussed the problem of the colorblind America thesis by explaining a widening racial gap between black and white Americans. See Douglas Schoen, "Newsweek/Daily Beast Polls Finds Majority of Americans Think Country Divided by Race," *The Daily Beast*, April 7, 2012. The Newsweek survey reports that 65% of whites believe that blacks have achieved racial equality compared to only 16% of blacks. On issues such as housing, 70% of whites believe that blacks have the same chances to get housing they can afford compared to 35% of blacks.

extension techniques, prominent in social movement literature, to advocate for issues specific to the black community.

Chapter four, *A Tale of Two Newspapers*, examines Deval Patrick's reelection campaign coverage in the Boston Globe and the Bay State Banner in 2010, when he was running for reelection. Patrick was endorsed by the Boston Globe and Bay State Banner and was represented favorably in both newspapers. Both newspapers gave specific attention to Patrick's race in favorable ways but the Bay State Banner, Boston's black newspaper, viewed Governor Patrick as an extension of the black community and reported Deval Patrick's advocacy on issues of importance to the black community. Patrick was in a very fortunate situation where his campaign benefitted from the support of the Boston Globe who legitimized him as the most viable gubernatorial candidate where he could appear nonracialized to the majority white electorate, yet receive overwhelming support in the black community from the backing of the Bay State Banner who represented Patrick in the best interest of the black community.

The conclusion, *The Racial Shift*, summarizes the findings from the previous chapters and discusses high profile black elected officials and their roles within larger theoretical formulations of race within the United States. This study illustrates how Governor Deval Patrick was racially conscious throughout his first administration, was able to appeal to a majority of the voting public, through the careful framing of race, most of the time subtly but at times explicitly. This feat requires a more fluid and nuanced understanding of how different black politicians may navigate the racial terrain without being racialized nor completely deracialized, but somewhere in between. Ultimately, the overarching question this study approaches is where are we now in America in terms of race? Or to put it differently, what has changed in America that allows black

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elected officials to achieve high levels of success without having to completely whitewash?

These questions about race and the future of race relations in America is explored.

## Chapter One: Facing the Racial Problem

The academic scholars of black politics study race and the response of black people to mobilize in efforts to resist racial oppression. The concept of deracialization as applied in this study of Governor Deval Patrick makes sense in a particular racial context, the post-civil rights era. This era refers to a period of history in the United States where race and the social relations of race evolved to refer to a host of ideas, symbols, and meanings that are understood, contested, and practiced. Today, race is often expressed through coded words that have shared meanings amongst different populations; these words can be used in the place of racially explicit terms. Deval Patrick is commonly referred to as the first African American governor of Massachusetts. Decades earlier Deval Patrick would not have recognized the term African American and if stated it would not have made much sense to him. In the 1970s he began seeing himself as a black person rather than simply a Negro, a word he heard throughout the early part of his life.<sup>14</sup>

The terminological changes applied to members of different racialized groups, whether imposed

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<sup>14</sup> African American became popular in the 1980s after Jesse Jackson used the term on television. Prior to African American, black was the word that was adopted during the Black Power Movement and is still the preferred term of many African Americans. Negro was the common term throughout the 1960s before it was replaced. Negro in the early part of the 20th century was transformed when it became politicized as with the New Negro Movement. See Alain Locke, *The New Negro*, (New York: Albert and Boni Inc; 1926). Some blacks in the earlier part of the 20th century preferred colored, and many blacks in the early part of the 19th century still referred to themselves as African.

or preferred, say a lot about the racial and ethnic relations that constitute the racial and social structure of society.<sup>15</sup>

Race is understood as a social, not biological reality and its meaning is dependent on the understanding of members in society. Any reference to race refers to a category of people as well as a socio-cultural creation whose meaning is dependent on the practices of society which are subject to changes. Anthropologist Audrey Smedley traced the racial origins in North America to the seventeenth century, finding race to be primarily a British attempt to rationalize the hierarchal social ordering of human beings by distinguishable characteristics. Smedley's analysis of race in North America found that practices we now call racism predate even the earliest racial conceptions. Folklores, myths, and eventually science were used to sustain racial hierarchy as a basic feature of American life.<sup>16</sup> This study takes the theoretical position that race is a social construct central to the formation of the United States. As a social product, race evolves through the social structure and is embedded in the culture. As society changes societal understandings of race adapt to the established status quo.

The sociology of race and its particular development in the United States demonstrates the constant shifting of racial meanings. The very definition of race and how it is now defined in the sciences illustrates its inherent political nature. Understandings of race as a social construct have led to debates and proposals on whether collection of data based on race and ethnicity

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<sup>15</sup> The social structure is made up of many different groups in society, race, class, sex, religion, sexuality, and any other category that indicates status and distinction for a group.

<sup>16</sup> Audrey Smedley, *Race in North America: Origins and Evolution of a Worldview* (Boulder: Westview Press, 2012). The emergence of race in North America according to Smedley can be found in British colonization of the Irish in earlier treatments that rationalized the the British's oppression of the Irish. The British cultural chauvinism of the Irish was adapted to American Indians and then later racialized to enslaved Africans based on the need for labor.

should continue as practiced in the social sciences and official government data collection.<sup>17</sup>

Arguments against racial classification suggest it reify race as something real, although it has no biological validity.<sup>18</sup>

If the classifying of race stopped, it could lead to a greater belief in America as a colorblind nation. Race as an invalid biological category does not mean that race disappears when we eliminate official racial classifications. This logic goes against the Thomas theorem, “If men define situations as real, they are real in their consequences.”<sup>19</sup> Some implications of no longer collecting racial data are that it would hinder any effort to document racial inequality and enact measures to promote racial inclusivity. Deracialization must be understood within a context where many Americans adhere to colorblind ideology; race is argued to have little to no social validity, despite centuries of racial interpretation, reaffirming race as a social reality with severe consequences.

The theoretical lens race through which race is discussed in this study is Racial Formation Theory, developed by Michael Omi and Howard Winant. Racial formation begins with race as a socio-cultural phenomena where “racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.”<sup>20</sup> Race is theorized as a historical process that is altered by social pressures and events. Racial formation operates on two levels; the macro and the micro. On the

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<sup>17</sup> See David Wheeler, “Anthropological Association Urges Government to Stop Collecting Data Based on Race,” *Chronicle of Higher Education*, September 19, 1997. California’s Racial Privacy (Proposition 54) was voted down in 2003 as an initiative to prohibit racial classification on the state and local level.

<sup>18</sup> Smedley, 2012. See particularly chapter 13 “Changing Perspectives on Human Variation in Science.”

<sup>19</sup> William Isaac Thomas’ theorem is a principle in sociology that explains the interpretation of a situation that is not objective leads to subsequent actions. See W.I. Thomas and D.S. Thomas, *The child in America: Behavior problems and programs*, (New York: Knopf, 1928) 571-572.

<sup>20</sup> Michael Omi and Howard, *Racial Formation in the United States: from the 1960s to the 1990s* (New York: Routledge, 1994), 55.

macro level, for example, the Supreme Court ruled that certain amounts of racial bias are unavoidable in death penalty<sup>21</sup> cases. On the micro level, one believes someone is suspicious because they belong to a certain race.

Omi and Winant's conception of *racial projects* is particularly important to this study. Racial projects are ongoing political actions where organizations and other political actors reinterpret racial meanings by contesting established understandings of race. The "racial state" is the government who passes laws and makes decisions that affect the operation of race throughout society. The ongoing nature of racial projects make race unstable, and subject to change through contestation. The strategy of deracialization is a particular racial project where black political aspirants engage race in a way that minimizes its social reality. Many members of racially oppressed groups object to deracialization practices, but conform to the racial status quo, where open racial discourse is prohibited by colorblind ideology.

Since this study is more about racial discourse than acts of racism, this chapter focuses on how race is discussed in a post-civil rights period, including how the social transformation from a Jim Crow society to a supposedly post-racial society occurred. This study of race analyzes how race is discussed within the dominant ideology of colorblindness and how that particular racial ideology affects race relations and pursuits of racial justice. The difficulty in seeking racial justice today is tied to the belief racism--not withstanding a few aberrations-- is a problem of the past and any present mention of race is viewed as divisive. According to this logic, since racial

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<sup>21</sup> In *McClesky versus Kemp* 1987, the United States Supreme Court ruled that racially disproportionate impact through statistical evidence was not enough to overturn the death penalty without proving racially discriminatory purpose. 2,500 murder cases were studied in Georgia and the data found that when the victim was white the defendant was over four times more likely to receive the death penalty than if the victim was black.



justice was successfully achieved during the Civil Rights Movement, it is unnecessary to transform the current social system.

### **The Transformation**

The Civil Rights Movement was a watershed moment in United States history that dramatically changed race relations. In 1964 the Civil Rights Act was passed, followed by the Voting Rights Act in 1965 and the Fair Housing Act in 1968. Democrats and Republicans alike denounced racial prejudice and equals rights became the province of all races. Yet, despite the passage of laws, a shift in public relations and appearance of an equal society, racism remains.

The United States' dominant racial beliefs can be categorized by three periods: the first period is defined by the belief in biological superiority and inferiority with whites being the highest in human development and blacks seen as most primitive; the second period emerged in the early 20th century with biological notions supplanted by cultural assimilations with white Anglo Saxon ideals and values dominant; the third period emerged after the Civil Rights Movement and is defined by a denial of race. In each period, racial beliefs from the older period remained. Early in United States history, America was ingrained with the belief that certain people of European descent, whites specifically,<sup>22</sup> were more evolved and superior to the peoples of Asia and Africa. The non-European racial types were thought to be primitive, lower in evolutionary development, and different species of human beings. This dominant racial ideology rationalized the wholesale capture of Africans for economic purposes and a host of laws and customs treated enslaved Africans as property. Certainly the belief in natural inferiority of Africans was contested by Africans themselves through words and actions. Phillis Wheatley,

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<sup>22</sup>Whiteness as a racial category was largely reserved for Anglo Saxons. Anyone who was a Jewish, regardless of national origin, was not white. Italians, Irish, Romanians, Poles, would later become white.

enslaved as an eight year old from the Gambia region became a famed poet in the States; in her most patriotic prose she wrote many poems supporting the Revolutionary War and other American achievements, but the underlying belief of black people's inferiority required a committee of officials, including the governor of Massachusetts and his lieutenant governor, to affirm that the poetry was indeed written by her.<sup>23</sup> In a political challenge to the ideology of racial inferiority, David Walker, the early 19th century race man, challenged Thomas Jefferson's *Notes on Virginia* by arguing that whites were more wicked than Egyptians of the Bible and that enslaved "coloured" people of the world, especially in the United States had every right, like the Hebrews of the Bible, to assert their freedom. Walker urged enslaved blacks all over the South to resist oppression, by violence if necessary.<sup>24</sup> There is documented history of over 200 slave revolts and rebellions in which African women and men asserted their freedom against the slave society.<sup>25</sup>

The racial ideology of black inferiority in the North was less rigid and promoted gradual abolition because it depended less on slave labor due to its growing industrial economy (Gross 2006). The South relied on an agrarian society supported by free slave labor and the belief that black people's natural place was to toil. The shift in racial ideology in the second phase was promoted by The Chicago School of Sociology when it supplanted prevailing biological notions of race in the 1920s.<sup>26</sup> Social scientists had to confront a different type of social problem,

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<sup>23</sup> Henry Louis Gates and Nellie Y. McKay, *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature* (New York W.W. Norton & Company, 2003).

<sup>24</sup> David Walker, *David Walker's Appeal: To the Coloured Citizens of the World, but in particular, and very expressly, the those of the United States of America* (Baltimore: Black Classic Press, 1993).

<sup>25</sup> Herbert Aptheker, *American Negro Slave Revolts* (New York: International Publishers, 1983).

<sup>26</sup> W.E.B. Dubois challenged biological notions of race decades before in the "Conservation of the Races," *The American Negro Academy Occasional Papers*, No.2 (1897).

European ethnic groups in northern industrial cities. The dominant idea was that different groups had to coexist. For the University of Chicago sociologists, assimilation had to occur amongst newly arrived immigrant groups from Europe and black migrants from the South. The notion that certain groups were biologically inferior made assimilation impossible, making this idea challenged. If fundamental differences were based on nature instead of nurture, assimilation could not happen. With assimilation as the goal, blacks and other immigrant groups were not seen as biologically inferior, instead they were viewed as having been slowed by history and culture. Conflict, worked out through a cycle of accommodation, would eventually lead to assimilation.<sup>27</sup> White ethnic groups that initially experienced discrimination would eventually access whiteness as a racial category where blacks would remain unassimilable.<sup>28</sup>

Omi and Winant assert that the ideology of the Civil Rights Movement operated within the framework of the ethnicity model (assimilation) in which the most blatant aspects of apartheid were attacked in the South. Jim Crow race relations were at odds with American ideology promoting ideals of freedom, liberty, and democracy. Global images of black people sprayed with water hoses and attacked by police dogs weakened America's international reputation. There was no conflict in government and business interest to establish better race relations in the South. The conflict was a matter of enforcing federal laws against a southern culture of resistance.<sup>29</sup> The Civil Rights Movement reached a decisive moment when President

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<sup>27</sup> Robert E Park, *Race and Culture* (Glencoe: The Free Press 1950).

<sup>28</sup> See Noel Ignatiev, *How the Irish Became White*, (New York: Routledge; 1996), for an example of how European ethnic groups assimilated to whiteness by participating in the oppression of blacks.

<sup>29</sup> Documentary footage of the Civil Rights Movement in *Eyes on the Prize* details the use of Federal Officials against local officials and southern residents to enforce integration. One particular case was open firing in Oxford Mississippi when James Meredith had to be escorted on campus by military police so that he could attend University of Mississippi as the university's first black student.

Lyndon Johnson, in his speech to announce the Voting Rights Act of 1965, stated that time for America to get over its legacy of racial bigotry was upon every citizen, adopting the Civil Rights protest phrase, “we shall overcome” closing his address.

The 1964 and 1965 Civil Rights legislation made overt discrimination illegal and punishable by law. The practices of discrimination that were custom for almost one hundred years were now illegal and federal agencies began enforcing the law. The Civil Rights Movement focused on the legacy of white supremacy and most visible forms of Jim Crow through legislative and judicial decision. Focus on civil rights became an issue of contestation for younger activist who saw that laws alone would not change racial hierarchies and economic conditions. When activist recognized the limitations of the law to change race relations entrenched in economic realities, the Civil Rights Movement began to splinter between the older and younger activist. The civil rights ideas of the Southern Christian Leadership Council (SCLC) were usurped by the demands of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) who oriented themselves around the idea of black political power. The growing militancy around “black power” was a rejection of integration as a goal; the economic structure of American racism became the target of radical groups formerly identified with civil rights. Omi and Winant identified the radical groups by the nation and class models of race relations that rejected the mainstream ethnicity model. The nation model that was defined by the internal colony thesis was adopted by black nationalists who compared the black community’s relationship to the U.S. state to African colonies’ relationship to France and Britain. The class model was represented by activist who applied the political economy theories of Karl Marx and Vladimir Lenin. For them, the primary source of oppression was economic

exploitation. These two models broke away from the ethnicity model that was popular in mainstream and academic circles where the relationship between blacks and whites was perceived as a matter of assimilation. The change in discourse is seen here with a shift away from assimilation with an emphasis on institutions that perpetuate racial disparities beyond overt acts of racism:

When White terrorists bombed a Black church and killed five Black children, that is an act of individual racism, widely deplored by most segments of the society. But when Black babies die each year because of the lack of proper food, shelter, and medical facilities, and thousands more are destroyed and maimed physically, emotionally, and intellectually because of conditions of poverty and discrimination in the Black community, that is the function of institutional racism.<sup>30</sup>

This black power position articulated by leaders such as Stokely Carmichael and Charles Hamilton represented a significant shift in the articulation of race relations that moved away from the dominant paradigm that the Civil Rights Movement previously operated within.

The inadequacies of the ethnic model for challenging racial conditions in the North, the same conditions that Drake and Cayton<sup>31</sup> documented decades before, were confronted by Martin Luther King Jr. when he also recognized the limits of civil rights. King refocused the Civil Rights Movement to the North following the lead of younger activists when he campaigned against living conditions in the slums of Chicago where many blacks lived due to housing discrimination and poverty. King's SCLC northern movement shifted from a southern movement that focused on voter registration and Jim Crow segregation to confront the very race relations in the North that were harder to challenge. When King began to fight racism too close to the homes

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<sup>30</sup> Stokely Carmichael and Charles V. Hamilton, *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation* (New York: Random House, 1976) 18.

<sup>31</sup> St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton, *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in a Northern City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1945).

of many northerners who supported the southern movement, he received less support from his supposed friends. When King focused the organization's energies on housing discrimination in 1966, he moved into the North Lawndale neighborhood on Chicago's west side to gain publicity for living conditions that did not spark the same public outrage as "white only" signs in the South. King's attack on northern racism found hostility from whites that was worse than what he had seen in the South.<sup>32</sup> The potential for violence was so great he enlisted black gang leaders to work with him promoting nonviolence.

When King and his followers demonstrated by marching into Chicago's Marquette Park neighborhood he was physically assaulted and had to be shielded by police from mobs of white residents to prevent a tragedy. Despite the physical attacks, King threatened that he would persist in his protest by organizing a march in Cicero on Chicago's northwest side. Many feared that King was risking his life in an impossible battle.<sup>33</sup> King's attempt to challenge de-facto segregation in Chicago ended with him making a verbal agreement with Chicago Mayor Richard Daley to open up housing. The only outcome of the verbal agreement was ensuring King left Chicago.

By the time Martin Luther King Jr. was assassinated, he moved beyond issues of civil rights and began implementing a platform focusing on the broader issues of militarism, economic exploitation, and racism. He challenged systemic issues like poverty, US foreign policies, and American cultural values rooted in market practices. King argued for America to lead a worldwide revolution of values.<sup>34</sup> Politically, Martin Luther King Jr. transformed into a radical

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<sup>32</sup> Robert Weisbrot, *Freedom Bound: A History of America's Civil Rights Movement* (New York: Plume, 1990).

<sup>33</sup> Robert Weisbrot, 1990.

<sup>34</sup> Martin Luther King Jr.'s shift can be witnessed in his speeches *Where Do We Go From Here*, his final inaugural address to the SCLC and his speech opposing the Vietnam War.

figure that is now reduced to his “I have a dream” speech and the notion that people should simply be judged by the “content of their character.” Any acknowledgement of the systemic changes related to poverty that he advocated through his evolution as an activist are overlooked by the popular narrative of his character. The racial uproar and riots in the wake of King’s assassination moved President Johnson to push the 1968 Fair Housing Act into law. Yet housing discrimination continues to be one of the root causes in racial disparities between blacks and whites.<sup>35</sup>

George Lipsitz makes a compelling argument that civil rights laws enacted to enforce fair housing, school desegregation, and fair hiring fall short because they were structured in a way that discrimination is hard to prove and when proven results in a slap on the wrist for the offender, thus making the price of proving racism more costly than the result, even if racism can be proven.<sup>36</sup> Lipsitz argues that while the laws prevent open discrimination, the law still maintains white privilege. One example is Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act that prevents discrimination in hiring. The AFL-CIO made sure that when the bill was passed it implemented a grandfather clause that protected whites who were previously hired under discriminatory practices. Since seniority in unions is paramount, black workers who were hired more recently were the first to be fired when unions began losing jobs in the 1970s and 1980s.

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<sup>35</sup> Melvin Oliver and Thomas M. Shapiro, *Black Wealth/White Wealth: A New Perspective on Racial Inequality* (New York: Routledge, 1997) demonstrated that blacks lose billions of dollars by higher home interest rates and the wealth gap between blacks and whites are predicted to increase for future generations. Recent data shows the persistence of discrimination in housing and other areas of American life. See Devah Pager and Hanah Shepherd, “The Sociology of Discrimination: Racial Discrimination in Employment, Housing, Credit, and Consumer Markets” in the *Annual Review of Sociology* 1, no. 34 (2008) 181-209.

<sup>36</sup> George Lipsitz, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness: How White People Profit From Identity Politics* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 1998). See chapter 2 specifically, “Law and Order: Civil Rights Laws and White Privilege.”

The Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) was established to secure fair hiring but did not have the power to enforce it. Many complaints that the EEOC received were not pursued because of budget limitations. In cases where violations were proven, the EEOC could not enforce cease and desist orders, only conciliation. Lipsitz argues that at “every stage over the past fifty years, whites have responded to civil rights laws with coordinated collective politics characterized by resistance, refusal, and renegotiation.”<sup>37</sup> In the case of housing, resistance and refusal resulted in development projects being halted and relocated to preserve white residential spaces. Renegotiation in school desegregation was implemented when authority was placed back in the hands of the same state and local authorities that practiced discrimination in the first place.

### **Political alignment**

Race has been at the center of electoral politics since long before blacks had the right to vote. The Negro Question was central to the founding of the Republican Party in 1854. The Republican Party contained an antislavery wing that opposed the expansion of slave states going west that would increase the political power of the Democratic Party through “slave power.”<sup>38</sup> The friction between the growing industrial North and the agrarian South was reflected in the founding of the country and how the two factions compromised; the enslaved African population in the South would be counted as three-fifths of a person. The constitutional compromise only ameliorated tensions for a period; a series of events including the Missouri Compromise in 1820, the Kansas-Nebraska Act of 1854, The Dred Scott Decision 1857, John Brown’s raid of Harper’s

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<sup>37</sup> Lipsitz 1998, 25.

<sup>38</sup> An early Republican slogan was “Free labor, free land, and free men”. This was a direct contrast to the political power that was maintained by slaveholders in the South who were primarily Democrats.



Ferry 1859, and rivalries within the House of Representatives mobilized the Republican Party enough in the Northeast and Midwest to elect Abraham Lincoln president in 1860 which began the South's succession from the Union.

The Civil War was a political battle between the industrial North and the agrarian South with a small segment of northern abolitionists who advocated the end of slavery. Abraham Lincoln was considered a moderate Republican in comparison to more staunch abolitionists such as Senator Charles Sumner of Massachusetts. Lincoln acted on political grounds, not racial equality; he clarified his position in a letter written to newspaper editor Horace Greeley,

My paramount object in this struggle is to save the Union, and is not either to save or to destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves I would do it; and if I could save it by freeing some and leaving others alone I would also do that.<sup>39</sup>

Due to Republicans being associated with defeat of the Confederacy and the implementation of unpopular Reconstruction policies, the Democratic Party aligned in the South after Reconstruction to become a solid voting bloc, known as the Solid South, up until 1964.<sup>40</sup> From 1877, beginning with the end of Reconstruction until the Civil Rights Movement, whites disenfranchised black voters from the Democratic Party of the South and whites sent representatives and senators to Washington to promote their interests, and this goal often led to pursuing policies that were racially oppressive. Blacks who were able to vote, mostly outside of the South, voted Republican. In the 1932 election, President Franklin D. Roosevelt's New Deal

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<sup>39</sup> Lerone Bennett, *Forced Into Glory: Abraham Lincoln's White Dream* (Chicago: Johnson's Publishing Company, 2000), 112.

<sup>40</sup> The exception was the 10 year period after the Civil War in which Republicans occupied the South and established racial progress. In this period, the U.S. had two black senators in Mississippi and a black governor in Louisiana. They were appointed by state legislators and represented the Republican Party. The Hayes-Tilden Compromise of 1877 ended this period and began the disenfranchisement that lasted until the Civil Rights Movement.

programs attracted large numbers of black voters to the Democratic Party. Roosevelt then received 71% of the black vote in the 1936 election. Roosevelt's populist New Deal programs were a major federal effort to increase government spending which many blacks assumed would bring relief to poor black communities.<sup>41</sup>

Harry S. Truman gained popularity as a Democratic candidate amongst blacks for his stance on desegregation of the Armed Forces in 1948, receiving 77% of the black vote. In the 1952 and 1956 presidential campaigns Republican Dwight D. Eisenhower won in landslide victories over Democratic candidate Adlai Stevenson. Neither candidate were strong on civil rights but more blacks favored Stevenson from Illinois who more liberal than Eisenhower. However a significant number of blacks (39%) voted for Eisenhower because his administration supported the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision; this was the last time the Republican party received large support from black voters. Black voters supported Kennedy in 1960 for his advocacy of civil rights, which gave him the swing vote in a narrow win over Nixon; Kennedy received 68% of the black vote. In the following presidential election, Democrat Lyndon B. Johnson received 95% of the black vote against Republican Barry Goldwater who opposed the 1964 Civil Rights Act.<sup>42</sup>

President Johnson lost popularity due to the radical leftist militant groups, urban riots in major cities, and the Vietnam antiwar protests. In 1968, Johnson withdrew from the Democratic primaries due to health reasons. Race was at the center of the 1968 presidential election that witnessed the political realignment of whites in the South, defecting from the Democratic Party

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<sup>41</sup> Lauren Sklaroff, *Black Culture and the New Deal: The Quest for Civil Rights in the Roosevelt Era* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

<sup>42</sup> David Bosisis, "Blacks and the 2004 Democratic National Convention," *Joint Center for Political and Economic Studies*, (2005).

that endorsed civil rights to Nixon's Republican Party that endorsed "Law and Order." Although Lyndon Johnson won easily over Barry Goldwater in the 1964 election, it was observed that many voters supported his opposition to civil rights and set the stage for the modern neo-conservative movement that would come to dominate U.S. politics.<sup>43</sup> In the 1968 election, Governor George Wallace of Alabama ran as an independent in defense of segregation and won five southern states. Richard Nixon's message was not as far right as Wallace's, but it appealed to southern voters who felt they no longer had a voice in the Democratic party. Nixon's political strategist Kevin Phillips explained his approach known as the southern strategy:

From now on, the Republicans are never going to get more than 10 to 20 percent of the Negro vote and they don't need any more than that... but Republicans would be shortsighted if they weakened enforcement of the Voting Rights Act. The more Negroes who register as Democrats in the South, the sooner the Negrophobe whites will quit the Democrats and become Republicans. That's where the votes are. Without that prodding from the blacks, the whites will backslide into their old comfortable arrangement with the local Democrats.<sup>44</sup>

Nixon was able to appeal to white voter's resentment of blacks and exploit it to gain political support. Racial resentment would be exploited by Republicans for decades, and Democratic candidates would campaign from a defensive position due to the perception of supporting "special interest," being soft on crime, and being too liberal. The Southern Strategy employed by the Nixon administration in 1969 would define race and politics for the next four decades and presently. Ronald Reagan's specific use of race in the 1970s and 1980s is discussed in the next section, but the Republican party is still influenced by the Southern Strategy. In 2005 Ken Mehlman, chairperson of the Republican National Convention offered apologies while campaigning for black voters for his party's manipulation of race:

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<sup>43</sup> Omi and Winant 1994.

<sup>44</sup> James Boyd, "Nixon's Southern Strategy: It's All in the Charts," *New York Times*, May 17, 1970.

Republican candidates often have prospered by ignoring black voters and even by exploiting racial tensions, by the '70s and into the '80s and '90s, the Democratic Party solidified its gains in the African-American community, and we Republicans did not effectively reach out. Some Republicans gave up on winning the African-American vote, looking the other way or trying to benefit politically from racial polarization. I am here today as the Republican chairman to tell you we were wrong.<sup>45</sup>

### **Structural Racism**

Carmichael and Hamilton's<sup>46</sup> distinction between the racism embodied in 16th Street Baptist Church bombing in Birmingham, AL that took the lives of four black girls and the thousands of black children dying each year due to disease, poverty, and discrimination (quoted above) represents two main forms of racism; violence by individuals and institutional oppression. What Carmichael and Hamilton referred to as institutional racism is more aptly identified as structural racism today. Analyses of social structures concerning racism is not new, W.E.B. Dubois<sup>47</sup> over one hundred years ago referred to color prejudice against Negro people in Philadelphia limiting possibilities for work, substandard living conditions, segregation, and limited access to education. All of these factors combined with the psychic conditions of race that are ingrained in American culture and consistent with organizational patterns in American society to produce structural racism that results in disproportionate life chances. Institutional racism examines how single institutions function to produce different life chances, but structural racism looks beyond any one institution and identifies how institutions and macro arrangements

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<sup>45</sup> Richard Benedetto, "GOP: 'We were wrong' to play racial politics," *USA Today*, July 14, 2005.

<sup>46</sup> Carmichael and Hamilton 1967.

<sup>47</sup> W.E.B. Dubois, "The Philadelphia Negro: A Social Study," (New York: Schocken Books Inc, 1899).

produce disparities by race; for example, residential segregation is at the center of wealth accumulation, educational inequality, and healthcare disparities.<sup>48</sup>

In recent American politics, controversies in presidential elections are examples of how state institutions continue to suppress minority voter participation through various forms of discrimination which appear nonracial on the surface but results in a significant loss of voting power in minority communities, which are more likely to vote Democratic. Florida has been central to the suppression of minority voters through its purging of voter rolls. In the tightly contested presidential election of 2000, Florida officials purged 100,000 voters from the rolls because they were eliminating convicted felons and deceased residents. Republican George W. Bush won office against Democrat Al Gore who demanded a recount in Florida, whose twenty-six electoral votes won Bush the election. A later investigation found many of the purged voters were racial minorities who were neither ex-felon nor deceased.<sup>49</sup> In the coming 2012 presidential election, Florida is again attempting to purge its voter rolls against an alleged 182,000 illegal voters, lead by Republican Governor Rick Scott.<sup>50</sup> The targeting of black and Latino voters is thinly veiled through euphemisms of ex-felons and illegal voters, who are thought to be non citizens of the United States. However structural racism in American voting patterns is attributed to more subtle impediments such as outdated voting machines are a lack of voting machines that increase longer lines in black communities, such was the case in Ohio for the 2004 presidential

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<sup>48</sup> See Oliver and Shapiro 1997 for disparities in wealth accumulation. Jonathan Kozol documents education disparities in *Savage Inequalities* (New York: Crown Publishers, 1991), and his more recent *Shame of A Nation* (New York: Crown Publishers, 2005). David Williams and Chiquita Collins links residential segregation to health disparities in the black community, "Racial Residential Health Segregation A Fundamental Cause of Health Disparities" *Public Health Reports* (2001) 116:404-416.

<sup>49</sup> Ford Fessenden, "Ballots Cast by Black and Older Voters Were Tossed in Far Greater Numbers," *The New York Times*, November 12, 2001.

<sup>50</sup> Lizette Alvarez, "Florida Steps Up Effort Against Illegal Voters," *The New York Times*, May 17, 2012.

election.<sup>51</sup> State officials and institutions contribute to voting patterns that reduce the potential affect of nonwhite voters in American politics.

Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's structural interpretation of racism encompasses different racial formations over time and space. Bonilla-Silva conceptualizes an understanding of structural racism based on five characteristics: (1) racialized social systems are societies that allocate differential economic, political, social, and psychological rewards to groups along racial lines (lines that are socially constructed with racial distinctions and common sense learning) that creates a racial structure; (2) races are the effects of social relations of opposition between racialized groups at all levels of social formation; (3) racial structures produce racial ideologies that become an organizational map for actors within the social structure; (4) in a society with a racial hierarchy there is always some form of racial contestation; (5) racial contestation reveals different racial objectives in a racial hierarchy.<sup>52</sup> In other words, a racialized social structure is one where social differentiations based on phenotype are classified as separate races that receive differential access to goods based on imposed classifications, thereby creating a racialized structure. The creation of different races is always hierarchal and oppositional; for example, whites are free and blacks are enslaved and groups struggle to maintain or change existing relationships. Racial ideology is the language racialized social structures use to organize different groups through a system of beliefs, logic, and rationales.

The Civil Rights Movement did not eliminate the racial structure (unequal life chances) but changed the way race is discussed and racism is practiced. Bonilla Silva assumes that groups

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<sup>51</sup> Adam Liptak, "Voting Problems in Ohio Set Off an Alarm," *The New York Times*, November 7, 2004.

<sup>52</sup> Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, "Rethinking Racism: Toward a Structural Interpretation" *American Sociological Review* 62 (1997), 470.

at the bottom of the hierarchy will contest racial ideologies and acknowledge a racialized structure of disadvantage. For example, an assumption of black politics is that the black elected official will seek to challenge racial ideologies that rationalize blacks at the bottom of the social structure by changing the existing relationships in society. People in different places in the social structure may represent opposing interests, for example those who benefit the most economically are assumed to support the status quo and existing relationships.

Bonilla-Silva's structural argument is powerful in that it can explain both covert and overt racial practices. The logic of his analysis views racial phenomena not as an aberration in a normal egalitarian society, but as an outgrowth of racial structure. A change in the racial social structure will produce changes in racial ideology. The prediction that whites will become a majority minority by 2050,<sup>53</sup> if not earlier, has significant implications for redefining racial categories and the significance given to those categories where race becomes an unstable construct.

Racial Formation theory details the ideological aspect of racism and how it adapts and transforms based on changes in the racial structure. Racial Formation theory, like Bonilla-Silva's structural approach, views race as fluid. Race can be obvious or de-centered but always present because racialized actors are always involved. For Omi and Winant racial ideology is the connection between the social structure on the macro level and the attitudes and opinions of groups and individuals on the micro level.

One aspect of the Civil Rights Movement was it put white Americans on the defense about racial inequality. Lyndon Johnson, as president pushed laws into to challenge racism, a

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<sup>53</sup> Current United States population projections can be found on the United States Census Bureau website: <http://www.census.gov/population/www/projections>

source of scrutiny and contestation from the political right. The southern-strategy was one reaction to the Civil Rights Movement and black voters integral place in the Democratic Party. The Civil Rights Movement would not be effectively challenged until the “Reagan Revolution” in the 1980s, which Omi and Winant describe as an example of a "sociohistorical process by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed.”<sup>54</sup> The language of racism established in the 1960s demanded a counter language such as “reverse racism” with added emphasis on America becoming a colorblind society since the racial structure of America had been challenged and equalized.

The Reagan Revolution, in terms of race, consisted of efforts to undue President Johnson’s Great Society programs. Reagan opposed Affirmative Action, welfare spending, and minority set-asides. Reagan also supported an anti-busing amendment, criticized the 1964 Civil Rights Act as a bad piece of legislation, and argued that the 1965 Voting Rights Act was flawed because the constitution places voting in control of local governments. Reagan was able to blunt criticisms of his policies against charges of racism by co-opting antiracist language. When defending his administration against Affirmative Action proponents Reagan stated: “We are committed to a society in which all men and women have equal opportunities to succeed, and so we oppose the use of quotas. We want a color-blind society. A society, that in the words of Dr. King, judges people not by the color of their skin, but by the content of their character.”<sup>55</sup> Reagan claimed to promote equality, even against racism targeting whites. Reagan associated quotas with Affirmative Action and claimed to be rightfully continuing the legacy of civil rights

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<sup>54</sup> Omi and Winant 1994, 55.

<sup>55</sup> Ronald Turner, "The Dangers of Misappropriation: Misusing Martin Luther King Jr.'s Legacy to Prove the Colorblind Thesis." *Michigan Journal of Race and Law* 2 (1996), 108.



when he stated: “We want what I think Martin Luther King asked for: We want a colorblind society. The ideal will be when we have achieved the moment when no one--or when nothing is done to or for anyone because of race, differences, or religion, or ethnic origin; and it's done not because of those things, but in spite of them.”<sup>56</sup>

Reagan’s ideal would be a society that ignored any historical act of discrimination and opposed any measure that sought to correct it. Reagan attacked any position that was part of the civil rights agenda but did not use overtly racial language. He used subtle and racially coded language such as “states’ rights” to build his base of support.<sup>57</sup> Reagan attacked welfare by using a story of a black woman from the south side of Chicago who symbolized people scamming the welfare system: “She has eighty names, thirty addresses, twelve Social Security cards and is collecting veteran's benefits on four non-existing deceased husbands. And she is collecting social security on her cards. She's got Medicaid, getting food stamps, and she is collecting welfare under each of her names. Her tax-free cash income is over \$150,000.”<sup>58</sup> Although this description does not mention anything overtly racial, the idea of the welfare queen is packed with imagery of a black woman who avoids working while having numerous children is an attempt to stir racial animosity. By using coded language, any accusation of racism can be refuted.

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<sup>56</sup> Turner 1996, 109.

<sup>57</sup> Reagan used the code words “states’ rights” to appeal to the crowd in Neshoba County, Mississippi where the three civil rights workers were murdered by Klansmen in their attempt to register black voters. “States’ rights” signals the freedom of whites in their locality to discriminate and handle their affairs without federal government intervention. It is also coded language to deny the connection between the Confederacy and its support for slavery. In this language, the American Civil War was not about slavery, it was about “states’ rights.”

<sup>58</sup> Turner 1996, 111

## **Colorblind Racism**

Colorblind racism is the most recent academic term used to describe the ideology of politicians and every day Americans since the Civil Rights Movement. Colorblindness is rooted in political correctness and the fear of sounding like a bigot. Colorblind ideology is the current racial project of colorblindness limits how race can be discussed in general discourse. Racial Formation theory defines a racial project as “...an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to organize and redistribute resources along particular lines.”<sup>59</sup> Racial projects are articulations that speak to what race means and how race matters. These projects are created and defeated in political struggles pitting groups with power against groups with limited power in a fight to define the racial structure. When someone claims they are colorblind, they are articulating that, for them, race does not matter in every day social interactions, the application of laws, a person’s ability to secure employment and resources, or perceptions of personal characteristics. In contrast, when one identifies colorblindness they describe a process by which the denial of color, or a socialized racial structure, contributes to the maintenance and reproduction of the unequal distribution of economic, social, and political resources by race.

Scholars have produced a number of ways of characterizing the changing nature of race relations. Sears and Kinder observed the decline in overt racism during the Civil Rights Movement and argued that racism is a matter of anti-black resentment couched in the expression of traditional American values to which blacks are seen by white American as less likely to

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<sup>59</sup> Omi and Winant 1994, 56.

adhere to.<sup>60</sup> John McConahay distinguished between old-fashioned racism and his concept of modern racism; he developed measures finding that whites continue to associate positive values with whites and negative values with blacks. In a survey, for example, white survey respondents were more likely to answer that they think blacks receive too much economic support from the government and are more prone to crime, but the same respondents were also in favor of anti-discrimination laws.<sup>61</sup> More recent works on colorblind racism grows out of earlier literature that followed the transformation of racial attitudes in the post-civil rights era.<sup>62</sup>

Of particular importance is Bonilla-Silva's work on colorblind racism where he described four frames: abstract liberalism, naturalization, cultural racism, and minimization of racism. These frames are central components of colorblind ideology that operate in a manner that preserve the racial order by explaining racial phenomena through convenient story lines and narratives that rationalize or explain away expressed racial injustices.<sup>63</sup> Bonilla-Silva explains the first frame *abstract liberalism* as core values of modernity that grew out of the enlightenment: individualism, universalism, egalitarianism, and meliorism. These ideas are central to people's beliefs about America and central to the constitution. The expression of values, such as individualism, is at odds with measures to correct injustices done to entire groups. Universalism is a pervasive idea that assumes appropriate behaviors and circumstances

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<sup>60</sup> David Sears and Donald Kinder, "Racial Tensions and voting in Los Angeles." in *Los Angeles: Viability and Prospects for metropolitan leadership*, ed. W. Z. Hirsch (New York: Praeger Books, 1971).

<sup>61</sup> John McConahay, "Self-interest versus racial attitudes as correlates of anti-busing attitudes in Louisville: Is it the buses or the black?" *Journal Of Politics* 44 (1982) :692-720.

<sup>62</sup> Educard Bonilla-Silva, *Racism Without Racists: Color-Blind Racism and the Persistence of Racial Inequality in the United States* (Maryland: Rowand and Littlefield Publishers, 2005). Michael Brown et al., *White-Washing Race: The Myth of A Color-Blind Society* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2003). Leslie Carr, *Color-Blind racism* (New York: Sage Publications, 1997). Tise Wise, *Color-Blind: The Rise of Post-Racial Politics and the Retreat From Racial Equity* (San Francisco: City Lights Books, 2010).

<sup>63</sup> Bonilla-Silva 2006, see chapter 2, "The Central Frames of Color-Blind Racism".

should apply to all citizens despite particular situations. Bonilla-Silva argues this is the most difficult frame because the language of liberalism is powerful and becomes more of a rhetorical game where the very language of equality can be used to empower and disempower. Black Americans argue for equal opportunity but with the idea that it entails some degree of redistribution to level an unequal playing field, where opponents of redistribution argue that redistribution is not American and violates the market economy that is based on hard work and individual initiative.

The *naturalization* frame comes closest to old-fashioned racism in that most of the claims are made based on a biological understanding of race. Some claim it is natural for whites to date other whites and for blacks to date other blacks. Residential segregation patterns are usually argued in the same way; similar people want to live around people that are like them and it is not a matter of racism but human nature because there is an inherent difference. Whites using this frame feel justified in doing so because they can reference behavior of minorities sticking together as well, or point to Historically Blacks Colleges and Universities as examples of self-segregation.

The *cultural racism* frame is commonly employed to use the behavior of a particular group to argue that group characteristics and values are the reason they are in their position along the racial hierarchy. The cultural frame has been a part of the sociology of race dating back to the early years of the Chicago School when a particular ethnic and racial group's culture was the factor preventing assimilation. This would later become a part of varying culture of poverty arguments that focus on deficient cultures as the reason for lack of success; as opposed to continuing discrimination or racism. African American Chicago School sociologist E. Franklin

Frazier for example, stressed the broken family structure of blacks migrating from the South to northern cities to explain issues of poverty, crime, and immoral behaviors.<sup>64</sup> Three decades later, sociologist Daniel Patrick Moynihan extended Frazier when he argued that the rise of black single mother families was the result of a destructive ghetto culture.<sup>65</sup> Everyday examples of cultural arguments assert that blacks have no value for education, they are materialistic but do not want to work hard, Mexican Americans cannot get good jobs because they do not want to speak English, and Middle Eastern Americans should be racially profiled because they are more likely to be terrorists. The cultural frame asserts that it does not have to do with the person's race but with the proclivity of the people of that race to perform in certain ways that are detrimental to their success.

The *minimization of racism* frame denies that racism is still a significant factor affecting minority's life chances. The best articulation of how race is minimized is when a minority claims some type of discrimination or treatment is based on race and they are accused of conveniently playing a "race card" as if it is something to be used to one's advantage. Race is believed to be only significant at the point in which a person of color wants to put a white person on the defense. This frame establishes the position that race relations are not as bad as they used to be therefore current claims of racism are no longer salient as an explanation for minorities', blacks' especially, disproportionate standards of living. Another common way race is minimized today is when people attribute disparities to economic and class factors; race is argued to not be as

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<sup>64</sup> E. Franklin Frazier, *The Negro Family* (New York: Arno Press, 1932).

<sup>65</sup> Daniel Moynihan, *The Negro Family: A Case For National Action* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Library, 1965).

significant an issue as class and therefore measures should not be aimed at race but poverty in general.

Bonilla-Silva argues that whites give personal testimonies or rely on common story lines to incorporate these different frames.<sup>66</sup> Personal testimonies operate in the manner of someone arguing they know something to be true from their particular experience with a person of color therefore legitimizing the frame they employ. The story line is the stock of explanations that are invoked to give credibility for certain beliefs. For example, black women are disproportionately poor because they lack motivation to work and know that the more children they have the more money they can collect from the government. That particular statement incorporates the cultural racism frame but Bonilla-Silva maintains that different frames are weaved together in flexible ways using story lines and testimonies at the same time to be able to explain any racial phenomena.<sup>67</sup>

Bonilla-Silva's framework is useful when analyzing deracialized politics in that it outlines four basic ways race is discussed without using explicit racial terms. The extent to which Deval Patrick can be seen as a deracialized elected official can be assessed through how he frames issues that pertain to inequality. Specifically the role race plays in how he implicates social structure, recognizing disparities while making testimonies, and incorporates certain story lines.

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<sup>66</sup> Bonilla-Silva 2005, 87.

<sup>67</sup> Bonilla-Silva 2005, 87.

## Not just a black problem

There was not a more prominent race man throughout the 19th century than Frederick Douglass. In Douglass' 1863 speech, *The Present and Future of the Colored Race in America* <sup>68</sup> he delivered a prophetic rendering of the "Negro Question" <sup>69</sup> months before Abraham Lincoln delivered the *Emancipation Proclamation*, which sought to use the position of enslaved Africans in the South for political leverage. <sup>70</sup> Douglass' speech addressed the four most popular propositions to assessing the Negro Question at the conclusion of a Civil War that the Union was bound to win. Each proposition fell short of Douglass' position of "complete enjoyment of civil and political Equality." The four ideas were: (1) the complete re-enslavement of the entire colored population by the white race -- free blacks in the North and the South were seen as upsetting the slaveocracy; (2) the various colonization schemes that sought to deport all black people out of the country, <sup>71</sup> (3) the emancipation of enslaved people from individual masters, subjecting them to caste status and making them slaves of the entire community – this was the plan that Douglass figured to be the worst possible course of action; (4) finally, white people of

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<sup>68</sup> Frederick Douglass, "The Present and Future of the Colored Race in America," Teaching American History, <http://www.teachingamericanhistory.com/> (accessed June 10, 2012).

<sup>69</sup> The Negro Question is the perennial dilemma of what is to be done with black people in America. This is often a question asked about black people by whites in positions of power especially before the Civil War but often asked by blacks themselves. After the Civil Rights Movement, Black Scholar Sydney Wilhelm would raise the question in relation to black people's place in America based on a reduction of labor needs: See Sydney Wilhelm, *Who Needs the Negro*, (New York: Schenckman Publishing Inc; 1970).

<sup>70</sup> This Emancipation Proclamation was also a maneuver by President Lincoln to prevent Great Britain from becoming involved in the Civil War on the side of the South. By making slavery a central issue, the British who outlawed the international slave trade was forced into the bystander position. See Bennett 2000.

<sup>71</sup> The American Colonization Society was an organization of slaveholders from the middle states that want to send free blacks back to Liberia before the war. Abraham Lincoln contemplated sending all blacks to Africa or possibly Haiti or Brazil. Frederick Douglass opposed free blacks of the African Civilization Society, namely Henry Highland Garnett and Martin Delaney, in their belief that leaving American was the best route to obtain freedom.

the country could declare an all-out war to exterminate blacks -- Douglass argued this horrendous act of genocide would forever stain America in world history.

Ironically, the scenario that Douglass feared the most became the reality. Douglass stated, “the white people may Emancipate the slaves in form yet retain them as slaves in fact...” despite passage of the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution.<sup>72</sup> Consequences of this formula, Douglass argued, would be the institutionalization of “pestilence and paupersim, ignorance and crime” in America while “dooming the colored race to a condition indescribably wretched and the dreadful contagion of their vices and crimes would fly like cholera and small pox through all classes.”<sup>73</sup> Conditions of second-class citizenship that Frederick Douglass describes can be likened to contemporary conditions that describe life for many black Americans, especially the urban “underclass.” Douglass is making a structural argument that oppression leads to behaviors that he predicted would make blacks “a scourge and a curse to the country.”<sup>74</sup> There are few people today who would openly refer to black people as a scourge, but political discourses continue to refer to largely black urban populations, which have developed as a result of structural inequalities, as social problems.

The specific attention on the behavior of blacks and other “problem groups” have always dominated the discourse of race relations in America and the alternative studies that more

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<sup>72</sup> See Douglas Blackmon, *Slavery by Another Name: The Re-Enslavement of Black Americans from the Civil War to World War II*, (New York: Anchor, 2009). Blackmon details how peonage was implemented throughout the South as a response to the new freed status of blacks.

<sup>73</sup> Douglass 1863.

<sup>74</sup> Douglass 1863.



accurately point to social structure have been secondary.<sup>75</sup> This exchange, I argue, has been the dominant paradigm in describing race relations in America and has guided scholarship and public discourse. Alternatively, the effect of categorizing inequalities and its structural roots is ineffective for producing social change against a dominant ideology that attributes immoral behaviors, lack of effort, and poor decisions as the root cause of present disparities. The reaction of deracialized black candidates has been to strategically maneuver around racial land mines to not offend American cultural sensibilities regarding race. As prescient as Frederick Douglass was in describing the treatment of blacks, he also offered an insightful yet underutilized argument on what would happen to whites as a product of white supremacy.

Douglass stated re-enslavement “would create a class of tyrants in whose presence no man’s liberty, not even the white man’s liberty would be safe. The slaveholder would then be the only really free man of the country.” The economic advantages of a few would be lucrative but the rest of the population “would either be slaves, or be poor white trash...the non-slaveholder would be the patrol, the miserable watch dog of the slave plantation.” Douglass’ view implicitly argues that whatever course of action is taken by the white majority in regard to the newly freed black population, it will stabilize a system of oppression for both blacks and whites.

The negative impact of racial oppression on whites is illustrated in Toni Morrison’s *Beloved*. In the preface she states that her purpose is to make the institution of slavery in the United States more intimate and in doing so she examines the stereotypes needed to rationalize slavery and the racial oppression that followed. Speaking in the voice of the narrator, Morrison

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<sup>75</sup> In American sociology the early theorist explained black behavior and position as a natural ordering of inferiority, when the Chicago school supplanted that view the deficient culture of blacks became the target. Since the Civil Rights Movement the cultural argument has resurfaced in many forms in the culture of poverty, or oppositional culture.

writes, “Whitepeople [sic] believed that whatever the manners, under every dark skin was a jungle. Swift unnavigable waters, swinging screaming baboons, sleeping snakes, red gums ready for their white blood.”<sup>76</sup> The construction represents the perceived savagery of African people that served as a rationale to treat black people as slaves then as inferior citizens. Morrison is describing race relations a decade after the Civil War by former enslaved people now living in Ohio. Morrison continues to explore how the creation of the jungle actually haunts whites who believe in the myth of the uncivilized African:

But it wasn't the jungle blacks brought with them to this place from the other (livable) place. It was the jungle white folks planted in them. And it grew. It spread. In, through and after life, it spread, until it invaded the whites who had made it. Touched them every one. Changed and altered them. Made them bloody, silly, worse than even they want to be, so scared were they of the jungle they had made. The screaming baboon lived under their own white skin; the red gums were their own.<sup>77</sup>

The jungle represents black inferiority during slavery and is presently likened to “concrete jungles,” where social pathologies make black people deficient, in terms of appropriate cultural values and attitudes, preventing them from being able to assimilate into mainstream America. Implicit in Morrison’s narrative is that whites bought into the idea blacks are inferior and have constructed a reality around that illusion. This myth has become real in its consequences; the jungles and ghettos are supposed to reflect black life, a mirror that reflects the construct of whiteness. The depravity of the ghetto is necessary for the construction of whiteness.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>76</sup> Toni Morrison, *Beloved* (New York: Penguin Publishing, 1987), 234.

<sup>77</sup> Morrison 1987, 234.

<sup>78</sup> Whiteness Studies is an interdisciplinary field of research that focuses on whiteness as an ideology tied to social status. Whiteness is the inverse of blackness as it has been negatively constructed. Toni Morrison’s literary criticism, *Playing in the Dark: Whiteness and the Literary Imagination*, (New York: Vintage; 1993) is an early work in the canon of Whiteness Studies where the constructions of whiteness and blackness is explored in American literature.

For ten years after the Civil War, America's Reconstruction presented the opportunity to clear the jungle of racial oppression. Instead, the reconstitution of de-facto slavery in the South solidified the jungle that continued to grow. Rayford Logan<sup>79</sup> referred to this period as the "nadir" because race relations degenerated to a point that social scientists rationalized a "natural order" that situated black people at the bottom of society.<sup>80</sup> The record number of lynchings during the "nadir" compelled Ida B. Wells to attack the construction of whiteness and economics underlying the tide of violence in the South.<sup>81</sup> Wells traveled to Britain in 1893 to document the brutality of racial oppression in Memphis, Tennessee and other Southern cities that did not get attention in the United States beyond the black press. The international scrutiny that Wells brought to America effectively reduced the number of lynchings. Her pamphlets and newspaper articles focused on the construction of the "dangerous black brute" and the need to protect the purity of white womanhood. Wells challenged the idea of the rapist black man by demonstrating how trumped up crimes and stereotypes were used to maintain the status quo. Wells stated that it was known many white women had consensual relations with black men, unlike many relations between white men and black women. The idea that white women were having consensual sexual relations with black men was enough for whites to threaten Wells' life and exile her from the South. She tugged at a foundation of white supremacy by challenging negative stereotypes of black masculinity and white woman moral purity. Ida B. Wells' assault on whiteness prevented her from returning to the South for over thirty years.

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<sup>79</sup> Rayford Logan, *The Betrayal Of the Negro: From Rutherford B. Hayes to Woodrow Wilson*. (New York: Collier Books, 1965).

<sup>80</sup> James Mckee, *Sociology and the Race Problem: The Failure of a Perspective* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1993).

<sup>81</sup> Ida B. Wells, *Crusade For Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991)

In the North, racial oppression took another form. *Black Metropolis: A Study of Negro Life in A Northern City* by St. Clair Drake and Horace Cayton illustrates white fears and anxiety based on the social construct of race that creates white fear of blackness. This sociological classic details the growing black community known as the Chicago Black Belt in the first half of the twentieth century: “The Midwest Metropolis seems uneasy about this Negro city growing up in its midst. In 1919, the Black Belt was the scene of a race riot, and in 1943, when race riots occurred in Detroit and New York, there were fears that a similar calamity might again befall Midwest Metropolis. The anticipated trouble did not materialize but the fear remains.”<sup>82</sup>

Drake and Cayton explored the white paranoia that feared the expanding black neighborhoods and the dangers that the black ghetto would have on the surrounding white neighborhoods. However, the most probing exploration of the effects of racism on whites themselves comes from Richard Wright in the introduction of *Black Metropolis*. Wright predicted that the findings in the book would be dismissed by whites because they did not want to believe, or could not afford to believe, blacks suffer high rates of disease, unemployment, poverty, crime among others, because of white prejudice.

The rationale for disbelief, Wright explained, was due to a riven consciousness that rest on the contradictions of American life. Wright discussed the Negro Question, like Douglass, and traced this split consciousness to an awakening of whites that were “freed from a feudal order in Europe and could now assert the basic dignity of man”,<sup>83</sup> but when they settled in America they had to enslave millions of Africans. Eighty-two years after Frederick Douglass’s proclamation, Drake and Cayton observed: “Yes, when the Negro problem is raised, white men, for a reason

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<sup>82</sup> Drake and Cayton 1945, 12.

<sup>83</sup> Drake and Cayton 1945, XXI.

which as yet they do not fully understand, feel guilt, panic, anxiety, tension; they feel the essential loneliness of their position which is built upon greed, exploitation, and a general denial of humanity; they feel the naked untenability of their split consciousness, their two faced moral theories spun to justify their right to dominate.”<sup>84</sup>

Richard Wright was hardly a race man<sup>85</sup> but saw the role that racial ideology served in maintaining oppression that now focused on cultural inferiority. Gunnar Myrdal’s massive volume of research on race relations depicted the prejudiced white person as someone who was southern, poor, and uneducated.<sup>86</sup> Myrdal believed the egalitarian values of the United States, along with education, would eventually ameliorate race prejudice. Wright did not adopt this idea; instead arguing that the problem was deep rooted and the seemingly rational and well-established white man suffers from the same fears and paranoia: <sup>87</sup>

It can be shown that a native-born white man, the end product of all our striving, educated, healthy, apparently mentally normal, having the stability of a wife and family, possessing the security of a good job with high wages, enjoying more freedom than any country on earth accords its citizens, but devoid of the most elementary satisfactions, will seize upon an adolescent, zoot-suited Mexican and derive deep feelings of pleasure from stomping his hopeless guts out upon the pavements of Los Angeles. But to know that a seemingly normal, ordinary American is capable of such brutality implies making a judgment about the nature and quality of our everyday American experiences which most Americans simply cannot do.<sup>88</sup>

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<sup>84</sup> Drake and Cayton 1945, XXV.

<sup>85</sup> Wright’s critiques were centered in a Marxist analysis where he confronts race as a problem that was hard to resolve within an analysis that focused on class. See Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of a Black Radical Tradition*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000).

<sup>86</sup> Gunnar Myrdal, *An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem and American Democracy*. New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1944).

<sup>87</sup> Wright’s analysis incorporates elements of Sigmund Freud’s *Civilization and its Discontents* (New York: W.W. Norton; 1962), which explains tensions between the individual and industrial society that forces man to suppress essential drives which leads to acts of aggression.

<sup>88</sup> Drake and Cayton 1945; XXVII

Although this statement was written in 1945, it has resonance in the present. In any given year the black community becomes enraged when a high profile racially motivated situation occurs and a black person is murdered.<sup>89</sup>

In the midst of the Civil Rights Movement, James Baldwin published *The Fire Next Time* and critics reviewed it as one of the most influential books on the subject of race relations. Much like the previous figures that saw the “Negro problem” as a problem of whiteness, Baldwin echoes the now familiar theme of whites being victims of white racism. Baldwin argued that the “American Negro” had an advantage because they did not have to believe in the collection of myths that white people cling to attempting to justify their social position. Baldwin argued that blacks viewed whites as: “...slightly mad victims of their own brainwashing. One watched the lives they led. One could not be fooled about that; one watched the things they did and the excuses they gave themselves, and if a white man was really in trouble, in deep trouble, it was to the Negro door they came. And one felt that if one had that white man’s worldly advantages, one would have never become so joyless and thoughtlessly cruel as he.”<sup>90</sup> Baldwin’s argued for the acknowledgement of race as political reality instead of anything inherent, this view entailed the possibility of a resolution to the Negro problem, which would mean liberation for whites. This discourse is framed as a common destiny between blacks and whites with the possibility of creating a better America. “The price of the liberation of the white people is the liberation of the blacks-total liberation in the cities, in the towns, before law, and in the mind...we, the black and

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<sup>89</sup> At the time of this writing, the murder of a black teenager, Trayvon Martin, is in national headlines because he was racially profiled and then murdered by a neighborhood watch coordinator. In the previous year, 2011, a black man, James Anderson was beaten by a group of white teens outside a hotel. The surveillance camera then recorded one of the teens running over and murdering the 49-year-old Anderson in a pickup truck.

<sup>90</sup> James Baldwin, *The Fire Next Time* (New York: Vintage Press, 1962), 102

the white, deeply need each other here if we are really to become a nation- if we are really, that is, to achieve our identity, our maturity, as men and women.”<sup>91</sup>

In 1963 a distressed James Baldwin was interviewed by black psychologist Kenneth Clark following a meeting with Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. James Baldwin and other colleagues in the Civil Rights Movement wanted the Federal government to protect protesters who were being attacked and jailed in Alabama by using federal authority to take a strong moral stance on civil rights with an emphasis on the conscience of America that goes beyond legal matters.<sup>92</sup> In the interview, Baldwin responded to Kennedy’s unwillingness to take a stronger stance on civil rights by arguing that America’s future rest in being able to solve its moral dilemma. The moral dilemma is rooted in deconstructing the idea of black inferiority and coming to terms with America’s history: “What white people have to do, try to find out in their own hearts, why was it necessary to have the nigger in the first place...because I’m a man...but if I’m not the nigger here and you invented him, you the white people invented him, you have to find out why, and the future of the country depends on that.”<sup>93</sup>

Public discourse in American race relations has not addressed Baldwin’s fundamental question. Ironically, after the Don Imus controversy in 2007, when he used racially and sexually offensive language in reference to black women on the Rutgers basketball team as “nappy headed hoes,” the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP)

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<sup>91</sup> Baldwin 1962, 97

<sup>92</sup> David Leeming, *James Baldwin: A Biography* (New York: Henry Holt, 1994).

<sup>93</sup> Henry Morgenthau, “The Negro and the American Promise,” *American Experience*, 1963, last retrieved June 2012, [http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/mlk/sfeature/sf\\_video.html](http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/amex/mlk/sfeature/sf_video.html).

conducted a burial ceremony for the “N-word” and not the underpinnings of such a statement.<sup>94</sup>

The NAACP’s reactionary posturing over the use of offensive language did not accept Baldwin’s challenge to force a dialogue to investigate the roots of the “Negro problem.”

Certainly, if he wants to be reelected, Governor Deval Patrick cannot speak in the same manner of Fredrick Douglass, Ida B. Wells, Richard Wright, or James Baldwin, but there are key elements within their discourse that could be effective in a current discourse that engages the possibility of talking about race. The first element is an embrace of America with an acknowledgement that America still has race problems that are deep rooted and structural. The second element is a discussion that focuses on ways in which large numbers of whites suffer from racism today. In a recent *Cable News Network* article asking “Are whites racially oppressed?” Whiteness Studies scholar Matt Wray remarked that, “Whites have never really felt terribly secure in their majority status. It's often said that it is lonely at the top, but it's also an anxious place to be, because you live in constant fear of falling.”<sup>95</sup> Conservative politicians have stoked fears of a diminishing whiteness to gain political advantage. A progressive message that addresses white anxiety is a significant task for challenging institutions that reproduce inequality. Baldwin’s contention that whites have to become black is one way Deval Patrick’s governance approaches the political reality and the future of America.

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<sup>94</sup>See Corey Williams, “NAACP Symbolically Buries N-Word,” *The Washington Post*, (July 7, 2009). Don Imus was a nationally syndicated radio shock jock. In his defense of calling the Rutgers women basketball players “nappy headed hoes” he stated that African Americans call each other the N-Word all the time. The situation became about where to place the blame for the use of derogatory language and the NAACP’s position was to attack the use of the word in black America.

<sup>95</sup> See John Blake, “Are Whites Racially Oppressed,” *Cable News Network*, March 4, 2011.



### **Confrontation is the Answer**

Returning to the issue first raised by Frederick Douglass, one might ask what type of effect does continuing to avoid the existence of racism have on whites? In many cases, it creates a situation where seemingly well intentioned whites become shocked when they realize they are at least complicit in a racial social structure. Barbara Trepagnier did in-depth focus groups with white women and found that they lacked the cultural competency to interact with confidence around people of color, lacked meaningful relationships (despite popular testimony of having black friends), and were more concerned about being considered racist than actually understanding the significance of race in the lives of people of color.<sup>96</sup> Trepagnier argues that the idea of who is and who is not racist is outmoded for the contemporary world; greater emphasis should be placed on people understanding how race matters. Instead of focusing on people of color and the idea that they play the “race card,” attention should be placed on whites and how they are affected by their own denial of race to the point that it hinders them socially. Mica Pollock argues whites are not far colorblind, whites find themselves in situations where race is involved and simply do not know how to respond because they are overrun with anxiety and confusion.<sup>97</sup> For some whites the mere mention of race becomes equivalent to racism. Pollock’s study takes place within an educational setting in which openness and communication should be a valued commodity, but because racial politics since the Civil Rights Movement have revolved around tension and polarization, it creates a situation where all Americans suffer, whites included.

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<sup>96</sup> Barbara Trepagnier, *Silent Racism: How Well-Meaning White People Perpetuate the Racial Divide* (Boulder: Paradigm Publishers, 2006)

<sup>97</sup> Mica Pollock, *Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas in an American School* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Silence on issues regarding race only increases the racial divide and there is growing evidence that whites who are exposed to people of color become more aware and culturally competent in understanding and accepting racial issues.<sup>98</sup> Kirwan Institute scholars found that the dilemma is not whether one can or cannot talk about race; it is a matter of how race is discussed that makes the difference.<sup>99</sup> Their study found both liberal whites and conservative whites showed greater understanding and support of race-specific policies once they were provided with information that counters at least three of the four frames identified by Bonilla-Silva. Liberals and conservatives were both inclined to oppose race-specific policies that target racial disparities; when only one frame was countered with factual evidence, liberals were more supportive and conservatives became more oppositional. However, when two and three frames were countered, even self-identified conservatives became almost as likely to support race-specific programs as liberal respondents.

These findings support Omi and Winant's argument that competing racial projects validate ways in which people understand race without actively participating in explicit discussions of race. "Everybody learns some combination, some version, of the rules of racial classification, and of their own racial identity, often without obvious teaching or conscious inculcation. Race becomes 'common sense' - a way of comprehending, explaining, and acting in the world."<sup>100</sup> Within the context of colorblindness, the common sense for many white Americans, is an automatic link between the acknowledgement of racial disparities, racial

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<sup>98</sup> Z.L. Hajnal, Z. L., "White residents, black incumbents, and a declining racial divide," *American Political Science Review* 95 (2001):603-617.

<sup>99</sup> P.J. Mazzocco and D.W. Newhart, "Color-Blind Racism and Opposition to Progressive Racial Policy: A New Scale and Supportive Findings," (2006) Kirwan Institute, Columbus.

<sup>100</sup> Omi and Winant 1994, 106.

identities, or racial classifications with being racist. A critical aspect of someone in Deval Patrick's position, is that his discursive use of race in the political arena, could employ counter frames to the common sense understandings about race and how it still matters. A strategic reframing of America that counters colorblind frames that explain away racial disparities, may lead to many Massachusetts voters who would normally be against race specific programs to reevaluate their position.

For Deval Patrick, a politician with a racial consciousness, how he negotiates the terrain of racial politics requires careful calculation of speech. One misplaced statement could result in a maelstrom of controversy that could pose serious problems for his ability to get reelected. For example, an ill-fated attempt to pose racial disparities in education as a problem, runs the risk of being labeled a racist for stating that race matters for educational opportunities and outcomes. In terms of representation, if the Boston Globe portrays Governor Patrick as an elected official who specifically advocates for African Americans, white voters may understand this as racism, whereas black voters have expectations that Patrick addresses specific forms of racism. Patrick's success in managing diverging expectations of him lies in his ability to connect disparate demands by his constituency through common understandings and shared goals.

With the election of President Barack Obama there have been increasing arguments that America is now in a post-racial era and that the very existence of black politics is no longer necessary.<sup>101</sup> Statements questioning the need for black politics disregard the existence of race playing any role in America today. Whites view themselves as more liberal now than previous

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<sup>101</sup> Matt Bai, "Is Obama the End of Black Politics," *The New York Times*, August 6, 2008

decades while believing race is less of an issue. Vincent Hutchings found evidence to the contrary in his study of the 2008 presidential elections that examined American's voting preferences:

First, divisions between Blacks and Whites on explicit (and some implicit) racial policy matters have not declined significantly in the last twenty years. Second, although White supporters of Barack Obama are more liberal than other whites, they remain significantly less supportive of, and less likely to prioritize, liberal racial policies compared to African Americans. Third, sub-groups of Whites who might have been expected to grow more racially liberal overtime, such as Democrats, liberals, and individuals under thirty, have generally not changed relative to 1988. Fourth, even in 2008, a primary reason that many whites opposed racially liberal policies is because of anti-black stereotypes or indifference to the plight of African Americans. This latter finding also applies, in a more muted fashion, to White supporters of Obama. And, at times the influence of racial prejudice is greater for liberals than for conservatives, but sometimes the reverse is also true. Finally, negative racial stereotypes and lack of sympathy for African Americans also contributed significantly to opposition to the Obama candidacy in 2008.<sup>102</sup>

Tuch and Hughes' study supports Hutchings showing white racial attitudes towards blacks have not changed since the 1980s and they explain almost forty percent of the variance in the policy gap between blacks and whites when it comes to race-specific programs such as affirmative action.<sup>103</sup> Race resentment is the strongest form of prejudice determining white's policy decisions. Whites do not believe blacks face discrimination or are particularly burdened by the legacy of past discrimination because they attribute racial inequality to the perceived lack of effort or ability of blacks themselves. Thus, race-specific programs only fuel animosity. Whites continue to delude themselves, and an increasing number of black do as well when claiming that racism no longer matters.<sup>104</sup> White Americans will continue to find themselves

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<sup>102</sup> Vincent Hutchings, "Change or More of the Same? Evaluating Racial Attitudes in the Obama Era," *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73 (2009), 938.

<sup>103</sup> Steven Tuch and Michael Hughes, "Whites' Racial Policy Attitudes in the 21st Century: The Continuing Significance of Racial Resentment," *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 643 (2011) 134-152.

<sup>104</sup> Helen Neville et al., "Color-Blind Racial Ideology and Psychological False Consciousness Among African Americans," *Journal Of Black Psychology* 31 (2005).

attempting to explain situations where race is a factor and find themselves going through anxiety, confusion, and anger due to a racial ideology that manipulates them into living contradictory lives absent of coherence when it comes to race.<sup>105</sup> The challenge now, especially for black elected officials, is not to avoid race but to discuss race in a manner whites can be more comfortable and confident in, understanding that they live within a racialized social structure and are challenged to not avoid being called a racist but creating social change that would also benefit them.

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<sup>105</sup> Jon Hanson and Kathleen Hanson, "The Blame Frame: Justifying (Racial) Injustice in America," *Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review* 413 (2006).

## Chapter Two: The Politics of Deracialization

When Harold Cruse wrote his classic polemic, the *Crisis of the Negro Intellectual*, he argued that there is a fundamental ideological division within the black community.<sup>106</sup> On the one hand, he argued, there are the integrationist activists who are invested in the myth of an open society in America who fight in vain for full inclusion. On the other hand, there are the nationalists who represent a clearer political vision in America, a plural society composed of power groups with competing interests. At the time of Cruse's writing, black America had shifted from the Civil Rights Movement to the Black Power Movement. Affecting both groups was the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which signaled a major victory for the Civil Rights Movement led by integration oriented activist, but also exposed the limitations of civil rights. The restrictions emboldened younger black activist who rallied around the notion of black power which elevated the long existing ideological tensions in the black community.<sup>107</sup> Ironically, the tension between these two groups would briefly coalesce around the right to vote.

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<sup>106</sup> Harold Cruse, *The Crises of the Negro Intellectual* (New York: New York Review Books, 1976)

<sup>107</sup> Cedric Robinson in *Black Movements in America* (New York: Routledge; 1997), traced this conflict of political interest to the earliest days of American history where some blacks chose to petition for freedom in the newly formed United States; Robinson referred to them as Black Republicans, while other blacks opted to chart their own destiny and fight for freedom outside of the confines of American law.

This formation symbolized by the landmark book, *Black Power*, joined academician Charles V. Hamilton with the black power activist Stokely Carmichael to chart a direction for the black community within the changing social, economic, and political American landscape.<sup>108</sup> A central issue in *Black Power* was how the vote could be used to further a politics of liberation that was dependent on elements of black nationalism and integration. This moment in black politics complicates the nationalist and integrationist binary. Martin Delaney, the father of Black Nationalism, advocated the emigration of blacks to Africa before the Civil War. The exodus impulse in black politics is as old as integration. Delany would later become a Major in the Civil War on the side of the Union and then Georgia legislator during the Reconstruction period. If the father of Black Nationalism engaged the dual nature of the black freedom struggle, the dilemma in black politics today is more of a contemporary manifestation of an old phenomenon.<sup>109</sup>

The rise of high profile elected officials does not mark the demise of grassroots black politics. The New York Times printed a story, *Is Obama the End of Black Politics?*<sup>110</sup> The very nature of the question represents a misunderstanding of black politics. Black politics, more than any other factor, is a reaction to the social, economic, and political oppression of blacks in the United States. The end of black politics would likely signal the end of the conditions that make black politics vital. The only way President Obama could be the end of black politics is if he

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<sup>108</sup> Charles Hamilton and Stokely Carmichael, who would later become Kwame Toure, had black nationalist orientations but both authors engaged in politics of integration in some form. Toure was a major proponent of Civil Rights activism through voter registration and freedom rides before he popularized the Black Power slogan. Hamilton as a Ph.D represented integration through his institutional positions and Democratic Party politics. *Black Power: The Politics of Liberation*, (New York: Random House, 1992).

<sup>109</sup> James Cone, through his examination of Malcolm X and Martin Luther King argued that the two leaders who were looked at in opposition were in fact complementary. *Malcolm and Martin & American: A Dream Or Nightmare*, (New York: Orbis Books, 2001). The difference is usually a question of tactics and strategies in response to the same oppression. The view of America as a dream or nightmare is in part a product of their subjective experiences in America.

<sup>110</sup> Bai, 2008.

managed to eliminate all forms of contemporary racism while dissolving the vestiges of historical racism in which contemporary racism functions effectively in institutional form. Instead, high profile black elected officials like Obama are a contemporary feature of race relations in America to which black politics have to adapt.<sup>111</sup>

The success of the Civil Rights Movement was that it dismantled legal apartheid and overt forms of discrimination, which allowed the opportunity to elect officials who would now reinforce the Civil Rights Movement gains by advocating equitable policies and social welfare spending, and representing black communities in political processes where the public allocation of resources can be equitably distributed. This expansion in black politics opened the door for possibilities that were nonexistent except for a brief period during Reconstruction.

Lani Guinier maintains that both nationalists and integrationists made four problematic assumptions about the newly black elected officials: (1) Black elected officials are authentic because of their community and cultural roots; (2) they have authority due to their election; (3) they are legitimate because of community mobilization and enthusiasm; (4) they are more responsive to the needs of the community because they recognize themselves as members of a historically, socially, and politically stigmatized group and would therefore support community agendas.<sup>112</sup> The assumptions identified by Guinier are based on the homogenization of blackness due to the rigidity of Jim Crow and overt forms of racism that defined a group experience for African Americans. The Civil Rights Movement pushed a transformation in America that created greater opportunities for some black Americans, that broadened the range of experiences, but that

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<sup>111</sup> The next chapter explores the existing conditions of race in which black politics is founded.

<sup>112</sup> Lani Guinier, "The Triumph of Tokenism: The Voting Rights Act and the Theory of Black Electoral Success," *Michigan Law Review* 89 (1991), 1077-1154.



also revealed that black America is politically heterogenous. The emergence of black elected officials at the end of the Civil Rights Movement would represent a new thrust in black politics.

### **From Protest to Politics**

The first wave of black elected officials of the late 1960s and early 1970s were directly connected to the Black Power Movement. The first cohort of black elected officials were voted into mayoralties in major cities such as Newark, New Jersey, Gary, Indiana, Detroit, Michigan, Cleveland, Ohio, and Atlanta, Georgia. Their rhetoric and the period characterized them as “insurgent black” elected officials because of their explicit appeals to their black constituencies and the primary issue of racial equality.

The record reflecting the gains achieved by black communities through these mayors is mixed. During the 1960s, the U.S. was beginning to experience major economic and social transformations that constrained these mayors ability to govern.<sup>113</sup> With major industries leaving urban centers, white flight to the suburbs, depressed economies, and crippled tax bases, mayors often resorted to operating in the interests of the business elites to bolster the failing economies.<sup>114</sup> Black residents that were in advantageous positions were able to position themselves to receive government contracts, black municipal employment increased helping to establish a growing black middle class, and there was a significant decrease in police brutality.<sup>115</sup> However, a significant number of blacks in these now majority-black cities experienced little

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<sup>113</sup> William Julius Wilson, *The Truly Disadvantaged: The Inner City, the Underclass, and Public Policy* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1987).

<sup>114</sup> Adolph Reed, *Stirrings in the Jug: Black Politics in the Post-Segregation Era* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999).

<sup>115</sup> William Nelson and Philip J. Meranto, *Electing Black Mayors* (Columbus: Ohio State University Press Inc., 1977).

or no economic progress. First wave black elected officials swept into political office but inherited the institutional and economic constraints of bankrupt cities.

Richard Hatcher became one of the first African-American mayors of an industrial northern city when he was elected Mayor of Gary, Indiana in 1968; four years later, Hatcher hosted the 1972 National Black Political Convention. This event appeared to be the realization of black power. Here was an American city presided over by a black mayor, hosting a convention where blacks from all over the country debated the social and political destiny of black America. The high hopes of the convention were contrasted with a staunch reality. Robert Smith considered the convention a failure because it did not recognize the diversity of ideological positions within the black community and did not offer a clear direction for blacks to proceed as a group in the America.<sup>116</sup>

The two political conventions that followed (Little Rock, Arkansas in 1974 and Cincinnati, Ohio 1976) did not move beyond what Smith referred to as “hollow calls for unity” amongst civil rights organizations, grassroots activist, and institutional politicians. Observers such as Harold Cruse remarked that the promise of the conventions represented a “still birth” despite the potential.<sup>117</sup> Cedric Johnson argues that mayors like Richard Hatcher symbolized the strain of the 1970s radicalism. Black power advocates attempted to manage declining cities while pressing for Great Society programs that targeted racial injustice and poverty on the one hand and acquiescing to neoliberal pro-growth politics on the other hand has contributed to ascending rates of inequality.<sup>118</sup> Black politics in that moment faced the two fold problem that endures at

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<sup>116</sup> Robert Smith, *We Have No Leaders* (Albany, NY: Suny Press, 1996).

<sup>117</sup> William J. Cobb, *The Essential Harold Cruse Reader* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan Publishers, 2000).

<sup>118</sup> Cedric Johnson, *Revolutionaries to Race Leaders: Black Power and the Making of African American Politics* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 2007).

the current moment, economic adjustment in the post-World War II era, and a greater complexity of issues.<sup>119</sup>

## **Deracialization**

The second formation of black elected officials in the late 1980s and early 1990s contrasted the first cohort in that they were not defined by a period of black power. Second wave black candidates began courting white voters to obtain offices beyond majority black jurisdictions. In order to court the white vote, second wave black candidates deemphasized racial issues to win elections. The November elections of 1989 signaled the success of the emerging deracialization phenomena as L. Douglas Wilder's made history when he became the first elected black governor in the United States.<sup>120</sup> The strategy of appealing to white voters by articulating issues that do not polarize the white vote earned victories for black candidates in the mayoral elections in New York City, Seattle, Durham, and New Haven.

Charles Hamilton introduced the idea of deracialization as early as 1972 as an agenda-setting strategy to advance new stages of struggle in the face of conservative backlash to the Civil Rights Movement. Hamilton advanced the concept of deracialization when advising the Democratic Party before the 1976 presidential elections to adopt issues to appeal to broad segments of the electorate across racial lines, yet focusing on issues like employment and health

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<sup>119</sup> By neglecting issues of gender and sexuality the Civil Rights Movement and Black Power Movement failed to recognize a growing woman's movement that pressed forward. Expressions of racial authenticity sought to suppress issues that competed with Black Nationalist expressions of the struggle. As class and gender issues became more pronounced in black communities, the ability to adapt to these broader societal problems would mark the decline that is considered the post Civil Rights period.

<sup>120</sup> Wilder was not the first black governor. PBS Pinchback was Governor of Louisiana for 34 days in 1872 during the Reconstruction period. He was promoted from lieutenant governor when incumbent Governor Henry Clay Warmoth was impeached.

care vital to the black community.<sup>121</sup> Hamilton's argument was based on the observation of Republicans using race to polarize white voters against the Democratic Party in the 1972 presidential elections. By emphasizing "non-racial" issues, Republicans would have less fuel to use racial animus against the Democratic Party. Hamilton preceded William Julius Wilson's argument that the focus should be on class-based strategies that are important to all races. Democrats could regain lost support against Republicans by taking a progressive stance on universal issues that support minorities and poor whites and would not be recognized as racial policies. Wilson argued that class is more powerful in explaining black poverty than racism and strategies should be informed by class, not race.<sup>122</sup>

Significant attention to the deracialization concept began at a meeting of the National Coalition of Black Political Scientist (NCOBPS), in response to the November 1989 elections, nearly twenty years after Hamilton's initial formulation. Deracialization was debated as an emergent trend in black politics from its inception. Huey Perry argued that a deracialized campaign strategy does not necessarily lead to deracialized governance and even when race is not mentioned, economic benefits for blacks can still be sought.<sup>123</sup> Carol Pierannunzi and John Hutcheson found in the 1989 Atlanta mayoral election, where all the candidates were black, a deracialized strategy benefitted Maynard Jackson because he was able to draw support across

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<sup>121</sup> Joseph McCormick and Charles E. Jones, "The Conceptualization of Deracialization: Thinking Through the Dilemma," in *Dilemmas of Black Politics: Issues of Strategy and Leadership*, edited by G. A. Persons, (New York: HarperCollins College Publishers, 1993). This seminal chapter on the deracialization concept traced the development of the concept beginning with Charles V. Hamilton.

<sup>122</sup> In Wilson 1987, he asserted the primacy of class over race by arguing that affirmative action benefited blacks who were already in advantaged situation to succeed while blacks in impoverished situations did not benefit by affirmative action. Wilson argued universal programs would be more effective than race-based programs because the primary issue was class in the 1980s.

<sup>123</sup> Huey Perry, "Exploring the Meaning and Implications of Deracialization In African-American Urban Politics," *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 27 (1991), 181-191.

race and class lines.<sup>124</sup> Mary Summers and Philip Klinkler found that John Daniels' mayoral victory in New Haven, CT did not result from centrist appeals to white voters but from a progressive platform that allowed him to address issues important to the black community.<sup>125</sup>

Robert Starks was the most critical; he argued that deracialization as a strategy is an old phenomenon that stabs at the heart of black politics.<sup>126</sup> He traced the deemphasizing of race in politics to Booker T. Washington and argued that black mayors had been employing deracialization throughout the 1970s as a way to attract business interest to bankrupt cities. Starks likened deracialization to political opportunism and accommodation. The mini symposium to address the deracialization concept and its relationship to black politics left many questions unanswered and would be central to an edited volume on the "New Black Politics."

*Dilemmas of Black Politics: Issues of Leadership and Strategy* published in 1993, was the first edited volume focused on the deracialization concept. Joseph McCormick and Charles Jones advanced a formal definition of deracialization: Conducting a campaign in a stylistic fashion that defuses the polarizing effects of race by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues, while at the same time emphasizing those issues that are perceived as racially transcendent, thus mobilizing a broad segment of the electorate for purposes of capturing or maintaining office.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup> Carol Pierannunzi and John D. Hutcheson, "Deracialization in the Deep South: Mayoral Politics in Atlanta," *Urban Affairs Review* 27 (1991), 181-191.

<sup>125</sup> Mary Summers Philip A. Klinkler, "The Daniels Election in New Haven and the Failure of the Deracialization Hypothesis," *Urban Affairs Review* 27 (1991), 202-215.

<sup>126</sup> Robert Starks, "A Commentary and Response to 'Exploring the Meaning and Implications of Deracialization In African-American Urban Politics,'" *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 27 (1991), 216-222.

<sup>127</sup> This definition by McCormick and Jones is the first definition of deracialization as an electoral strategy for black political aspirants. It is still the standard definition initially formulated in "The Conceptualization of Deracialization: Thinking Through the Dilemma," *Black Politics: Issues of Leadership and Strategy*, (New York: HarpersCollins; 1993), 76.

This definition includes three components of deracialization: political style of the black candidate (which implies the ability to appear non-threatening and likable), mobilization tactics (avoiding direct racial appeals and organizing of the black community), and issues (avoiding a racial agenda and focusing on broad issues of support). McCormick and Jones included political context as an important factor for black candidates to be able to deracialize. The political context includes the type of office sought, if it is a presidential election year, whether the political culture is liberal or conservative, and the major political issues that people are concerned with.

McCormick and Jones addressed the important question, “To what extent can we characterize this recent wave of electoral victories by African Americans in predominantly white political jurisdictions as an expression of black politics?”<sup>128</sup> The answer to this question requires a formal definition of black politics. Robert Starks argued that black politics is a practice to establish race-specific empowerment to exercise some degree of independence.<sup>129</sup> According to this position, the act of avoiding race and calling it a form of black politics is an oxymoron. Jones and McCormick argued that black politics in electoral form, “...involves efforts by blacks to capture public office for the express purpose of using the policy tools of government to improve the material conditions of black constituents in a way that is sensitive to the historical role and continuing impact of white racism in American political life.”<sup>130</sup>

The problem with this definition is that one must assume that the intentions of the black elected official are to use his or her office to challenge racism even when their intention to ameliorate racism is not expressed. The question of whether it is black politics becomes a

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<sup>128</sup> McCormick and Jones 1993, 76.

<sup>129</sup> Starks 1991.

<sup>130</sup> McCormick and Jones 1993, 76.

question of the actions of an individual once in office. This is problematic because the determination is not based on the group's effort to help the elected official capture office. McCormick and Jones asserted that black politics is not simply an expression "by those who happen to be black,"<sup>131</sup> it is about the effort to fight institutional racism. From this logic, if the black community supports a candidate whose aim is to challenge institutional racism, then the race of the candidate does not matter. The mobilization of the black community and the employed strategy to elect the candidate is what determines whether the term "black politics" is appropriate. McCormick and Jones reasoned, "If deracialization as a successful electoral strategy leads its practitioners to ignore the policy oriented concerns of African Americans, then we should rightfully dismiss their political behavior as nonlegitimate [sic] expressions of black politics."<sup>132</sup> Black politics in this regard would be the continued efforts of the black community and/or progressive groups to press for the implementation of policy demands that were promised or assumed (in the case of the deracialized black electoral official). In this regard, the deracialization strategy does not have to be dismissed, but can be tried on a case-by-case basis when a candidate is viable.

### **Racial Crossover**

The ability of the black candidate to appeal to white voters in bi-racial campaigns (a black candidate running against a white candidate) is central to the deracialization strategy. Prior to Douglass Wilder's gubernatorial victory in Virginia, United States Senator Edward Brooke from Massachusetts was the only example of high profile statewide success. In 1966, when

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<sup>131</sup> McCormick and Jones 1993, 79.

<sup>132</sup> McCormick and Jones 1993, 79.

Brooke took office, blacks in Massachusetts represented only three percent of the population. Edward Brooke was the first black senator to be elected and still the only Republican black senator to be elected.<sup>133</sup>

As a candidate, Edward Brooke presented himself in the image of “the non-threatening moderate middle class black politician.”<sup>134</sup> He gained support as a law and order candidate when he exposed corruption in both the Democratic and Republican parties. Racial issues were not explicitly discussed in his campaign, but when confronted with the loss of white support because of the growing black militancy, Brooke addressed race by denouncing violence, black power, and extremism from both the left and the right.<sup>135</sup>

Contrary to Brooke’s campaign style, while in office Brooke was an organizer of the progressive Republicans and was instrumental on the 1968 Fair Housing Act, Lyndon Johnson’s Great Society Programs, and Johnson’s Commission on Civil Disorders. Brooke was the first black official elected to a high profile office as a U.S. Senator and demonstrated a moderate platform yet progressive governance when it came to the interests of blacks.<sup>136</sup>

Edward Brooke’s success was seen as an anomaly in black electoral politics. He was elected as a Republican in 1966 when blacks began voting as a bloc for the Democratic Party in the 1960 and 1964 presidential elections. Brooke notwithstanding, the conventional wisdom prior to Douglass’ victory was that blacks could not win high profile statewide elections. Tom Bradley’s 1982 campaign for governor of California seemed promising in the early projections.

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<sup>133</sup> The black U.S. senators during the Reconstruction period were appointed by the state legislature not by popular elections.

<sup>134</sup> Raphael Sonenshein, "Can Blacks Win State Wide Elections," *Political Science Quarterly* 105 (1990), 25.

<sup>135</sup> John Becker and Eugene E. Heaton, “The Election of Senator Edward W. Brooke,” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 31 (1967), 346-358.

<sup>136</sup> Jeffries and Jones 2006.



He did not have any Democratic Party opposition and he was a popular candidate with a strong base of support stemming from his tenure as mayor of Los Angeles. Bradley also possessed a deracialized political style, and good a reputation. What eventually worked against Bradley was a lack of statewide experience, Democratic Party factionalism that prevented him from getting support throughout the state, and his support for a gun control initiative. The gun control proposition fueled the opposition to a black candidate capturing the state executive office. The National Rifle Association was able to mobilize white voters against Bradley. Scholar Thomas Pettigrew observed, “The ‘normal’ racist vote may have been augmented by the outpouring against gun control. People may have come out to vote against Proposition 15 and stayed around to vote against the black candidate.”<sup>137</sup>

Wilder’s victory in the southern state of Virginia, with an estimated 17% black population, caused political scientist to formulate the essential factors for a successful crossover strategy for statewide office.<sup>138</sup> Charles Jones and Michael Clemons formally established the racial crossover model for black candidates.<sup>139</sup> The model outlines five factors for the candidate to win: (1) the candidate must have the backing of a major party apparatus; (2) the candidate must have served an appropriate apprenticeship that makes him or her qualified; (3) the media must act in ways to thwart racial attacks directed at the candidate; (4) the candidate must employ a deracialized strategy, and (5) the candidate must have some luck or have a “wild card” in their favor. Judson Jeffries and Charles Jones studied all the high profile (U.S. Senate and governor)

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<sup>137</sup> Sonenshein 1990, 228

<sup>138</sup> Sonenshein 1990, Strickland and Whicker 1992, and Jones and Clemons 1993, all analyzed the Wilder campaign.

<sup>139</sup> Charles Jones and Michael L. Clemons, “A Model of Racial Crossover Voting: An Assessment of the Wilder Victory,” in *Dilemmas of Black Politics: Issues of Leadership and Strategy*, edited by G. A. Persons. New York: Harper Collins, 1993).

statewide elections between 1966 and 2006 where black candidates advanced to the general election.<sup>140</sup> Jeffries and Jones found whites are reluctant to vote for blacks, especially black high profile statewide candidates. They suggested that in order to offset white voter hostility, blacks would have to serve relevant apprenticeships, garner strong party backing, and implement effective deracialized campaign strategies. In those forty years, only five candidates won statewide elections out of twenty-eight black candidates who made it to statewide general elections.<sup>141</sup>

### **A Contested Concept**

*Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States*, edited by Huey Perry, extended earlier writings on deracialization, first presented in the *Urban Affairs Review*, by providing empirical data and interrogating the applicability of deracialization as an analytical construct for assessing and predicting campaign success. Case studies of campaigns in the 1990s demonstrated that the deracialization concept has to be broader in its approach: (1) it cannot assume that a candidate downplays his or her racial identity and racial issues because they gain white support; (2) black candidates use deracialization when running against other black candidates as a means to gain significant black and white support; (3) issues of gender and class become salient when both candidates are black or when one is a woman; (4) contextual issues may impact a candidate's success as much as the candidate's campaign style.<sup>142</sup>

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<sup>140</sup> Judson Jeffries and Charles E. Jones, "Blacks Who Run for Governor and the U.S. Senate: An Examination of their Candidacies," *Negro Educational Review* 57 (2006), 243-261.

<sup>141</sup> Senator Edward Brooke of Massachusetts (1966, 1972), Governor L. Douglass Wilder of Virginia (1989), Senator Carol Mosely Braun of Illinois (1992), Senator Barack Obama of Illinois (2004), and Governor Deval Patrick of Massachusetts (2006 and 2010).

<sup>142</sup> Huey Perry, *Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996).

A concern of the deracialization concept is that it may categorize qualitatively different candidates and campaigns as the same simply because black candidates demonstrate success at appealing to a significant amount of white voters and differ from our perceived image of how black officials are supposed to conduct themselves. Summers and Klinkler suggest, "Rather than assuming that recent African American electoral victories have resulted from centrist, establishment politics—as opposed to progressive politics, grassroots organizing, and appeals to black pride—political scientist should analyze each election in its own particular context."<sup>143</sup>

Lenneal Henderson distinguishes between the concepts of deracialization and transracialization in the campaigns of Kurt Schmoke, mayor of Baltimore.<sup>144</sup> Henderson argued that Schmoke promoted group identity but emphasized common social, economic, and fiscal needs, suggesting that in many cases race is such a dominant factor that it does not have to be injected into politics as usual, it is always there. In Carol Mosely Braun's election to the Senate in 1992, she emphasized gender, and her popularity amongst women's groups won her the election.<sup>145</sup>

The record of some elected officials is a matter of disagreement. Clarence Lusane argues that Douglass Wilder contributed to the fracturing of black leadership on the national level by offering himself as a moderate choice of leadership in contrast to Jesse Jackson's progressive position within the Democratic Party.<sup>146</sup> Criticisms of Wilder are leveled at his use of law and

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<sup>143</sup> Summers and Klinkler 1991, 124.

<sup>144</sup> Lenneal Henderson, "The Governance of Kurt Schmoke as Mayor of Baltimore" in *Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States*, edited by H. L. Perry (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1996).

<sup>145</sup> Roger K. Oden, "The election of Carol Mosely-Braun in the U.S. Senate Race in Illinois," in *Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States* edited by Huey Perry (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996).

<sup>146</sup> Clarence Lusane, *African Americans at the Crossroads* (Boston: South End Press, 1994).

order rhetoric, support of the death penalty, and alliances with conservative politicians. Alvin Schnexider advises scholars to use the term deracialization with caution. In defense of L. Douglas Wilder, Schnexider points out that Wilder was able to mobilize large numbers of votes in black communities.<sup>147</sup> Judson Jeffries contests the criticisms of Wilder because he vetoed bills that would have had an adverse effect on black communities. Furthermore, Jeffries maintains that Wilder was committed to issues that helped the most impoverished Virginians—many of whom were black, he appointed more blacks to influential positions than previous Democrats, and was generally more progressive than his two Democratic predecessors.<sup>148</sup>

Hermon George in an analysis of Wellington Webb, Denver's first black mayor, claims he governed in a manner adverse to the city's 11% black community. Over the course of his twelve years in office, operating from his race neutral position, Webb acted in opposition to what he considered black interest (i.e. public school desegregation, housing, police brutality).<sup>149</sup> In a quantitative study, Byron Orey and Boris Ricks surveyed black elected officials in California to explore how they viewed their campaign: race neutral, race moderate, or race specific. They found that most respondents claimed race moderate and less than 8% chose race specific.<sup>150</sup> These findings suggest that there has been a fundamental shift since the Civil Rights Movement by many black elected officials and how they view their roles as politicians.

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<sup>147</sup> Alvin Schnexider, "Analyzing the Wilder Administration Through the Construct of Deracialization," in *Race, Politics, and Governance in the United States*, edited by H. L. Perry (Gainesville University of Florida Press, 1996).

<sup>148</sup> Judson Jeffries, *Virginia's Native Son: The Election and Administration of Governor L. Douglas Wilder* (West Lafayette: Purdue University Press, 2000).

<sup>149</sup> Hermon George, "Community Development and the Politics of Deracialization: The Case of Denver Colorado, 1991-2003," *The Annals of the American Academy* 594 (2004).

<sup>150</sup> Byron Orey and Boris E. Ricks, "A Systematic Analysis of the Deracialization Concept," *Faculty Publications: Political Science University of Nebraska* (2007).

The 2006 midterm elections witnessed six black candidates running for either the Senate or governor with substantial support from both Democrat and Republican parties. *Beyond Boundaries: A New Structure of Ambition in African American Politics* edited by Georgia Persons highlights the elections that featured black political aspirants to statewide offices. The senatorial election of Barack Obama in Illinois and the gubernatorial election of Deval Patrick in Massachusetts marked the emergence of greater prospects of gaining high-profile offices in the new millennium. A recent volume on black politics edited by Andra Gillespie, *Whose Black Politics: Cases in Post Racial Black Leadership*, presents a new generation of scholars discussing a new class of black leadership, identified largely by a deracialized political style and greater ambitions in a “Postracial era.”<sup>151</sup> The current trend in black politics is still taking shape and it is expected that black candidates will run for high profile office at a higher frequency than ever before.

### **Third Phase Black Politicians**

The use of deracialization as an analytical construct may become increasingly difficult as more political actors emerge with a diversity of backgrounds and commitments to the policy concerns of black people. Andra Gillespie aims to describe a third cohort of black leadership that is still taking shape. Gillespie offers several leadership typologies with four of the typologies possessing high racial crossover appeal. In addition to crossover appeal, black elected officials are distinguished by ties to the Civil Rights establishment, and potential trajectory in local or national politics (See Table 1).

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<sup>151</sup> Andra Gillespie, *Whose Black Politics: Cases in Post-Racial Black Leadership* (New York: Routledge, 2010). See Gillespie’s introductory chapter, “Meet the New Class: Theorizing Young Black Leadership in a ‘Postracial’ Era.”

The Democratic Party’s drift towards moderate politics throughout the 1990s and the subsequent discontent of black voters may increase black voters defecting to the Republican Party. Tyson King-Meadows’ study of Republican senatorial candidate Michael Steele, reveals how, in a losing effort, he specifically reached out to black voters.<sup>152</sup> Steele openly discussed race and how the Democratic Party in Maryland had been taking black voters for granted for years by not addressing issues of racial inequality. His white Democratic opponent was more cautious about invoking race as a defense to Steele’s charges and he was able to receive a high number of black votes for a Republican candidate. It is likely black candidates will continue to demonstrate situational appeals based on race in the appropriate context to target a variety of voters’ interests or disinterests in racial politics in much the same way any skillful politician addresses issues specific to a particular population.<sup>153</sup>

Table 1: Typologies of Black Politicians

Dominant Characteristics	Typology	Cross Over Appeal	Perceived Trajectory	Ties to Black Establishment	Examples
Strong Credentials	Ivy League Upstarts	High	Long	Weak	Mayor Cory Booker, Congressman Artur Davis
	Local Kids Made Good	High	Short	Weak	Mayor Adrian Fenty

<sup>152</sup> Tyson Kings Meadows, “The ‘Steele Problem’ and the New Republican Battle for Black Votes: Legacy, Loyalty, and Lexicon in Maryland’s 2006 Senate Contest,” in *Whose Blacks Politics: Cases in Post-Racial Black Leadership*, ed. Andra Gillespie (New York: Routledge, 2010).

<sup>153</sup> Wendy Smooth, "Three Wrongs and Too Far right: The Wrong Candidate, the Wrong Year, and the Wrong State: J Kenneth Blackswell's Run for Ohio Governor," *Beyond the Boundaries: A New Structure of Ambition in African American Politics*, edited by Georgia Persons (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 2009).

Dominant Characteristics	Typology	Cross Over Appeal	Perceived Trajectory	Ties to Black Establishment	Examples
Connections to Black Establishment	Rebrands of their Parents	High	Long	Strong	Congressman Harold Ford Jr.
	Deracialized sequels	High	Short	Strong	Mayor Mark Mallory
	Chips off the old block	Low	Short	Strong	Mayor Kwame Kilpatrick
	New "old" standard bearers	Low	Long	Strong	Congressman Jesse Jackson Jr.
High Street Level Credibility	New Activist	Low	Long	Weak	Congressman Keith Ellison
	Rebels without a Chance	Low	Short	Weak	Activist Kevin Powell

Members of the third class of black elected officials described by Gillespie are likely to be younger, usually born after 1960, with less formal ties to the Civil Rights establishment. This may result in generational conflict between the younger third-wave black-elected officials and the previous two cohorts. Many third-wave elected officials that break into politics do so by running against older, more race-specific incumbents. Barack Obama, Cory Booker, Adrien Fenty, and Artur Davis all suffered early career defeats by not gaining the support of black voters against black incumbents.<sup>154</sup> Even when two second-wave candidates, John Lewis and Julian

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<sup>154</sup> Rachel Yon, "The Declining Significance of Race: Adrian Fenty and the Smooth Electoral Transition," in *Whose Black Politics: Cases in Post-Racial Black Leadership*, ed. A. Gillespie. (New York: Routledge, 2010).

Bond competed for a Georgia congressional seat the black vote was split along class lines.

Complex issues must be approached through an intersectional method that can highlight nuanced understandings that reflect the diversity of issues within black communities and candidates aiming to represent them. Commenting on the necessity of a multi-faceted approach, Nikol Alexander-Floyd criticizes black politicians, from the grassroots activist to the elected officials, on the grounds that the issues they take on are typically masculine and not reflective of the concerns of black women.<sup>155</sup>

Black women represent a higher proportion of women office holders compared to white women but they are still underrepresented in national politics but are strong in state and local politics. Katrina Gamble finds that when black women ascend to a general election they usually win.<sup>156</sup> Such was the case of Carol Mosely Braun in her 1992 senatorial election and other black women candidates at the congressional level. They all benefitted from race and class based resources. However, Gamble finds that the underrepresentation of black women in politics compared to the representation of black men is in the emergence stage; although they tend to fair better when they run for office, black women do not run for office in high numbers, which lessens the number of offices they hold.

### **Deval Patrick 2006 Campaign**

In 2006, Deval Patrick ran a successful gubernatorial campaign to become only the second black governor elected in U.S. history. In 2010, Patrick made history again by becoming

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<sup>155</sup> Nikol Alexander-Floyd, *Gender, Race, and Nationalism in Contemporary Black Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008)

<sup>156</sup> Katrina Gamble, "Young, Gifted, Black, and Female: Why Aren't There More Yvette Clarkes In Congress," in *Whose Black Politics: Cases in Post-Racial Black Leadership*, ed. A. Gillespie. (New York: Routledge, 2010).



the only black governor to be reelected. Being elected once is monumental and reveals openings in the political opportunity structure that was thought to be nearly impossible for racial minorities, blacks especially. The examination of Patrick in the following chapter focus on his discourse and his framing of social and political issues during his first administration. These sections examine the small but growing literature that discusses Governor Patrick's political breakthrough and his position within the current wave of black elected officials.

Patrick's age complicates his categorization into Gillespie's third cohort of black elected officials. Born in 1956 during the "baby boom" era, he is too old to be placed in the post-Civil Rights cohort of younger black leaders, but he is still a recent figure in black politics but is not old enough to have participated in the Civil Rights movement. Gillespie positions Patrick in phase 2.5, a cross between the second and third wave politicians. "Patrick's personal narrative draws on the themes of being on the racial vanguard characteristic of previous phases of Black leadership and melds it with the postracial pragmatism of some of the Phase III leadership."<sup>157</sup> As a civil rights lawyer, Patrick developed a background working with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and joining President Bill Clinton's administration as the Assistant Attorney General for the Civil Rights Division. Patrick had a role in settling issues of racial discrimination connected with the Denny's restaurant chain and the Texaco recordings scandal. He was then hired by Coca Cola for general counsel.<sup>158</sup>

Patrick was a political unknown when he decided to run for governor, and he was considered a dark horse and too liberal in the Democratic primary. However, early in the campaign Patrick moved ahead of his opponents, Democratic party insider Tom Reilly and

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<sup>157</sup> Gillespie 2010, 33

<sup>158</sup> Gwen Ifill, *The Breakthrough: Politics and Race in the Age of Obama* (New York: Doubleday, 2009).

millionaire Chris Gabrieli. At the Massachusetts Democratic convention, Patrick secured 58% of the delegate votes and eventually earned the primary nomination by winning 35% of the vote in comparison to the 30% and 27% for Reilly and Gabrieli, respectively. Contrary to the crossover models discussed above, Patrick did not climb the ranks within the Massachusetts Democratic Party as an insider like Douglass Wilder. He ran as an outsider determined to change the culture of Beacon Hill.<sup>159</sup> In doing so, he made enemies within the party who felt he did not wait his turn or use the appropriate stepping-stone of lieutenant governor.<sup>160</sup>

From the outset of his campaign, Patrick emphasized a politics of commonality where he attempted to bring disparate groups together around common interests. This style is contrasted with the politics of difference where issues of specific groups are held in opposition to others.<sup>161</sup> Although Patrick emphasized common interests, he recognized difference and rejected the idea of colorblindness: “People want to find ways to each other...they don’t want to be told that there aren’t differences, that the paradigm is color blindness. People, they understand their differences, and some of them are sharp.”<sup>162</sup> He went through the primaries relatively unknown and strategically focused on the residents of western Massachusetts by establishing voting caucuses and emphasizing that they are a part of the commonwealth’s politics and their voices should be heard.

During a televised debate covered by CSPAN on October 25th 2006, Patrick distinguished himself from his opponents in the general debate as someone who will be a change

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<sup>159</sup> Beacon Hill is a historic neighborhood in Boston and is often synonymous with state politics because of the location of the Massachusetts State House.

<sup>160</sup> Ifill 2009.

<sup>161</sup> David Canon et al., "The Supply Side of Congressional Redistricting: Race and Strategic Politicians, 1972-1992," *Journal of Politics* 58 (1996), 846-862.

<sup>162</sup> Ifill 2009; 194.

agent and provide real leadership. Patrick was established as Republican Kerry Healey's primary challenger. Healey was serving as lieutenant governor in the Mitt Romney administration. Patrick was able to effectively criticize Healey for being part of an administration that did not stave off the increased cost of living in Massachusetts, did not prevent residents from leaving the state, and did not properly fund education. Patrick promised better leadership and a range of experience that the other candidates did not possess, including leadership positions in the federal government, the business community, non-profits, and community groups. Patrick highlighted his willingness to address issues that the Romney administration did not. He argued that his experience would improve the Massachusetts economy through a political agenda that prioritized investing in infrastructure and easing the tax burden on people who were struggling with their finances.

Education was central to his campaign. Ifill points out how "Patrick criticized school districts for charging fees for extracurricular activities and transportation. . . argu[ing] that the[se] activities are a part of the child's education and a parent's ability to pay should not determine a child's participation."<sup>163</sup> Patrick asserted that his opportunities in education are what positioned him to be successful and that he supports and donates to educational search programs. When attacked for his stance on illegal immigration, Patrick argued that the children of immigrants raised in the U.S. know only one home and they should be given the same opportunities (such as in-state college tuition) as other Massachusetts residents. Patrick used the immigration issue to attack Healey and the Romney administration for turning a blind eye to

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<sup>163</sup> Ifill 2009, 180.

corporations receiving state contracts that hire and exploit undocumented workers, leaving Massachusetts' workers unemployed.

Throughout the campaign, Healey attacked Patrick for being too liberal, but candidate Grace-Ross of the Green-Rainbow party was further to the left on the political spectrum than Patrick. This can be an important aspect in an election because the liberal candidate that does not belong to the two major parties can take a more liberal or progressive position that makes the black candidate supported by the Democrats seem less liberal, potentially at the cost of losing liberal voters. When the question of decriminalization of marijuana was debated, Healey argued that small doses should be punished. Patrick did not disagree that it should be punished but he emphasized treatment for those suffering addiction. Grace-Ross on the other hand criticized the hypocrisy of the criminalization of marijuana while ignoring the destructive effects of alcohol and challenged other inconsistencies in drug policy. Although Grace-Ross did not have a realistic chance of winning the nomination, her position in the race helped bolster an image of Patrick being “reasonable” by being in the middle of a conservative Republican and a progressive independent.

Race was not absent from the campaign, despite one member of the Chamber of Commerce commenting, “I don’t even see him as black...It looks like to me that he has a deep tan.”<sup>164</sup> This comment supports Strickland and Whicker’s notion that black candidates have greater success crossing over when they have lighter skin and do not have their race noticed as much.<sup>165</sup> Race became more pronounced in the campaign when Healey began falling behind

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<sup>164</sup> Susan Page, “Election Test how much race matters,” *USA Today*, November 1, 2006.

<sup>165</sup> Strickland and Whicker 1992, point to a phenomena where high profile black elected officials are more likely to have a lighter complexion but there is not any empirical literature to support white voters being more comfortable with lighter complexion black candidates.

Patrick in the polls and began using negative campaign ads that were racially loaded. Healey accused Patrick of being soft on crime and attempted to insert her own version of Willie Horton style race-baiting that George H. W. Bush used against Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis in his 1988 presidential race.<sup>166</sup> In 1999, Patrick believed 59 year old black Puerto Rican Benjamin LaGuer did not receive a fair trial in a rape conviction and thus petitioned for the trial to be reopened using DNA evidence. The DNA actually proved LaGuer's guilt and Healy used Patrick's support for a fair trial as a claim that he is soft on crime. Healey also attacked Patrick's brother-in-law for being addicted to drugs. Healey attempted to project an image of Patrick as a candidate who was associated with criminals.

Fortunately for Patrick, Healey's strategy backfired. Patrick took the high road against Healey and allowed others to denounce her. Former governor Michael Dukakis played the role of a racial ombudsman when he intervened and declared the 2006 gubernatorial campaign the dirtiest campaign he had witnessed. Angela Lewis observed that Healey's tactics initially affected Patrick in the polls but they eventually made her look negative and hurt her poll numbers. Initially Patrick was relatively unknown to Boston's black community but Healey's race baiting pushed black voters to back Patrick once they recognized that his race was being used against him.<sup>167</sup>

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<sup>166</sup> Willie Horton was a convicted felon in Massachusetts serving a life sentence for murder. Although Horton was not eligible for parole he received a weekend furlough program as a part of the prisoner rehabilitation program. The furlough program was supported by then Governor Dukakis. Horton did not return for the weekend and violated his furlough and committed armed robbery, assault and rape when he escaped to Maryland. George H.W. Bush used the Horton incident throughout his campaign speeches and Republicans ran campaign ads that featured the mugshot of the African American, Willie Horton, to attack Michael Dukakis who lost the election.

<sup>167</sup> Angela Lewis, "Making History, Again, So Soon? The Massachusetts Gubernatorial Election." in *Beyond the Boundaries: A New Structure of Ambition in African American Politics*, vol. 12, ed. G. Persons. (New Brunswick: Transactions Publishers, 2009)

Lewis identified several factors contributing to Patrick's success that appear to fit Jones and Clemons racial crossover model.<sup>168</sup> First, although Massachusetts only has a small black population, Massachusetts is a liberal-leaning state. Second, in 2006 the Republican Party grew out of favor with the electorate due to former Governor Romney's support of the George W. Bush administration. Third, Patrick possessed a variety of credentials – namely serving in the Clinton administration, but also boasted expertise and skill in corporate America as a businessman -- despite not having served an apprenticeship in state government. Fourth, Healey was considered a weak opponent and perceived as conservative; she was also unpopular with liberal women voters. Healey's popularity suffered from negative ads and statements about Patrick. Key democratic supporters like Dukakis and the media played the role of a racial ombudsman. Fifth, Patrick received full support from the Democratic Party with major endorsements from national figures such as Ted Kennedy, Bill Clinton, and Senator Barack Obama. Lastly and most importantly, Deval Patrick ran a campaign that focused primarily on economic issues, the cost of living in Massachusetts, and his commitment to education.

The classification of Governor Patrick as a black elected official who implemented a deracialized campaign is based on the idea that he is racially conscious but during his campaign deemphasized race enough to be embraced by whites. Governor Patrick affirmed his racial identity through his campaign when speaking about his background and the opportunities he received through education. Patrick noted his poor upbringing in Chicago's public housing projects and how he received a scholarship aimed at poor children with promise that allowed him to attend the prestigious Milton Academy prep school in Milton, MA.

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<sup>168</sup> Jones and Clemons 1993.

Prior to his campaign, as the Assistant Attorney General, Patrick supported controversial congressional redistricting as a strategy to increase minority leadership in congress; he argued that opposition to redistricting is evidence of America turning its back from civil rights. Patrick characterized the struggle for equality as such, “We all have a stake in the struggle for equality, opportunity, and fair play. When an African-American stands up for the right to equal educational opportunity, he stands up for all of us. When a Hispanic stands up for the right to a chance to elect the candidate of her choice, she stands for all of us. When a Jew stands up against those who vandalize his place of worship, he stands up for all of us.”<sup>169</sup>

In 1995 Patrick asserted, “For it is undeniably true that legions of racial and ethnic minorities feel less of a sense of opportunity, less assured of our equality, and less confident of fair treatment today than we have in many, many years.”<sup>170</sup> Patrick is very aware of the ways that minorities interest are marginalized within American politics through congressional redistricting in similar to structural racism operated in the presidential elections discussed above. Speaking ten years before his own announcement to run for governor, Patrick spoke to race and politics in a way that rationalizes the necessity for a deracialized campaign style,

In some places today, however it remains the case that racially polarized politics exist; black and Hispanics cast their ballots knowing that their chosen candidate will lose because whites will not vote for any candidate preferred by them. In some places today, minorities have seen their voting power diluted by ingenious districting schemes designed to ensure the election of white candidates. In some places today, elections are marked by subtle and overt racist appeals.<sup>171</sup>

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<sup>169</sup> Deval Patrick, "What's Up Is Down, What's Black Is White," *Emory Law Journal* 44 (1995), 821.

<sup>170</sup> Patrick 1995, 829

<sup>171</sup> Patrick 1995, 831.

It would be naive to assume that all black elected officials that do not make race a central aspect of their campaign are strategically employing a deracialized campaign. It is possible that some black candidates do not see racism or inequality as a campaign issue. However, as we will see in the remaining chapters, Patrick is aware of race and offers a strategy that does not necessarily deemphasize race but reframes issues in a way that bridges them across groups. After his election in 2006, Governor elect Patrick stated, “If all I was offering was to be the first black governor of Massachusetts I wouldn’t have won.”<sup>172</sup> He did not deny his own blackness or the need to operate in the interest of black people, but that would likely not be enough to win an election.

### **Black Politics in Boston**

Boston is the state capital and the largest city in Massachusetts; any discussion of state politics should also consider city politics. The estimated total population of Boston, Massachusetts in 2009 is 645,169; blacks comprise slightly less than 24% of the city’s population. The connection between Deval Patrick and black politics is most evident in Boston where the largest number of blacks reside. Boston can be distinguished from many northern cities that experienced a demographic shift in the middle of the twentieth century in that its black population has always been relatively small. This midcentury shift, that is marked by an influx of black residents from the South, allowed black elected officials to obtain control over the political apparatus of these cities between the late 1960s and the 1980s. In regard to black politics, black Bostonians have a history of being shut out of the city’s bureaucracy and institutional levers of

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<sup>172</sup> Scot Helman, "Patrick Faces Challenge in Black Community," *The Boston Globe*, January 15, 2006.



power.<sup>173</sup> The white population is slightly less than 51% of the population and Boston's politics has been considered throughout the twentieth century an ethnic struggle between the downtown business establishment, Irish-Americans, and more recently Italian-Americans. Since the earlier part of the twentieth century, Black political interests had been pursued through informal black representatives who brokered deals via one of the power groups (Jennings and King 1986).

Massachusetts is a relatively liberal state with a history of black electoral success.<sup>174</sup> Two primary examples of this include the election of Edward Brooke as senator in 1966 and Deval Patrick's current position as governor. The irony is that a majority of the state's 7% black population resides in the city of Boston, and Boston only once has come remotely close to having a black candidate win the city's mayoral election in Mel King's 1983 campaign. The structure of the mayor's office in the state affords it considerable political power in comparison to many cities in other states, making the position a huge political prize. King had been a central figure in Boston black politics since the 1950s. After serving as a state legislator, King ran for mayor of Boston twice, once in 1979 and again in 1983.<sup>175</sup> King's first campaign in 1979 was considered symbolic and strategic; through the organizing of the Black Political Task Force, King bargained 25,000 - 50,000 black votes to one of the stronger party candidates. King's 1983 campaign was considered a "victory in defeat." Although he lost in the Democratic primary, he was able to garner 28.5% of the vote compared to Ray Flynn who got 28.9%, losing by only 360 votes.

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<sup>173</sup> William Nelson, *Black Atlantic Politics: Dilemmas of Political Empowerment in Boston and Liverpool* (Albany: State University of New York Press, 2000).

<sup>174</sup> Massachusetts was one of the first states to adopt gay marriage, universal health care, and has a reputation of liberal politicians.

<sup>175</sup> James Jennings and Mel King, *From Access to Power* (Cambridge Schenkman Books, 1986).

Through his campaign, King was able to form a rainbow coalition of voters across the different Boston communities and mobilized the black community where he received over 90% of the vote, establishing the black community as an influential voting bloc for future elections. In a coauthored book on black politics in Boston, King outlined the growth of Boston black political development as existing in three stages between the 1950s and 1980s.<sup>176</sup> The “service stage” of the 1950s is characterized by a lack of black elected officials on the city and state level. Black politics was negotiated through a reward system with black heads of service institutions benefiting from city government patronage. The “organizing stage” is characterized by the development of groups in the black community during the Civil Rights movement and during school desegregation in the 1970s. The organizing stage represents an advance in black politics in Boston resulting in blacks gaining more access to elected positions in the state and some representation on the city level. In 1972, the Massachusetts Black Caucus was formed consisting of five state legislators organized as a group based on an organizational pledge, “As a member of the Massachusetts Black Caucus, I pledge that I will conduct the daily affairs and decision making of my activity, and or office, so as to reflect the actual, explicit desires and concerns of the Black community beyond question. In this manner I will constantly act out of my accountability to the manifest interest of the Black Community.”<sup>177</sup>

Other groups such as the Black Political Task Force emerged as a mobilizing group to leverage power in elections and confront institutional racism. The third stage of “institution building” is concerned with the acquisition of power in city and state politics more than simply

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<sup>176</sup> Mel King, “Three Stages of Black Politics in Boston 1950-1980,” in *From Access To Power* ed. James Jennings and M. King (Cambridge Schenkman Books, 1986)

<sup>177</sup> King 1986, 27.

having access to positions. This type of power is derived through formal channels of government but also through the ability to form enduring structures that guarantee strength. King argued, “The quest for political clout has involved politicizing blacks to transcend allegiances to political parties, political clubs and social institutions in order to amass black voter strength” in addition to forming “systematic networking among black politicians and black opinion makers to enhance the potential impact blacks can have on informal governance in the city.”<sup>178</sup>

Activist Hubert Jones Brown described the nature of black political struggle in Boston when he said, “The cruelest form of racism experienced by the black community and its political leaders has been the failure of white office holders to reward black voters adequately for making their political successes possible.”<sup>179</sup> In 1971, Mayor Kevin White ensured black voters during his campaign that he would address taxing inequality in Boston. After his election, Mayor White was confronted at a Town Hall meeting by community activists who questioned why the majority black residents of Roxbury and North Dorchester were taxed at 75-80% of the property value compared to the majority white neighborhood of West Roxbury and Charlestown who were taxed at 25% of the property value. Although Mayor White failed to address the black community’s grievances after his election, the black ministers negotiated 65% of the black vote to help re-elect White in 1974. William Nelson documents how current mayor Thomas Menino has effectively used his power to form buffer groups within the black community through patronage that prevents disgruntled activist from directly addressing City Hall.<sup>180</sup>

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<sup>178</sup> Jennings and King 1986, 7.

<sup>179</sup> Hubert Jones, “Introduction” in *From Access To Power* ed. James Jennings and M. King (Cambridge Schenkman Books, 1986), 4.

<sup>180</sup> Nelson, 2000.

The event that demonstrated overt racial tensions in Boston was the result of the 1974 United States District Court for the District of Massachusetts that ordered school desegregation through school busing. The attempted desegregation of the Boston Public Schools culminated in riots and violence as city authorities observed, instead of enforcing the law, and did nothing to attempt to salvage the deteriorating race relations in the city. Many whites withdrew their children from the public school system, which is now over 80% black and Hispanic. An overwhelming majority of Boston's black population can be found within two predominantly black neighborhoods, Roxbury and North Dorchester, with more recent black immigrants residing in Mattapan to the south. Known as a city of neighborhoods, Boston's racial and socioeconomic lines are clearly defined by where one resides in the city; residential segregation continues to operate as a linchpin for racial inequality.<sup>181</sup>

Historically most of the black community's political leadership has come from state representatives rather than city officials. State legislators are limited in what they can leverage for Boston residents. With the mayor's office unattainable to black residents, in the past the most blacks could manage were one or two seats on the City Council. As of the 2009 elections, black and Latinos together have been able to increase their presence on the City Council to four (recently reduced to three since one councilor has been expelled). Another source of black political activity has been the Boston School Committee.

As governor of Massachusetts, Deval Patrick does not directly preside over Boston, but as the capital of the state and Massachusetts' biggest city, significant legislation and policy concerns are disproportionately influenced by Boston. Examining how Governor Patrick speaks

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<sup>181</sup> Nelson, 2000.

directly to the social conditions in Boston indicates how he addresses racial inequality and other disparities. In 2006, black voters were very important to Patrick's success as he received 89% of their votes. Patrick also received 65% of the vote in Boston and the surrounding areas, and in his more recent 2010 election, Governor Patrick increased the percentage to 96% of the black vote and 71% of Boston's total vote.<sup>182</sup> After four years in office Patrick increased his support within Boston's black community, and possibly throughout the state. The next chapter delves in to the content of Governor Patrick's speeches to show how he was able to maintain mainstream support while strengthening his black base; an unprecedented outcome that requires an unpacking up Patrick's administrative strategy through speech, that reveals more than what deracialization implies.

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<sup>182</sup> CNN. 2010, "CNN Politics Election Center", Retrieved 2/25/2011, 2010.

## Chapter Three: The Framing of Race and the American Dream

It was a bright afternoon on October 15, 2006. Before a large cheering crowd, political newcomer Deval Patrick addressed his supporters by challenging the assertion made by his opponent Kerry Healey that Patrick had no substance, just words. “Just words...” Patrick repeated softly. Patrick then recited the first line of the Declaration of independence, “We hold these truths to be self-evident.” His supporters began to cheer as he spoke famous words from several other historical figures; the crowd grew louder after each quote. When Patrick finished, he waited for the crowd to settle down and then he stated, “Let me say it before you do: I am no Dr. King, no President Kennedy, no FDR, no Thomas Jefferson. *But I do know that the right words, spoken from the heart with conviction, with a vision of a better place and a faith in the unseen, are a call to action (emphasis added).*”

During Governor Patrick’s first administration, he made many speeches that excited crowds similar to when he ran for office. This chapter analyzes speeches made during Governor Patrick’s first administration over a three-year period, from June 2007 through July 2010. Emergent themes from these speeches reveal that Governor Patrick used words as a call to action and an opportunity to construct a particular vision for Massachusetts, as the state’s first black governor, that challenges, if not rejects, the deracialized label attached to him as a member of the

third wave of black elected officials. A label characterized by high racial crossover. By examining the substance of his speeches in comparison to the four central frames of colorblind ideology: abstract liberalism, cultural racism, minimization of racism, and naturalization, the data demonstrates that Patrick opposes ideologies that downplay the persistence of racial inequality. Governor Patrick did not avoid race, instead he discussed race in subtle ways, and at times explicitly, within the framing of the American dream.<sup>183</sup> He addressed important social issues such as education, public safety, housing, jobs, as well as a number of other areas where racial disparities exist, with an emphasis on inequality and opportunity.

This analysis utilizes the frame alignment process<sup>184</sup> to describe the techniques Patrick used to make social issues that specifically affect blacks and other disadvantaged groups a concern for all Massachusetts residents. Political scientist Michael Dawson coined the term “linked fate” to describe the belief amongst black Americans that what happens to the group also affects the individual members.<sup>185</sup> Patrick’s approach to discussing issues of inequality broadens the idea of linked fate beyond black Americans by arguing that suffering by any segment of the population affects all Massachusetts’ residents and the viability of the American dream. The technique involves relating to key ideas and values that have wide import amongst residents (a universal approach) but strategically advocating for particular initiatives to combat problems that

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<sup>183</sup> The American dream is a nebulous idea that has been adapted to different periods in the United States’ history. Although the American dream is central to articulating the American experience, particular meaning is subject to the specific context and how it is framed. The flexibility of the American dream as an idea has broad appeal to the American conscience and has great rhetorical value. For a full discussion of the American dream see Wilber W. Caldwell, *Cynicism and the Evolution of the American Dream* (Dulles: Potomac Books, 2006).

<sup>184</sup> The frame alignment process in the social movements literature describes how movement political actors construct meaning during social movements to achieve interest and support. See David Snow and colleagues, “Frame Alignment Processes, Micromobilization, Movement Participation.” *American Sociological Review* 51 (1986): 464-481.

<sup>185</sup> See Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

require specific treatment.<sup>186</sup> The major themes, social issues, and techniques are described in detail to demonstrate how the deracialized identity of Governor Patrick is inaccurate because it conflicts with his advocacy for social justice that includes racial and economic inequality.<sup>187</sup>

The last part of this chapter focuses on quotes from Governor Patrick's speeches that represent how he discussed various issues. Before discussing Governor Patrick's speeches, it is important to note that from early in his tenure as governor he was forced to manage the "Great Recession" that became a major focal point in his administration and forced him to adapt to the worst economic crisis since the Great Depression. Governor Patrick's administrative agenda reflected this crisis but also addressed long existing racial disparities.

### **The Economic Crisis**

On September 24<sup>th</sup>, 2008 in the midst of one of the most historic presidential elections in United States history, Republican candidate, Senator John McCain announced that he was temporarily canceling his campaign to return to Washington to assist in a plan to stem the mounting financial crisis. McCain made this announcement two days before the first presidential debate of the election season that pitted him against Democratic candidate Barack Obama.<sup>188</sup> The dispute that ensued between the two candidates centered on the urgency of the financial crisis that could turn into a global depression if legislation did not pass through Congress to stabilize the United States' credit markets. The debate took place and Senator Barack Obama eventually

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<sup>186</sup> The deracialization strategy relies on universal appeals over race specific or group specific strategies. Patrick's use of universal ideals to target specific problems is more dynamic an approach than the deracialization literature discusses.

<sup>187</sup> In the conclusion, I will discuss Deval Patrick's sensitivity to racial equality in relation to black politics, but I do not agree that it is a form of black politics.

<sup>188</sup> Buhmiller, Elisabeth and Michael Cooper. (September 24 2008). "Obama Rebuffs McCain on Debate Delay." in *The New York Times*.



won the presidency, but the focal point of the election was the U.S. economy and the \$700 billion dollar Troubled Asset Relief Program (TARP) passed by Congress at the end of President George W. Bush's last term.

In February of 2009, Congress passed the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act (ARRA) to stimulate public spending, prevent further job loss, and to halt economic decline. President Obama signed into law the recovery act that committed resources to extend unemployment benefits, spending on infrastructure projects, renewable energy initiatives, education spending, and stimulus grants to help states in crisis (Massachusetts included) to meet budget shortfalls that were threatening the ability of the states to function during the recession. As a member of a group of Democratic governors, Deval Patrick pressed the federal government for a stimulus package upwards of a trillion dollars to allow them to perform their role as state executives. Governor Patrick argued that the stimulus should be effective enough "to put people to work in ways that build on a stronger, long-term economic platform for future growth" because "any economic plan passed by Congress should be bold enough to have a psychological impact as well an economic one."<sup>189</sup>

For newly elected Governor Deval Patrick, Massachusetts' economy was the primary overarching concern and many of his speeches were directed towards improving the economy. Of the ninety-seven speeches analyzed, beginning with a commencement address at University of Massachusetts Boston on July 1st, 2007 and ending with a statement on his final budget signing on June 30th, 2010 (a period of three years), Governor Patrick speeches reflected the economic instability of the Commonwealth.

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<sup>189</sup> Matt Viser and Andrew Ryan, "Governors Push Trillion Dollar Stimulus Package for States," in *The Boston Globe*, January 2, 2009.

By the end of 2007, his speeches began to emphasize a shaky national economy. He articulated a plan to target wasteful spending, emphasizing more cost effective services and commitment to investments to generate revenue and produce long-term economic growth. On July 1, 2008, Governor Patrick addressed the national housing foreclosure crisis that began affecting Massachusetts' homeowners. Four months later on October 2, 2008, he announced his Fiscal Action Plan to directly address the recession that appeared to be at its most devastating point in the fall of 2008. On February 11, 2009, Governor Patrick continued to grapple with the economic crisis in a statement of how the economic stimulus would allow him to invest in initiatives consistent with his administrative agenda of restoring Massachusetts' economy while forced to make the "tough decisions" with budget cuts in critical areas. By the time of Governor Patrick's third and final State of the Commonwealth address on January 1, 2010, he articulated an optimistic outlook by assuring Massachusetts residents that they had seen the worst of the recession, and were recovering better and faster than most of the other states in the United States due to the support of his administration.

According to the National Bureau of Economic Research (NBER), the Great Recession began in December 2007 and lasted until June 2009. Recessions are determined by business cycles where the economy peaks at a certain point. In the case of this recession, the economy peaked in December 2007 (six months after Patrick took office) and contracted for eighteen consecutive months, the longest length of contraction in the post-World War II era. Economists consider a recession to be over once the period of contraction has stopped, even if the state of the economy has not recovered to its previous condition.<sup>190</sup> In June of 2009, Massachusetts, like the

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<sup>190</sup> Neil Irwin, "It's Official: The Great Recession Ended Last Summer." *The Washington Post*, September 20, 2010.

rest of the country, was still recovering from the recession and the state of the economy remained the central issue.

During the recession's recovery, literature began to emerge attempting to explain the causes of the financial crisis that centered on the housing bubble with greatest scrutiny on the financial sector and business practices believed to be at the root of the crisis. In the *New York Review of Books*, economists Paul Krugman and Robin Wells<sup>191</sup> reviewed the three most recent books and from them compiled the four most common explanations for the crisis. In what they call the "great North Atlantic real estate bubble", housing and commercial real estate prices soared from 1997 to 2007, with an increase of "175 percent in the United States, 180 percent in Spain, 210 percent in Britain, and 240 percent in Ireland." Krugman and Wells assessed four popular explanations for the crisis: (1) the low interest rates of the Federal Reserve and nation's central banks after the 2001 recession inflated growth; (2) the "global savings glut" that explains the rise as a consequence of foreign investment in American bonds that dropped mortgage interest rates and resulted in residual increasing home values; (3) changes in the financial markets that created a system which allowed banks to originate subprime housing loans and allowed them to distribute loans to investors that would then be re-packaged as securities with high ratings, earning high dividends for managers while concentrating risk in the banking system; (4) and the failure of the U.S. government to regulate excessive risk taking. Republicans charge that Democrats encouraged programs for banks to lend money to communities with low-income profiles, confident the government would shoulder the blame in the face of disaster.

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<sup>191</sup> Paul Krugman and Robin Wells, "The Slump Goes on Why?" *The New York Review of Books* 57 (2010).

Krugman and Wells lend the greatest credibility to the global savings glut theory because it explains how the recession happened on a global scale and is consistent with similar outcomes for different markets despite specific government policies. Different practices resulted in similar results in different international economies. Krugman and Wells argue government policies only represent a contributing factor to the recession but cannot explain a large part. The popular explanation of Wall Street going “wild” places most of the accountability on bank managers and financial executives for accumulating high profits with high risk, resulting in the crash. The problem with this explanation is the distribution and packaging of mortgage securities associated with changes in banking practices does not explain the bust in the commercial real-estate market that maintained traditional banking practices, yet suffered the same outcome.

When housing prices were increasing before the bust and the economy was doing well, economist Raghuram Rajan warned that financial developments over the last 30 years were making financial markets riskier because non-traditional banking or “shadow banking” evolved in the financial market creating a group of intermediary managers to operate as middle men between the investor and investment.<sup>192</sup> The manager’s position is based on securing large returns despite the high risk associated with bad investments and competition amongst managers representing competing firms. The rise in inequality over the last 30 years coincides with loose financial regulations and the sharp rise of incomes by executives in comparison with stagnant wages for most Americans.<sup>193</sup> In contrast to Krugman and Wells, Rajan argues that inequality is one of the underlying fault lines that led to the recession and housing was just the path of least

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<sup>192</sup> Ben Bernanke, "The Global Savings Glut and the US Current Account Deficit" (March 10, 2005) available at [www.federalreserve.gov](http://www.federalreserve.gov).

<sup>193</sup> Kathryn Neckerman and Florencia Torche, "Inequality: Causes and Consequences." *Annual Review of Sociology* 33 (March 2007).

resistance. Lower income Americans were more than willing to accept subprime loans with the idea that home ownership would increase their wealth.<sup>194</sup> Most of these loans originated with traditional banks who sold the debt to investment firms. Krugman and Wells suggest that the reason the crisis was so devastating is because once Lehman Brothers, the fourth largest investment bank in the U.S., declared bankruptcy it caused a crisis of confidence in the public.<sup>195</sup> Unlike conventional banks, Lehman Brothers was making high return investments without Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation (FDIC) guarantees and this triggered a chain reaction amongst other investment bank firms that were supported by the FDIC.

Competing ideas about the causes of the crisis was central to U.S. politics and race was injected into the political rhetoric. A conservative position is that the U.S. government is at fault for the recession because Democrats passed policies that contributed to the crisis. The counter position is that economic forces larger than any one government were responsible since it was an international crisis in different countries with different governments and varying economic policies.<sup>196</sup> Minnesota congressional representative Michele Bachmann blamed the crisis on the Community Reinvestment Act (CRE), Civil Rights legislation that was established to curtail discrimination by mortgage lenders in housing markets.<sup>197</sup> Bachmann racialized the housing crisis by accusing Democrats of using policy to give sub-prime loans to blacks because they are a significant voting bloc within the Democratic Party. Although Governor Patrick does not directly challenge Bachmann's narrative, his discussion of the crisis is substantially different and

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<sup>194</sup> Rajan Raghuram, *Fault Lines: How Hidden Fractures Still Threaten the World Economy* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010).

<sup>195</sup> Krugman and Wells 2010.

<sup>196</sup> Krugman and Wells 2010.

<sup>197</sup> Michelle Bachmann, "Michelle Bachmann: How we got into this mess," *Star Tribune*, September 25, 2008.

elaborated throughout the rest of this chapter. Whatever the causes of the financial crisis, the impact was serious enough for presidential candidates to contemplate canceling their election campaigns. Even Deval Patrick's governance was shaken to the point where a central aspect of his job was to manage the turmoil brought about by the crisis and rely on federal stimulus money to ameliorate the worsening situation of many Massachusetts residents who were struggling before the recession and facing a true crisis once it arrived.

### **The Picture of Race in Massachusetts**

Prior to the Great Recession, Massachusetts, like the rest of the country, was still recovering from the 2001 recession. During the 2001 through 2007 business cycle, Massachusetts witnessed a recovery characterized by weak job growth and by 2007 had 89,000 fewer jobs than in 2001. The economy was favorable to some; wages increased for Massachusetts residents in the 80th percentile, but poverty rates climbed due to declining wages in the bottom 20th percentile. This reflects the general trend of inequality throughout the nation: increased growth in the upper tail of the income distribution and declines in the bottom tail while the middle of the income distribution remained stagnant.<sup>198</sup> In 2001, the Massachusetts poverty rate was 8.7 percent compared to the 2007 poverty rate of 9.9 percent before the recession. The Massachusetts poverty rate was low compared to the national rate of 13 percent before the 2007 recession, but poverty is one of many social problems where race matters.<sup>199</sup>

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<sup>198</sup> Neckerman and Torche 2007.

<sup>199</sup> See the annual Mass Budget report, "The State of Working Massachusetts 2008: Entering a Recession after a Recovery Many Missed." (January 2009). <http://massbudget.org>.

### *Incarceration*

When observing disparities by race, one area that is particularly alarming is the disproportionate rates of incarceration of blacks and Latinos compared to whites. Incarceration rates have quintupled since the 1980s War on Drugs and, furthermore, have been compared to a new system of Jim Crow predicated on social control.<sup>200</sup> In Massachusetts, the disparity in incarceration rates between blacks and whites is 8 to 1.<sup>201</sup> Incarceration rates of blacks in Massachusetts ranks 17th of all the states. The state of Iowa has the highest disparity with a ratio of 13.6 to 1. Although disparities in Massachusetts are not as high as Iowa, Massachusetts is well above the national average of 5.6 to 1.

Blacks are not the only group to experience high incarceration rates in Massachusetts. The Latinos to white ratio of incarceration in Massachusetts is not as large as the black-to-white ratio, but the relative rate of incarceration for Latinos in Massachusetts is alarming at 6 to 1. However, when the incarceration rate of Latinos in Massachusetts is compared the national average of 2:1, Massachusetts ranks second only behind the neighboring state of Connecticut whose rate is 6.6 to 1.

These disparities make crime and prison reform significant issues of focus in Governor Patrick's speeches because the disproportionate rates of incarceration of blacks and Latinos are not based solely on violations of the law but police profiling, policies, and prison sentencing. Discrimination operates at every level of the criminal justice system from racial profiling to

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<sup>200</sup> See Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow: mass incarceration in the age of colorblindness* (New York New Press, 2010).

<sup>201</sup> Data is based on the Bureau of Justices Statistics, *Prison and Jail Inmates at Midyear 2005* report. The numbers reported here are based on every 100,000 in the population. For every 100,000 blacks in Massachusetts 1635 are incarcerated in prison or jail compared to the 201 whites which makes the ratio 8.1.

whether convicted felons will be sent to state or federal prisons.<sup>202</sup> A significant problem for former convicts and society as a whole is what happens when former convicts are released from prison? Reintegration into society by ex-offenders after serving a felony sentence is a significant problem because a felony record limits access to employment opportunities, housing accommodations, education loans, and the ability to vote in elections. Incarceration and reintegration of ex-offenders is a racial issue because of the disproportionate rates of incarceration and subsequent disenfranchisement experienced by blacks and Latinos.

Certainly there are other factors that mitigate incarceration rates, such as socioeconomic status, and other minorities<sup>203</sup> may suffer high rates of incarceration, but those examples are not as widespread and visible as the incarceration of blacks and Latinos where policies will disproportionately affect those groups. The specific attention to blacks and Latinos is also justified when we looking at another form of persistent inequality such as residential segregation.

### *Segregation*

Residential segregation by race is measured by a minority group's physical separation from whites within a unit of analysis from a block level to an entire metropolitan area of a city. There is a direct link to residential patterns in home value and interest rates on home mortgages that accounts for billions of dollars in wealth attainment differences between blacks and whites.

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<sup>202</sup> See Marc Mauer and Ryan King, "Uneven Justice: State Rates of Incarceration By Race and Ethnicity." *The Sentencing Project* (2007). For a discussion of how race operates at every level of the criminal justice system see Katheryn Russell-Brown, *The Color of Crime: Racial Hoaxes, White Fear, Black Protectionism, Police Harassment, and Other Macroaggressions* (New York: NYU Press, 2005).

<sup>203</sup> Specific incarceration data on impoverished asian groups like Vietnamese Americans, Hmong, and Laotians requires specific study to see how they compare to blacks and Latinos.



Even when comparing white and black middle class neighborhoods, residential segregation creates a substandard middle class lifestyle for blacks compared to whites.<sup>204</sup>

Rates of residential segregation for blacks compared to any other group are so high that Gerald Massey and Nancy Denton coined the term hypersegregation. High segregation is acknowledged as a dissimilarity index above 50, meaning that more than 50 percent of the minority group would have to leave the area in order for it to be perfectly integrated.

Dissimilarity is just one dimension of segregation; hypersegregation is high segregation on four of the five dimensions of segregation. These other dimensions include concentration, isolation, centralization, and clustering. Blacks in the U.S. experience hypersegregation in a majority of the largest metropolitan centers. Latinos experience high levels of segregation in different areas of the country, but other minority groups such as Asians and American Indians are relatively integrated. Although Massachusetts does not have any residential areas that qualify as hypersegregated, there are several areas have high levels of segregation based on the dissimilarity dimension. Springfield (western Massachusetts) has the highest black-white residential segregation, the Commonwealth's third largest metropolitan area ranks 22nd in the country with a dissimilarity index of 65.<sup>205</sup> Springfield is slightly ahead of Boston, which ranks 27th with a dissimilarity index of 64. Worcester (central Massachusetts) is the second largest

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<sup>204</sup> Gerald Massey and Nancy Denton introduced the idea of "hypersegregation" in their seminal work, *American Apartheid: segregation and the making of the underclass* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1993). Race was shown as the primary determinant of segregation. Rima Wilkes and John Iceland's "Hypersegregation in the Twenty-First Century," *Demography* (2004), demonstrated the persistence of segregation in the twenty-first century. Melvin Thomas and Oliver Shapiro, *Black Wealth White Wealth* (New York; Routledge, 1997), explored how housing markets produce racial inequality and disparities wealth based on residential segregation. Mary Patillo-McCoy in *Black Picket Fences* (Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000) illustrated how blacks in middle class neighborhoods suffer from residential segregation with fewer opportunities and higher risk than their white counterparts.

<sup>205</sup> Dissimilarity is one standard index to measure segregation. A dissimilarity index of 65 means that 65% of the minority group population would have to move out of the segregated area for it to be perfectly integrated. An index of 40 is considered moderately segregated and a score above 60 is highly segregated.

metropolitan area in the state and ranks 61st in the country with an index of 52, which is still quite high. Overall, Massachusetts ranks 18th in black-white segregation in the country with a dissimilarity index of 64.

Latino-white residential segregation patterns are not as high as black -white segregation, but like the incarceration statistics, Massachusetts ranks higher in segregation for Latinos than other states. Massachusetts is ranked 18th in black-white segregation but ranks 4th in Latino-white segregation with an overall dissimilarity index of 60. Of all the metropolitan areas in the country, Springfield ranks the highest with a Latino-white dissimilarity index of 64.<sup>206</sup> The Boston metropolitan area ranks 5th in the country with a dissimilarity index of 61. Worcester ranks 15th with an index of 56; in Worcester, Latinos are more segregated than blacks are. High levels of residential segregation for Latinos in Massachusetts are part of a larger regional dynamic. The neighboring states of Rhode Island and Connecticut have several metropolitan areas rankings in the top 15 for Latino-white segregation in the United States.

As the state's capital, Boston is the Commonwealth's largest city with the largest concentration of black people. Based on the American Community Survey 2006-2008, blacks represent 6.1 percent of Massachusetts' population (394,158 out of 6,347,488) with nearly one third (31%) of the entire state's black population residing in Boston (not including blacks in the Boston metropolitan area). Boston has a total of 159 census tracts; 30 census tracts have black populations of more than 50%, and 76 census tracts are less than 10 percent black. The data

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<sup>206</sup> This does not mean that overall segregation is worse in Springfield compared to New York and Los Angeles, which almost qualified as hypersegregated by 2000 census data. The current data are only a measure of dissimilarity in which Springfield's measure is the highest in the country.

suggests that black segregation in 2009 is more concentrated than in 2000.<sup>207</sup> The highest concentration of blacks in the city is in the Mattapan neighborhood where there are 5 census tracts that are between 75 and 90% black. South Dorchester has one census tract that is between 75 and 90% black. Segregation with high concentration of blacks and contiguous black neighborhoods extend from Roxbury in the North through North Dorchester, and Mattapan neighborhoods to the south. References to these largely black neighborhoods are usually euphemisms for race even when racial designations are not stated.

### *Poverty*

Massachusetts is higher than the national average in incarceration rates and residential segregation for blacks and Latinos, but the state reflects the national trend of high racial disparities for these two minority groups. Asian Americans are not usually included in studies of racial discrimination for imprisonment and segregation because their numbers as a racial group are low in comparison to blacks and Latinos. This is also true for poverty; the national poverty rate for Asian Americans is just above white Americans, 12% and 9% respectively. The black and Latino poverty rate is nearly 30%. The total poverty rate for all families in Boston is 15.7%. The poverty rate amongst the different racial ethnic groups in Boston is as follows: Latinos 30.9%, blacks 22.5%, Asians 22.5%, and whites 11.4%. Although poverty is not specific to any particular group, the levels of poverty are significantly higher for Latinos, blacks, and Asians than they are for whites. Family structure usually correlates with family income; married-couple families typically have higher incomes than single parent families, especially single-parent families where the mother is the single parent. Poverty rates reflected in married-couple families

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<sup>207</sup> Specific information about residential segregation and other factors specific to Boston is derived from James Jennings, *State of Black Boston Report*, (2010). Full report may be accessed at: [http://www.trotter.umb.edu/newsite/documents/STATEOFBLACKBOSTON\\_000.pdf](http://www.trotter.umb.edu/newsite/documents/STATEOFBLACKBOSTON_000.pdf)

are as follows: Asians 17.7%, Latinos 10.2%, blacks 6.2%, and whites 3.1%. Being married has less impact on Asian families who experience higher poverty even when married. Blacks benefit more than Latinos from being in a married couple household, but they still experience poverty double that of white families. Poverty rates for single female-headed households rise significantly: Latinos 47.4%, Asians 40.6%, blacks 34.9%, and whites 19.7%. When mothers have children that are under the age of five, disparities are even higher. Racial and ethnic gaps in poverty are consistent even when family structure is controlled. Blacks in Boston are less impoverished than both Latinos and Asians, but more impoverished than whites. Boston's poverty rate is five percent higher than the state poverty rate, and there is a significant level of poverty amongst whites in some parts of Boston. However, minority groups still experience higher levels of poverty than whites, which makes any general discourse on poverty racialized. Social welfare rhetoric to address poverty is a contested political issue and highly racialized where blacks, and to a lesser degree Latinos, are viewed as a social burden.<sup>208</sup> Poverty is a complicated issue especially when general racial and ethnic groups are considered. The relatively high rate of poverty amongst Asian groups in Boston is attributed to the Hmong and Cambodians whose incomes are less than blacks and Latinos. East Indians on average earn more income than whites.<sup>209</sup> Additionally, some Latino groups who may be classified as being of African descent are typically more impoverished than Latinos who are of European descent. Another

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<sup>208</sup> See Jill Quadagno, *The Color Of Welfare: How Racism Undermined the War on Poverty*, (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006). The perception of blacks and other groups considered undeserving became the face of welfare for political conservatives and they argued that welfare contributed to cultural dependency and a lack of motivation.

<sup>209</sup> For a specific report on poverty and economic diversity in the Boston Metropolitan area see, Paul Wattanabe, Michael Liu, and Shanna Lo: *Asian Americans in Metro Boston: Growth, Diversity, and Complexity*. A 2004 report prepared for Metro Boston Equity Initiative of the Harvard Civil Rights Project that can be accessed here: [http://www.iaas.umb.edu/research/Metro\\_Boston\\_PR.shtml](http://www.iaas.umb.edu/research/Metro_Boston_PR.shtml)

confounding factor for many racial and ethnic groups is citizenship status and language barriers that limit access to certain resources.

### *Immigration*

Immigration is a thorny political issue, fueled by job displacement of American citizens and the growing number of Mexican immigrants. America's immigration record is long and complicated, but the warmer reception of some immigrants compared to other groups is often a reflection of racial attitudes about certain groups, amongst a number of other factors.<sup>210</sup> In a House of Representatives subcommittee meeting on immigration, Congressman Melvin Watt stated, "Immigration law and immigration policy reflects the confusions and dishonesty and racial attitudes and class attitudes we have in this country in other domestic areas, and I have found that same kind of irrational class-based, race-based kind of thinking existing in our immigration policies."<sup>211</sup> The high levels of residential segregation of Latinos in Massachusetts are an indicator of the growing Latino population in the state. In Boston, Latinos have the highest rate of growth from the year 2000 to 2009, but immigration in Boston represents a diversity of racial and ethnic groups. Although Governor Patrick does not address the subject directly in many of his speeches, there are references to certain groups that will be explicitly described in the next chapter. The proportion of foreign-born members of each group is as follow: Asian 69%,<sup>212</sup> Latino 45%, black 29%, and white 16%. High numbers of Chinese, Brazilian, and

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<sup>210</sup> For a historical treatment of how race has been central to immigration policies and a reflection of racial stereotypes see Desmond King, *Making Americans: Immigration, Race, and the Origins of the Diverse Democracy*, (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2002).

<sup>211</sup> Congressman Watt is quoted in Charles Ogletree, "America's Schizophrenic Immigration Policy: Race, Class, and Reason," *Boston College Law Review* 41 (2000).

<sup>212</sup> See Paul Wattanabe, Michael Liu, and Shanna Lo: *Asian Americans in Metro Boston: Growth, Diversity, and Complexity*. This report highlights Asians as one of the fastest growing group in the Boston metropolitan area with high levels of immigration.

Haitian<sup>213</sup> immigrants are reflected in these percentages. Governor Patrick's position on immigration supports services for illegal immigrants in Massachusetts while his less liberal opponents support stricter laws and profiling.

*School Enrollment and Educational Attainment*

Education is central to Governor Patrick's administration. His Readiness Project is an education action agenda that has the long-term goal of making community college and post-secondary college free for students in the public education system but also promotes a series of short term recommendations. Short-term goals include greater support for low income and disadvantaged students with a specific emphasis on early childhood education and child-care support for low-income parents. His demand for public schools to serve a greater purpose focuses on younger students to eventually earn a college education and be viable in the work force. In Boston Public Schools, 61.3 percent of blacks are enrolled in elementary through high school, compared to 63.6 percent of Latinos, whites and Asians are enrolled at 29.8% and 32% respectively. Blacks and Latinos are generally more dependent on public schools where whites and some economically advantaged Asian groups are able to enroll in private schools as an alternative. Whites and Asians are concentrated in colleges at 62.3% and 62.4% respectively, compared to 27.7% and 23.4% for blacks and Latinos. Discourse that focuses on kindergarten through high school disproportionately targets blacks and Latinos as represented in Patrick's rhetoric on education to ameliorate other forms of disadvantage.

Massachusetts is known for having one of the most educated workforces in the country and education is one explanation for why the recession did not affect Massachusetts as severely

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<sup>213</sup> Governor Patrick makes several references to Haitian residents in the next two chapters, especially in support of Haitians during the 2010 earthquake that devastated Haiti.

as others states and why Massachusetts experienced better job growth coming out of the recession.<sup>214</sup> Educational attainment in Massachusetts is still disproportionate in terms of race. Of Massachusetts residents holding less than a high school diploma, the numbers by race are: Latino 37%, Asians 26.9%, blacks 21.5%, and whites 10.1%. The numbers of residents with at least a bachelor's degree are whites 28%, Asians 22%, blacks 11.9%, and Latinos 9.7%. This education distribution is very important because the achievement gap between races and education is a major area of focus in Governor Patrick's political rhetoric and education is connected to employment and poverty.

Since education is one of the most frequently discussed issues for Governor Patrick he often mentioned the Readiness Project, a council that he created to develop a ten year strategic plan to implement his vision for education which consisted of action steps, timelines, benchmarks, and cost estimates which he claimed had fifty recommendations to improve public education in Massachusetts. The Patrick administration did not disclose the fifty recommendations, but the Massachusetts Governor's website<sup>215</sup> does outline the framework to strengthen public schools. These aspects of the Readiness Project are central to most of his discourse from the economy to addressing crime.

The first aspect of the Readiness Project is to invest in public education; this is seen through his commitment to funding education despite numerous other budget cuts. Second, Patrick aimed to close the achievement gap; closing the achievement gap is the primary way he discusses race and inequality in regards to educational attainment. The third part of the Readiness

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<sup>214</sup> MassBudget annual report, *The State of Working Massachusetts 2010*, ((January 2011). Full report may be accessed at: <http://massbudget.org>

<sup>215</sup> <http://www.mass.gov/governor/agenda/education/>

Project is to encourage classroom innovation; this was often articulated as longer school days for “urban” school children who need safe environments not found in their neighborhoods. The fourth part of the Readiness Project, which he often tied directly to the struggling economy, was innovation in higher education and workforce training. Making higher education available to all public school children to meet the demands of a global economy was his broad vision for education reform.

### *Income Characteristics*

The average median household income in Boston is \$51,849 compared to the state average of \$58,286. Median income by race in Boston reflects significant differences in earnings: whites \$63,980, Asians \$39,676, blacks \$33,420, and Latinos \$27,793. Education does not close the income gap. Higher education between whites and blacks increases the income gap. Whites with a master’s degree earn nearly 20,000 more dollars a year compared to blacks with a masters degree, \$66,282 compared to \$47,756, respectively. With a bachelors degree, white workers earn approximately \$15,000 more a year; there is actually more parity in income with less education. Although higher levels of education increases one’s salary, more education also increases the income gap disparity between black and white workers. Governor Patrick’s focus on creating “good jobs” emphasized but he does not explicitly address the income gap that is largest between blacks and Latinos.

### *Employment*

There were 89,000 less jobs in the state in 2007 before the recession compared to 2001. Employment trends show higher rates of unemployment in Massachusetts’ larger cities. Unemployment in Boston is particularly high amongst blacks. Blacks comprise over a fifth of the



total population 16 years of age and over but make up 55% of the unemployed. Of the 47 census tracts that have unemployment rates above 9%, 25 of the 47 tracts are within the predominantly black neighborhoods of Roxbury, North Dorchester, and Mattapan.

### *Housing*

Housing data in Boston before the housing crisis show blacks and Latinos were spending a higher proportion of household income on mortgages. Nearly two thirds of blacks (63.1%) and Latinos (64.8%) spend 30% or more on mortgage cost compared to 46.6% of whites and 49.9% of Asians. Although housing issues are general and subject to fluctuations in the economy and housing markets, blacks and Latinos spend a much greater proportion of their income on housing. Governor Patrick does not discuss housing expenses in racial terms; his advocacy to end homelessness in Massachusetts did not cite disproportionate numbers of blacks who are homeless, but, like other forms of advocacy, at times he address certain issues without racializing them and at other times he does. This is the focus for the rest of the chapter.

### **Governor Patrick in Speech**

The passage below is a representative example of how Patrick discussed social issues throughout his administration:

I know that government can't solve every problem in everybody's life. I also know that the institutions that you represent cannot do it alone. But we have to work together and we have to elevate the conversation about poverty, about what is holding people back. And stop associating this or encouraging this corrosive association between poverty and fault. I don't know if you looked, just a few years ago we all looked at those images after the catastrophe in Louisiana following the Katrina storm and we saw all those dear folks, some of them standing on roof tops waiting for help, crowded into makeshift shelters or in the dome, struggling and afraid and abandoned. And yet the sad truth that all those folks abandoned on those roof tops after Katrina were abandoned before that storm. We have to call

that out and come together to face that reality and acknowledge what it says about our own community and accept that challenge.

This passage from Governor Patrick was made during the first Statewide Hunger Summit on March 27, 2008, at University of Massachusetts Boston. Governor Patrick was a featured speaker amongst other notable political figures: Boston Mayor Thomas Menino, U.S. Congressman Jim McGovern (representative of Massachusetts' 3<sup>rd</sup> congressional district that covers the city of Worcester), and the Health and Human Services' secretary, Judy Ann Bigby. The event was attended by state and federal agencies, community nonprofit organizations, hospital staff, faith based organizations, and concerned individuals, all of whom comprised an estimated gathering of several hundred people. The stated goal of the summit was to "identify best practices and recommendations on how to reduce hunger in Massachusetts." The context identifies the place and the attendees of the event to whom the speech is directed.

Throughout this section I incorporate Alan Dundes model for interpreting text which focuses on three dimensions, context (place), text (the speeches themselves), and texture (language used).<sup>216</sup> The text in this chapter will come mainly from prepared speeches that Governor Patrick recited in various contexts. The texts are analyzed in transcribed form with supplementary analysis of videos where available. The speeches are usually an uninterrupted exposition of a particular topic. In some cases, there will be a dialogue at events like town hall meetings where the context allows for Patrick to interact with attendees. The above text is an excerpt of a seven-minute speech that is used to demonstrate the rhetorical style used by Governor Patrick.

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<sup>216</sup> Alan Dundes, "Texture, Context, and Text," *Southern Folklore Quarterly* 28 (1962).

The texture is the primary substance that provides the data to discuss issues of race, inequality, social justice, and the techniques used to engage Patrick's attendees. The above passage is the last part of his speech before he thanks everyone for coming and reminding the people in attendance why they are there. The speech begins with him talking about what his administration has done to provide services to the hungry. The hungry in the first part of the speech is directly identified as "elders" and "people with disabilities." This is followed with explanations of why hunger is an important issue; he argues that it is larger "than a discussion about the safety net" but it is about "fundamental change" and what he states is the "essence" of individual opportunities, and that "reasonable members of the community" can recognize the importance.

The text appeals to a sense of being reasonable and belonging to a community, where certain ideas and values like opportunity is important. Near the end of his speech, Governor Patrick changes the subject from the elderly and disabled, while broadening the topic from hunger to poverty. With this shift, he challenges existing discourses to connect to the earlier established ideas of community, opportunity, and being reasonable people. When he elevated the speech beyond a discussion of the safety net, he challenged people to see a broader picture where they can align themselves with their values. In the first line of the above text, Governor Patrick is addressing an extant argument when he says: "I know that government can't solve every problem..." which is a rejoinder to positions against "big government." Patrick says the work his administration set out to address is incomplete and, in the third line, he states that they "have to elevate the conversation about poverty, and what is holding people back." His reference to elevating the conversation is an implicit statement that the current discourse that he is

challenging is inadequate to discuss the theme of inequality. The adjective that he uses is “corrosive” because it is blaming poor people for being poor, or, as he says, the “association between poverty and fault.”

Who is impoverished and what are the causes according to Patrick? The impoverished are the “dear folks...standing on the rooftops waiting for help, crowded into makeshift shelters or in the dome...” and they are impoverished and needing help because they were abandoned before Hurricane Katrina. Patrick used the adjective “dear” to embrace the people who are often the subject of negative rhetoric. He talks about a “sad truth” that citizens must face; the reason they are poor is because they were abandoned before the storm. Patrick does not racialize the people he is talking about, but he does not have to because this national disaster was racialized. His strategic usage of Hurricane Katrina is an implicit conversation of race and poverty.<sup>217</sup> The elderly and disabled are generally recognized as vulnerable members of society, deserving of specific resources. Drawing attention to their situation does not typically result in controversy or polarization. Patrick’s attempt to sensitize his audience to the vulnerability of black people abandoned on rooftops or in the Louisiana Superdome is a strategy conducive to addressing issues of racial inequality, although he did not directly refer to black people. By appealing to people’s sensibility, Patrick used the frame bridging technique that connected the logic of the deserving poor to poor blacks.

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<sup>217</sup> During a hurricane relief fund, rapper Kanye West made the boldest statement on television when he said “George Bush does not care about black people.” Other examples were the widespread observations of media portraying blacks as looters with stolen goods compared to whites with similar goods simply trying to survive. New Orleans itself and its rebuilding after Hurricane Katrina was a racially charged issues where black people were seen as being displaced by business interest who saw it as an opportunity to invest with the largely poor black population out of the way. The racial nature of New Orleans reached a high pitch when New Orleans Mayor Ray Nagin used race and the displacement of blacks as a way to get reelected by mobilizing black voters around the issue when he declared New Orleans will remain a “chocolate city.” See Adam Nossiter, “Nagin Re-elected as New Orleans Mayor,” *The New York Times*, May 21, 2006.

In the last sentence of the passage, Patrick makes it imperative that they, reasonable members of the community, “come together” to face the reality that he described. The dominant feature of his speeches is Patrick’s appeal to the collective as a community whose identity is defined by accepting challenges that solidify values that are recognized as integral to the American dream and the Commonwealth of Massachusetts. In other speeches, he addresses race directly and uses inclusive techniques to define the character and identity of the collective where he often inserted his identity as a black man who rose from impoverished conditions as a central narrative in his speeches.

Does this mean Patrick is practicing black politics? If the goal of black politics is to mobilize, influence policy, demand accountability from government officials, participate in American political discourse, and reach alternatives to the status quo, Patrick’s advocacy for social justice in general and racial equality is a manifestation of the efforts of black politics. But, the function of the governor’s office itself is not black politics, although Patrick may act in the interest of black politics. In other words, Patrick as governor is the target of black political advocacy in his aim to demand accountability from government officials. Patrick, in his position of governor, responds with sensitivity to the demands of black politics that may be conducive to the goal of altering the status quo, but Patrick’s administrative agenda is broader than a black political agenda, although they may align on many issues. Whereas he identifies as a black man and strategically injects race, the fact that he talks about race does not constitute a black political agenda. His definition of the American dream and his goal of making the American dream real lends to his advocacy of all types of equality, especially racial equality, which make his

governance receptive to the goals of black politics.<sup>218</sup> This strategy for talking about polarizing issues such as race allows black activists to identify viable candidates that address key issues and helps them realize the goals of black politics.

Governor Patrick's advocacy for racial and social justice policy initiatives are considered within the broad range of issues and demands of a governor. The range of issues results in some speeches that are not directly salient to social justice. For example, Governor Patrick gave two speeches for an initiative to promote a partnership between Massachusetts and China. In one speech at Tsinghua University in Beijing, Governor Patrick promoted ideas of cooperation, a historic relationship between Massachusetts and China, shared goals, mutual understanding, and progress. When he delivered a similar speech upon his return to Massachusetts, he made the same points to Massachusetts residents at the State House with the only difference being that he was more instrumental in discussing how the economic and educational collaborations with China could stimulate the local economy and create more opportunity and progress through the clean energy and life sciences industries. Although international partnerships that lead to greater economic opportunity can indirectly relate to domestic racial issues that are connected to a struggling economy, the content of those speeches does not directly address the type of social issues germane to an analysis that focuses on racial inequality. Similarly, statements announcing the retrofitting of school buses to produce clean diesel and the expansion of the Organogenesis Corporation in Massachusetts can be markers of success for Patrick's administration but do not serve the purpose of this study. Nevertheless, they fit into his master frame of the American dream and creating opportunity. Many of these speeches revolved around the development of the

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<sup>218</sup> This is explored in greater detail in the conclusion which highlights the distinction between black political activity and presentation and the political opportunity of individual blacks within a racial formation framework.

life sciences and the clean energy industries with a vision of Massachusetts leading the country in these areas. Of the ninety-six total speeches analyzed, twenty-two speeches (31.8%) did not have an explicit social message but they were consistent with Patrick's general discourse found in all the speeches, leaving a total of seventy-four speeches of greater social relevance.<sup>219</sup>

### **Politics of Commonality**

Governor Patrick's rhetorical tone emphasized positivity and principled conviction, "Be angry - but channel it in a positive direction. It's easy to be against things. It takes tough mindedness and courage to be for something." He projected the image that he was an agent of long-term change, "Our agenda is a long-term agenda. It's not about tomorrow's headlines. It's about changing reality for the day after tomorrow."<sup>220</sup> He maintained that those virtues are the hallmark of America and Massachusetts. Along with creating opportunity, being resilient during economic hardships, and moving Massachusetts in the right direction were central to his discourse. The content of the sixty-nine speeches illustrate the established themes and patterns that characterize how he talked about his administration and various social issues related to themes of inequality. In several speeches, he characterized his administrative agenda by three categories, (1) civic engagement, (2) education, (3) and jobs. A majority of his speeches were classified within those three categories with overlap between speeches that often focused on more than one subject. In eleven speeches, the clear focus was civic engagement, with specific references to civic engagement in fourteen different speeches out of the seventy-four (19%). In

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<sup>219</sup> See Appendix B for a description of speeches that were not particularly relevant to this study compared to speeches that are central to understanding how is of race and social justice were discussed in Patrick's speeches.

<sup>220</sup> Throughout his speeches he used variations of the words progress and innovation as positive attributes and contrasted them with words he used to describe his opposition. Action is often used to indicate progress and innovation, and the negativity he associates with inaction.

twenty-four speeches, the primary issue was education, with fifty-four direct references to education (73%). Jobs and the economy were the focus of twenty-five speeches with forty-six specific references to jobs and the economy where the specific reference was jobs and the economy (62%).<sup>221</sup>

Due to the state of the economy, job creation and economic recovery were central in most of Patrick's speeches. However, education was Patrick's main platform to advocate issues of inequality. Patrick used education to bridge issues of race, poverty, crime, unemployment, and social change in general, specially though the Readiness Project. Civic engagement, although not the specific focus of many of his speeches was a theme throughout most of his speeches; he encouraged residents to become more involved in the political process and support initiatives like the Readiness Project.

In addition to those three broad categories, Governor Patrick's three State of the Commonwealth speeches provide overviews for many issues he regarded as important to the Commonwealth and are representative of his administration's concerns. Political scientist David Canon describes two different styles of representation employed by black elected officials, a "politics of commonality" and a "politics of difference."<sup>222</sup> Patrick's campaign style is better described by a politics of commonality than deracialization. In the three State of the Commonwealth speeches examined here, Patrick is before his largest audiences delivering his most defining political statements. In all three speeches, he made direct and indirect references to

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<sup>221</sup> Classifying these speeches in these three broad categories is based on Deval Patrick's own classification of his administration. References cited across speeches means that in any speeches he at least made a point about one of the three, more than simply the mention of jobs or civic engagement. This may have been done in a paragraph or the focus of the entire speech.

<sup>222</sup> For a fuller explanation of the "politics of commonality" and the "politics of difference" See David Canon, *Race, Redistricting, and Representation: The Unintended Consequences of Black-Majority Districts*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).



black people, but he also made direct appeals to immigrant populations, poor people in general, and people with “special needs.” Most importantly, these appeals are made within a framework that calls for all citizens to embrace a collective responsibility for each other. In this style, Patrick used the frame extension technique to bring together disparate groups that included all Massachusetts residents. The central explanatory factor in a politics of commonality or difference is the “supply side” (the racial composition of the voters); in Massachusetts, approximately 80% of the population is white, but Patrick used his largest platform to bring up issues that are of particular importance for people of color and other marginalized groups to the larger white majority.

### **The State of the Commonwealth**

The three State of the Commonwealth Addresses were given at the Massachusetts State House in the House Chambers, the room primarily used by Massachusetts legislature. The 2008, 2009, 2010 speeches were all delivered on Thursday evenings in either the second or third week in January.<sup>223</sup> The State of the Commonwealth address is given before the joint assembly of the House of Representatives and the Senate. In his first two years, Patrick wore a dark suit with a light blue tie, in his final year he wore the same dark colored suit but wore a yellow tie instead. The context of each speech is reflected in the text of each speech. In Patrick’s first speech in 2008 before the financial markets collapsed, he commented on a shaky economy, “With fears of recession looming, how can any of us sit idly by and fail to act? And with the future of the

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<sup>223</sup> See Appendix A where each State of the Commonwealth Address can be read in its entirety.

American Story<sup>224</sup> at stake, how can any of us refuse to sacrifice?” Even with the looming recession, Patrick focused on taking action; his refrain throughout his speech was that Massachusetts “is on the move.” In discussing his administration’s agenda and goals in the previous year, he stated, “So, in 2007, we started to connect those aspirations to actions, and our actions to people. We are off to a very strong start. Massachusetts is on the move.” He stated that Massachusetts was on the move six different times as he talked about his agenda and the price of inaction.

In 2009, he used another phrase while in the midst of the recession, “We have unfinished business,” which was stated five times. The consistent theme was that his agenda will not be deterred by the recession. He reminded the audience that the Commonwealth is stronger because of the support of his program and initiatives but there is work that needs to be done: “Banks have money but won't lend it. Businesses and nonprofits are laying off or won't hire because they can't see a clear path to tomorrow. *We have unfinished business.*” An aspect of his rhetoric in talking about the recession is focused on how institutions and larger economic forces are taking their toll on people, very different from Michelle Bachmann who blamed Civil Rights Legislation and poor homeowners.

In his last speech in 2010, Governor Patrick repeated the phrase “we made it personal,” referring to his administration’s efforts to help people through the recession. In a reelection year, his speech focused on his successes highlighting his leadership with a focus on the people. He argued against politicians who criticized his pace for change and their protection of the status quo when he stated “I also hear a public deeply frustrated with the pace of change, who need a

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<sup>224</sup> The American story is discussed specifically later in the chapter but it is also repeated throughout his speeches as a part of the American dream.

little help from us right now so they can help themselves. Our job is to be leaders for them. To stand up and make the hard decisions that are necessary to build a better, stronger Commonwealth. *We must make it personal.*”

The phrases and themes in Patrick’s speeches are broad without a focus on a particular group. In the opening of each speech, he greets a number of people who are attending, everyone from the Speaker of the House to his wife Diane. He also includes key members of his administration, military personnel overseas and at home, and at the end he greets all the residents of Massachusetts. Despite his broad approach, Governor Patrick demonstrates particular attention to blacks and other groups that is revealing of an approach that goes beyond universal appeals without acknowledging specific problems that some groups face. In the 2008 speech, he recounts a particular incident that took place in the predominantly Dorchester neighborhood in Boston that emphasized the cost of inaction and why he is not concerned that he appears impatient:

I went out to visit the Holland School in Dorchester last spring. A few weeks before, a young woman who was visiting her family from out of town was shot and killed. And a couple of weeks after that, an 11-year-old boy found a .44 caliber pistol in the neighborhood and brought it into the classroom. The neighborhood was understandably in an uproar. And so we called a meeting of adults, so that Mayor Menino and I could listen to some of their ideas about ways we could help, and share some of our own.

He did not say Dorchester is a black neighborhood or the race of the victims, but he tells a story that signals to everyone something must be done about the incidents that caused this community to be in uproar. This passage can be analyzed in several ways<sup>225</sup> but the key here is that he brought in the story within a broader discourse of action for the state that symbolizes what is at stake. Although he does not mention race initially, to wrap up his speech he mentioned

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<sup>225</sup> This will be discussed later in the chapter in relation to crime and the cultural racism frame.

the race of the children at the school, “You know how you sometimes realize you’re being watched? When I looked up, there outside the window were a dozen or more little Black boys and girls, about this size, backpacks on, beaming, waving, all excited.”

In his description of these children and what they represent in his vision for Massachusetts, especially with his Readiness Project, he moves them to the center of his agenda and states that the future of these black children is more important than him being elected the first black governor. “When I look into their eyes, the excitement I see is not for the history we made last year, but for the history they have yet to make; not my chance, but theirs.” He then connected those children to all children: “And I see that look – of anticipation and hope – in the eyes of kids in communities all over this Commonwealth.”

The *frame extension* technique employed here linked seemingly disparate groups by shared agenda, mutual interest, and future. Patrick does not routinely mention specific racial groups, but he does key his audiences to different groups by naming specific locations in Massachusetts that are racially marked by racial segregation and socioeconomic status. In discussing the American dream, he includes a number of neighborhoods including his predominantly black neighborhood in Chicago,

...for every one of us from the South Side of Chicago or Worcester or from the North End of Boston, Mr. Speaker, or from Plymouth, Madame President, or from Mattapan or Southie or Springfield or Holyoke or New Bedford or Brockton or Haverhill -- for every one of us who has had the blessing of living the American Story, that “one generation” transformation -- countless others still wait for their chance.

Patrick used Chicago in his speeches to discuss poverty and lack of opportunity during his childhood in the predominantly black south side of the city. Chicagoans are connected to people in Massachusetts who are also seeking the American dream. Mattapan is a predominantly black

neighborhood in Boston connected to Roxbury and Dorchester, due to high levels of segregation. References to these areas signal that he is talking about black people. Southie is South Boston, a largely white (specifically Irish) and poor working class neighborhood; Springfield and Worcester have large Latino populations; Haverhill and New Bedford are largely white towns. Each of these cities, towns, and neighborhoods were mentioned as places that cannot afford the price of inaction if the American Story (dream) is going to be accessible to people who were like him.

In the 2009 speech, Patrick focused more on the economy but he still connected the economic woes of the state to his broader agenda of social change and helping people. In acknowledging people's hardship, he talked about home loss as a result of the market and predatory lenders, "There are homeowners on the brink of losing their homes because they got in too deep with the wrong lender." This framing allowed him to urge people to depend on each other and for the government to do more to help people in need. This aspect of his message is important because he emphasized the collective by using inclusive words throughout his speeches, especially to promote equality and fairness. "We do indeed have unfinished business. But the 'we' to which I refer is not government alone. It's all of us. The times we are in are tough, but temporary. While they last, we are going to have to learn to lean on each other, to live as members of a community." All, we, everyone, "no matter where you live," and "in every community" are words and phrases that are consistent to appeal to the collective; even when he acknowledges certain communities, it is framed within the larger community.

Governor Patrick's relates his experience in many of his speeches and in the 2009 State of the Commonwealth speech he used an idiom popular within the black community to discuss

the recession. Without explicitly mentioning race he used the phrase “broke not poor,” the title of a chapter in Dick Gregory’s autobiography that details urban poverty and racism.<sup>226</sup> In Patrick’s speech, his grandmother provides the attitude for understanding the economic crisis, “When I was growing up, we were forbidden from calling ourselves ‘poor.’ My grandmother taught us to say we were broke, because “broke,” she said, is temporary. See, we will cycle out of this downturn eventually and start to expand opportunity again, to widen the reach of the American Dream.” Consistent with his theme of we have “unfinished business”, he backed his position by quoting a famous black educator, “But in the words of Dr. Benjamin Mays, the legendary president of Morehouse College, ‘Not failure, but low aim, is sin.’”

The earlier statistics I presented highlighted the racial disparities in educational attainment in Boston Public Schools; in this speech, Governor Patrick mentions the academic achievement gap. Patrick does not mention specific groups here; the achievement gap can also be between rich and poor or men and women or immigrants and non-immigrants, but in other speeches, he specifically mentioned blacks and Latinos in the state not graduating from high school at acceptably high rates. More important in this statement is how Patrick uses frame bridging<sup>227</sup> by discussing dropout rates in relation to black male homicide. “Achievement gaps in the schools persist in poor communities. And, in what feels like a personal tragedy for me, Black men, *whether desperate or careless*, are killing other Black men at ever more alarming rates. We have unfinished business.” By saying whether desperate or careless Patrick is acknowledging structural causes (desperation) and individual causes (carelessness) but his aim is to raise crime

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<sup>226</sup> Dick Gregory is a social activist and comedian during the Civil Rights movement he wrote his autobiography, *Nigger: An Autobiography*, (New York: Pocket Books; 1964).

<sup>227</sup> Frame bridging is similar to frame extension in that the technique connects issues while frame extension connects groups.

as an issue for people to be concerned with. In other speeches that focus on crime he does emphasize prevention through structural remedies such as job programs for youth.

Another part of the Governor's unfinished business is the Criminal Offenders Record Information (CORI) reform that eventually passed through the legislature. The marginalization of ex-offenders is an issue that particularly affects blacks and Latinos in Massachusetts. Patrick spoke frequently about reducing recidivism by creating opportunities for offenders released from prison. Patrick's critique of the criminal justice system has a significant racial component and after expressing the importance of public safety he stated, "Public safety cries out for a better approach. Sentencing in the Commonwealth has become about warehousing people; and we do little to prepare the 94 percent of those incarcerated who will one day reenter civic life."

Warehousing of people is a strong statement about the criminal justice system and he characterizes the felonies records in limiting opportunities as a form of discrimination, "Once released, the misuse of the CORI system makes it nearly impossible for some people to get work, a place to live, and back on their feet." In the last part, Patrick takes aim at politicians and the "get tough" laws by stating they are not effective, "These practices may make a good sound bite, but they do nothing to make our communities safer. Let's focus less on old rhetoric and more on preventing crime, and pass a meaningful, comprehensive Anti-Crime Bill."

Patrick ended the 2009 speech with unifying imagery similar to how he ended the 2008 speech; but instead of using little black boys and girls, he used images of past achievements to make a statement about present obstacles. In a play on the words of President Obama's "yes we can" motto, Patrick asserted, "Together we can" and said that it is a statement of character,

It's the same character that propelled a ragtag bunch of ill-equipped farmers and tradesmen, on a field in Concord and the green in Lexington, to invent America. It's the

same character that caused slaves to steal away to freedom on the Underground Railroad, and lay claim to the conscience of a Nation. It's the same character that brought waves of immigrants to our shores with little or nothing, and enabled them in an earlier time and still today to build families, businesses and strong communities.

This statement compares several different groups who have contributed and are contributing to America and Massachusetts communities. He used the frame extension technique to connect the colonist who overthrew the British with African slaves who were at the center of the Civil War, and the waves of immigrants that would later comprise America. In the last statement, he used frame extension to argue that current immigrants in Massachusetts are like immigrants from earlier times, who will contribute to the building of America.

In 2010, Governor Patrick did not say anything that deviated from the two previous State of the Commonwealth speeches. In fact, he reviewed a list of his accomplishments over the previous three years and stated his administration was one of the most productive despite the recession because “we made it personal.” In preparing for a reelection campaign, he stated how Massachusetts is on the right track and highlighted central issues like the economy by explaining that it is showing improved job growth. But, he also pressed reform issues that were consistent, “I will not be satisfied until CORI and sentencing reform are enacted into law and we start getting as smart on crime as we are tough.” But, the issue that received more attention in this speech that was only mentioned in his 2009 speech was immigration.

From the outset of the 2010 speech, Governor Patrick’s showed outreach to Massachusetts’ Haitian community which makes up a significant part of Boston’s black community. A little more than a week before the State of the Commonwealth Address on January 21, 2010, the nation of Haiti was devastated by an earthquake on January 12th amounting to over



300,000 deaths. In his usual greeting before the State of the Commonwealth, Governor Patrick greeted the same people from the first two speeches including the government officials, his wife, the U.S. troops, and the citizens of Massachusetts. But given the earthquake, Patrick gave a special mention to a local pastor in the Haitian community, “Special thanks to Pastor Laguerre, who joins us tonight for the invocation. We pray with you for the rescue of the Haitian people, for comfort for their families and friends here in the Commonwealth, for strength for the relief workers from Massachusetts who are on the ground now in Haiti, and for blessings for all of the good people of this Commonwealth who have offered support to the victims.”

The greeting of Pastor Laguerre and the invocation that he was asked to join does not indicate any major effort of the government but it does show an embrace of the Haitians residents within the greater community and the recognition of non Haitian community members who supported them. Addressing a large scale tragedy does not mean that Patrick has a special connection to the Haitian community but it shows a particular sensitivity to immigrant groups and his support of them during an election year.

Patrick’s emphasis on community lends to a frame where people can embrace each other while other politicians may gain political advantage by pitting groups against each other. Patrick’s review of his record and what he stands for in this speech shows the importance of community in relation to important issues like jobs and education, “I talked about good jobs at good wages *all across the state*, a great school in *every* neighborhood, and citizens with a renewed sense of community, where *each of us* sees the stake we have in each other's dreams and struggles (inclusive words italicized by me).” In his rhetoric about community you see him confront the Republican rhetoric about smaller government, “But because we understood the

stake we each have in each other; because people need not big or small government, for its own sake, but good government; and because confronting these challenges was the only way to build a better, stronger Commonwealth.” Patrick’s reframing of the big government critique to make it about “good government” may seem minor but it ties into his general message of the government’s responsibility and his ability to advocate for disparate groups.

His rhetoric that challenged government to protect health care is exemplified when he represents Massachusetts as the leader of progress, “We did the hard work – the hard work – of implementing health care reform so that now nearly every man, woman and child in the Commonwealth has reliable health insurance, and we are a model for the Nation.” This claim is fortified by a former president that shows how remarkable the accomplishment is because of people’s resistance to change, “Change is never easy and rarely quick. Woodrow Wilson once said, ‘If you want to make enemies, try to change something.’ And Lord knows he was right!” Patrick paused for the audience’s laughter to subside and continued to mention more accomplishments from his administration in which he used the refrain, “we made it personal.” Patrick challenged the idea of illegal immigrants as a burden on the economy when he said making it personal “...means finding a cost effective way to cover over 26,000 immigrants who live and work here legally and pay taxes into the system.”

Patrick closed the 2010 speech like the previous two speeches by using a story to convey a principled message. When talking about his commitments to education, he discussed Brockton High School in southeast Massachusetts. Brockton’s African American population has doubled in less than a decade according to the 2010 census; it is home to the largest Cape Verdean population outside of Cape Verde, and one of the largest populations of Angolans in the United

States. In talking about the school, Patrick stated, “The high school in Brockton, Massachusetts is the largest in our Commonwealth. 4,100 young people go to that school. Sixty-four percent are on the free lunch program. For nearly half of them, English is a second language.” The high poverty rate of Brockton students indicated by free lunch is highest amongst students who are non native English speakers. Patrick visited Brockton High School and used his experience there to relate his principle of community similarly to how he visited the Dorchester school and used those black boys and girls as symbol of hope for the future. Patrick began, “I sat with about a dozen of these parents in the school library, surrounded by members of the student council who had come to observe. And at first we talked about programs and policies and information, but the conversation got personal, when one mother asked me, she said: ‘Governor, imagine what it is like to have a child in school who has no friends.’”

Patrick’s theme throughout this speech is that “he made it personal” and his story frames his Readiness Project in a way to address these personal needs. This story relates to parents that sympathize with children who are having a hard time, “And as a parent, the comment was searing. Her child's learning issues were so profound that other kids just shunned him.” Patrick discovered from several of the parents that isolated children was a bigger problem than he imagined, but he was encouraged by members of the student council who volunteered to befriend these students that he referred to as “special needs.”<sup>228</sup> Patrick was told of another parent whose child was having the same problem but in another school. One of the parents suggested that they

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<sup>228</sup> “Special needs” is a phrase he used in many of his speeches to refer to people, groups, and communities. In the general context of his speeches, “special needs” appears ambiguous but in certain speeches “special needs” refer to impoverished racial and ethnic minority immigrants who have language difficulties.

develop a program to help students in all of Brockton schools who are experiencing this isolation.

Patrick was impressed with the students and the parent's initiative to take charge and address an identified problem. He then described a reaction symbolizing the type of inaction that he is opposed to: "The superintendent was there and had a natural reaction in these times: he began to worry aloud about how, in these times of scarce resources, he could possibly pay for such a program." Patrick then made his clinching point when a student replied, "'We don't have to be paid. This is our community.' His message was plain and powerful: 'If there is a need, send me.'" Patrick then closed his speech after the story by summarizing what those students represent, "The point is this. In a city as hard hit as any by the economic crisis, these young people did not sit around wondering and worrying what to do and who was going to do it. They didn't accept that they were powerless. They saw a need and met it, and found power in service itself."

In Governor Patrick's three most important speeches the frame alignment process was demonstrated through the concept of frame extension, the technique of unifying disparate groups through a common goal, in Patrick's case, the establishment of community to get them through the economic crisis. Frame extension positioned marginal groups at the center of the discourse and used them to embody community. The frame bridging technique is demonstrated through the act of connecting specific issues to larger goals. Patrick discussed CORI reform, immigration, and funding for public schools as necessary economic growth, an issue important to all Massachusetts residents. His inclusiveness is also demonstrated by his attempt to target all of Massachusetts by naming different communities and using inclusive words. All of this represents

a politics of commonality, a promotion of shared interest. Specific references to black people and other marginalized groups are a part of this effort.

### **Living the America Dream**

Deval Patrick's "improbable story" of a kid that rose from poverty on Chicago's south side who was able to transform his life through education is the story that propelled him to Beacon Hill as an outsider to inherit the State House. Patrick's testimony of hope, optimism, and what can be achieved if given the opportunity is the American dream realized. His personal narrative and the American dream are central to his rhetoric of social justice, especially as it pertains to education. A great part of his improbable story is that he is a black man who experienced poverty and segregation but was able to overcome those conditions, "broke not poor," was his grandmother's phrase he used to tell people to endure difficult circumstances.

On May 23, 2008, Governor Patrick was the featured speaker at the launch the Commonwealth Compact hosted by University of Massachusetts Boston's McCormack Graduate School of Policy Studies. The event was attended by business leaders, civic leaders, and academicians to promote wider diversity and inclusion in the Commonwealth across all sectors of business. Patrick began his speech that focused on diversity by talking about his grandfather who he lived with during his childhood, "My Grandfather swept the floors of a bank on the south side of Chicago for 55 years, and when he passed away, the chairman of the bank came to his memorial service and said that had it been a different day, my grandfather would have retired as chairman of that bank himself. I think that day is here. And it's up to us to seize it." To seize the

moment entails being an active agent for change to challenge the conditions that his grandfather faced because he was black.

When he talked about the south side of Chicago he was signifying a common black experience through himself and his family and his ability to rise above.

I grew up on welfare on the South Side of Chicago – in my grandparents’ two-bedroom tenement. I shared a room and a set of bunk beds with my mother and sister, so we would rotate from the top bunk to the bottom bunk to the floor, every third night on the floor. I went to overcrowded, sometimes violent public schools. I can’t think of a time when I didn’t enjoy reading, but I don’t remember actually ever owning a book as a child. I got my break in 1970 when I came to Massachusetts on a scholarship to boarding school. For me, that was like landing on a different planet.

This story was told at the Bridgewater State Commencement ceremony on May 6, 2009, but this particular context is not as important because the same story was told at the Wheaton College Commencement on the same day, and then the following day at the Tufts University commencement. This story was not limited to college graduations since he also told this story at the 2008 State of the Commonwealth Address and nearly every education speech given over the course of three years, with some variations. The key point to his story is that he received a “break” and the opportunity granted to him is what allowed him to be successful.

He told of the same experience almost two years earlier at a town hall forum in Quincy, Massachusetts on October 11, 2007. The context of this particular story reveals the racialized space of the south side when he compared it to Boston’s Dorchester neighborhood after he visited with the parents of a murdered child. He told the people of Quincy about the Odom family in Dorchester and how their tragedy mirrored the conditions that he experienced,

Because I grew up in a neighborhood like the Odom's neighborhood. Broken in a lot of ways that neighborhood was, but I had a great education. My daughter, very different

experience from mine growing up. I shared a room with my mother and my sister and my grandparents, and a set of bunk beds, so you would go from the top bunk to the bottom bunk to the floor every third night, on the floor.

Patrick used his and the Odoms' experiences to employ the frame extension and bridging techniques. He connected segregated black neighborhoods marred with violence to the predominantly white town of Quincy by appealing to their concern over educational cost: "The Mayor and the School Committee here do everything they can, but in a whole lot of places and I'm not sure that isn't also true here, kids are paying fees to play on the football team or extra fees to ride the bus." Patrick's solution to neighborhood violence for kids is longer school days and he is seeking support from Quincy resident, therefore he connects child safety in Dorchester to the extra fees that parents pay in Quincy.

In the commencement speeches, he told the recent college graduates of the great opportunities that await them because they have their degrees and that someone made a commitment to them along the way and that they should also advocate for students in need of opportunities that come from places like the south side who also await the American dream: "We need to answer that call again and renew our commitment to the American story. From out of this crisis, make a change." His framing of the issues made the support he was seeking not about black and impoverished students but about an investment in the American dream.

An important part of the American dream is that you are able to provide for other people. Governor Patrick always contrasted his story of rotating from the bed to the floor every third night with his daughter's life of privilege afforded by his prosperity,

Katherine, by contrast, has always had her own room -- most of that time in a house in a leafy neighborhood outside of Boston where I used to deliver newspapers as a student in boarding school. By the time she got to high school,

she had already traveled on four continents, knew how to use and pronounce a “concierge,” and had shaken hands in the White House with the President of the United States.

When telling this story he’d repeat the words, “one generation” which became a short hand for saying in one generation the American dream can be achieved if given the opportunity or the “break” he received. “One generation. One generation and the circumstances of my life and family were profoundly transformed.”

Patrick’s appropriation of the American dream<sup>229</sup> is a challenge to inequality, poverty and lack of opportunities that were central features of his childhood that were disrupted; his warning about a diminishing American dream is about a lack of hope, and growing poverty rates: “Well, that American story is at risk today. More and more families are working harder and still losing ground. Homeowners are losing their homes. Some 5.7 million people have lost their jobs in the last two years, and many of those their way and their hope.” His warning is very important because Patrick’s story is exceptional and could easily be spun as a denial of inequality. Most of his speeches occurred during the recession where he sought to calm the anxious public, but even before the recession he targeted the disadvantaged. Speaking at a volunteer expo outside of the State House on July 11, 2007, he addressed hundreds of citizens and state employees, with a focus on building communities by helping each other:

We have to transform our commonwealth. We have to do that and can only do that one person at a time. We must encourage and foster active citizenship neighborhood by neighborhood and stand up as a community to say that we will

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<sup>229</sup> The idea of the American dream is rooted in the Declaration of Independence and is expressed in phrases such as “all men are created equal” and “life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.” The American dream has gone through many iterations based on America’s economic development from opening the frontier, urban industrialization, and the suburban good life. The underlying cultural ethos is informed by rugged individualism, hard work, and prosperity. The American dream is a malleable concept that can be used to promote traditional values featured in conservative rhetoric or the promotion of a criminal lifestyle one might find embodied in figures like Scarface, “living the American dream with a vengeance.”



not allow anyone to become trapped in a life without hope or a future. This is something that has to reach from the corner office up there, to the corner of every block in this commonwealth.

Although this passage does not indicate anything about race and most people were not worried about a recession, Governor Patrick's idea of civic engagement and community building centered on helping people who he considered "trapped" and without "hope." His narrative was important in addressing such issues because he was able to escape that life through the same spirit in which he encouraged people to act. When he talked about the discrimination that his grandfather experienced and his living conditions on the south side, especially in relationship to the Odoms in Dorchester, it is apparent that he projects his blackness as a centerpiece of the American dream. Outside of advocacy for policies that will ameliorate racial inequality, his narrative is symbolic but the symbolism is central to the American dream, an education reform where child safety is argued to be a goal as well as expanded opportunity. Although this is not black politics specifically, it is responsive to the conditions in which black activists seek to change.

### **Challenging Colorblind Ideology**

Analyzing how Governor Patrick challenged colorblind ideology goes beyond whether he spoke about race or not, it is about whether he talked about issues in a way that countered notions that matters of race are settled in a now "post-racial" society. Colorblind ideology described by Eduardo Bonilla-Silva<sup>230</sup> is based on four frames expressed through narratives and story lines that subvert issues of racial equality by utilizing one or a combination of the four

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<sup>230</sup> Bonilla-Silva 2005, outlines the four central frames of colorblind ideology and describe how they operate through story lines and narratives.

frames that function to reduce racism as negligible in explaining racial disparities. Governor Patrick's political position is best described as a form of social liberalism, a variant of liberalism that includes expressions of social justice and the government's responsibility for insuring the social and economic welfare of the people. His social liberalism is featured in his education Readiness Project, and state efforts to reverse rising unemployment, health care, and protecting civil rights. Social liberalism is contrasted with neo-liberalism, which reduces the role of government in economic affairs and elevates the role of economic markets in regulating social issues. Black politics in its radical form highlights racism inherent in the capitalist economic system and calls for a fundamentally different economic system.<sup>231</sup> Black politics that is reform oriented endorses the legitimacy of the state to be an arbitrator of racism in areas of social and economic racism. The latter form of black politics is amenable to Deval Patrick's social liberalism but is distinguished from it by the particular goals black politics emphasize in the interest of black Americans: redistribution of wealth, reparations, black ownership of private spaces, and specific mobilization of black people. Deval Patrick's social liberalism, although distinguished from black politics, appeals to beliefs of social justice and the role of the state as a viable platform to counter the logic of colorblind ideology, even when race is not explicitly discussed.

Bonilla-Silva identifies *abstract liberalism*<sup>232</sup> as the most effective colorblind frame to subvert racial justice because it uses seemingly egalitarian ideals such as equal opportunity to

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<sup>231</sup> For a full discussion of black radicalism and its relationships to capitalism see Cedric Robinson, *Black Marxism: The Making of the Black Radical Tradition*, (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2000). Also see Robert Allen, *Black Awakening in Capitalist America: An Analytic History* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 1990).

<sup>232</sup> Because abstract liberalism is the most difficult color-blind frame to counter this section will focus more attention of this frame than the other three. The cultural racism frame is focused on more than the naturalization and minimization of racism frames because the former frame is easier to disregard as racist and not egalitarian. The minimization of racism frame is more difficult to counter when race as a subject is discussed subtly.

argue against programs like affirmative action on the grounds that it is discriminatory to whites.

Although affirmative action is hardly a redress for past and contemporary racism, affirmative action as a program confronts the logic of abstract liberalism in several ways. First, because affirmative action focuses on marginalized groups it challenges the notion of individualism.

Second, individualism is implicit to the idea of meritocracy, which implies economic outcomes are the results of effort and the appropriate skills, and conversely poverty is the result of a lack of effort and skills. Lastly, affirmative action identifies the existence of white privilege, a feature of society incompatible with post-racial ideas. Abstract liberalism provides the rationale to oppose affirmative action as a form of reverse discrimination against whites and affirmative action unjustly rewards people based on group affiliation and not individual merit. Abstract liberalism assumes equal opportunity amongst races. As such, every individual is on a level playing field, or a playing field that is not uneven insofar as the choices that can determine one's trajectory and ultimate success or failure.

Governor Patrick shared an iteration of his childhood story of rotating bunk beds with a group of residents and business leaders in the 96% white town of Hopkinton, thirty miles southwest of Boston. He told this story to introduce his education reform agenda and when he talked about getting his "break," instead of saying how his world changed he said he got his "... break in 1970 from a program called A Better Chance to Milton Academy. Now that was my high school." A Better Chance is a program that targets urban minority youth to enhance their educational opportunities. Although it is not identified as a form of affirmative action, it provides resources for particular racial groups to offset disadvantages. He went further to describe the inequities that make such programs necessary, "Lifelong access to opportunities are being

determined not by intellect or effort, but in some cases by zip code.” This statement can be applied to any poor area and he consistently spoke about inclusivity in his speeches, but by using his story as a primer.

In his speeches about education, one of the stated goals of his Readiness Project is to reduce the achievement gap. In a speech at the State House to introduce his new Secretary of Education, Patrick stated, “This is how we have to proceed if we hope to address the persistent and pernicious achievement gaps that are keeping too many of our kids from reaching their full potential in communities of every type and all across the Commonwealth.” This statement does not reference any racial group specifically, but he talks about “every type” of community all over the state and that different students require specific, not universal approaches when Patrick continued to say, “...we want to move beyond what the secretary-designate describes as the one-size-fits-all sort of ‘batch-processing approach’ to a system with the flexibility to respond to individual student’s needs...” These statements allude to whom Patrick may be talking about but he does not name any specific races, but at the town hall forum in Quincy, discussed previously, Patrick reveals exactly who he had in mind when he talked about the “persistent” and “pernicious” achievement gaps. “One out of five kids who started in last year’s graduating class didn’t finish in last year’s graduating class. 58% I think it is, of Hispanic kids, 64% of African American kids in the Commonwealth do not graduate...in four years, meaning big percentages do not on time.”

Education is one area where Patrick confronts the logic of abstract liberalism, but his general emphasis on the collective and an American dream rooted in community challenges individualism and the focus on individual choices. Talking about the American dream in his 2010

State of the Commonwealth Speech, Patrick told a story about a grandmother in Lynn, who took in her children and grandchildren because of the hard times, and then lost her job. As a part of his agenda for government “to help people help themselves” he told of this grandmother’s situation,

She's not asking for much, just a chance to work to provide for her family, and a little help holding on until she can make her own way. Meanwhile, like so many other citizens, she is feeling powerless against forces beyond her control. This is not the American Dream she counted on. And it is not the American Dream we will accept.

Although this story is not racialized and the context of the speech does not indicate anything more than a grandmother trying to survive, he made a similar statement in describing the shooting of the Odoms’ child in Dorchester when he talked at the town hall forum in Quincy, “And there's a boy in a family trying to do everything they can to improve themselves and make a better way for their kids. But unless we have longer school days, and after school enrichment programs, then kids like that are going to find themselves in harm’s way more than any of us should be satisfied with.” In both cases, he described an individual who succumbed to larger forces and argued that structural changes are necessary to limit those situations.

Most of Governor Patrick’s solutions to different problems are based on addressing the structural and institutional causes with less attention on individual choices. This is evident in his Readiness Project but he applied the same idea of investing in people early to provide greater opportunities later. In a statement given at the State House on March 31, 2008 He outlined a strategy to target youth violence at Youth Violence Prevention Week. The event was attended by state and local officials, but also a number of community organizations and children from Boston. “We know that we must be firm and sure in law enforcement. But we also know that the smart counterpart of that kind of investment is to be firm and smart in how to prevent violence in

the first place, how to give constructive alternatives to guns and gangs in the first place.” The emphasis on investment and prevention is aimed at the conditions that create violence; the individual is mentioned as someone who will be offered an alternative from guns and gangs. In short, abstract liberalism supports a worldview where social structure is nonexistent, individual agency explains current distributions of wealth, income, and other valuable resources, and the American dream is a matter of hard work. Deval Patrick’s challenge finds great validity in the American dream, but that dream is based on institutional and social structures granting access to avenues of upward mobility with specific interventions into the lives of people less privileged. The abstract liberalism frame is embedded in the very founding of the United States and is embodied in the democratic values of our founding fathers like Thomas Jefferson,<sup>233</sup> who Patrick quoted, but did not conflict with his owning of enslaved Africans. The centrality of this frame is often articulated in combination with the other frames.

The *cultural racism* frame became necessary after the biological foundations of racism were no longer sufficient to explain the racial order. This frame may best be recognized within academia as the culture of poverty<sup>234</sup> where the values and behaviors of disadvantaged groups are the cause of inequality, instead of the norms developed to adapt to conditions of marginalization, poverty, and discrimination. Everyday notions of cultural racism refer to black people complaining about discrimination, seeking government handouts, and not valuing

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<sup>233</sup> The quoting of Thomas Jefferson is read as a strategic act in the same manner that he quoted people like Dr. Benjamin Mays. Using the words of famous and historical figures positions oneself in relation to them and connects to people who recognize and revere those figures as well. Quoting Jefferson, Mays, his grandmother and a number of other people demonstrates an approach at inclusivity. Along these lines one would expect Patrick to avoid a controversial figure like Malcolm and opt for a figure like Martin Luther King Jr.

<sup>234</sup> The culture of poverty can be traced to anthropologist Oscar Lewis, *La Vida: A Puerto Rican Family in the Culture of Poverty San Juan and New York*, (New York: Vintage Books, 1968). Since then similar ideas to the culture of poverty have emerged such as oppositional culture. See Signithia Fordham and John Ogbu, “Black Students’ School Success: Coping With the Burden of ‘Acting White’,” *Urban Review* (1986).

education and hard work. Latinos can be thought to be holding themselves back by having too many children, not wanting to learn English, and by joining gangs. In the most simplistic form, the cultural frame simply blames the poor for being poor. In the discussion of the abstract liberalism frame, it is clear that Governor Patrick's solutions to problems focus less on the behavior of individuals but more on the structural conditions. In the quote where Patrick discussed the poor black victims of Hurricane Katrina it is a direct challenge to the cultural racism frame when he stated, "But we have to work together and we have to elevate the conversation about poverty, about what is holding people back. And stop associating this or encouraging this corrosive association between poverty and fault." Governor Patrick spoke a lot about values but it was not the values of the marginalized but the values of the general populations to embrace the notion of community.

On the third day of Governor Patrick's "final action agenda" for education reform, he used a personal story from his childhood common to many black Americans to articulate the value of community. Before his newly formed education boards<sup>235</sup> at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library in the Dorchester neighborhood, he recounted that in his old neighborhood every child belonged to every adult in the neighborhood. "If you messed up down the street in front of Mrs. Jones, she would go upside your head as if you were hers. And then call home so you get it two times." In this story he emphasized that all Massachusetts residents have an obligation to see their "stake in another's dreams and struggles" while mainstreaming African American values and sense of community.

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<sup>235</sup> "The announcement, made at the John F. Kennedy Presidential Library, preceded the historic first-ever joint meeting of the state's newly formed education boards: the Board of Early Education and Care, the Board of Elementary and Secondary Education, the Board of Higher Education and the University of Massachusetts Board of Trustees."

In references to gangs and violence, he often recounted stories of shootings in the Dorchester and Mattapan neighborhoods. In the Youth Violence Prevention speech discussed above he stated, “Parents in neighborhoods that are called good neighborhoods and parents in neighborhoods that are called wrongly bad neighborhoods, wish for the same thing for their young people.” Patrick refuted the idea of bad neighborhoods and he is specifically talking about neighborhoods like Dorchester where the Odom teenager was murdered. Patrick argued that the people in those neighborhoods value, “safety, security, ambition, opportunity.” With an emphasis on community, he restated the “it takes a village to raise a child” ideal articulated in the story about Ms. Jones when he said, “These are our children, not good children and bad children, our children.” Just like neighborhoods are wrongly called bad, a child being seen as good while others are bad is just as wrong to Patrick. This defense of neighborhoods and children labeled bad is also a frame extension technique because Patrick is arguing that those seemingly different communities have the same values, and that public safety (frame bridging) is important to all of those communities.

The *minimization of racism* is probably most direct in the denial of racism because it operates mainly in response to an expressed act of racism. Statements that claim that people of color are “playing the race card” or is being “hypersensitive” epitomizes how voices that express racism are silenced by those who would accuse the victim of stoking racial animosity no matter how legitimate the claim. In any situation that may involve race, the act of discussing racism becomes tantamount of being racist. Deracialization as a campaign and governing strategy itself is a form of minimization because it at least aids the idea that race is no longer an issue if it is avoided or denied by black actors; where colorblind frames are largely employed by whites, this



is an example of blacks who perpetuate colorblind frames.<sup>236</sup> If Governor Patrick was indeed deracialized, he would contribute to this frame by omission but when questioned about race he talked more directly with less coded language.

On June 6, 2008, Governor Patrick's town hall tour arrived in Springfield, Massachusetts where he fielded questions from local residents on a variety of issues. One attendee, Ammad Rivera, articulated the difficulty of talking about race and posed the question to Governor Patrick after citing large disparities in wealth, income, housing and employment in western Massachusetts:

Holyoke and Springfield have large issues even in the conversation of race. I know that your background both in the office of Civil Rights and often in the Clinton administration dealt with having a symposium at the very least on racial dialogue. We have yet to have that ever in the history of Massachusetts. I'm curious as to both your thoughts and feelings on at least starting a conversation and two, what are your policy recommendations for us to deal with structural racism and the effects on the economy?

Ammad's question is important not only because he asked Governor Patrick his recommendations for solutions to structural racism, but he identified Patrick's background of racial advocacy and Civil Rights from the Clinton administration. In Patrick's response to Ammad, he acknowledged his concerns about structural racism and said that he is familiar with the socioeconomic factors of poverty. When he answered the question about solutions, he used coded words recognized from other speeches where he indirectly mentioned race:

Actually it's been very central to the work of the Readiness Project, for example. Because we know that if we aren't dealing with...that we're not going to close the achievement gap -- I'm talking about the historic achievement gap, let alone the emerging achievement gap -- but the historic achievement gap, if we aren't dealing with the whole set of circumstances that surround a child, every child, every child.

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<sup>236</sup> The use of colorblind frames is not specific to whites. All racial groups participate in the dominant discourse; whether by conformity to the dominant ideology or an unawareness to the racial order and structural racism, Bonilla-Silva, 2005 demonstrates an increasing numbers of minorities adopting colorblind ideas.

In a response to structural racism, Patrick offered his Readiness Project as a solution. Instead of talking about racism, he used the coded words of “historic” and “emerging” achievement gaps. Patrick continued his answer to Ammad, pausing periodically as he struggled to frame his response to a question focused on the inability to talk about race. The Governor talked about his conversation on race during the Clinton Administration that he was proud to be a part of, but also that it did not effectively engage structural racism, and that he agreed with Ammad on the need to engage in a dialogue of Massachusetts because.

Race is hard in this country. It's hard. It's hard for everybody, by the way. And I'll tell you, in my experience in this job, or growing up in the south side of Chicago, or everything in between, I don't meet people, even in the bleakest circumstances, who think that everything wrong in their life is explained by race. But, at the same time, we know race is with us. It's with us... And I wouldn't say we solved everything by my election, but it also said something about a chance we were willing to take, by my election... But we need to engage. And it is hard for people to engage. And we've got to make a safe and trusting place for people to engage.

Governor Patrick struggled through this statement; Ammad forced his hand by asking about race in a way that forced him outside of his usual framing. Patrick started by saying how “hard” race is, for everyone. He said, “we know race is with us” but it is unclear who the “we” is. It was important for him to point out that everything is not attributed to race, and that his election did not solve racial problems but it showed progress that people were willing to take a chance on electing a black governor. Patrick is stuck between addressing structural racism and not deviating from his message of unity, which a candid discussion of race threatens. To talk about race outside of particular circumstances is neither “safe” nor “trusting.” His emphasis on engaging indicates

that his messages are crafted to approach issues of race strategically with an awareness of its difficulty.

Ammad however, does not let the Governor off the hook. Ammad acknowledged that Patrick's racial identity can have a positive effect but must not be a substitute for structural racism. Ammad continued to state that Springfield ranks nationally as the fifth highest city for black and Latino home foreclosures and how it is a product of subprime lending. He ended by imploring Patrick to "really encourage us to have that dialogue, especially with elected officials who aren't necessarily heeding the call." In a conciliatory response that did not minimize race, Patrick stated he would like to utilize Ammad, "I'm open to it. Thank you, thank you. But Ammad, Ammad -- let me... tell me how to find you. And you can help me."

The last frame, *naturalization* holds that racial inequality is natural or inevitable. The logic provides the rationale that it is not feasible for the government to legislate something that is reduced to human nature. Residential segregation is the best example; despite the history of disinvestment in black communities and the exclusionary and discriminatory practices of housing markets, the high level of segregation is seen as something that is uncontrollable by nature and is intertwined with the abstract liberalism narratives by asserting that policies and laws to stop segregation impinge on civil liberties to choose who one lives amongst. Governor Patrick's general message is a challenge to this frame, much like the cultural racism. Patrick's argues that people, although different in ways, have the same basic values and that there are not any natural differences between people. Even when discussing the September 11 attacks on the World Trade Center, Patrick framed it as a failure of understanding instead of inherent differences. The naturalization frame may be the most difficult to address because much of

Patrick's message uses racial code words against a frame that says race is natural. However, in a Black History Month speech to the Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus, Governor Patrick targeted segregation amongst a host of racial problems:

Dr. Johnson<sup>237</sup> and other leaders in public education have helped us bring to our students here in Massachusetts, top scores on the National Report Cards. And yet we have an achievement gap that's growing, we have the dropout rate, as Dr. Johnson referred to and hardly anybody says a word about the massive resegregation of public education.

Resegregation is problematized with the growing achievement gap and dropout rate. Given the nature of the event, this meeting amongst the Black Caucus must be one of the safe and trusting spaces to engage race because Patrick continued discussing race in a manner more direct than any of his other speeches:

300,000 adults and children who were uninsured last year are insured today. But black babies die before their first birthday at 2 1/2 times the rate of white babies, Latino babies at 40% the rate. There is a lot to celebrate about the path we have come, but there is a lot of work to do, and so I hope we will use this occasion, and I thank you for it, Caucus, to reflect on that... because justice, justice is where we are headed.

This quote is from the end of the speech where Governor Patrick raised his pointer finger to emphasize the word justice. In both of the above quotes, he talked about racial progress but predicated the progress with the work that still must be done. Emphasizing perspective throughout the whole speech, he contrasted the progress of Senator Barack Obama winning the same southern states in the democratic primary<sup>238</sup> that Alabama Governor George Wallace won decades earlier. He acknowledged that he is the state's first black governor and many of them in

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<sup>237</sup> Dr. Robert E. Johnson in the president of Becker College and was appointed by Governor Patrick to the board of the Massachusetts Technology Collaborative.

<sup>238</sup> This speech was made on February 12, 2008 when Barack Obama was campaigning against Hillary Clinton for the democratic nomination.

the room are now in “rarified settings” that their parents could not have imagined forty years ago, and that they just defeated a bill to bring discrimination into the state constitution, banning gay marriage; but he contrasted these accomplishments with the sober reality of higher infant mortality rates and widening inequalities.

Racial progress is a key belief of colorblind ideology. Colorblind ideology entails the idea that the United States has advanced so far racially that race is no longer an issue. Governor Patrick, in opposition to colorblind ideology, told the Black Caucus there is much work to be done. He told Ammad Rivera that he needs his help. Throughout his speeches, he told Massachusetts residents that he needs their support to push legislation that will restore the American dream by helping children that came from conditions similar to his own. Sometimes he articulated an achievement gap that was persistent and pernicious, historic and emerging, and to the people in Quincy-unacceptable to the blacks and Latinos who do not finish high school because of factors beyond their control.

The question of whether Deval Patrick is deracialized as Governor of Massachusetts is easily answered when his words are allowed to speak for him; words that demonstrate a racial consciousness that was geared towards uniting the collective towards social justice. But this does not necessarily mean he was racialized either, at least not race specific in the way he was when he wrote in the Emory Law Review when he discussed congressional redistricting and overt white racism. This study of Patrick’s discourse points to a break from deracialization in dichotomized terms and to an understanding of deracialization existing in varying degrees on a continuum. On the left a candidate can be seen as very racialized, someone such as Nation of Islam Leader Louis Farrakhan. On the opposite right pole someone can be very deracialized

where race is avoided or when forced to speak about race they do so in agreement with tropes of colorblindness that explains racism as insignificant. Where exactly Deval Patrick resides on this continuum is may be a matter of debate but based on his speech in this chapter he is left of center. Patrick's speech is best defined by a belief in the American dream in conjunction with notions of the collective. This rhetorical configuration is politically viable and effective in deconstructing counter frame like abstract liberalism.

In the next chapter, Governor Patrick words are compared to the depiction of him in both the Boston Globe and the Bay State Banner. Patrick's representation in the Boston Globe and the Bay State Banner is especially important in his ability to appeal to the mainstream and maintain a loyal following in the black community.

## Chapter Four: A Tale of Two Newspapers

Incumbent Governor Deval Patrick officially kicked off his reelection campaign on Friday, April 9, 2010. The Boston Globe and the Bay State Banner newspapers reported his activities for that weekend and highlighted the Governor's campaign breakfast with residents at the Owl Diner in downtown Lowell.<sup>239</sup> The Owl Diner was a popular campaign spot in Patrick's 2006 campaign. The Boston Globe reported that Patrick "ate breakfast at the Owl Diner in Lowell with a few dozen curious residents." The Bay State Banner described the same people in the diner as "a crowd of supporters." Whether the people in the diner were a "few dozen curious residents" or a "crowd of supporters," is a difference between the two newspapers that gets at the central issue in this chapter, the diverging media representation of Governor Patrick, during his re-election campaign from April 9, 2010 through November 4, 2010. The characterization of the people inside the diner demonstrates a subtle difference; but the more significant contrast between the Boston the Globe (The Globe) and the Bay State Banner (The Banner) is the reported activity outside of the diner.

Both newspapers reported Governor Patrick's first official challenge to his reelection campaign by a group of police officers who were dissatisfied with Patrick's budget cuts during

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<sup>239</sup> Lowell is the fourth largest city in Massachusetts and approximately thirty miles northwest of Boston.

the recession that limited higher education incentives for police officers and others ways for officers to increase their incomes. The Globe reported, “Outside the diner, nearly 100 supporters of the Lowell Police Association held signs criticizing the governor. Patrick and the Legislature over the past year have scaled back funding for the Quinn Bill program,” and the speaker for the Lowell Police Association was recorded saying, “There's a lot of frustration not just with the Lowell Police Department, but with law enforcement throughout the Commonwealth.” The Quinn Bill is the unofficial name for the Police Career Incentive Pay Program. Since 1970, the Massachusetts budget has included resources for police officers in participating municipalities to earn degrees in criminal justice and law enforcement to provide educational incentives through salary increases. Funding for the Quinn Bill was cut in 2009 to balance the budget. The Globe reported criticism of Patrick when explaining the motivation for the protest, “Another point of contention is the state's new policy that civilian flaggers should be used instead of police details at some road construction sites, which will also cut the pay that officers receive.”

The Banner also discussed the police officers’ anger over the budget cuts and policy, but instead of printing a quote by the speaker of the Lowell Police Association like the Globe, the Banner focused on the content of the protestors’ signs and actions. “‘Deval Hates Cops,’ said one sign. ‘Deval Is An Elitist,’ said another.” The Banner then reported Patrick being heckled by an unidentified protestor, “As the governor entered the diner, one of the protesters asked, ‘Where's the Cadillac?’ referring to an early controversy about his decision to replace his state-issued Ford sedan with a Cadillac.”<sup>240</sup>

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<sup>240</sup> Glen Johnson, “Gov. Patrick seeks re-election amid recession and strong rivals,” *The Bay State Banner*, April 15, 2010.

Matt Carroll, “Patrick formally launches campaign for reelection; Weekend stops planned at nearly 20 communities,” *The Boston Globe*, April 11, 2010.



Patrick began his administration with what political commentators called early “gaffes” by a newcomer to Beacon Hill because Patrick was still learning the job. The comment by the protestor who asked Governor Patrick “where’s the Cadillac” was about one of those early incidents in his administration that resulted in Patrick being nicknamed “Coupe Deval” in the conservative media, a word play on his name with the Cadillac model Coupe Deville.<sup>241</sup> Patrick’s spouse Diane commented in an interview on the assertion made in the Boston Herald that her husband “tricked out” his state issued Cadillac, which Diane Patrick called racist.<sup>242</sup> In response, the Boston Herald editors denied the charge of racism and stated, “We’re sorry that the first lady feels the way she does, but the term ‘tricked out’ as a synonym for decorated or adorned is over 100 years old and has no racial connotation whatsoever. Moreover we meant none.”<sup>243</sup>

Although the Boston Herald denied any racial connotation, the association of blacks and Cadillac cars has a connection dating back to the 1930s. American cultural references in music, film, politics, and recent marketing campaigns ground the connection of Cadillac as a symbol that represents a range of ideas from black status attainment to welfare abuse.<sup>244</sup> This denial of race demonstrates how ambiguous and coded words can be, especially when racial connotations are masked or denied. In the two newspapers explored in this chapter, the Globe and the Banner, race is seldom discussed but racial meaning is embedded in much of the discourse. In the case of

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<sup>241</sup> There is a website still active based on Patrick’s nickname coined by his detractors, [www.coupedeval.com](http://www.coupedeval.com)

<sup>242</sup> Ifill 2009.

<sup>243</sup> Hilary Chabot, “Diane Patrick’s beef with the Herald: Takes issue with paper’s description of hubby’s Caddy,” *The Boston Herald*, January 7, 2009.

<sup>244</sup> For a brief overview see Margaret Myers and Sharon G. Dean, “Cadillac Flambé: Race and Brand Identity,” *Charm* (2007) 157-161. For a specific discussion of the symbolism between blacks and Cadillac see, Paul Gilroy, “Driving While Black,” *Car Cultures: Materializing Culture*, editor Daniel Miller (Oxford: Berg; 2001). For a discussion of the negative racial stereotyping used by conservative politicians, specifically Ronald Reagan’s Cadillac driving, welfare abusing black woman, see Angie Marie Hancock, *The Politics of Disgust: the public identity of the welfare queen*. New York: NYU Press; 2004).

the protest outside of the diner, the *Globe* did not mention the content of the signs or the comment made by the protestor. The *Banner* emphasized the signs and the comment, but it did not explore the racial undertones, leaving it to the reader to acknowledge it or not.

The *Globe* is the most widely read newspaper in Massachusetts with a daily circulation rate of 219,214 papers and a Sunday circulation rate of 356,652 papers. It's the 25<sup>th</sup> most read newspaper in the country. The *Boston Globe* endorsed Deval Patrick's campaign for governor in 2006 and again in 2010.<sup>245</sup> The *Globe*'s endorsement of Deval Patrick is significant because studies find that candidates endorsed by major newspapers receive a voter increase of 1% to 5%.<sup>246</sup> Governor Patrick won reelection by beating Republican Charlie Baker by a 48% to 42% margin, but polling throughout the campaign predicted a very close race that would not be decided until the last minute of Election Day. Previous studies of deracialization find black political candidates rely on media outlets to act as racial ombudsmen to blunt the use of racial attacks against black candidates by their white opponents who use racial resentment to their advantage.<sup>247</sup> As a liberal incumbent receiving the *Globe*'s endorsement, Governor Patrick was covered more favorably than his opponents.<sup>248</sup> Although this campaign did not feature any overt racial attacks, the *Globe* played an important role in defending Patrick against Republican criticism in general.

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<sup>245</sup> The local print rival for the *Globe* is the *Boston Herald*; it ranks as the 63<sup>rd</sup> most read newspaper in the country with a weekly circulation of 123,111 and a Sunday circulation of 87,296, significantly less readers than the *Globe*. In the last two gubernatorial elections the *Boston Herald* endorsed the Republican candidate.

<sup>246</sup> Stephen Ansolabehere, Rebecca Lessem, and James M. Snyder, Jr., "The Political Orientation of Newspaper Endorsements in U.S. Elections, 1940-2002." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 1, 4 (2006), 393-404.

<sup>247</sup> See chapter three's discussion on deracialization and Deval Patrick's first campaign. His Republican opponent Kerry Healey attempted to use race baiting to the extent that Democratic politicians denounced the use of race and Democratic supporting newspapers.

<sup>248</sup> Ansolabehere et al. 2006. This article demonstrates a shift in newspaper endorsements from heavily favoring Republican candidates to more evenly favoring democrats. The authors also found incumbents receive 90% of the newspaper endorsements.

The Banner also endorsed Deval Patrick's 2006 and 2010 campaigns. The Banner is Boston's oldest and most widely read newspaper that targets eastern Massachusetts' black communities and boasts to serve many English speaking Latino residents. With a weekly circulation of approximately 30,000 newspapers, the Banner is the voice of the African American community as the Boston Globe is the voice of the state of Massachusetts, generally speaking. The Banner is particularly important in this study because particular coverage of Deval Patrick in the Banner refutes the notion that he is deracialized. Although the deracialized identity is refuted in the Globe, it is expressed more in the Banner and a visible connection to Deval Patrick and black politics is established. Patrick also recognized how crucial the Banner is for his connection to Boston's black community. "It's a channel that has been enormously important to me."<sup>249</sup> The Banner faced financial difficulties during the recession and its continuation was threatened before a public outcry secured financial backing.

The aim of this chapter is not a direct comparison between the Globe and the Banner, due to the limitations of comparing a daily newspaper with far greater resources to a weekly newspaper that is dependent on the Associated Press to generate a majority of its stories; it is not possible for this study. However, both the Globe and the Banner provide ample data to demonstrate how Patrick is characterized in a mainstream newspaper and an African American newspaper.<sup>250</sup> As an extension from the last chapter, media discourse is analyzed to identify the

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<sup>249</sup> Johnny Diaz and Meghan Irons, "As weekly paper closes, black community loses a voice: Bay State Banner falls victim to the downturn," *The Boston Globe*, July 8, 2009.

<sup>250</sup> The Associated Press (AP) is a news wire that publishes and republishes to more than 1700 newspapers. The Banner was dependent on newspaper articles written by AP journalist for 28 of the 44 pieces that covered Deval Patrick. A small number of articles were written by AP reporters which seem to have only appeared in the Banner although many articles that appeared in the Banner written by AP writers also appeared in the Globe. The Globe produced 76 articles between April 9<sup>th</sup> and November 4<sup>th</sup> that were written by Globe staff or contributors. This chapter focuses on content specific to each newspaper that better reflect the representation of that newspaper instead of the AP who writes for international circulation. See Appendix B for details on the interpretive process.

way issues were framed to reveal discursive racial content. Articles in both newspapers provide data to explore racialization. By drawing from the findings of the last chapter, this chapter discusses how the two newspapers emphasized particular themes that created distinct story lines.<sup>251</sup> This chapter focuses on race but goes beyond race to explore characterizations of Patrick and his opponents that provide insight to how he ran a successful campaign and made history as the first black person to be reelected as Governor, despite early analyses that predicted he would not be reelected. This chapter will: (1) reconstruct the story lines by the Globe and the Banner from a synthesis of article narratives to illustrate the framing of Governor Patrick, (2) analyze how articles use particular quotes from voters and Governor Patrick; (3) and discuss how specific issues were discussed in relation to Patrick and race. The dynamics in the newspapers give a general perception of Governor Patrick beyond statements we read by him in the last chapter. His politics are situated within a complex of relationships and contested meaning showing the Globe and the Banner functions as an intermediary between Patrick and the public who receive his messages. Before discussing the two story lines from the Globe and the Banner, an introduction of the political field that the incumbent Governor ran against is important.

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<sup>251</sup> Media have racial agendas and they create story lines and narratives that dictate how an event is covered and ultimately received. In the case of Governor Patrick who is the preferred candidate, the racial agenda of the Boston Globe is to downplay race as a factor. For a specific study of how media creates frames to cover a racial event see, Robert M. Entman and Carole V. Bell, "Media and the Denial of Race: Blocking Presidential Attempts to alter the Public Sphere," Presentation at St. John's University Media Diversity Conference (2006). For a discussion of the specific ways media use racial cues based on different racial dynamics of the election, such as bi-racial elections with black and white candidates, white and Latinos candidates, and the demographics of the voting population see, Nyada Terkildsen and David F. Damore, "The Dynamics of Racialized Media Coverage in Congressional Elections," *Journal of Politics* 61 (2006) 680-699.

### **The Political Field**

Charlie Baker was the Republican candidate and Patrick's chief opponent after a month into his campaign when he established overwhelming support from the Republican Party and was second in the voter's poll to Patrick. Baker was the former Secretary of Administration and Finance under Republican Governors William Weld and Paul Cellucci from 1991-1998. He left state government and earned notoriety for the financial turnaround of Harvard Pilgrim Healthcare (a nonprofit health benefits organization) as the president and chief executive officer. His reputation as a fiscal conservative who cut jobs in state government and the health industry was his primary platform. He criticized the Patrick administration for excessive spending and poor fiscal management. Baker became controversial as a part of the Cellucci administration for his role in the oversight of the "Big Dig" project which replaced the main interstate running through Boston with an underground tunnel, and was regarded as a financial disaster. Baker was Patrick's primary opponent, receiving 42% of the general vote and was not viewed favorably in either newspaper.

Timothy Cahill was the former treasurer in Patrick's first administration but left the Democratic Party in 2009 to run for governor as an independent candidate. Cahill was attacked early in the campaign by the Baker campaign and the Republican Party. Cahill was accused of being a Democrat running as a moderate independent to siphon votes away from Baker to help Patrick get reelected. Polls were unclear but indicated that Cahill's 8% of the vote may have actually taken away votes from Patrick.<sup>252</sup> Although Cahill's pitch primarily targeted small business

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<sup>252</sup> Frank Phillips and Michael Levenson, "Baker catches Patrick in New Poll: Voters focusing on economy; Cahill's effect on the race unclear," *The Boston Globe*, September 26, 2010.

owners, he was critical of Patrick's administration spending, and the primary critic of rising healthcare costs. The biggest controversy of the campaign came when Cahill's running mate resigned from his campaign and later endorsed Baker, which resulted in a lawsuit by Cahill and negative publicity against Baker.

Jill Stein was the Green-Rainbow Party candidate in the 2010 election who previously ran for governor of Massachusetts in 2002. Stein ran unsuccessfully for a number of positions within Massachusetts and never held a public office; her primary occupation is a Physician. She positioned herself as a true outsider whose critique of Patrick is that he was just another Beacon Hill politician like the other candidates, despite his previous outsider position. Stein argued progressive positions on issues such as endorsing a single-payer health care system eliminating insurance companies, being against charter schools, adopting a more progressive tax code, and being against casinos. Stein was left out of several debates and received less than 2% of the votes, most from likely progressives who disaffected from Patrick. Stein is also from Chicago and established her campaign headquarters in the Dorchester neighborhood in Boston; she contributed an editorial in the Boston Globe on the election.

## **Two Stories**

The Boston Globe's narrative stated in a single line would read: *The phoenix that landed on Beacon Hill that inspired, quickly burned in its own flames, and when no one thought it possible it rose from its own ashes.* The Globe portrayed Governor Patrick as the Beacon Hill outsider who appeared on the political scene unknown in 2006 and was able to capture

Massachusetts voters with a message of hope and a promise to transform the political culture of Beacon Hill by putting people first. However, once Patrick took over the State House, he proved to be a novice, displaying a series of missteps, an inability to create the necessary relationships with key members of the legislature, and his luster of hope tarnished. He was seen as thin-skinned and intolerant of criticism. Patrick suffered from a low voter approval rating that plummeted lower as the recession worsened. He was dealt a major legislative defeat to his resort casino proposal that centered on job creation. With hopes of his reelection seemingly impossible, Democratic Party members began assessing a different party candidate in the face of a surging national GOP whose new found popularity throughout the country was established in Massachusetts with Tea Party candidate Scott Brown winning the U.S. Senate seat vacated by the late Senator Edward Kennedy.

When everyone counted Deval Patrick out, he learned valuable lessons from his first two years in office and was beginning to find his stride, projecting a more confident public image. He reassured Massachusetts residents that they were making the right decisions that would help them come out of the recession stronger than other states. Governor Patrick's political transformation was accompanied by the ability to work with the legislature to get reform bills passed on state ethics, transportation, and pensions to fortify his promise of change. Learning from former Governor Michael Dukakis, Patrick was urged to be less bashful about publicly acknowledging his administration's accomplishments in his bid for reelection, centered on finishing what he started. Just when Patrick thought he might have to campaign for the Democratic primary, Massachusetts' economic crisis became Patrick's good fortune. A major water break crisis left two million residents without clean running water for days. This

catastrophe provided the Governor the opportunity to lead throughout the crisis; he increased his visibility through television coverage, and displayed the leadership many perceived him lacking. Having resolved the crisis, Patrick shored up the Democratic Party going into the summer's Democratic Convention uncontested.

Despite regaining his party's support, Patrick was still fighting an uphill battle as an incumbent with strong anti-incumbent sentiment throughout the state and country. Patrick was no longer the outsider who once inspired voters to hope; he was now a vulnerable politician who raised taxes in the midst of a recession and had the problem of a huge deficit that required more budget cuts. Despite his narrow lead in the polls, it was thought that Republican candidate Charlie Baker would overtake Patrick once voters became familiar with the Harvard Pilgrim figurehead who would provide Massachusetts with sound fiscal decisions, despite his lack of charisma. But Patrick refused to leave the State House without a fight; he made himself more visible and reestablished his grassroots strategy from 2006 that placed people at the center of his campaign. Patrick struggled to inspire many of the voters who were enthusiastic four years ago; many were just lukewarm, although they empathized with Patrick's efforts throughout the recession. Patrick urged his base not to give into the negatives messages of his opponents whose campaigns were rooted in the prospects of government failure for their appeals to resonate. Patrick's message was clear; Massachusetts has weathered the storm and is now poised to move ahead. In a race that witnessed the two lead candidates campaign feverishly until the end, on the evening of November 4, 2010, Deval Patrick made history again as the governor who rose from the dead to bring hope again, and delivered Massachusetts from the GOP surge taking over the country.



The Globe and the Banners narratives are more complementary than they are divergent. The Banner does not refute any of Patrick's early missteps, political struggles, or fading popularity, instead the Banner amplifies many of Patrick's accomplishments, especially where they are perceived benefiting the black community. Additionally, the Banner expressed stronger support for Patrick as a candidate; Patrick needed the Banner as much as the black community needed him.<sup>253</sup>

The Bay State Banner's story line would read: *"I just might have a problem that you'll understand; we all need somebody to lean on."*<sup>254</sup> Four years ago, Deval Patrick brought his message of hope and change, two years before Barack Obama took the message national. Governor Patrick did not anticipate a recession that would challenge his commitment to cause the necessary reforms in government, public education, public safety, and other reforms that put people at the center of policy. Despite the recession and the anti-incumbent atmosphere that followed, Governor Patrick remained resilient and produced a record voters deemed worthy of reelection.

Although he rose to prominence in both corporate America and government, he remembered his childhood of poverty on Chicago's south side and the opportunities that allowed him to succeed. He governed with a sensitivity that allowed him to understand the struggles of common people. Although he raised taxes during a recession, he did so because he knew there were services that many residents could not do without, a matter of sacrifice that could not be avoided. His ability to lead is seen in his vow to govern the whole state, especially those who are

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<sup>253</sup> The Banner was only critical of Patrick in articles written by AP journalist. In the articles written by Banner staff Patrick is defended from criticism. In the opinion articles the difference is most clear.

<sup>254</sup> This line is from the 1972 song *Lean on Me*, written and performed by recording artist Bill Withers.

traditionally underserved. He led Massachusetts in Obama's Race to the Top initiative that secured education funding in addition to federal stimulus money to help Massachusetts through the recession. Despite negative campaign ads and contentious politics, Governor Patrick delivered on his message of reform, which will hopefully resonate in Washington in 2012 and lead to greater change.

Neither the Globe nor the Banner featured a narrative that projected an overt racial discourse, although both newspapers mentioned race at different times. The Globe had two articles that focused on race, one on Patrick's relationship to the black community and the other article on Patrick's specific campaigning to Latino communities. The Banner did not have any articles where the focus was race, but the main difference between the two newspapers is that the Banner embraced Deval Patrick as its candidate who was serving in the interest of the black community through the advocacy of particular issues. The Banner emphasized issues that were particularly relevant to the black community while the Globe emphasized his personality as a candidate.

### **Race in the Globe**

The EBSCO Host database found one hundred and thirty-seven Globe newspaper articles that discussed Patrick between the official reelection campaign period beginning April 9, 2010, through November 4, 2010. The articles retrieved excluded Associated Press articles that the Boston Globe subscribes and prints daily. Of the one hundred and thirty-seven articles retrieved slightly more than half of the articles were about Governor Patrick and the campaign; many articles simply mentioned Deval Patrick without any substantive discussion of him or the

campaign, those were omitted. Seventy-six articles were written specifically about Deval Patrick or the campaign where there was some discussion of Deval Patrick as a candidate. All the articles were written by Globe writers except for a small amount of editorials written by regular contributors to the Globe where it appears that the general position of the Globe was reflected.

The first story in the Globe that discussed race during the campaign period is an article titled, “Patrick struggles to meet great expectation: Governor has faced tests from his black supporters.”<sup>255</sup> As the article headline<sup>256</sup> suggests, the story is about the expectations of the black community for Governor Patrick and his response to the black community. The Globe reported that when Dorchester native Kim Odom’s 13-year-old son was shot and killed, she was interviewed by the television media and publicly challenged Governor Patrick, “‘We need some answers from you,’ Odom, huddled under umbrellas with her family, said that day in October 2007. ‘What is your office doing to end this hurt across the Commonwealth?’”

Governor Patrick mentioned the Odom family in many of his speeches when he addressed public safety, and his response to Kim Odom was to make her grief the focal point of that initiative. The Globe reported:

‘He has heard the voices of many of us parents who have lost their children,’ Odom said at a rally last month outside the State House, where she was lobbying for Patrick’s gun bill. Odom, however, says Patrick has yet to fully deliver on the promise she took away from his soaring 2006 campaign: that, as a son of Chicago’s South Side who knew the pain of violence and poverty, he would bring peace to the streets, jobs to economically battered communities, and a new day for African-Americans across the state.

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<sup>255</sup>Michael Levenson, “Patrick struggles to meet great expectations: Governor has faced tests from his black supporters,” *The Boston Globe*, July 18, 2010.

<sup>256</sup> The newspaper headline’s purpose is to briefly indicate what the article is about and grab the reader’s attention. The headline is often written by the copy editor not the reporter and reflects a position above the individual reporter. Throughout this chapter, the headline is an indicator of the theme of the story that takes on a certain narrative.

The Globe reported a challenge to Patrick by a member of the black community because she identified him as black and expected that he address specific problems to the community based on his identity. The story featured statements from other members of Boston's black community, which connected Patrick directly to particular parts of Boston. The writer did not specifically write "black community," instead he used the word "urban," which appears to be a euphemism in this case: "Indeed, many credit Patrick for trying to address inequities in urban communities." The writer proceeded to describe Patrick's efforts in two of Boston's predominantly black communities:

He made federal stimulus money available for small nonprofits, such as the Freedom House in Dorchester, which received \$50,000. He helped renovate a Roxbury ice rink into a year-round recreational center. He pushed the Legislature to overhaul the state's criminal records system, to make it easier for former offenders to find work....

Beyond allocations of money to specific issues and advocating legislation, the Globe reported that Patrick attempted to maintain a physical presence in the black community by attending its events regularly. This is significant because the logic of deracialization asserts a necessary distance from the black community to avoid alienating white voters. The article continued:

He has also strengthened relationships with black communities in Boston and beyond. On the first Wednesday of every month, he attends a private morning prayer service with about 10 ministers at Greater Love Tabernacle in Roxbury. During Black History Month this year, he and about three dozen African-American aides fielded calls, day after day, on TOUCH 106.1 FM, a Dorchester radio station that bills itself as the fabric of the black community.

As the story progressed, the Globe portrayed Patrick responding to the call of the black community beyond Boston, when he responded to a hate crime in Springfield.<sup>257</sup> “In February, he spoke at the Urban League of Springfield's annual dinner, and successfully pushed TD Bank to approve a loan to rebuild the Macedonia Church of God in Christ, a black church in Springfield that authorities say was torched by three white men angry about President Obama's election.”<sup>258</sup>

The Globe is consistent with a key finding from the last chapter; Patrick used his background to specifically connect to the black community: “He opened up about his childhood, having grown up on welfare, without a father at home. He cultivated close ties with black church leaders, even as some strongly objected to his support for gay marriage.” Although welfare is not specific to the black community, in political contexts it is often a racial code word that came up in this election when he defended welfare against Republican claims of welfare abuse.

The article used a variety of statements from members of the black community. When asked about Patrick, a black political consultant stated, “...there was the expectation that, if you are of color, and especially if you suffered through some of the issues that many of your fellow folks of color have suffered through, that you have a greater sensitivity to those issues.” Although this is one of two articles that focus on race, this article is consistent with the story line of the politically embattled Governor Patrick. The writer is depicting Patrick, who is struggling to meet the high expectations of the black community, and a black community who must relax their expectations. The Globe reported, “While he has not entirely satisfied the community, he

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<sup>257</sup> Springfield is the largest city in western Massachusetts and has a relatively large black population, and even larger Latino population.

<sup>258</sup> Levenson, July 18, 2010.

has taken on a new gubernatorial role in taking on violence and disorder in certain sections of the city and state.” Governor Patrick’s anti-crime bill, which includes CORI reform, is specifically linked to the black community as a part of his effort to aid the black community. However, some expectations are depicted as incredible such as some members of the black community trying to reach the Governor because their electricity was disconnected. The *Globe* reported Patrick being questioned by an elderly black woman from Mattapan at a Juneteenth celebration: “‘I get upset,’ she told the governor. ‘I want to call you personally, and I know I can’t.’” But in the face of what is seen as an unreal expectation, the *Globe* writer depicted an unflinching Patrick who embraced the demands from the black community; “‘What’s the alternative?’ Patrick said in the interview. ‘To say to people, ‘Don’t have high expectations?’ No. There is a lot of pride behind those high expectations.’”

The second article that focused on race targeted the Latino community. The headline reads: “As the race for governor heats up, Democrats buy television ads on Spanish-language stations to capture key Latino votes for Patrick.”<sup>259</sup> An aide in the Patrick administration told the *Globe* that the Patrick campaign has a “full statewide ethnic media plan that is really aggressive, and we are taking it up a step from what we’ve done in the past as an organization.” In one of the television ads, Patrick is participating in service in a Latino community and at the end of the ad he spoke directly into the camera and said, “Cuenta conmigo y yo cuento contigo,” which means “Count on me, and I’m counting on you.”

The article portrayed Deval Patrick as the candidate most concerned with the Latino community by comparing his efforts to the other candidates. “A representative for Baker said he

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<sup>259</sup> Johnny Diaz, “As the race for governor heats up, Democrats buy television ads on Spanish-language stations to capture key Latino votes for Patrick,” *The Boston Globe*, October 10, 2010.

wasn't planning any Spanish-language ads. Cahill and Stein's campaign representatives did not respond to calls or e-mails seeking comment yesterday.” It is logical to assume the objective is to get as many votes from the Latino community as possible, but the *Globe* is strengthening Patrick’s statement that he will govern all of Massachusetts, especially neglected communities. Patrick is projected as a politician breaking the mold: “For a minority newspaper, it's always hard to get those ad dollars from politicians. Patrick did it across the board, which shows he is committed to reach out to the community.” Beyond the Latino community, the *Globe* reported that he branched out to other immigrant groups across language barriers. Patrick’s administration is reported developing “...radio spots and print ads in Creole and Portuguese media for Haitian-American and Brazilian residents.” In Patrick speeches, he expressed support for the Haitian community during the 2010 State of the Commonwealth Address, and he was likely targeting the Brazilians and Cape Verdean in his reference to Brockton high school students with special needs community.

Race was mentioned in only two other articles. The first article was titled: “This time, Patrick goes back to his grass roots; Campaign's focus is on organizing.” The second article is titled: “Candidates pursue support to the end, GOVERNOR'S RACE.”<sup>260</sup> The first article focused on different communities that Patrick reconnected with to build up his voting base. The *Globe* named two different racial ethnic groups that Patrick targeted: “More recently he has engaged in a series of ‘connecting communities’ sessions with targeted constituencies, like the gathering of more than 1,100 Muslims in Roxbury and about 200 members of Lowell's Cambodian

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<sup>260</sup>Brian Mooney, “This time, Patrick goes back to his grass roots; Campaign's focus is on organizing,” *The Boston Globe*, June 6, 2010.

Noah Bierman and Michael Levenson, “Candidates pursue support to the end, GOVERNOR'S RACE.” *The Boston Globe*, November 2, 2010.

community.” The targeting of specific ethnic or racial groups is contrary to the idea of universalism central to deracialization. The Muslims in Roxbury is a thorny reference by the Globe; when questioned in a later debate, Governor Patrick stated he was in support of building a mosque near Ground Zero where the September 11, 2001 terrorist attacks struck the World Trade Center. He explained his answer by saying he has spoken to members of the Muslim community in Massachusetts and the building of the mosque would promote religious tolerance, a concern in the wake of the terrorist attack. By mentioning this specific group, the Globe is depicting Patrick supportive of Muslims in his effort to connect the Arab American community to other Massachusetts communities as a part of his emphasis on inclusion.

Usually when the Globe referenced different towns and neighborhoods, it did not categorize them in relation to particular groups as it did above. When the Globe reported on the candidates’ efforts with only a few days left before the election, the Globe focused on Patrick’s campaign efforts with African Americans in the Roxbury neighborhood. “As night fell, Patrick and his wife, Diane, led his campaign's most exuberant rally of the week, on a street corner in Roxbury's Dudley Square, where the predominantly African-American crowd broke into a spontaneous chant of ‘We'll be there!’ when Patrick told them he needed their help today.”

Referencing the crowd as exuberant, the Globe is showing Deval Patrick’s support in the black community. The ensuing exchange between the crowd and Governor Patrick is covert yet racialized: “Patrick mentioned, to applause, that he had overhauled criminal records laws to make it easier for former offenders to find work. Baker, by contrast ‘doesn't see you,’ Patrick said.” CORI reform is specific legislation that targets discrimination against high numbers of blacks and Latinos, and Patrick is speaking to a predominantly African American crowd, and he



is acknowledging a history of political neglect when he said Baker does not see them. The Globe underscores Patrick's connection to the black community and why they should support him against Baker, "'If you've never been short of money, you see the world differently,' Patrick said. 'You can live in a world of abstract policy.'" The Globe reported a statement by Diane Patrick in the same article where she stated her husband's commitment to the black community more explicitly: "Diane Patrick told the crowd that Roxbury 'feels like home,' saying her husband, the state's first black governor, is 'not going to ever forget where he came from.'"

The Globe depicted a positive relationship, although strained at times, between Patrick and the black community. However, it is important that the Globe did not portray Patrick as being too connected to the black community at the expense of other communities, which could lead to white voter resentment. In the above article that highlighted the rally in Roxbury, the Globe reported Patrick touring "Eastern and Central Massachusetts, seeking to motivate supporters and stamp down talk of a nationwide Republican surge." Patrick made "...stops in New Bedford, Marlborough, Worcester, and Lowell and later held rallies in Roslindale and Roxbury before coming home to Milton." Roxbury was the last of many stops and the Globe chose to use that scene to detail Patrick's activity as the campaign was winding down. The Globe often reported visits in black communities without mentioning race, although based on residential segregation race, is signified without it being mentioned. Without mentioning race one article stated, "Patrick is planning to highlight bright spots in the economy, visiting businesses that are expanding and adding jobs, and shoring up his support among loyal backers." Speaking at a university, visiting businesses, and shoring up "loyal backers" does not signal anything racial but the following line stated, "...after visiting Salem State, Patrick went to the

Charles Street AME Church in Roxbury to meet with Mothers for Justice and Equality, a group of murder victims' relatives who are launching an antiviolence campaign.” The Globe is indicating some of his loyal backers are black women activists in Roxbury who are concerned with violence, justice and equality.<sup>261</sup> In a different article focused on Charlie Baker, the Globe reported that Baker was under scrutiny while attending a parade but, “Patrick did not march in the high-traffic East Boston parade, watched by thousands. He spent the day on the South Coast, meeting voters at a New Bedford Market Basket and at the Pine Hills Community Center in Plymouth. He returned for a community meeting in Roxbury last night.”<sup>262</sup> With less than a month left, the article placed him in different areas engaged in campaign activities greeting potential voters. New Bedford is majority white but is known for having a large amount of ethnic immigrant groups. And at the end of what is likely a long day, he returns to Roxbury to attend a community meeting that is unlike his other campaign activities. The Globe made regular mentions of Patrick throughout the campaign at events in Mattapan, Roxbury, and Dorchester, specific places where race is signified without being mentioned.

With only a few days left in the campaign, Charlie Baker grew desperate knowing that he was still down in the polls. Although negative racial campaigning backfired in 2006 by Patrick’s Republican opponent, Baker nevertheless made a last minute attempt that was downplayed by the Globe: “With a flurry of new polls suggesting a close race for governor, Republican challenger Charles D. Baker attacked Governor Deval Patrick over the state's welfare program

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<sup>261</sup> Michael Levenson and Noah Bierman, “In last week, Patrick and Baker pull out all stops,” *The Boston Globe*, October 27, 2010.

<sup>262</sup> Stephanie Ebbert, “Criticism rains down on parading politicians,” *The Boston Globe*, October 11, 2010.

yesterday, trying to blame him for a long-established system that gives some recipients access to cash for unrestricted purchases.”<sup>263</sup>

The Globe acted as a racial ombudsman; it ignored the racial element but clearly stated that Baker was “trying” to blame Patrick for an existing policy. “The campaign even printed ‘Deval Patrick’s Massachusetts EBT Welfare Cards,’ to use for ‘booze, cash, cigarettes, and/or lottery tickets,’ a striking attempt to mock a governor who himself grew up on welfare.” By saying that Baker was mocking Patrick and not treating Baker’s allegation as legitimate, the Globe portrayed Baker as desperate, engaging in personal attacks. The closest the Globe came to acknowledging the racial dimension is when it stated Baker was using “Patrick’s story of an impoverished upbringing on the south side of Chicago” to attack his welfare stance.

Although subtle, most of the time the Globe reported Patrick’s connection to the black community insofar as he was racialized in the Boston Globe. Patrick did not deny a particular responsibility to the black community and the Globe reported Patrick’s advocacy efforts to the black community. The Globe’s racial agenda during Patrick’s campaign did not avoid race when the narrative was representative of Patrick’s political commitments. The Globe did not write articles that were racially divisive but after Patrick won reelection the Globe praised newly Governor Patrick for his stance on the difficult racial issue of immigration: “Patrick also stood by his core principles even when he knew they could cost him his job. When advisers suggested he toughen his stance on illegal immigrants, a hot-button issue that enrages most voters, he said that if he had to beat up on poor immigrants to be reelected, it wasn’t worth it.”<sup>264</sup> The Globe’s

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<sup>263</sup> Michael Levenson and Noah Bierman, Baker, Patrick duel on welfare; Challenger blasts debit card system,” *The Boston Globe*, October 30, 2010.

<sup>264</sup> Brian Mooney, “An incumbent defies odds to the end; ANALYSIS; Governor stays true to his core principles,” *The Boston Globe*, November 3, 2010.

commentary emphasized Patrick's integrity for refusing to attack immigrants for political leverage, at the possible cost of losing the election. This passage illustrates how Patrick's race was discussed in the Globe, but the "hot-button" of immigration with all its racial implications, was left unturned.

### **Race in the Banner**

Articles in the Bay State Banner were searched for on the newspaper's website. Forty-four articles were initially found that were specifically about Deval Patrick. Of the forty-four articles twenty-eight were written by Associated Press writers. The remaining sixteen articles were contributed by Banner writers which also included several editorials by the Banner reflecting specific issues related to Deval Patrick. Because the Banner is a weekly newspaper with fewer stories, articles were included a month before the campaign and a week after the campaign. The Banner also featured a Roving Reporter section of the newspaper where community residents were asked their opinions of a number of issues. Two questions that were asked were specifically about Deval Patrick and the campaign.

Boston Globe had two newspaper stories that were about Deval Patrick's relationship with the black and Latino communities; there were no such articles written in the Banner. The fewer number of articles in the Banner covering the election may be one explanation, but it is plausible given the orientation of the Banner and the specific coverage of Deval Patrick compared to the lack of coverage paid to the other candidates, a specific article discussing Patrick's relationship to the black community is unnecessary since the Banner embraced Patrick as a member of the community. Take for example the reporting of the event Patrick attended in Roxbury, "In a jam-packed event at the Freedom House in Roxbury, Patrick enacted what he

touted as a ‘strong anti-crime’ law that will expand job opportunities, reduce recidivism and combat illegal gun possession.”<sup>265</sup> In the *Boston Globe*, Patrick was typically mentioned only attending an event in Roxbury or Dorchester without any specific details. The article in the *Globe* that featured Patrick’s relationship to the black community focused on the expectations of him as Governor to the community. The reporting in the *Banner* does not take an outside view of Patrick; the article portrayed him as an involved member of the community who addressed concerns that he is familiar with because he understands, for example, grief stricken families who experience untimely deaths.<sup>266</sup> The focus of this article illustrated by the headline, “‘A second chance’: Patrick signs law overhauling criminal records system; activists say it’s a good first step”, is not about his relationship to the community, because it is implied. The article is about the renewed opportunity of some black residents who are discriminated against because of their criminal record.<sup>267</sup>

Furthermore, at the rally in Roxbury on election eve, the *Globe* made the distinction that Patrick was addressing a majority African American crowd. The *Banner* article only mentioned that Patrick’s rally was in Roxbury; there was no mention that the crowd was majority African American; it is apparent to people who read the *Banner*. The *Banner*, like the *Globe*, highlighted Patrick and his wife Diane’s affirmation that they are a part of the black community. Diane Patrick stated, “‘This is home for us’ she said as she continued to mention that the governor

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<sup>265</sup> Howard Manly, “‘A second chance’ Patrick signs law overhauling criminal records system; activists say it’s a good first step” *The Bay State Banner*, August 10, 2010.

<sup>266</sup> This was a significant aspect of his speeches, showing that he can relate to the hardships that people were going through, not just members of the black community in the case of Kim Odom, but also the grandmother in Lynn who was out of work.

<sup>267</sup> Howard Manly, “‘A second chance’ Patrick signs law overhauling criminal records system; activists say it’s a good first step,” *The Bay State Banner*, August 12, 2010.

‘goes to sleep and wakes up with every single one of you — and your needs — on his mind ...whether it’s education for the needs of our children, or bringing 57 units of elderly housing here.’”<sup>268</sup> The difference in the two statements from Diane Patrick is that the Banner included a statement that emphasized the educational needs of the children in the community and housing for the elderly. What may seem like a minor difference in newspaper reporting is significant when specific issues are cited that are of importance to the black community. For example the September 2, 2010 statement released by the Banner’s editor when Massachusetts qualified to receive 250 million federal dollars through President Obama’s Race to the Top initiative. The headline read, “Deval Raced to the Top,”<sup>269</sup> which included statements on Patrick’s leadership that exceeded anything written in the Globe. The first sentence in the article stated, “Gov. Deval Patrick has hit another homerun.” Followed by, “While Patrick has homered numerous times during his tenure as governor, this one was special.” Patrick’s education Readiness Project discussed in the previous chapter is central to his mission of social justice and it is not missed by the Banner, which is why the extra education funding is “special.” The Banner does not say “black community” but it describes the funding benefitting urban communities like Roxbury where the Banner is located: “The Race to the Top grant will finance the education of teachers to make them more effective in the urban classroom...” Many critics on the political level criticize the Race to the Top initiative because it is viewed as furthering school privatization, but the Banner praises Patrick’s stance against teacher unions, “Patrick had to challenge the right of teachers unions to impose standards that failed to lead to academic

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<sup>268</sup> Reynolds Douglass Graves, “Patrick’s election eve push turned out voters,” *The Bay State Banner*, October 4, 2010.

<sup>269</sup> Editorial, “Deval Raced to the Top,” *The Bay State Banner*, September 2, 2010.

success,” displaying “...eloquent leadership induced educational professionals to aspire to produce even higher academic results.”

Another distinction between the two newspapers is that the *Banner* was more likely to state Patrick’s race and comment on the significance of his governance as a black man. “Patrick, 53, has cast both changes as part of the tough decision-making he has had to make during his first term. Since his inauguration in January 2007 as the state’s first African American chief executive and the first Democrat to hold the post in 16 years...”<sup>270</sup> The particular mention of Patrick’s race was unnecessary within the context of the article, which focused on the potential hurdles of reelection. His identity mentioned in this case emphasized the significance of a black man winning re-election. The *Banner* regularly credited the racial significance of Patrick’s tenure coupled with his achievements: “As delegates chanted, ‘Four more years!’ and waved signs saying ‘Finish the Job!’ the Bay State’s first black governor listed implementation of universal health care, rising student achievement, competition in auto insurance, surging job growth, tighter ethics rules, and transportation reform as signature achievements of his first term.”<sup>271</sup>

Although the *Banner* was not overtly racial, most of the time, it seemed to adopt the same inclusive language as Deval Patrick; it is clearer that the *Banner* is specific in its expectation for Patrick to aid the political efforts of the black community. Take for instance the *Banner* article, “Mass. Backs Bill Designed to Close Achievement Gap.” Race is implicit when explaining what the bill is designed to do; it is “...designed to close the achievement gap between schools in

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<sup>270</sup> Glen Johnson, “Gov. Patrick seeks re-election amid recession and strong rivals,” *The Bay State Banner*, April 15, 2010.

<sup>271</sup> Brian Wright O’Connor, “Throwing Down the Gauntlet: Gov. Patrick makes it clear during state Democratic Convention that he wants to finish the job he started during a second-term,” *The Bay State Banner*, June 10, 2010.

richer and poorer communities.”<sup>272</sup> The article quoted Governor Patrick using nonracial language also: “This will give our neediest students more options and holding charter operations accountable for reaching the students left behind.” The statement by the Banner writer and the use of Patrick’s statement is intended to ignite black community interest. It may not be apparent when the article is read in isolation but the editor’s statement one week after the election makes it clear. The editor explained the impact of the black vote in Boston that contributed to Patrick’s victory: “In the recent election, voter turnout in predominantly black wards was about the same as Boston’s average — 43 percent. However, 96 percent of the black vote went democratic. As a result, the citywide vote for Deval Patrick was 70.3 percent.” The editor defended the support for Patrick by the black community against critics who called it racist by arguing that blacks vote in high percentage for most Democrats. “Neither Clinton, Gore nor Kerry have as yet disclosed any African heritage in their family trees. The only reasonable conclusion, then, is that blacks overwhelmingly support the Democratic Party.” The editor then asserted that too many people are ignorant of how the vote can work for them and they need to be more informed about government programs because “It is time to maximize black political involvement.”<sup>273</sup>

Although Deval Patrick’s race and position does not qualify his achievements as black politics, the support he received from the black community is the product of black political involvement. It also goes beyond the symbolism of simply having a black person in office, which is evident in all the Banner articles that are more focused on Patrick’s legislative achievements than articles focused on his reelection. Take for example the article, “Stimulus Plan Funds New

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<sup>272</sup> Reynolds Douglass Graves, “Mass. Backs Bill Designed to Close Achievement Gap,” *The Bay State Banner*, January 21, 2010.

<sup>273</sup> Editorial, “Sometimes, money isn’t everything,” *The Bay State Banner*, November 11, 2010.



Health Centers in Roxbury, Mattapan.” As the headline suggest, the article is about the granting of 35 million dollars for the upgrade of the health center in Roxbury and 11.5 million for the health center in Mattapan. In this article Patrick stated, “This team and their patients deserve this new state of the art facility, the neighborhood deserves this investment in its future, and we welcome the construction and permanent jobs that come with it.” The team that Patrick is referring to is the medical professionals that serve a predominantly black and Latino population in a black and Latino neighborhood, and the health centers are deserved because the health care of blacks and Latinos is just as important as for other races. The article stated that the construction is expected to generate hundreds of local jobs but just as significant, the Banner stated that the health centers are an effort to address the “vast health disparities between the city’s neighborhoods. For instance, Roxbury has the highest rates of heart disease mortality and infant mortality in the city, while Mattapan has the highest rates of obesity and diabetes.”

Governor Patrick’s implementation of universal health care in Massachusetts was a major aspect of his administration, especially the rising prices of health care during a recession. Black people suffer from a higher rate of health issues than most groups, especially diabetes, hypertension, obesity, and infant mortality as stressed in the article; but in the previous chapter’s speeches, Governor Patrick only mentioned a specific ailment one time, the higher infant mortality of black babies at the Black History Month speech. The findings of this study reject the claim that Governor Patrick is deracialized, this article demonstrates that his efforts to target specific issues of blacks and other minorities is apparent even when not mentioned specifically. The Banner’s story line of Deval Patrick being an extension of the community is tied to his advocacy for the black community.

In a Banner article one week before the election, Patrick was characterized as a governor who “did things his way” without conforming to the political culture of Beacon Hill, but actually stood up to it. The article is consistent with the Globe that stated Patrick had to learn the ways of Beacon Hill, but the Banner diverges after that point. Where the Globe said that Patrick slowed down and became less reform minded, the Banner portrayed him becoming savvy and effective. The Banner recorded a statement from a supporter who represented Patrick as keeping his commitment to the people: “Pat Carney, a 55-year-old Springfield resident who works with the disabled, praised Patrick’s concern for the less advantaged as he has coped with the recession. ‘He did a phenomenal job making the cuts so they would have the least amount of impact on people...’”<sup>274</sup>

In the Globe, Patrick is covered as the most favorable candidate compared to his three opponents. When issues surfaced that were racially charged, the Globe ignored the racial aspect in its reporting and emphasized some positive aspect of Patrick’s administration or his opponent’s shortcomings in ways that avoided race. On the other hand, the Banner in its coverage centered on Patrick as a part of the black community and did not focus its articles on Patrick’s race or ties to the black community, but the Banner more often mentioned Patrick’s race and covered issues advocated by Patrick that are consequential to the black community. The Banner in several instances highlighted Patrick’s race and governance as an achievement and was more likely to cover Patrick defending marginalized groups as a way of affirming his position as more than just another candidate, but a candidate of the people. This representation of Deval Patrick is tied to race but is usually described in ways that are nonracial, although the

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<sup>274</sup> Glen Johnson, “Gov. Patrick has done it his way during first term,” *The Bay State Banner*, October 28, 2010.

Banner had expectations that he would address particular issues based on his racial identity and background of poverty. Statements reported in the *Globe* and *Banner*, mainly by Patrick's supporters, reflect the general story line and image of Deval Patrick.

### **Representation in the Globe**

When the *Globe* officially endorsed Governor Patrick on October 28, 2010, the headline read, "Vision, and a record of reform: Patrick deserves second term."<sup>275</sup> Most statements about Patrick in this endorsement portrayed him positively or justified his reelection despite criticisms leveled against him during the campaign. In the endorsement, the *Globe* took one of Baker's arguments about Patrick's lack of reform, "While Baker is right to insist that Patrick can do more to change government," the editor then argued, "he's wrong to suggest that the governor has been slow to embrace the need for major reforms." The editor continued to list some of Patrick reforms, "From jousting with organized labor for the right to remove underperforming teachers, to combining all the states transportation agencies into one," including the surprising praise of Patrick's controversial act of, "ousting police officers from their lucrative gigs overseeing some construction projects." Patrick began his campaign confronted by protesting police officers whose criticisms were documented in the *Globe*, but absent of any defense (see beginning of the chapter).

A central criticism of Patrick from Republicans, but also from statements taken from people reported in the *Globe*, was Patrick's tax increase during the recession. The *Globe* defended him on that topic, "Patrick's mix of cutbacks, targeted tax increases, and one-time

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<sup>275</sup> *Globe* Editorial, "Vision, and a record of reform: Patrick deserves second term," *The Boston Globe*, October 28, 2010.

revenue fixes has been the best way to avoid precisely the disarray that Baker worries about.”

The Globe then critiqued Baker’s “Had enough?” slogan in defense of Patrick: “Baker's crude slogan is also unfair because Patrick, despite some early missteps, is a governor of unusual grace and character.” The “early gaffes” which fueled so much of the criticism of Patrick was almost wiped clean by a comment on his governing style and intrinsic qualities. “He listens closely to average citizens and understands their needs. His ability to communicate on a personal level with all the communities of Massachusetts is exemplary.” Patrick was regarded by the Globe as the obvious choice in comparison to the other two candidates (Jill Stein was often unmentioned): “In the current campaign, Baker and independent candidate Tim Cahill have often engaged in finger-pointing, table-pounding exchanges,” but Patrick’s character and poise distinguished him, “Patrick has never lost his cool. He embodies the sense of class and dignity that voters say they crave in their leaders.” The story line characterization of Patrick as a phoenix rising from his own flame is captured in statements like this: “Initially caught flat-footed because of some poor personnel choices, petty political fights, and legislative resistance, he increasingly rose to the challenges before him.” The Globe’s perception of Patrick as an embattled incumbent began to change after it became apparent that Patrick would receive the Democratic nomination. Globe contributor Scot Lehigh wrote an opinion article in the Globe responding to Patrick’s support at the Democratic Convention on June 6, 2010. Lehigh described Patrick’s transformation: “What's striking is how different he now is from the thin-skinned, tin-eared, quick-to-bristle novice of the first two years, a man who seemed to think he had been elected all-powerful CEO, and who often viewed political niceties as beneath his notice.”<sup>276</sup> The article compared Patrick to former

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<sup>276</sup> Scot Lehigh, “The Transformation of Patrick,” *The Boston Globe*, June 9, 2010

Governor Dukakis who the Democratic Party was said to have dumped in 1978 for coming across as a know it all. A major part of Patrick's transformation was that he, "...reconciled himself to the reality of an ongoing budget crisis and to have resolved to focus on making government work better within those constraints. Meanwhile, two recent aquatic outpourings - March's diluvian rainfall and May's MWRA [Massachusetts Water Resources Authority] water-main break - showcased a governor who has learned to lead."

Another part of what the Globe perceived as his change was not responding to attacks leveled at him, even if perceived as racist. Diane Patrick's response to the Coupe Deval smear was not beneficial. The Globe stated Patrick learned that leading "...has meant accepting that in public life you're often damned if you do and damned if you don't, and that the best course is just to shrug it off and keep moving forward." Lehigh's narrative is consistent with the general narrative in the Globe that casted Patrick as initially impatient and wanting too much change on Beacon Hill. His transformation was aided by coming to terms with the inertia of politics. Lehigh maintained that although Patrick had adjusted, he still sought change. "No, he's still not the full-speed-ahead reformer I'd like, but it simply can't be said that he's been unwilling to rock Beacon Hill's constituency-group Love Boat."<sup>277</sup>

Despite Patrick's reported turnaround, weeks after the Democratic Convention until late October, he was still perceived as a weak incumbent who should have been a victim of the anti-incumbent sentiment throughout the state and nation. The task was up to Charlie Baker to claim the position through effective campaigning. "As this puzzling race grinds on, only two things are really clear. One is that Patrick is plainly vulnerable. The other is that his opponents haven't

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<sup>277</sup> Lehigh, June 9, 2010.

figured out how to exploit his weaknesses. The voters are waiting for a reason to believe, but they haven't yet heard one from any of the candidates.”<sup>278</sup>

One aspect of the newspaper reporting is the editorial decisions to include or omit statements from people who have an opinion on the performance of the governor that is within the newspaper’s framework. The *Globe* included comments from people who reflected the *Globe*’s narrative about Patrick in relation to the other candidates. Patrick’s main supporters were composed of liberal activists whom Patrick’s opponents labeled as fringe, but the *Globe* gave credit to his grassroots strategy: “Conservative pundits mock Patrick's liberal base as ‘moonbats,’ but the politically sophisticated network of local activists is the foundation of a political apparatus that was a formidable force four years ago.”<sup>279</sup> The *Globe* contrasted the “moonbat” description with two different Patrick supporters. “Patrick's political fortunes may depend, as they did four years ago, on people such as Alex Buck of Chelmsford.” Chelmsford is a 93% white town in the Lowell metropolitan area. Buck is further described as a “36-year-old quality engineer at a bioscience company...The product of a comfortable, middle-class upbringing” and a “father of two, who will enroll in Harvard's Kennedy School in the fall.” The *Globe* described Buck’s political orientation, relationship to the Patrick campaign, and his thoughts about Patrick’s performance: “Buck, formerly an independent, became a Democrat to help Patrick's campaign four years ago and then worked as an organizer for the Obama campaign in 2008. He understands that many people are angry and upset about their government in the

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<sup>278</sup> Adrian Walker, “A Telling Test of Waters,” *The Boston Globe*, June 28, 2010.

<sup>279</sup> Brian C. Mooney, “This time, Patrick goes back to his grass roots; Campaign's focus is on organizing,” *The Boston Globe*, June 6, 2010.

throes of a deep recession, but believes Patrick has managed well in ‘one helluva difficult environment.’”

The Globe described the other Patrick supporter in this article, Awilda Pimentel, “a 29-year-old single mother and college student,” from Lawrence. Lawrence is a manufacturing town with a high poverty rate, less than a 50% white population, large immigrant population where 37% marked other race on the 2010 census. Pimentel’s residence and socioeconomic status is very different from Buck’s. The Globe described her further, “Pimentel, a senior at the University of Massachusetts Lowell, grew up in poverty and was inspired to work on Patrick's 2006 campaign, but has increased her involvement this year. She said she never lost faith in the governor, even as others did.” Pimentel is recorded similar to Buck giving a supportive statement about Patrick that emphasized confidence in him, “I have not been disappointed...I trust his decisions . . . on affordable housing, energy, the environment, and education.” The Globe provided a picture not of “moonbats,” but two supporters from different backgrounds, yet educated and in support of Governor Patrick.

Patrick received large support from minority communities, service unions, urban areas, and the often neglected western part of the state. Quotes in the Globe are typically from people who are politically involved and recorded at various political events. The Globe described each candidate but never gave the race of the person only contextual clues that indicate race; Alex Buck is likely a white male but Awilda Pimentel is more ambiguous. In a statement taken at Patrick’s reelection rally in Boston’s Jamaica Plain neighborhood, the Globe found it significant to report that this Patrick supporter now lives in Dorchester but is a transplant from another predominantly black location. Pimentel expressed that Governor Patrick understands the

concerns of people: “‘It seems like he gets it and realizes what's important,’ said Stephanie Anderson, a Detroit transplant who lives in Dorchester. ‘It's good that he realizes that making health care accessible is part of the solution, while knowing that making it affordable is another piece of the puzzle...’”<sup>280</sup>

When Patrick started his campaign at the Owl Diner in Lowell, he almost had his food spilled on him by the waiter and the *Globe* reported how impressed she was with Patrick: “‘Anybody who gets on their knees and helps me pick up the home fries and food off the floor is a great person. You don't see that often.’” The *Globe* is intentional in portraying a friendly image of Patrick who related to common people, but the *Globe* also took comments from people who were lukewarm or opposed to Patrick.

Some statements articulated Patrick losing his luster due to the bad economy but felt like he needed more time to finish what he started. The *Globe* even showed waning support in predominantly black neighborhoods. In the article, “FEAR, HOPE DRIVE UP VOTE; TURNOUT; Passions expected to draw record numbers to polls,” the *Globe* discussed the most anticipated state election in history but the newspaper expressed concern that an uninspired black community could let Patrick down in a tight race.<sup>281</sup> Reporting the day after the election the *Globe* does not say “black community” but it did mention “minority” precincts in the Dorchester neighborhood. “At Cardinal Medeiros Manor in Dorchester, there was no line at the polls at midday yesterday. It was in heavily minority precincts like this where ballots began running out in 2006, when Patrick was elected.” The article concluded by talking to Clifton Braithwaite who

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<sup>280</sup> Matt Carroll, “Patrick formally launches campaign for reelection; Weekend stops planned at nearly 20 communities,” *The Boston Globe*, April 11, 2010.

<sup>281</sup> David Filipov, “FEAR, HOPE DRIVE UP VOTE; TURNOUT; Passions expected to draw record numbers to polls,” *The Boston Globe*, October 3, 2010.



commented on what the *Globe* was depicting as a lack of support from the black community while the *Globe* commented on the scenery without mentioning race: “‘A lot of people are using the old cliché that he didn't do enough, so they are not voting,’ Clifton Braithwaite said as he watched a crowd of young men and women at a bus stop on Blue Hill Avenue in Dorchester. One man said he had not voted because ‘I don't care about politics.’ A woman next to him nodded her agreement.” Even Braithwaite “expressed little of the ‘Together we can’ optimism of 2006. Instead, he argued, Patrick deserved to be reelected because ‘he did not have time to achieve what he set out to do.’” The fact that this article was written on Election Day showed the doubt that Patrick faced until the final vote count. One *Globe* article called Patrick the “Massachusetts’ Miracle” and stated, “Governor Deval Patrick should not be celebrating a second term, given his early missteps, the fiscal hand he was dealt and the voter discontent that is embedded in the national political narrative.”<sup>282</sup> *Globe* contributor Joan Venocchi, discussed how in the previous year Patrick was losing hypothetical polls against would be candidates, but when it came down to the real election, “In Massachusetts, they stuck with the positive, likeable Democrat who, first, raised their hopes, then their taxes.”

The *Globe* described Roger Shea, a Democrat that teaches government at a community college who also voted for Patrick in 2006 but felt less warm about Patrick in this election. Shea’s comment is consistent with the *Globe*’s favorable shift toward Patrick after his handling of the water crisis but he is regarded as favorable due to the weaknesses of his opponents: “‘A year ago, I was more down on him’ explaining that his feelings on the governor shifted more positively when he observed the way he handled the large water main break in May. Shea added

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<sup>282</sup> Joan Venocchi, “Massachusetts Miracle, *The Boston Globe*, November 3, 2010.

that he finds nothing he likes in the messages from Cahill or Baker, but that he still has reservations about Patrick, wishing he showed more leadership.”<sup>283</sup>

Like Shea, other voters supported Patrick due to his uninspiring opponents. The *Globe* was more consistent with positive appraisals of Patrick’s intellect more than his performance as governor. He was easily considered more likable and intellectual than Baker. In one article two weeks before the election, a *Globe* writer described Patrick and Baker, each representing one half of a whole; Baker was argued to be more fiscally responsible, but Patrick was described as an “...uncommonly thoughtful leader, but not a bold, glass-breaking innovator.”<sup>284</sup> Lillian Edmondson, a 60-year-old resident of Quincy, was asked about the candidates after participating in a survey poll conducted by the *Globe* a week before the election and she drew a sharp distinction between Patrick as governor and Patrick as a person. Edmondson stated that she, “... can’t support Baker because of his involvement in the Big Dig and his former tenure as a health insurance executive. Nor is she taken by Cahill. So while she is not overjoyed with Patrick, she believes he is the ‘best of the two evils. I think he tries hard,’ said Edmondson, an independent. ‘He comes across as a very nice man, he is very intelligent. He is more into facing the issues.’”

The *Globe*’s emphasized Patrick’s personal qualities, commenting on more than his record as an incumbent. After the water break when Patrick started to rebound, the *Globe* reflected the consistent picture of Patrick as the likable and intelligent personality with a connection to people. After one term in office, the person who was an enigma in 2006 is less intriguing and his viability for reelection is based on representing Deval Patrick as more positive

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<sup>283</sup> Stephanie Ebbert and Noah Bierman, “Amid give and take, no rekindling of 2006 spirit,” *The Boston Globe*, October 29, 2010

<sup>284</sup> Brian McGrory, “Two halves leave a hole,” *The Boston Globe*, October 15, 2010.

than Baker. In one article just days before the election, the Globe interviewed two people and took their statements, one in support of Patrick and the other for Baker. “Laura Lemay and Lucille Sidley are both unemployed. Both believe the winner of Tuesday's election for governor must make jobs a top priority. But they split over who ought to get the chance.” Lemay described as a 34 year old resident of Rutland in Worcester County stated, “I really hope it's Charlie Baker...If the change comes, small businesses are going to start hiring people again. They're not going to be afraid of the economy.” Lemay sees Baker as someone who is going to create more opportunities through small businesses, which will help her find a job. Sidley, “a grandmother of three” who was standing outside the Democratic Party headquarters in Newburyport, a predominantly white town 30 miles northeast of Boston, was more positive about Patrick. The Globe recorded Sidley stating, Charles D. Baker is “not for the small people” and Patrick “... knows people's stories . . . he cares for people, and he works hard.”<sup>285</sup> Although positive, this statement ties into Patrick being thoughtful but not particularly effective and Baker’s inability to connect to people.

The Globe characterized much of the opposition to Patrick as anti-incumbent sentiment caused by the recession and most of the criticisms of Patrick by Republicans had to do with the economy and the perception that he focused too much on spending and not on budget cuts. The Globe reported statements from people who articulated Republican critiques of Patrick along those lines but the Globe portrayed those people critiquing Patrick less favorable than the supporters of Patrick. The Globe used “Richard Sidney, a 57-year-old Patrick volunteer,” to characterize many of the people who wanted Patrick out of office who were leaning towards

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<sup>285</sup> Noah Bierman and Lisa Wangsness, “Confidence, anxiety as vote looms,” *The Boston Globe*, October 31, 2010.

Baker. “It's very hard to stand up in the face of the anti-incumbent sentiment... There's no position there, there's nothing to argue with or even discuss.”<sup>286</sup>

In a June 27th headline that read, “Patrick leads, but Baker surging; Support slumps for Cahill in poll. Tighter race reflects uneasy electorate,” the *Globe* characterized the anti-incumbent sentiment based on a survey poll conducted by the Survey Center of the University of New Hampshire. The uneasiness of the electorate coincides with Patrick’s improved political standing but, “the poll indicates Patrick is suffering from anti-incumbent sentiment - reflected especially in concerns over illegal immigration and the economy...” Patrick was praised in the *Globes’* endorsement for not giving into the anti-immigration sentiment across the state and including immigrants in his administration’s vision and campaign. The *Globe* reported the inconsistency in the voter’s issues and concerns in comparison to their strong feelings about immigration, although it was not initially listed as a major concern. “Illegal immigration was barely mentioned when voters were asked to name the issue that concerns them most. However, 85 percent of respondents said illegal immigration was a ‘very serious’ or ‘somewhat serious’ problem facing the country.” The *Globe’s* examination of voter discontent for Patrick based on the economy and immigration is reflected in the statement by this resident from a 96% white, small town, (10,970) in Worcester County:

“We need to send a wake-up call to Washington and to Beacon Hill,” said Winnie Miller, a 68-year-old retired social worker from Leicester interviewed for the poll. Miller, an unenrolled voter, said she supports Baker, although she knows little about him. She said Patrick has not done enough to deal with unemployment, crack down on illegal immigration, or rein in spending. “Enough is enough. Spending has gone crazy in Massachusetts...”<sup>287</sup>

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<sup>286</sup> Bierman and Wangsness, October 31, 2010.

<sup>287</sup> Frank Phillips, “Patrick leads, but Baker surging; Support slumps for Cahill in poll. Tighter race reflects uneasy electorate,” *The Boston Globe*, June 27, 2010.

Miller reported not knowing anything about Baker yet she supported him because she believed Patrick's spending was out of control and he did not take a stronger stance against illegal immigration. Greg Reynolds is another Patrick discontent leaning towards Baker, not because of any particular strength of Baker, but because Patrick is perceived as handling the recession poorly. This statement is less animated than Winnie Miller's, he is also described from an even smaller town (7,086) in Bristol County that is 97% white: "Greg Reynolds, a 26-year-old Army veteran who served in Iraq, said he is leaning toward voting for Baker. He voted for Patrick in 2006. 'I look at the budget deficit and am convinced we need a better financial plan...I look at Deval Patrick and I see spend and spend and more taxes.'"<sup>288</sup> But the Globe also reported Patrick's support in small towns as well. Just a week after the comments from Greg Reynolds, the newspaper reported another person from a predominantly white (93%), small town, (21,384) in Bristol County in support of Patrick who also had a connection to the Army: "Patrick toured the state with Denise Anderson, a 43-year-old Mansfield resident whose son, Army Specialist Corey Shea, 21, was killed in Iraq on Nov.12, 2008. 'He called me and supported me through all of that,' said Anderson, who was wearing her son's dog tags around her neck. 'A person as caring as that needs to be in office.'"<sup>289</sup>

The statements of certain people in the Globe cannot be seen as mere coincidence because in an article less than a week before the election the Globe identified areas of support for the candidates where they concentrated their campaign efforts in the last days to galvanize their

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<sup>288</sup> Frank Phillips, "Patrick opens narrow lead, poll suggests; GOP's energy may pose threat for governor," *The Boston Globe*, October 24, 2010.

<sup>289</sup> Andrea Estes and Michael Levenson, "Candidates try to scare up votes; they trade sour words before giving out Halloween sweets," *The Boston Globe*, November, 1, 2010.

core constituencies: “The governor has largely avoided many of the conservative towns surrounding Worcester, where Baker has been active.” Instead, the Governor “hit the trail in liberal enclaves such as Cambridge, blue-collar cities such as New Bedford and Fall River, and Western Massachusetts, where he has campaigned often in Pittsfield and Springfield, and in tiny hamlets.”

The *Globe*’s general treatment of the election often depicted Patrick as the positive candidate who was labeled considerate, optimistic, sunny, and high minded. Baker, in contrast, was portrayed as angry, unimaginative, and cold. Patrick was able to connect well with people who were not driven by anti-incumbent sentiment, while Baker had a difficult time with personal connections, dutifully noted in the *Globe*. One headline suggested Baker’s efforts to change his perception; “Baker Takes Time Out to Show a Softer Side, Seeks to Improve Likability Rating With Women.”<sup>290</sup> Other headlines portray Charlie Baker as negative, angry, and stoking voter uneasiness: “Baker Slogan Tries to Tap Into Voters’ Discontent; Patrick Decries Negative GOP ads,”<sup>291</sup> “Baker Website Deletes Supporter’s Photo; T-shirt Compared Obama to Hitler,”<sup>292</sup> “Baker Defends Angry Tone; Says in Debate That Responses Reflect the Frustration of Voters,”<sup>293</sup> and “GOP Governors Take Aim at Patrick; National Association to Spend \$1.8m on Ads.”<sup>294</sup> The *Globe*’s portrayal of Baker is important because although the *Globe* did not have to

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<sup>290</sup> Michael Levenson, “Baker takes time out to show a softer side, Seeks to improve likability rating with women,” *The Boston Globe*, October 1, 2010.

<sup>291</sup> Michael Levenson, “Baker slogan tries to tap into voters’ discontent; Patrick decries negative GOP ads,” *The Boston Globe*, May 10, 2010.

<sup>292</sup> Frank Phillips, “Baker website deletes supporter’s photo; T-shirt compared Obama to Hitler,” *The Boston Globe*, August 17, 2010.

<sup>293</sup> Michael Levenson, “Baker defends angry tone; Says in debate that responses reflect the frustration of voters,” *The Boston Globe*, September 17, 2010.

<sup>294</sup> Noah Bierman, “GOP governors take aim at Patrick; National association to spend \$1.8m on ads,” *The Boston Globe*, September 23, 2010.

mediate racial attack often, Patrick benefitted from a less than desirable representation of Baker. This representation was often fueled by comments by Patrick reported in the *Globe* that contrasted the two candidates.

In the article about Baker tapping into voter's discontent, the *Globe* focused on Baker's attempt to find a slogan early in the election season that would drive his campaign after it became a two-person race. The phrase that Baker came up with was, "Had enough?" The *Globe* reported that the slogan was accompanied by a series of billboards, radio, and television advertisements aimed at Patrick. Showing Patrick's concern weeks prior, the *Globe* reported that Patrick "...called on Baker to denounce a barrage of negative ads launched weeks ago by the Republican Governors Association that attack Cahill and take swipes at Patrick for their fiscal management." With the current attack, the *Globe* printed a statement by Patrick in response: "I am calling on Charlie Baker to cut it out and to come back to a serious, adult conversation with the voters and with each other as candidates... We've got to set a tone that is respectful of the voters and doesn't underestimate the voters, as candidates so often do."

As the election wound down, the *Globe* portrayed an energized Patrick who embodied positivity while Baker embodied negativity. Commenting on Patrick crisscrossing the state the *Globe* wrote, "Patrick offered a variation on the same line at each rally, a new one that drew some of his loudest cheers: 'I'm tired of listening to Charlie Baker run down Massachusetts when we have to be about lifting Massachusetts up.'"<sup>295</sup> The *Globe* captured Patrick's enthusiasm and emphasis on the American dream during the election to show him in a positive light. In an article written about their campaigning efforts on Halloween, the *Globe* wrote: "At every stop, he urged

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<sup>295</sup> Michael Levenson and Noah Bierman, "Baker, Patrick duel on welfare; Challenger blasts debit card system," *The Boston Globe*, October 30, 2010.

his backers to mobilize for Election Day, telling them ‘it's never been clearer what the choice is in this election. It's about whether we're going to fight for the American dream...As someone who's lived the American dream myself, let me tell you: It's worth fighting for.’<sup>296</sup>

In a final analysis of Charlie Baker on the day after the election, Joan Venocchi in her opinion article stated, “Voters - especially women - could not warm up to Republican Charlie Baker, the uncuddly, numbers-crunching CEO, who partnered with the Republican Governors' Association to attack Patrick as an inept hack who let welfare recipients blow taxpayer money on booze and lottery tickets.”<sup>297</sup> Patrick was not seen as a great governor for reelection; the prevailing idea in the *Globe* is that Baker lost due to ineffective campaigning. Venocchi wrote, voters “...may have doubts about the direction Massachusetts is heading, but voters weren't ready to turn the wheel over to Baker. He never found a way to look excited without looking mad.” The *Globe*'s emphasis on Patrick's character and Baker's difficulty inspiring others and appearing angry is the consistent narrative once Patrick emerged from the initial perception that he could not win. The fact that he won despite incredible odds plays into the idea that the most significant factor in Patrick's victory was the failure of his opponents.

### **Representation in the Banner**

The Boston *Globe* made a strong endorsement for Governor Patrick. Most of the criticisms raised against him throughout the campaign were discussed and framed within the limitations of governing during a recession. Despite the difficulty of managing a state during

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<sup>296</sup> Andrea Estes and Michael Levenson, “Candidates try to scare up votes; they trade sour words before giving out Halloween sweets,” *The Boston Globe*, November, 1, 2010.

<sup>297</sup> Joan Venocchi, “Massachusetts Miracle,” *The Boston Globe*, November 3, 2010.



very tough economic times, the *Globe* credits Patrick as a visionary who made some good reforms and has Massachusetts going in the right direction. However, a key difference between the *Globe* and the *Banner* is that the *Globe* made it seem like a fair choice between the two candidates, Deval Patrick and Charlie Baker. The *Globe* wrote, “Baker is a very intelligent administrator who would be a forceful and capable governor.” In the *Banner*, there was no choice other than Deval Patrick because he is far from the typical politician that Baker is thought to represent. The *Banner* editor explained that on Election Day voters will have a rare opportunity to cast a self-affirming vote for governor because the choice is often between “tweedle-dee and tweedle-dum.”<sup>298</sup> The difference between the two candidates that makes Patrick the obvious choice is that they have two divergent political philosophies: “Patrick believes that the purpose of government is to provide a better quality of life for all citizens regardless of whether they are poor, working class or more affluent.” The *Banner* continued to praise Patrick’s adherence to this philosophy through education reform and his administrative decision during the recession to make “...those who were working...pay a little more to help sustain those in financial difficulty.” Baker on the other hand, the *Banner* explained, “...is another sort of administrator. He is less concerned about the welfare of the people than he is about whether the account books balance daily. Like many other Republicans, he wants tax cuts. They know that tax cuts would be disastrous to the economy without budget cuts. It is hard to know just which budget cuts Baker has in mind in Massachusetts.” The *Banner* is obviously more supportive of Democrats than Republicans who are known for cutting taxes for the wealthy, but the critical assumption is that Baker is likely to cut services for those most in need because he is less sensitive about the

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<sup>298</sup> Editorial, “Gov. Patrick: A vote for humanity,” *The Bay State Banner*, October 21, 2010.

welfare of the people. Throughout Patrick's speeches he boasted record investments in education despite the recession. In a different article, the Banner recorded a statement from "Pat Carney, a 55-year-old Springfield resident who works with the disabled." She expressed confidence in Patrick because, "He did a phenomenal job making the cuts so they would have the least amount of impact on people."<sup>299</sup>A big part of Patrick's endorsement is what he did not do during his first term. He did not use the recession to target the poor with budget cuts and he defended the rights of the poor against Baker's claims of welfare abuse.

The Banner concluded its endorsement by questioning those who would vote for Baker by challenging the idea that a rising tide will lift all boats, "Those who vote for Baker are not totally devoid of humanity, but they expect the indigent to be aided from the trickled down benefits from the rugged individuals in the corporate world who drive the economy." Again, the Banner used similar language as Patrick; in his speeches, he often said the purpose of the government is to help people help themselves. "The Banner believes that the fundamental purpose of government is to serve the needs and interests of 'we the people.'" The editor stated a vote for Deval Patrick is a vote for humanity, using Patrick's inclusive language, because he cares about all people.

In an earlier article before the official election campaign started, the Banner published a story about Patrick and how he used his testimony at the State House regarding rising cost of health care to criticize Baker. In a populist chord, Patrick stated, "My frustration has been, in the last three years, is that all of those players in the industry have come in and sat around my table, over and over again...and they talk about why it is they can't help but charge double digit

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<sup>299</sup> Glen Johnson, "Gov. Patrick has done it his way during first term," *The Bay State Banner*, October 28, 2010.

increases every year to small businesses and families... Those small businesses and families don't have a voice at that table; they have my voice at that table.”

Patrick was represented as someone who fought for the people against those who are in power, although he occupied the highest position in the state's power structure. Where the *Globe* often portrayed Patrick as the more likable candidate, the *Banner* rarely focused on Baker enough to characterize him the same way the *Globe* did. Most of the articles by *Banner* writers did not focus on Patrick's reelection campaign but his activities and their effect in the community. However, the *Banner* did a feature article on Deval Patrick's spouse Diane, which was just as much about Governor Patrick.

On September 16, 2010, in the last months of the campaign, the *Banner* printed the article, “First Lady Balances Work, Advocacy and Campaigning.”<sup>300</sup> The *Banner* examined the toll taken on Diane being the spouse of the state's first black governor and how she was using her experiences of depression from Deval's first term to cope with the current campaign. She explained that she reached a low point during the first few months of her husband's tenure as governor because she did not know how to deal with all the negative words that were said about him in the media. She felt like she had to challenge all comments that were said about him that she knew to be untrue.

However, during the Governor's first term, Diane Patrick was an advocate against domestic abuse. Before she met Deval, she was in an abusive marriage. The *Banner* reported her advocacy at a black church in Dorchester, the Greater Zion Church of God in Christ for a women's conference: “Thirty years ago I was in a terrible marriage ... an extremely abusive

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<sup>300</sup> Sandra Larson, “First lady balances work, advocacy and campaigning,” *The Bay State Banner*, September 16, 2010.

relationship...It took me to the lowest depths. I was afraid to get out,” The article explained how Diane was able to get out of a situation that too many women are not able to escape because she met a young Deval who helped her complete the divorce she had been seeking for years. ““I couldn’t imagine a young man would find me, broken, and lift me up,’ she told the church members, ‘and remind me that I had the strength and the voice to walk out of that relationship.’ They’ve now been married for 26 years, she announced, and her rapt audience rewarded her with a round of applause.”

Through Diane’s story of abuse, Deval Patrick is portrayed as the person who is committed to the welfare of people and it reflects in his personal life. The article ends on a high note with Diane discussing how she still fights the tendencies that caused a mental breakdown in the first election, “I’ll pause on this hate radio, hear them ranting about Deval, and sit there and listen to it...and it’s awful.” The article does not state the hate is because Patrick is black, but she was quoted in earlier newspapers stating that racism was behind much of the criticism. Although racism is not stated, if Deval Patrick is seen as a member of the black community, the idea of black protectionism<sup>301</sup> may rally black voters around Patrick even more if he is perceived as being attacked by Republicans or whites who criticize him unfairly. In the end, Diane is consistent with the Banner’s “Lean on Me” story line, when she is recorded in the Banner endorsing Deval’s interest in helping those who need help: “He gave me a voice...and now he’s a governor who helps people become empowered, just as he empowered me.”

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<sup>301</sup> Kathryn Russell-Brown coined the term black protectionism as the defensive reaction by the black community to perceived targeting of high profile blacks when they get in trouble with the law or are attacked in the media by whites, due to a history of racism. See her book, *The Color of Crime: Racial Hoaxes, White Fear, Black Protectionism, Police Harassment, and Other Macroaggressions*, (New York: NYU Press, 1997).

The Banner did not have as many articles as the Globe, but in the Roving Camera section of the Banner reporters went out into the community and asked people in the community questions and recorded their responses in the newspaper. During the election period, the Banner asked two specific questions that directly related to Deval Patrick. On September 2, 2010 the Banner asked, “What is Gov. Deval Patrick’s greatest challenge during this election season?” The second question on October 21, 2010 asked, “How important is voter turnout in this year’s gubernatorial race?”

The statements in this section are important because they represent the Banner’s readership and the Banner’s selection of appropriate responses, assuming they actually asked more questions than were printed and chose to print the six responses that represent issues surrounding Patrick’s reelection. In the Globe article that reported low voter turnout in Dorchester, the newspaper chose to report a statement by Clifton Braithwaite about Deval Patrick because his mixed feelings supported the Globe’s story line along with the two nameless people who said they were not going to vote because it did not matter.

The question that asked, “How important is voter turnout in this year’s gubernatorial race?” had three men respondents and three women who were from either Dorchester or Roxbury, and from their pictures, they are all black. All the respondents answered that voter turnout is very important. Keith West, who works at the Massachusetts Bar Association, provided the most racialized answer, “Very important, due to the ethnic and racial demographic of the state. We need to make sure the resources in the state are distributed to the right locations where they are most needed.” Keith, like the editor of the Banner, believes that the importance of Deval Patrick is that he will distribute resources appropriately to communities. Tina Boswell, an

administrative assistant, answered, “Very important. The governor needs to finish the job. We need to hold ourselves accountable to get him back into the job; then we need to hold him accountable in maintaining his pledges.” Tina expressed a responsibility for the community to put Patrick in office so that they can pressure him to get certain initiatives passed. Those initiatives are reflected in the CORI legislation, education reform, health care centers, equity in auto insurance rates, and projects that will create jobs as stated by Jamie Mitchell. Mitchell, a barber stated, “It’s important that we re-elect Deval Patrick so he can finish some of the projects he either started or focused on, e.g. green economy, casinos, etc.”

The other question asked, “What is Gov. Deval Patrick’s greatest challenge during this election season?” Harold Leonard, a manager from Dorchester, stated, “Probably getting us all out to vote. We have to support our own.” Leonard is suggesting that the black community must support their own, similar to Barbara Teamer’s answer to the question. Teamer, a program manager from Dorchester, answered, “Being an African American. To me it seems that they [Gov. Patrick and President Barack Obama] don’t get the support that their Caucasian counterparts would get on the same level.” For these voters, Patrick’s race is an important part of this election and although a lot of the language in the Patrick speeches, as well as the Banner, is race neutral, they see Patrick as a black man. Shirley Shillingford, a health coordinator from Roxbury, answered that Patrick’s biggest struggle will be dealing with the legislature who is blunting his progress, “The economy. Our governor is clearly concerned about the state of our economy, but he continues to meet stumbling blocks from our legislative body. They say that they want improvement, but don’t show it by their actions.” Two other residents, Bill Milligan from Cambridge and Crystal Dodson from Dorchester, think Patrick’s biggest struggle is people

recognizing his accomplishments. Bill answered, “A lot of people don’t know what the governor’s accomplished. He needs to speak out on his record.” Crystal answered, “Getting the message out. What he’s putting forth is worthy of our vote for re-election!”

None of the respondents were equivocal about their support for Patrick, and most of the respondents reflected the position that Deval Patrick needs them and that Patrick represented their interest. This position by the Banner shows the permanence of race, in a situation where a black elected official who crafted a message that was racially inclusive, maintained a black following who articulated less subtle expressions of racial solidarity when the newspaper itself used subtle racial language. This also highlights the importance of a black elected official who is seen as a part of a community despite maintaining a position that removes him from the community. Compared to the Globe, which was more critical of Patrick, the Banner praised the efforts of Governor Patrick that were seen as of particular benefit to the black community. As the editor stated, “Patrick’s record of achievement from the corner office is so extraordinary that even the campaign promises of his competitors are not competitive.” In the Banner, Patrick did not have any competitors.

Despite the differences between the two newspapers, by the end of the election, both the Globe and the Banner praised Patrick. The Boston Globe’s editorial endorsing of Patrick read, “Vision, and a record of reform: Patrick deserves a second term.” The Bay State Banner’s endorsement read, “Patrick: A vote for humanity.” Both headlines characterized how Patrick was viewed during the re-election campaign with the main difference being that the Banner never questioned Patrick’s reelection. A vote for humanity was an affirmation that Deval Patrick’s campaign is about social justice and transformation for the people, and the Globe viewed

Patrick's re-election as a well-intentioned politician who defied the odds. In this respect Governor Patrick as a black politician was really living the American dream. He had the support of a local black newspaper in the Boston area where a majority of the state's black population resides. Any degree that white voters may have been upset by the racial and political solidarity expressed in the Banner, it would be offset and trumped by the Boston Globe's support of Governor Patrick. The endorsements from the Banner and the Globe gave Patrick the ability to speak directly to the black community yet appeal to the mainstream without sacrificing one for the other. This particular dynamic is not possible at a national level where media outlets are more contentious and lacking a national black media for a black candidate to speak, in code, to his or her black constituency.



## Conclusion: Racial Shifting

Phase III black elected officials are identified by three primary characteristics: racial crossover through a deracialized political style, political ambition, and distance from the black political establishment. Other identifiers of phase III three black elected officials are an Ivy League education, (typically) light-skin, and being socially integrated (residential, schools, associations) into the white mainstream.<sup>302</sup> Prominent names within this class, other than Deval Patrick and Barack Obama, who have achieved national attention although they have not won elections beyond their local jurisdictions, are Adrian Fenty, Cory Booker, and Artur Davis. Detailed studies of each figure reveal key differences between them, and the lesser known black politicians expands this group's diversity. Deval Patrick's governance and rise to prominence illustrates why distinctions of these black elected officials are necessary if we are to assess them meaningfully within the context of black politics and the pursuit of racial justice.

Deval Patrick epitomizes the ambition factor attributed to this class. Patrick was dissatisfied with Senator John Kerry's lack of political "vision" when he ran against incumbent President George W. Bush in the 2004 presidential election that he decided to try his hand in

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<sup>302</sup> Gillespie 2010.

politics. Patrick's decision to run for governor of Massachusetts even surprised many people who were close to him.<sup>303</sup> Patrick chose to run for a political office on the statewide level when many politicians, black or white, start at the local level. The politically astute did not imagine Patrick would have much of a chance as an unknown. His confidence has to be attributed in part to his ability to excel at elite educational institutions, win legal cases against state governments, and his authority as general counsel at two major corporations for discrimination lawsuits. Although his two gubernatorial victories are unprecedented, his level of previous success, which is exceptional regardless of race, must have convinced him that he could win despite overwhelming odds.

Patrick certainly fits the description of light-skinned that contributes to the idea of being non-threatening.<sup>304</sup> One Massachusetts Chamber of Commerce member described Patrick, not as a black man, but only having a "deep tan." Equally important is Patrick's comfort amongst whites. He went through the initial adjustment of transitioning from Chicago to Milton, which he described as, "not just a different place. It was a different planet."<sup>305</sup> In his transition, he learned that summer was not just a noun, but it is also a verb amongst this class of people that would become some of his closest peers. Patrick got used to families owning two and three homes, taking regular vacations to remote places, and the social affiliations that mattered amongst them. But, Patrick was also able to see past their riches because he built relationships with his peers that taught him to relate to people across race and class lines. Patrick stated: "As I learned the code people grew more comfortable with me. They opened up and allowed me to see how

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<sup>303</sup> Patrick described the story in the second chapter of his autobiography, "Vision is Essential." Patrick believed that Kerry could have displayed political vision when asked whether he would have done anything differently about the war in Iraq knowing they did not have weapons of mass destruction. Patrick described Kerry caving under political pressure to support the war instead of offering Americans the higher ideals that they were searching for.

<sup>304</sup> Strickland and Whicker 1992.

<sup>305</sup> Patrick 2011, 34

universal the human condition really is. Despite their venerable names and magnificent homes and important art collections, the men and women of privilege bore struggles hardly different from those I've seen at home."<sup>306</sup>

These struggles included "...alcoholism, addiction, infidelity, suicide, ruin, and loss." Patrick remembered a peer's father who "could not keep a job and spent most of his days in pajamas, staring out of his bedroom window at the garden." Patrick learned, "Money may have helped some of these people cope with calamity but it did not immunize anyone from it."<sup>307</sup> A key feature of Patrick's approach as Governor, whether he was talking about the economy, education, or public safety was his ability to appeal to all Massachusetts residents. His experience at Milton Academy and learning the "code" is as important to his success with white supporters across Massachusetts as his hometown of Chicago is to his black supporters in Dorchester, Roxbury, and Mattapan.

Recent black politicians are distinguished by generation in that they were too young to participate in the Civil Rights Movement or they were not yet born, resulting in fewer ties to the black leadership establishment. Barack Obama, Cory Booker, Artur Davis and other new-style black politicians broke into politics by challenging older established black elected officials in local black jurisdictions, signaling a generational conflict. Deval Patrick is older than most of the new black politicians, born in 1956, he is five years older than Barack Obama, thirteen and fourteen years older than Cory Booker and Adrian Fenty, respectively. Deval Patrick did not break into politics by upsetting an established black politician, he burst onto political scene at the statewide level.

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<sup>306</sup> Patrick 2011, 57.

<sup>307</sup> Patrick 2011, 58.

Patrick's previous experience with the NAACP's Legal Defense Fund put him in the footsteps of civil rights stalwarts like Thurgood Marshall. As head of the Civil Rights Division of the Justice Department during the Clinton administration, Patrick bolstered his civil rights bonafides by advocating racial issues like profiling, police misconduct, and hate crimes. Some black politicians background on racial issues may be ambiguous, but anyone familiar with Deval Patrick before his gubernatorial campaign could have seen a record that was promising for advancing racial issues in electoral form.

How exactly then does Patrick fit into this new style of black politician, other than by the fact that he was effective at getting whites to vote for him? In the conclusion of *Whose Black Politics*, Andra Gillespie and colleagues assert what earlier scholars found, "we contend that many 'deracialized' or 'postracial' young black candidates maintain their crossover appeal and their nonthreatening image without completely abandoning racial issues or appeals."<sup>308</sup> Deval Patrick certainly did not abandon racial issues or appeal, but he packaged racial issues in a strategic way that maintained white support and often affirmed his blackness, not just in majority black settings but in majority white settings in front of his largest audiences. Further studies of other black elected officials that will allow us to compare features of their campaigns and governance would likely find that these candidate exist on a continuum based on how they approach race, and Patrick would be distinguished amongst them by the nuanced readings of his speeches in this study.

In his three State of the Commonwealth Addresses, Governor Patrick framed messages of hope, perseverance, and commitment to social justice with direct references to either his race or

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<sup>308</sup> Gillespie 2010, 310; agrees with Summers and Klinkler 1996, and Henderson 1996 that deracialization is as simple as sacrificing crossover appeal to talk about race.

by centering black people as the subjects of discourse, a challenge to all Massachusetts voters to preserve the American dream. The frame alignment techniques of *frame extension* and *frame bridging*, identified by social movement theorists were used by Governor Patrick to connect disparate groups by revealing common interest. For example, Patrick demonstrated how issues like public safety matter to urban residents in Boston who are more likely to be victims of violent crimes but also to non-urban residents who are less likely to be victimized.

Deval Patrick characterizes himself as an idealist who believes the greatest struggle in America is making reality come closer to reflecting the ideals of democracy, freedom, and equal opportunity. Patrick's master frame of the American dream was the key feature of his discourse that tied his advocacy of education reform to every other issue. Patrick's personal testimony of his life being transformed by education and affording his daughters privilege, despite his childhood of poverty, is the American dream that he wanted to make available to people all over the commonwealth, with specific recommendations for disadvantaged urban youth that he compared to himself.

Although race was not an explicit theme in Patrick's administration, an examination of his discourse found in his speeches featured values and ideas that challenged the frames of colorblind ideology. *Abstract liberalism*, *cultural racism*, *naturalization*, and *minimization of racism* were disputed through Patrick's advocacy of everything from the role of government to Patrick's anti-crime bill. Patrick argued that the government's role is to address social problems and "help poor people help themselves," which was often an appeal of interdependence amongst the state and citizens, and a challenge to individualism which is at the core of abstract liberalism. His appeal to the common values found in people despite different opportunities undermined

cultural racism because opportunities were the differences between people, not values. Patrick acknowledged that race does matter, especially when discussing the achievement gap. In other statements, he discussed racial divides and disparities that challenged the minimization of racism frame. Patrick's discourse on crime as a structural problem challenged many of the frames at once, but when he argued certain neighborhoods and children are not naturally "bad" but instead lacked opportunities that were necessary to succeed, he challenged the naturalization frame. He did not mention race in most of his speeches, but he challenged the story lines and narratives of colorblind racism.

Throughout the study, evidence demonstrates that Governor Patrick is not deracialized; the fact that he is black and that he advocated issues of importance to the black community, such as Criminal Offender Record Information, does make Governor Patrick representative of black politics. Conceptualizing deracialization as a campaign strategy and trying to figure out if black politicians who avoid race would pursue policy initiatives in the interest of the black community was the source of controversy.<sup>309</sup> Andra Gillespie implies that the black politician whose position is to govern on behalf of constituencies beyond the black community do represent black politics. Because Barack Obama is the highest-ranking African American official, he "clearly becomes the face of 'postracial' Black politics."<sup>310</sup> Gillespie contends that black politics does not end or begin with Obama or any other politician, but black politics is diverse and Obama and other "Ivy League Upstarts" are a part of that diversity.

As I argued earlier, this idea of black politics confuses the activity of black politics with political actors who happen to be black. If black politics is a particular thrust from within the

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<sup>309</sup> McCormick and Jones 1993

<sup>310</sup> Gillespie 2010, 310.

black community to address conditions of oppression, whether grassroots or electoral, in the interest of the black community, the deracialization strategy is problematic. The problem in claiming statewide or national offices as representations of black politics is evident when black political activity is out of the hands of the black community. Black politics begins with a response to racial oppression and continues through attempts to eliminate that oppression. Black politics in electoral form is expressed by communities who seek the best representatives within or outside the black community by giving their political support. In the two newspapers analyzed in this study, the Boston Globe and the Bay State Banner, the Banner reflected a relationship in which it was an expression of black politics, and its support of Deval Patrick was representative of the Banner's expressed interest of the black community. Although Patrick is to the left of center on the deracialization continuum,<sup>311</sup> his interests for the black community were expressed within the general welfare of Massachusetts as a whole. A great deal of activity expressed by Patrick in his speeches had very little to do with the black community, at least directly.

If a black elected official constitutes black politics by simply being black, the very notion of black politics gives into essentialism by the assertion that a racialized person occupying a particular space must represent a particular interest. It is true that black politics has many impulses within the black community in which different interests may be expressed or suppressed by competing interests in the black community. However, if a black elected official operates against the interest of the black community, that black elected official is continuing politics as usual. It does not represent contention in the same way Cruse argued the existing

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<sup>311</sup> In chapter three I offered a continuum conceptualization for understanding deracialization over the existing dichotomized approach. Black politicians who are very deracialized exist on the right pole of the continuum and black politicians who are very racialized exist on the far left. This view of black politicians do not ask if one is deracialized or not, but to what extent and in what context do we find them operating in way that can be seen as advocating colorblindness.

tension between black nationalists and integrationists. The overwhelming electoral support Patrick received from the black community is no different from the support Lyndon B. Johnson received from the black community, at least regarding black political activity. Patrick's use of code words to receive support for his policies, although favorable to racial equality, resembles tactics used by Ronald Reagan is closer to American politics than black politics specifically.

This distinction is important because it amplifies the key difference between the *Globe* and the *Banner*. The *Globe's* interest was to portray Patrick, as their endorsed candidate, as likable, and mediated any possible racial attacks against him. The *Banner's* concern was not how likable Patrick was but if he was able to deliver results to the black community, and his continued support is based on that. This point is illustrated by Artur Davis' failed 2010 gubernatorial campaign in Alabama. As a Democratic congressman, Davis voted against President Obama's health care law which was seen as particularly important for his mostly black and impoverished voting district. Artur Davis was seen as a rising star in the Democratic Party, but Davis was too far to the right on the deracialization continuum and lost a significant portion of the black votes that result in a lopsided defeat in his gubernatorial campaign.

Central to this study is the role of race and how it is articulated within the context of an imagined post-racial America by citizens who wish to ignore the persistence of racism. Using the terminology of Stuart Hall, race was often the "floating signifier" when Deval Patrick made speeches.<sup>312</sup> Patrick used collective words to promote unity and interdependence amongst all people, but in regards to the meanings of certain words and phrases, since race is not a stable or fixed category, discursive rhetorical content depends on the interpretation of the listeners. Deval

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<sup>312</sup> See Stuart Hall's video lecture, *Race: the Floating Signifier* (Northampton: Media Education Center, 1997). The video is also available on Youtube.com.



Patrick's references to achievement gaps in education lead people to either interpret an economic gap between social classes or a racial gap between blacks and whites. In the Bay State Banner, the achievement gap was clearly interpreted as a reference to race because the Banner referred to Massachusetts scoring first in Obama's Race to the Top education incentive program as a measure to address the "black achievement gap."

The discursive content of his speeches were always open to interpretation, for example when Patrick promised he would govern the whole state, the language he used pointed to the idea that other politicians have neglected much of the state. Any marginalized community might interpret such a statement as a direct reference to them. "Economic growth, not just up but out," "special needs students," "special need communities," "the most vulnerable residents," "all means all," and "crime hot spots" are all references to racial and or economic inequality depending on the context of the speeches and situated meanings derived from other speeches where connections are made more directly. In some speeches he mentioned race directly, and in the Bay State Banner it was clear that messages were interpreted in ways that signified the black community.

However, the importance of race goes beyond how it was talked about and begs the question of what do black elected politicians represent in the larger racial formation of America and what has changed racially in America that now allows for someone like Deval Patrick? The new precedents of having a black president and a twice-elected black governor seems to be a clear indicator that progress is being made and that we can possibly see continued representation in the highest offices in state and national politics. However, the examples of Deval Patrick and

Barack Obama do not guarantee continued progress any more than previous electoral victories that were followed by black electoral droughts.

Underlying a Racial Formation perspective is the idea of constant change in America and black America. Michael Dawson hypothesized the class bifurcation of the black community in the post-civil rights era could become sharp enough that two distinct black communities emerge, making class more important than race.<sup>313</sup> In such a case, the current phase of black elected officials would be assumed to represent the interested of the smaller enfranchised black community while the larger marginalized black community has even less representation. Michelle Alexander points to such signs of this scenario in her critique of middle class blacks and their advocacy to protect dwindling affirmative action policies.<sup>314</sup> She challenged black leaders to stop taking the “racial bait” that is affirmative action and challenge the mass incarceration of black males that has a greater affect on the black community as a whole, especially those who are not middle class. Conversely, Dawson pondered the possibility of a reduction of stratification in the black community and a stiffening of racism in the United States that would result in a more homogenous black community based on issues of race. This scenario would force black elected officials to address structural racism more than class.

Dawson makes a compelling argument, but the black community and America as a whole will continue to be shaped by the increasing diversity of people who may not be simply classified as white or black. We are in the midst of a racial shift in which old racial categories may be destroyed and new racial categories created in a reconstituted racial structure. The election of

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<sup>313</sup> Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African-American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995).

<sup>314</sup> Alexander, 2010. See the last chapter, “The Fire This Time” for a specific discussion.

high profile black elected officials does not eliminate a racial structure. This reality has led Eduardo Bonilla-Silva to predict that the United States will experience a Latin Americanization of race relations where the black white racial divide will accommodate the growing population that is neither black nor white.<sup>315</sup> Bonilla-Silva believes, based on current race relations where blacks are at the bottom of the racial structure, that an “honorary white” class will serve as a buffer between blacks and whites, functioning to thwart appeals of racial justice by blacks who remain at the bottom. A more optimistic William Julius Wilson envisions that the growing diversity in the states will lead to greater multiculturalism and a fight for racial justice through coalition efforts. The increasing diversity will challenge white political hegemony and racial stratification will decrease.<sup>316</sup>

Whichever scenario is closer to the future reality, the long-standing white nonwhite paradigm of race relations is likely to change along with our understanding of the black community and assumptions made about black collective interests. For example, the majority black Mattapan neighborhood is composed of nearly half non-African American black residents who are from either Africa or the Caribbean. The idea of the black community must be receptive to the idea of “new ethnicities” described by Stuart Hall where activist in the black community must give ground to the cultural and political realities that shape a new generation of struggle within the black community. Future studies about black elected officials, especially those who transcend the black community, may provide indicators by their political leanings and how they are embraced or rejected by the larger white community. In the case of Deval Patrick in

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<sup>315</sup> Eduardo Bonilla-Silva, “From bi-racial to tri-racial: Towards a new system of racial stratification in the USA,” *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 27, (2004), 931-950.

<sup>316</sup> William Julius Wilson, *The Bridge over the Racial Divide: Rising Inequality and Coalition Politics* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).

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Massachusetts, his ability to appeal to many different groups: African Americans, Haitians, Brazillians, whites, Latinos, and so on is an indicator that a multiracial and multiethnic formation could emerge in the face of a surging GOP whose message relies on negative race-baiting and anti-immigration sentiments.

Given the possibility that specific appeals in favor to the black community will be weakened by the growing diversity in the United States, the administration and campaign of Governor Patrick can be instructional for proponents of black politics. Black politics will always be expressed based on the specific interest of the black community and its battle against oppression. However, two of the shortcomings of black politics since the Civil Rights Movement have been: (1) the inability to adjust to post civil rights America, where blatant forms of Jim Crow racism no longer present easy targets to challenge; and (2) the inability to build multiracial coalitions to challenge racism. Deval Patrick's campaign and administration was able to do both while maintaining sensitivity to the issues and needs of the black community. A black politics that joins efforts with other progressive groups to challenge issues like mass incarceration or living wages for all residents can create clear benefits for the black community. The framing of such a movement, where black political mobilization in conjunction with other groups to challenge the racial state can be successful in appealing to not only nonwhites, but whites who also view themselves as victims racism.

The question of what has changed in the United States that has allowed black politicians to achieve high levels of success can be attributed to a number of factors. The most obvious factor was the passing of civil rights legislation. Theorist who followed the emergence of modern forms of racism and prejudice in the aftermath of the Civil Rights Movement observed that

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whites still harbor anti-black animus but do not express bigotry as overtly as they did in the past. The janus-faced nature of race in America where race relations have become more tolerant while racial inequalities remain a stable feature of American life have lead to more minority inclusion in various aspects of society, especially in politics. This requires a skilled black politician to be able to read the pulse of American sentiment and determine how far they can lean in any one direction before they evoke controversy. But there is a third factor that was explored in the first chapter; racism does not only have consequences for blacks and other minorities, but whites have always suffered from racism in the U.S. It is possible, and future studies may test this empirically, but to the extent that white voters grow pessimistic about the future of America, and they perceive white politicians not operating in their best interest, they may be more optimistic or at least willing to take a chance on a black politician who can renew their sense of the American dream if they see their fate in American society affected by the issues that also affect blacks. This type of framing is necessary to bring groups together and challenge America ways that historic black figures have challenged American to live up to its dream in the same way that Deval Patrick has.

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## Appendix A: State of the Commonwealth Addresses

On January 24, 2008, Governor Patrick delivered his first State of the Commonwealth Address in front of a joint session of the legislature. The governor highlighted many of the past year's achievements, stressed that the state of our Commonwealth is strong, and talked about his administration's agenda of promoting jobs, schools and civic engagement.

### **Governor Deval L. Patrick**

#### **State of the Commonwealth Address**

**January 24, 2008**

#### **As Delivered**

Lieutenant Governor and Constitutional Officers,

Madame President, Mr. Speaker and all of the Members of the Legislature,

Chief Justice and Members of the Judiciary,

Members of the Cabinet who are here, Elected Officials, Reverend Clergy, Distinguished guests,

And above us all, the People of the Massachusetts

Thank you all for being together tonight.

At the outset, and on behalf of the People of Massachusetts, let us all thank the members of the military from Massachusetts serving so honorably in Iraq and Afghanistan. We are proud of you and humbled by your service. On a personal note, Diane and I want to thank the People of Massachusetts for the extraordinary kindnesses and support you have shown us on a personal level. I'll never forget it. It is an honor to serve you.

Our youngest daughter graduated from high school this past spring. And when I sat at her graduation, swollen with pride like every other parent, I couldn't help but reflect on the difference between her journey to that milestone, and my own to a similar milestone more than 30 years before.

You know my story. I grew up in poverty on the south side of Chicago. I went to broken and over-crowded schools. I can't think of a time when I didn't enjoy reading, but I don't ever remember actually owning a book. I got my own bed for the first time in my life when I came east on a scholarship to a boarding school in 1970. In that and so many other ways, coming to Massachusetts was like landing on a different planet.

Now Katherine, by contrast, has always had her own room. By the time she got to high school, she had already traveled on three continents, she knew how to pronounce and use a “concierge,” and she had shaken hands in the White House with the President of the United States.

Diane and I talked easily and comfortably with our kids about college when the time came and organized visits for them to campuses all over the country. When I called home 35 years ago to tell my family I was admitted to Harvard, my grandmother asked, “Where is that, anyway?”

One generation. One generation and the circumstances of my life and family were profoundly transformed. That story is not unlike many of yours in this room or elsewhere in this Commonwealth. And though that story is still not told often enough still, it is told more often in this country than any other place on earth. That is the American Story.

For most of us, that story was made possible by a good education, great opportunities to work and develop our skills, and adults who involved themselves in our lives in key moments and ways.

That is our agenda: schools, jobs and civic engagement. That’s what will make the American Story real again in this Commonwealth.

So, in 2007, we started to connect those aspirations to actions, and our actions to people. We are off to a very strong start. Massachusetts is on the move.

Last year we increased support for local schools by the highest amount in history. Because we also invested in pre-K, all-day kindergarten and longer school days, over 43 thousand children got the lifetime benefit of a strong academic start, and 9 thousand students had more time with teachers for both core studies and enrichment programs.

We added millions for science, technology, engineering and math grants, as well, to start giving our kids the skills they need to excel in tomorrow’s global economy.

And our students are responding. Last year Massachusetts students took top scores in all four categories measured on the National Assessment of Educational Progress, the so-called “national report card.” My friends, Massachusetts is on the move.

We improved the conditions for robust economic growth.

We cut approval time for state permits from two to three years to just six months for most new development projects.

We joined the Regional Greenhouse Gas Initiative, and launched new biofuels and green building standards. We won the national wind blade test facility, and supported Cape Wind and other clean power projects. As a result, the clean technology sector has become one of the strongest growth industries in the Commonwealth and one of the most promising in the world.

Ten new movies were produced last year, thanks to the new Film Tax Credit, and cultural facilities are being restored. What does that mean? It’s providing new jobs for workers in our

creative economy and bringing over \$200 million in new economic activity to the Commonwealth.

Our China mission produced sales agreements for life sciences and medical device companies; research exchanges between UMass and China's premier universities; and new nonstop air service between Boston and Beijing next year.

And the Massachusetts economy is responding: creating 22,000 new jobs in 2007, outperforming the national average for job creation, and moving from 48th under previous administrations to 15th in the nation last year. Massachusetts is on the move.

Now, strong economies need strong communities. So, we made the largest investment in housing last year in 20 years, including expanding the Affordable Housing Trust Fund and doubling the Soft Second program, two proven strategies to put home ownership within reach of low- and moderate-income homebuyers.

300,000 adults and children who were uninsured last year are insured today and have access to affordable, reliable to primary care.

We distributed over \$50 million in grants to support law enforcement and crime prevention, and nearly doubled funding for new police officers on the street.

We introduced "managed competition," so that good drivers -- whether in Longmeadow or in Roxbury -- will see a more than 10 percent drop in their auto insurance rates and far more choices.

From Burgin Parkway in Quincy and Route 12 in Worcester to the Great River Bridge in Westfield, long-awaited repair and public works projects are finally underway. Massachusetts is on the move.

And last June we joined together to keep discrimination out of our Constitution, and leave consenting adults free to marry whom they choose.

So, the state of our Commonwealth is strong, and the evidence of that strength is tangible. My goodness, even the Red Sox, the Celtics and the Patriots are on fire.

For all of these accomplishments and others, for all that we have done together, I thank the Lieutenant Governor and other constitutional colleagues; Senate President Murray, Speaker DiMasi and all the members of the Legislature; the mayors and other local officials; the community leaders and everyday citizens, who have involved themselves in unprecedented numbers; and most especially, my exceptional team. Because of you, all of you, whether in schools, jobs or civic engagement, Massachusetts is on the move.

But there is much more to do. Because the state of our Commonwealth is far better for some than for others.

Parents in many communities still face the painful choice of passing overrides or losing school programs.

High drop out rates and achievement gaps persist.

There are 125,000 people looking for work in Massachusetts and 90,000 vacancies – jobs that go unfilled because the people who need that work don't have the skills to do it.

Small business owners are worried about making the payroll or making a living because the cost of insurance or taxes or space is high.

Too much talent and too many bright futures were lost last year to gun and gang violence.

Too many young families and seniors are still being pushed out of their homes by escalating property taxes, or by extreme adjustments in mortgage rates.

Parents in cities find it hard to dream about college for their kids, and parents in suburbs have nightmares about how to pay for college for theirs.

The poor are in terrible shape. And the middle class are one month away from being poor, and deeply anxious about it. I understand that.

And overshadowing all of this is widespread unease about the national economy, because credit and housing markets are especially fragile right now.

Now is not the time for us to lose our focus or our nerve. Government cannot solve every problem in everybody's life. But government -- as an expression of the common interest and the common good -- has a role to play in helping people help themselves.

And I believe that an agenda based on schools, jobs and civic engagement is not only the way through today's economic uncertainty, but the way to write tomorrow's chapter in the American Story. And so I ask you to join with me in partnership to accelerate that agenda in 2008.

Let's start with education and invest in strategies that work. The budget we submitted yesterday commits a record \$223 million more to support public schools.

We also propose significant increases in early education grants, all-day kindergarten programs, and extended learning time.

Let's give the 275,000 students and faculty in our public colleges and universities the quality labs, lecture halls and dormitories they deserve.

Support these budget initiatives, pass the higher ed bond bill, and let's make the American Story their story, too.

On the jobs front, let's both advance human health and add another 250,000 jobs over the next decade by passing the Life Sciences Bill next month.

Let's start promoting efficiency, renewables, cheaper electricity, and new jobs in a hot new growth sector by passing the Energy Bill.

Let's connect the whole state to the world of ideas and commerce, and jumpstart the economies in western and central Massachusetts, by passing the Broadband Bill.



And with 20 thousand good permanent jobs, 30 thousand construction jobs, a \$2 billion boost to our tourism industry, property tax relief for 1 million households, and a steady reliable stream of revenue for cities, towns and the state within our grasp, let's work together to pass the Resort Casinos bill.

For working people at every level, we can make the American Story their story, too.

Last year, this Legislature created a commission to recommend a practical strategy to end homelessness. The Commission has delivered, and my budget funds their recommendations in full. Join us and let's set ourselves on a course to end homelessness in Massachusetts once and for all.

Let's be both tough and smart on crime: Tough by limiting illegal access to guns and keeping high-threat gun offenders off the streets; Smart by supervising and supporting the 97% of inmates who eventually return to society, and by using CORI information wisely instead of haphazardly. Let's work together to pass an effective Anti-Crime Package this spring.

And finally, let's give our cities and towns the tools they need to keep property taxes down and to provide the services our neighbors want by passing the Municipal Partnership Act in full.

All of our communities, all of our communities deserve a chance at the American Story too.

Rest assured: We can afford everything we have proposed. Between the savings and spending limits we have imposed, the revenue from closing a few gaps in our tax code, a responsible portion of new casino licensing fees, and some restraint in the use of earmarks, we can afford the high-impact investments we have outlined – as well as a 13 percent cut in the corporate tax rate and property tax relief for nearly half a million households. Even with these investments, our budget holds total spending growth to 3.5 percent, in line with the growth in consensus revenues.

Our economic fortunes are linked, of course, to national and international economic trends and events. In order to assure that we have the benefit of the best economic perspectives, I am announcing tonight the formation of the nonpartisan Governor's Council of Economic Advisors, to be chaired by former President and CEO of the Federal Reserve Bank of Boston Cathy Minehan, and consisting of prominent economists and other leaders from local, national and international commerce. They will help us assure that the American Story thrives in Massachusetts.

But invest we must -- to keep Massachusetts on the move. That's the most effective hedge against economic stagnation. With fears of recession looming, how can any of us sit idly by and fail to act? And with the future of the American Story at stake, how can any of us refuse to sacrifice?

For a year now, I have attended the funerals of Massachusetts servicemen and –women killed in Iraq and Afghanistan. Each occasion is profoundly moving. Most of the time the lost soldier, sailor or marine is young. In some cases there is a girlfriend; or a young widow, on one or two of those occasions with a baby the fallen soldier has never even held. You cannot escape the youth: the disbelief of childhood buddies that their friend could be gone so soon; the utter tragedy of

parents having to bury a child just entering his or her prime. Still, there is a remarkable lack of bitterness among the families. Only loss and grief and an understanding unspoken that service and sacrifice is sometimes necessary.

We cannot ask these exceptional young people to give what Lincoln called “the last full measure of devotion” to strengthen our community and secure the American future for ourselves, and then balk at making a far less profound sacrifice ourselves to achieve the same ends.

I know that the willingness to serve and to sacrifice is out there.

I see it in the new leadership of Commonwealth Corps, our initiative to enlist a broad army of citizens – young, old and in-between – offering to give back to their communities.

I see it in the Ready Reps, the nearly one thousand grassroots organizers committed to advancing the Readiness Project, our next chapter in education reform.

I see it in the willingness of private funders to support crime prevention in urban hot spots and in the young people who are helping me form a Statewide Youth Council, so that their voices can be heard in developing policies that affect their lives.

Everyone must do his or her part -- because everyone has a stake.

We must do our part as elected officials by managing government responsibly. That includes being willing to curb spending in other areas. Last year I cut some \$500 million from state spending, and held spending increases to the lowest level in three years. This year my budget offers another \$475 million in cuts. And later this year, through a concept we call MassTrans, I will ask for your support in streamlining our transportation bureaucracy, which will yield further significant savings.

State employees, whose public service I honor and appreciate, must help by sharing a greater burden of their health insurance benefits.

Large, multi-state companies, who create opportunity for so many, must help by learning to live in Massachusetts by the same tax rules they live by everywhere else.

Even the telephone company must help by paying its fair share of local property taxes so that communities can ease the property tax burden on seniors and on others of limited income.

And as you consider our proposals, and how to support this agenda of schools, jobs and civic engagement, consider also the cost of inaction.

A poor child in high-quality early ed is 40% less likely to need special ed or to be held back a grade, 30% more likely to graduate from high school, and twice as likely to go to college. The cost of inaction is too high.

Just as every new life sciences job creates 3 to 4 others in related fields, every lost life sciences job costs us in similar measure. The cost of inaction is too high.

When high tech and clean energy firms leave, or gaming firms shun this market, because we are unwilling to play to our strengths and address barriers to growth, they take thousands of jobs and millions of dollars of investment with them. The cost of inaction is too high.

Failure to support cities and towns has led to both cuts in services and hikes in local property taxes. When communities decline, our economy declines. The cost of inaction is too high.

Failure to maintain our roads, rails and bridges has left us with a \$15 to \$20 billion tab over the next 20 years. The cost of inaction is too high.

The people don't expect us to agree on everything. But they do expect us to engage. They expect us to work together toward the best solution. They expect action. And they deserve it.

I admit that I am an impatient man. I've heard that. People say it is because I am from the business world, where things tend to move more quickly once a course is set. Others say it's because I am a newcomer to Beacon Hill.

Actually, my impatience has nothing to do with any of that. It has to do with the fact that for every one of us from the South Side of Chicago or Worcester or from the North End of Boston, Mr. Speaker, or from Plymouth, Madame President, or from Mattapan or Southie or Springfield or Holyoke or New Bedford or Brockton or Haverhill -- for every one of us who has had the blessing of living the American Story, that "one generation" transformation -- countless others still wait for their chance.

My impatience comes from knowing all the other eager, ambitious, capable, idealistic young boys and girls just like me in places left behind where you and I come from. My impatience comes from knowing up close the costs of inaction.

I went out to visit the Holland School in Dorchester last spring. A few weeks before, a young woman who was visiting her family from out of town was shot and killed. And a couple of weeks after that, an 11-year-old boy found a .44 caliber pistol in the neighborhood and brought it into the classroom. The neighborhood was understandably in an uproar. And so we called a meeting of adults, so that Mayor Menino and I could listen to some of their ideas about ways we could help, and share some of our own.

The meeting convened at the end of the school day, as the kids were leaving the building, heading to their buses or the walk home. I had a minute or two alone in the principal's office to look over my notes and collect my thoughts before the meeting began. You know how you sometimes realize you're being watched? When I looked up, there outside the window were a dozen or more little Black boys and girls, about this size, backpacks on, beaming, waving, all excited.

When I look into their eyes, the excitement I see is not for the history we made last year, but for the history they have yet to make; not my chance, but theirs.

And I see that look -- of anticipation and hope -- in the eyes of kids in communities all over this Commonwealth.

There is a whole generation watching and waiting -- some tonight perhaps -- to see whether we see our stake in their future – and act like it. And I say let them look to us – to you and to me – and let us affirm their hope for tomorrow in the actions we take today.

Thank you. God bless you all, and God bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

**Governor Deval L. Patrick**  
**2009 State of the Commonwealth Address**  
**January 15, 2009**  
**As Delivered**

On Thursday, January 15, 2009, Governor Deval Patrick delivered his 2009 State of the Commonwealth address. The governor thanked his Legislative partners for enacting so much of his ambitious agenda last session, and acknowledged the challenges of the nationwide recession -- its impact on Massachusetts families and businesses and the tough budget cuts we made and will continue to make. While it may slow down our timeline, though, Governor Patrick promised that it will not stop our agenda for change, nor diminish our faith in each other.

**Governor Deval Patrick:**

Madame President, Mr. Speaker, and Members of the House and Senate,  
Honorable Members of the Judiciary,  
Lieutenant Governor and Fellow Constitutional Officers,  
Members of the Cabinet, Reverend Clergy, Mayors and Other Distinguished guests,  
And above all, the People of Massachusetts.

I want to first acknowledge my First Lady and yours, Diane Patrick. And Diane and I want to, together with all of you, acknowledge and thank the men and women in uniform - and their families - for the service they render in the United States military.

**AN AGENDA FOR CHANGE**

When we met in this chamber a year ago, I asked you to work with me on an ambitious agenda for change.

I asked you to increase support for public education, with a special emphasis on early education, all-day kindergarten and longer learning time - and you did.

I asked you to enact a Life Sciences Bill and a Clean Energy package -- to grow jobs and shape a new economic and environmental future -- and you did.

I asked you to support initiatives to end homelessness and move people from shelter to permanent housing -- as an act of both compassion and common sense -- and you did.

And I asked you to invest significantly over the next few years in rebuilding our college campuses, expanding broadband access, improving public and affordable housing, upgrading our parks and open spaces, and restoring our roads, rails and bridges - and you did.

In one of the most productive legislative sessions in a generation, you answered that call for action -- and the Commonwealth is stronger. So, Mr. Speaker, Madam President, and each and every Member of both bodies, let me first say thank you -- on behalf of all of the people of the Commonwealth.

### **OUR BUSINESS IS FAR FROM FINISHED**

And yet our business is far from finished.

We gather tonight under an economic cloud darker than anything this Nation has faced in three generations. Tens of thousands of people in Massachusetts have lost their jobs to a nationwide recession. Thousands have seen their savings or home equity snatched away by turmoil in the markets. Banks have money but won't lend it. Businesses and nonprofits are laying off or won't hire because they can't see a clear path to tomorrow. We have unfinished business.

Within the sound of my voice tonight, there are mothers trying to choose between paying the rent or the heat this month, because they can't pay both. There are parents listening to me now who have had to tell sons and daughters, home from college for the holidays, that they can't afford to send them back next semester. There are homeowners on the brink of losing their homes because they got in too deep with the wrong lender. Achievement gaps in the schools persist in poor communities. And, in what feels like a personal tragedy for me, Black men, whether desperate or careless, are killing other Black men at ever more alarming rates. We have unfinished business.

### **BROKE, NOT POOR**

So, this is not the time to let up or give up. This is not the time to either lose our will or our way -- the grim economic forecasts notwithstanding.

When I was growing up, we were forbidden from calling ourselves "poor." My grandmother taught us to say we were broke, because "broke," she said, is temporary. See, we will cycle out of this downturn eventually and start to expand opportunity again, to widen the reach of the American Dream. And I am confident that if we are honest about the challenges we face, responsible in the choices we make, and committed to work together for the common good, we will see our way through today's economic clouds to a stronger and brighter tomorrow.

At the federal level, we are working hard to help shape a federal stimulus package to bridge us to a better economy. If and when that package is passed, we will be ready to get projects underway and put people to work. That means jobs extending broadband services; jobs installing solar panels, wind turbines, and weather stripping; jobs rebuilding roads, rails and bridges; jobs modernizing our health care records management system and building schools.

Of course, our job in state government demands more than waiting for a federal lifeline. We have launched one billion dollars of capital projects to start over the first 6 months of this year, creating new jobs and making it more attractive for companies and families to put down stakes in Massachusetts. Thanks to successful implementation of health care reform, nearly 98 percent of all Massachusetts citizens now have health insurance that they can depend on, the highest proportion in the Nation. Our teachers and students continue to reach for ever better performance, scoring first in the Nation on NAEPs, the Nation's "report card," and near the top in the world on TIMSS, the international standards for math and science. We are not standing still.

### **NATIONAL ECONOMY AND BUDGET CUTS**

Meanwhile, the economy is making much of what we need to do harder to do. In October, we identified and closed a \$1.4 billion gap in our state budget. With the economy continuing to deteriorate, we foresee the need for another \$1.1 billion in cuts and other budget solves this month. At the end of this month, I will file an Emergency Recovery Plan to close this further gap. My request to you is simple: Give us the tools and we will finish the job.

I will also file a balanced budget proposal later this month for the coming fiscal year. Given the decline in state revenue, spending must be at levels significantly below what they have been in better times. No one's priorities will be spared. Local services will be cut, and in many cases, police, firefighters and teachers will face layoffs. But as we debate these proposals among ourselves and with the advocates, let us remember that we are doing no more in state government than the people of the Commonwealth are having to do in their own lives -- to make do with less, to trim down wherever we can to get through to a better time.

I know the impact is real. I see the people with disabilities whose work opportunities have changed. I see the youth workers whose efforts at violence reduction are more limited. I see the college and university instructors, the home health aides, the child care providers and so many others who deliver vital services, but who work without a contract or adequate pay.

Some, I know, think that cutting government is always good. But they see only abstractions. Behind every one of those budget line items, I see somebody's best chance or only chance. And I will do my best to make the decisions I have to make with the impact of them clearly in mind.

We need everyone to contribute. We cut nearly \$800 million from the Executive Branch last October, and will make another round of deep cuts as part of our Emergency Recovery Plan. In my own office, we cut expenses by 17% in this year's budget, and will make additional cuts in the next fiscal year. Given the times, as you consider your own spending ideas, I am asking the Legislature and my fellow constitutional officers to do no less.

### **A SEASON OF SIGNIFICANT REFORM**

At the same time, this crisis also presents us with opportunities. The times demand that we confront some issues that we have avoided in ordinary times. Seizing these opportunities will make us stronger in the long run. So, I am asking the Legislature tonight to join me in a season of significant government reform.

First, while we may not be able to fund local aid at current levels, we can provide tools to help local governments better manage through these difficult times. In that spirit, we will again propose a series of measures that give cities and towns greater authority over local decisions. That includes raising new revenue through a modest meals and lodging tax, eliminating the outdated exemption the phone company enjoys from paying the same local property taxes everyone else has to pay, and encouraging as much regionalization of local services as practical. If we cannot provide direct aid, let's at least untie the hands of local communities to capture the savings and raise the revenue within their reach. Let's enact a municipal reform package this spring.

Our transportation system - and the means by which we pay for it - is a cluster of tangled knots. It's time to level with ourselves and with the public about what our obligations are and how best to meet them, and to set us on a course to a more efficient and effective future. Let's radically simplify our transportation system, and set it on a sustainable path, by enacting meaningful transportation reform.

The pension system is an area where the abuses of a few cast a shadow on the worthiness of the whole. I support the defined benefit system that we have in place today in state government, as part of the bargain we have with workers to serve the public at frequently below-market compensation. But the rules must be tightened so that abuses are eliminated and special benefits for a select few are removed. Only then can we restore the public's confidence in the system. So, let's enact meaningful pension reform this session.

Public safety cries out for a better approach. Sentencing in the Commonwealth has become about warehousing people; and we do little to prepare the 94 percent of those incarcerated who will one day re-enter civic life. Once released, the misuse of the CORI system makes it nearly impossible for some people to get work, a place to live, and back on their feet. These practices may make a good sound bite, but they do nothing to make our communities safer. Let's focus less on old rhetoric and more on preventing crime, and pass a meaningful, comprehensive Anti-Crime Bill.

And let's enact ethics and lobbying reform now. I know we can't legislate morality. But we can close loopholes in the current rules and stiffen the penalties for breaking them. In the coming three weeks, take up and pass our ethics reform bill, and let's help restore the public's confidence in the basic integrity of state government.

These five reforms will make our communities stronger and our government better. Along with earlier measures to lower auto insurance rates, introduce civilian flaggers at construction sites, and create an independent Office of the Child Advocate, these reforms further a vision of state government that serves the public's interests, not the special interests.

## **SHORTCOMINGS**

Now, none of us here has the gift of divine perfection - I know that. Sometimes, without a doubt, we will come up short. We have not yet, for example, been able to deliver on our commitment to reduce property taxes in every community. Our initiatives to propel public education into the



21st century may be implemented more slowly than I had hoped. Our proposal for resort casinos went down last year to defeat.

But in the words of Dr. Benjamin Mays, the legendary president of Morehouse College, "Not failure, but low aim, is sin." Some will prefer to do as little as possible, to hunker down to wait for better times. Others urge a more cautious agenda for fear that defeat provides a political advantage to our rivals. I choose a different path. I choose to focus on what's next, what else we can do to help the people of the Commonwealth make a better way for themselves, their families and their communities. Hunkering down may be good advice in a hurricane, but it is not leadership. I choose a politics less about tactics and more about a vision for how to help ordinary people achieve their potential - even when times are tough.

### **"WE" MEANS ALL OF US**

We do indeed have unfinished business. But the "we" to which I refer is not government alone. It's all of us. The times we are in are tough, but temporary. (Remember: "broke, not poor.") While they last, we are going to have to learn to lean on each other, to live as members of a community.

That means check in on your elderly neighbor when it's cold to make sure the heat is on. If you have some extra food, or can afford a few extra items at the grocery store, drop something off at the local food pantry. Take the coat your kids have outgrown over to a family shelter for a child it might fit there just fine. Recycle everything you can. Give your time, your energy, your heart to someone somewhere. And above all, for the adults, show a young person how to look up rather than down.

Maybe you will say that no governor should come to this podium on this occasion and ask you simply to care about what havoc this economy is wreaking in the lives of somebody else. But that is exactly what I am asking you do to. Because without you in this Commonwealth caring about that -- about each other -- nothing we do here matters.

### **TOGETHER WE CAN**

See, I still have hope for the future of the Commonwealth and her people. I still believe that "together we can." And that is because I have always believed that "together we can" is more than a political slogan. It is an expression of will, of stubborn determination, of confidence. "Together we can" -- like "yes we can" -- is an assertion of character.

It's the same character that propelled a ragtag bunch of ill-equipped farmers and tradesmen, on a field in Concord and the green in Lexington, to invent America. It's the same character that caused slaves to steal away to freedom on the Underground Railroad, and lay claim to the conscience of a Nation. It's the same character that brought waves of immigrants to our shores with little or nothing, and enabled them in an earlier time and still today to build families, businesses and strong communities. It's the same character that inspires our researchers to build the web, or life-saving robots, or find a cure for humankind's most stubborn diseases; the same character that moves young parents to work two and three jobs so their children can one day

work at one good one; and the same character that leads us to affirm, whether gay or straight, that in Massachusetts equal means equal.

My friends, "Together we can" is about who we are. We are a home for hope. Citizens of Massachusetts, as long as we remember that and act accordingly, the State of our Commonwealth will remain strong. And I will remain both proud and grateful to be your governor.

Thank you all. And God bless you all.

**Governor Deval L. Patrick**  
**State of the Commonwealth Address**  
**State House, Boston, MA**  
**Thursday, January 21, 2010**

Governor Patrick delivered his third State of the Commonwealth address in the House Chambers in the State House in Boston, Massachusetts, on Thursday, January 21, 2010.

For more information, please visit [www.mass.gov/governor/sotc](http://www.mass.gov/governor/sotc)

**Address as delivered**

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Madame President – there we go – Mr. Speaker, and all of the Members of the House and Senate, Lieutenant Governor, Fellow Constitutional Officers, and Members of the Cabinet, to the Members of the Honorable Judiciary, Congressman and Mrs. Capuano, Mayor Menino and other municipal leaders, Reverend Clergy, Distinguished Guests, and above all, to the People of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.

I want to first acknowledge and thank my First Lady and yours, Diane Patrick. You should all know that Diane has done marvelous work around the Commonwealth on domestic violence issues. And Diane, I think people have come to be almost as grateful to have you in their lives as I am to have you in mine.

I want you all to please join Diane and me in thanking the men and women of Massachusetts who serve in the United States military – and their families. We are every one of us in their debt.

Special thanks to Pastor Laguerre, who joins us tonight for the invocation. We pray with you for the rescue of the Haitian people, for comfort for their families and friends here in the Commonwealth, for strength for the relief workers from Massachusetts who are on the ground now in Haiti, and for blessings for all of the good people of this Commonwealth who have offered support to the victims.

I want to commend all three candidates in the special election for a spirited campaign – Attorney General, thank you for being here tonight. And I want to congratulate United States Senator-elect Scott Brown. I spoke to Scott on election night and again this afternoon, and we pledged to work together, as I do with the whole delegation, on behalf of the best interests of the people of the Commonwealth. The best news is that – even on a cold, snowy day in January, for an out-of-cycle election – the voters came out in force and engaged in their democracy. At a time when many feel powerless, people reminded themselves and us that they have all the power they need to make all the change they want. That’s good news.

Three years ago when I took the oath of office on the steps just outside this building, I described a vision for a better, stronger Commonwealth. I talked about good jobs at good wages all across the state, a great school in every neighborhood, and citizens with a renewed sense of community, where each of us sees the stake we have in each other's dreams and struggles.

I knew the challenges before us, and acknowledged them. Young people were leaving our state. There was no real plan for job growth. Our public schools were too often failing poor children. Our roads and bridges were broken. Health care reform had passed, but had not been implemented. And the culture of Beacon Hill, with due respect, was famously resistant to outsiders and to change.

We chose to confront these challenges, not because it was politically expedient or popular, and certainly not because it was easy. But because we understood the stake we each have in each other; because people need not big or small government, for its own sake, but good government; and because confronting these challenges was the only way to build a better, stronger Commonwealth.

Our task was made harder by bumps along the road - some of my own making I acknowledge, others left behind by predecessors, but most the result of a global economic collapse that no one foresaw and few living have ever experienced. The economic meltdown produced \$9 billion in budget gaps, cuts to worthy programs, and elimination of thousands of state jobs. Just like in household after household, and business after business, we in state government have had to make do with less, to improvise and innovate, to work harder. But because we made it personal, because we understood that a better, stronger Commonwealth would lift us all up, we kept going.

The toll this global economic crisis has taken on people here at home has only served to make me even more determined. I meet people every day, and I see the anxiety in their faces. I hear their stories of lost jobs or lost homes, of lost retirement accounts or lost hope. I know they are stressed not just for themselves, but because there are still kids to be educated and parents to be cared for. I met a grandmother at the Career Center in Lynn this month who told me about moving her son and daughter and their kids, 9 of them strong, into her home because they're out of work and strapped for cash. Now she has lost her job. She's not asking for much, just a chance to work to provide for her family, and a little help holding on until she can make her own way. Meanwhile, like so many other citizens, she is feeling powerless against forces beyond her control. This is not the American Dream she counted on. And it is not the American Dream we will accept.

So for her, for every other striver who aches for a better, stronger Commonwealth, we kept faith with our vision and kept going. Too fast for some, not fast enough for others, learning from our mistakes as well as from our triumphs, but always forward. Without ever losing sight of who we are working for.

And so, working together, we closed that \$9 billion budget gap and delivered a third consecutive budget that was responsible, balanced and on time – which is not something that many other states can say. But we also worked to understand and address the impact that each cut would

have on the people who depended on the program, and to deliver the service in better and more efficient ways. We made it personal.

To create jobs, we leveraged our world-class universities and health care institutions, making investments in biotech, life sciences and green technology so that the people of Massachusetts would have opportunities in the innovation economy of tomorrow. But we also went to work every day calling individual business leaders about locating or expanding here, working out ways to help them prosper and create jobs - 10, 50, 200 at a time, making sure the workforce was trained, and extending unemployment and health care benefits to help families hold it together in the short run. We made it personal.

We did the hard work – the hard work – of implementing health care reform so that now nearly every man, woman and child in the Commonwealth has reliable health insurance, and we are a model for the Nation. But because we know many families and small businesses are struggling to afford the premiums they pay, we went to work to drive down costs, hauling insurance companies into public hearings to explain why premiums keep going up when everything else is coming down. We made it personal.

In a time of dwindling state revenue, we funded public schools at the highest level in history. In the budget I file next week, I will propose to do it again by fully funding the education budget through Chapter 70 next year, so that no school will see a cut in state support. But because schools need innovation as well as money in order to be great, we made law and history this week by signing an education reform bill that will put a great school within reach of every child in every corner of this Commonwealth. We made it personal. Thank you.

We did all of that and more this past year. And I want to thank you. I want to thank President Murray, Speaker DeLeo and each member of this Senate and House, for their willingness to work with us, frequently across Party lines, and take the tough votes that will make a better, stronger Commonwealth.

I also want to thank the members of the Cabinet and their teams for your creativity and tenacity, and the state workers who – despite furloughs and contract concessions, pay freezes and increased health care contributions – go to work every day trying to do right by the people we serve.

Change is never easy and rarely quick. Woodrow Wilson once said, "If you want to make enemies, try to change something." And Lord knows he was right! But it is worthy. It's worthy. Because we are together building the foundation for a better, stronger Commonwealth.

And I ask you, don't just take my word for it. Here are some facts:

For the first time in twenty years, more people are moving into our state than are moving out.

Business confidence has improved 9 of the last 10 months, which means more investment and more jobs ahead.

Home sales are up for the fifth consecutive month - 59% in the month of November alone.

All three national rating agencies have affirmed the state's AA credit rating and stable outlook for the future, expressly citing our successful management of this fiscal crisis.

Massachusetts is one of the few states in the country able to access the bond markets to fund our student loan program.

We are first in the Nation in student achievement for the third straight year and first in the Nation in health care coverage for our residents, with over 97 percent insured.

Our clean and alternative energy initiatives set national standards. We will

increase wind power 10-fold and solar power 15-fold by next year, and in the solar industry we have already more than doubled the number of jobs and quadrupled the number of companies.

But still, still, people sometimes ask: What does all this mean for them?

Well, a good credit rating means that we can do construction projects like Assembly Square in Somerville, or the Appleton Mills redevelopment in Lowell, or the Route 7 improvements in Pittsfield, or the Route 24 ramp in Fall River, and on and on and on. Projects that put people to work now, create other jobs shortly, and improve the quality of life for years. It means people like R. Evans Stewart can get a state-subsidized student loan to help his grandson pursue his dreams at Western New England College. That's what it means.

Implementing health reform well means peace of mind for people like Jaclyn Michalos from Norwood, who would not have had her breast cancer diagnosed and successfully treated without access to affordable care. It means finding a cost effective way to cover over 26,000 immigrants who live and work here legally and pay taxes into the system.

Simplifying the transportation network and abolishing the Turnpike Authority means we saved taxpayers a quarter billion dollars and can put toll and T fare hikes off a little while, while we focus on better service for commuters.

Holding the line on funding for schools or passing the ed reform bill means the kids I meet in Arlington or East Boston High Schools, or the South Middle School in Brockton, or the University Park Campus School in Worcester, or the Walsh School in Framingham, or the poor and special needs kids I carry around in my heart, will get the chance I got to make a better life for themselves and their families.

Let me tell you what it means.

Investing in clean and alternative energy, or the life sciences and biotech, means Dan Leary, an Iraq War vet, can hire more people at his solar installation company in North Andover (I think he's up to 45 so far); and Randy Moquin can get trained, get off unemployment and go to work as an energy auditor out in Springfield; and Josh Hamilton can build a Center for Regenerative Medicine in Woods Hole and start to transform the future of human health.

Investing in infrastructure means that, now and even moreso in the coming spring construction season, new bridges will be built; exit ramps and roads are being restored; broadband cable is being laid under I-91; stations, office parks, medical research buildings, parking garages are all going up – investments that put people to work today and become the economic enabler of tomorrow.

And ending the abuse in the state pension system and tightening the ethics and lobbying rules means that people can trust that state government is focused again on their business and not personal gain.

Governing for people, the ways your government can help you help yourselves, is why we come to work every day. By investing in people, by making it personal, we are building a better, stronger Commonwealth for all of us.

I know there's much more work to do. And I will not be satisfied until it's done.

Unemployment, even with the disappointing numbers released today, is not as high here as the national average, but I will not be satisfied until we have put all our people back to work.

More people than ever are insured, but I will not be satisfied until the cost of health insurance is lower, especially for small businesses and working families.

I will not be satisfied until CORI and sentencing reform are enacted into law and we start getting as smart on crime as we are tough.

We, all of us, have worked together to give local communities new tools to cut costs and raise revenues, to regionalize more municipal services. But I will not be satisfied until we find a way to bring property taxes down.

I will not be satisfied until we have reshaped and reinvented state government itself, consolidated more agencies and wrung out of them every inefficiency.

That must be our agenda and I will not be satisfied until it's finished. And neither should you.

These are each of them tough issues, I know that. But you ought to know by now – friends one and all – you should know, my friends, not to doubt my resolve or my determination. I hear the detractors who fiercely or passively defend the status quo. I hear the challengers pressing to return to old, familiar ways, even policies that failed us in the past. But I also hear a public deeply frustrated with the pace of change, who need a little help from us right now so they can help themselves. Our job is to be leaders for them. To stand up and make the hard decisions that are necessary to build a better, stronger Commonwealth. We must make it personal.

To the people of the Commonwealth, above all, especially those whose lives have been turned upside down by this economy, you are not powerless. And you are not alone.

If we here work together and creatively, we can make a difference where it matters, not on our resumes but in your lives. We have shown we can do this with historic reforms already, and we must redouble our efforts. We will do our part. Now you must also do yours.

Be angry - but channel it in a positive direction. It's easy to be against things. It takes tough-mindedness and courage to be for something.

In Massachusetts, at our best, we are for each other, we are about seeing our stake in our neighbors' dreams and struggles as well as our own.

And I know some kids who understand this especially well.

The high school in Brockton, Massachusetts is the largest in our Commonwealth. 4,100 young people go to that school. Sixty-four percent are on the free lunch program. For nearly half of them, English is a second language. I visited the school last spring to announce some of the federal stimulus funding for education and arranged to meet beforehand with parents of special needs students.

I sat with about a dozen of these parents in the school library, surrounded by members of the student council who had come to observe. And at first we talked about programs and policies and information, but the conversation got personal, when one mother asked me, she said: "Governor, imagine what it is like to have a child in school who has no friends."

And as a parent, the comment was searing. Her child's learning issues were so profound that other kids just shunned him.

And at that point, one of the student council members raised her hand and said, "I want to be your child's buddy, right here in the high school." It was a beautiful and spontaneous thing.

Another parent then said her child had similar issues but wasn't in that school. Which prompted another student to raise her hand and say, "Why don't we have a program where high school students can be buddies for special needs kids in whatever Brockton school they attend?"

The superintendent was there and had a natural reaction in these times: he began to worry aloud about how, in these times of scarce resources, he could possibly pay for such a program. To which another student replied, "We don't have to be paid. This is our community." His message was plain and powerful: "If there is a need, send me."

That program now has a name, the Boxer Buddies, it's going strong, and I want to acknowledge the Buddies who are here tonight. I am so proud of you.

The point is this. In a city as hard hit as any by the economic crisis, these young people did not sit around wondering and worrying what to do and who was going to do it. They didn't accept that they were powerless. They saw a need and met it, and found power in service itself. And through that not only have they inspired me and many others, but they have built a better, stronger Commonwealth.

Brick by brick. Block by block. Neighborhood by neighborhood. Town by town. That is what each of us must do. That is who each of us must be. That is the opportunity this crisis presents. If we seize it, I am certain our best days lie ahead.

Thank you everybody. God bless you all and God bless the Commonwealth of Massachusetts.



## Appendix B: Data and the Interpretive Process

Discourse analysis is a general term to categorize an array of approaches used to analyze written and spoken language or any semiotic event. Each approach emphasizes specific skills and tools to analyze discourse structures (in this study speeches and newspaper articles) based on the discipline. In sociology this type of analysis is rooted in Erving Goffman's (1974) frame analysis and is advanced by social movement scholars, specifically David Snow and Robert Benford's (1988) frame alignment process. Eduardo Bonilla-Silva's (2006) colorblind frames provides specific frames to analyze race.

Critical discourse analysis argues that power is always a central feature of discourse and discourse cannot be studied without observing the language being expressed and the power interests involved. Critical discourse is distinguished from general discourse analysis in that it openly rejects the notion of value free analysis. Although there is no one method of doing critical discourse analysis, Teun Van Dijk identifies the general aim of critical discourse analysis is to study "the discursive production of power abuse," particularly "social issues, problems, social inequality, domination and related phenomena, in general, and the role of discourse, language use or communication in such phenomena, in particular (2008; 6)."

In chapter three the interpretive process was approached specifically to explore how race was discussed in Deval Patrick's public discourse. A of total ninety-six speeches were retrieved and read from the official website of the Governor's office (<http://www.mass.gov/governor/>) to determine where race was discussed or issues related to race. One aspect of Governor Patrick's administration was to grow the Massachusetts economy through the life sciences industry and invest in alternative sources of energy. These speeches contained many of the rhetorical devices explored in chapter three but they did not contain much of a social agenda beyond job creation that could be tied to race or other issues of social justice. The following speeches were removed from the speeches that received more detailed analysis:

- 07.09.17- Destination Resort Casino Plan Announcement
- 07.10.30 - Governor Gives Testimony on Behalf of Life Sciences Bill
- 07.10.30 - Governor Patrick Addresses Clean Energy Council
- 07.10.31 - Life Science Listening Tour
- 07.11.08 - Mass Opportunities Investment Conference

- 07.12.03 - Governor Patrick Delivers Keynote at Massachusetts-China Partnership Forum
- 07.12.10 - Governor Returns From China Trade Mission
- 07.12.18 - Governor Delivers Testimony on Resort Casinos
- 08.02.07 - AFL-CIO Leadership Endorses Casino Plan
- 08.02.13 - Governor Announces Life Sciences Center at UMass Lowell
- 08.03.18 - Resort Casino Testimony
- 08.04.03 - Organogenesis Expansion Announced
- 08.04.09 - Evergreen Solar Expansion
- 08.04.16 - Life Sciences Expansion in Billerica
- 08.04.22 - Clean Energy Celebrated at MIT
- 08.07.02 - Energy Bill Signing
- 08.05.28 - Oceans Bill Signed
- 08.06.12 - School Bus Retrofitting
- 08.06.16 - Life Science Bill Signing
- 08.06.18 - Governor Congratulates Celtics on Win
- 08.09.25- LIHEAP Testimony
- 08.11.20 - Green Building Goals Set

After reading through the ninety-six speeches, I was more familiar with Governor Patrick’s discourse and I identified the definitive speeches where he gave overviews of his administrative agenda and recapped his previous efforts. The following ten speeches were analyzed, especially the three State of the Commonwealth Speeches, to identify specific and issues and themes important to Patrick’s discourse:

- 07.12.19 - Governor Reflects on the Year 2007
- 08.01.24 - State of the Commonwealth Address
- 08.06.25 - Action Agenda, Final Reports Released
- 08.08.05 - Legislative Session Wrap Up
- 08.10.02 - Fiscal Action Plan Announced
- 08.10.15 - Fiscal Action Plan Implemented
- 09.01.15 - 2009 State of the Commonwealth Address
- 09.10.29 - 9C Budget Remarks- Leadership Through Values
- 10.01.21 - 2010 State of the Commonwealth Address
- 10.06.30 - FY11 Budget Signing

Table 2: Administrative Agenda

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>Civic Engagement</b>	11	14
<b>Education</b>	24	54

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>Jobs</b>	25	46

The above table shows the three issues that Governor Patrick said defined his administrative agenda. Sources indicate the number of speeches (out of the 74) that Governor Patrick focused specific attention on that particular issue by discussing his administration's effort towards achieving goals with that issue. References indicate the number of speeches where those issues were simply mentioned. Job creation was the focus in more speeches but education was referenced more widely throughout his speeches. In many speeches there was a focus on both jobs and education and in some cases jobs were simply referenced in a discussion of education.

The main themes and issues to emerge from the ten overview speeches were used to analyze the rest of the speeches. The Nvivo qualitative software was used to organize the content by themes through the creation of "nodes," strips of data: a single word within a context, an entire sentence, or complete passages that became more than a reference but a source if the focus was on a particular issue.

Table 3: Targeted Issues and Themes

<b>Issues</b>	<b>Sources</b>	<b>References</b>
American dream	5	57
Crime/Public Safety	16	31
Inclusivity values	4	27
Poverty	8	31
Opposition	6	17
Race/Ethnicity	3	15
Sexuality/Gender	1	7

Issues	Sources	References
Housing	7	11

The numbers reflected in the above table is the best attempt to capture how certain ideas and themes were present in different speeches. For example the American dream was ubiquitous throughout most of the speeches but the numbers do not capture how ideas of the American dream were repeated as a rhetorical device throughout a single speech in a variety of ways. Many issues and themes often overlapped. Poverty and housing for example, were discussed simultaneously in relation to values that emphasize inclusivity, while I analyzed the content of those speeches where race and inequality was signified directly or indirectly.

Race and ethnicity were focal points in only a few speeches; one speech where Patrick addressed a predominantly black audience, another where he addressed a predominantly Latino audience, and when race was introduced by a constituent. Outside those the three speeches below, race was a reference within discussions of other topics and not the focus:

- 08.02.12 - Governor Speaks at Massachusetts Legislative Black Caucus' Black History Month Celebration
- 08.10.22 - Latino Convention
- 08.06.01 Governor's Town Hall Tour Speeches

Like race, the idea of social justice was as an underlying theme in many of his speeches but never the focal point. It was referenced directly in relation to other issues like the Legislative Black Caucus meeting for Black History month but it was also stated explicitly when defending issues like gay marriage and domestic abuse :

- 07.10.01 - Zero-Tolerance Domestic Abuse Policy Announced
- 08.07.31 - Discriminatory 1913 Statute Repealed

By searching for way in which race was signified I was able to identify specific issues that often has some type of clear racial content that I counted as a reference to race. The issue of crime and public safety, much like education contained many references to race in a variety of ways. In relation to crime Patrick mentioned race directly as he did in his 2008 State of the Commonwealth Speech when he mentioned careless or desperate black men killing each other as a call to action, but most of the time references to race were more subtle when he simply named

a particular victim, neighborhood, or specific groups like “youth” in a context that provided cues that he were talking particularly about minorities youth. Many speeches were focused on crime:

- 07.10.25 - Anti-Crime Council Meeting
- 08.03.31 - Youth Violence Prevention Week

Speeches specific to youth initiatives focused on crime prevention, especially in neighborhoods that were racially marked and often included references to education and his readiness project:

- 08.05.13 - Supporting YouthWorks Summer Jobs
- 08.09.12 - The First Statewide Youth Council

References to different subjects were important to the interpretive process because they gave a sense of exactly who Patrick was talking to and about in relation to certain subjects. The table 4 below shows where certain identified groups or entities were the subject. With Patrick message being about inclusivity it is important to see who he singled out and when. For example, Patrick often targeted corporations and the wealthy who did not contribute a fair amount to the state revenue:

- 08.03.05 - Tax Loophole Testimony
- 09.01.26 - Ethics and Lobbying Testimony
- 09.10.15 - October Revenues Update
- 10.03.09 - Health Care Provider and Payer Costs and Cost Trends Testimony

Outside of his political opponents, who Patrick identified by their regressive ideas not by name, wealthy corporations were the only targets that Patrick described negatively or being a burden on the state. This is significant because where he mentions other groups and entities like blacks, the youth, workers, and so forth, it is done in a positive manner.

Table 4: Subject Cases

	<b>Sources</b>	<b>References</b>
<b>Government</b>	22	39
<b>Wealthy Corps</b>	6	13
<b>Working class and poor</b>	6	12
<b>Middle class</b>	2	7
<b>Blacks</b>	2	21
<b>Urban residents</b>	1	6

	Sources	References
<b>Workers</b>	14	23
<b>Youth</b>	8	19

Government reform and its role and responsibility was a significant target for Patrick where he discussed what government must do during a recession and to aid people. Patrick made many references to corporations like Verizon and other companies that were not paying to do business in Massachusetts. Reference to blacks varied, but I coded those references differently race race. Reference to blacks includes mention of slavery, quotes by famous blacks like Dr. Benjamin Mayes, civil rights activist, but also references to people in certain location, for example Kim Odom of Dorchester. References to blacks included personal stories that included people like his grandmother, Ms. Jones from his neighborhood in Chicago, and also Barack Obama. In some case urban residents, youth, and blacks overlapped especially when he discussed achievement gaps in education in relation to youth violence and particular locations. Patrick discussed the poor and working class (people struggling) more frequently than the middle class but he emphasized their struggles in the economy as well.

Once I identified the most consistent themes from the speeches I examined them further to see how they were framed within the context of the speech and what rhetorical devices and techniques were used. This allowed me to see how the American dream, education, and inclusivity were always used in conjunction to with discussion of race specifically, but inequality and poverty in general. My analysis incorporated specific textual features: speech acts such as greeting, lexicon usage of certain verbs and adjective, and rhetorical advices like his anecdotes about growing up in Chicago, but after exploring the text so much I shifted to analyzing how he framed issues to promote common bonds as Massachusetts residents around those issues. His specific strategies were seen in almost all of his speeches but especially in his commencement addresses where he spoke about the American dream, education, but also his vision for Massachusetts and the role they would play as college graduates and the important opportunities they have the responsibility to create:

- 07.06.01 - Governor Patrick Speaks at UMass Boston Commencement
- 09.05.16 - Bridgewater State Commencement
- 09.05.16 - Wheaton College Commencement
- 09.05.17 - Tufts Commencement

The interpretive process for the two newspapers in chapter four was similar to the analysis of the speeches in chapter three but in many several ways simpler because I was able to focus on Deval Patrick as the subject and analyze what was said in reference to his governance and reelection

prospects. Given the familiarity with Patrick’s speeches I was able to see that immigration, budget cuts, and his raising taxes were more important in the newspapers than many of the issues discussed in his speeches. The two different story lines interpreted in the dated was based on an analysis of the following in both newspapers:

Table 5: Media nodes

<b>In the Globe and Banner</b>
Administrative Accomplishments
Criticism of Patrick
Defended from Criticism
Affiliations & Political Alignments
Locations of Activity
Reported Quotes from Citizens
Reported Quotes from Political Opponents
Patrick compared to political opponents
Reported Quotes from Deval Patrick
Reports of Patrick’s social and political issues
References to Race

Although I analyzed both newspapers for the same content a comparison of the two newspapers was not possible. The immediate issues is that the Boston Globe is a daily newspaper and the Bay State Banner is a weekly newspaper. However the more significant issues is that the Bay State Banner was dependent on the associated press for twenty-eight of the forty-four articles covering Deval Patrick compared to the Boston Globe who also depends on the Associated Press but had seventy-six articles written by Boston Globe staff or contributors. As a wire service

newspapers are able to use certain stories and modify the headlines and story as long as the newspaper does not change the meaning of the article. The Banner and Globe in their use of Associated Press articles used twelve identical articles written by Associated Press writer Glen Johnson who is now employed at the Boston Globe. The use of the same articles is indicative of the similarities of the two newspapers in their endorsement of Patrick where several conservative leaning newspapers altered the stories to some degree that was less favorable to Patrick.

Given the dependence of the Bay State Banner on the Associated Press (AP), I chose not to base the two story lines on AP articles, instead of focused more closely on articles written by Bay State Banner staff and contributors and editorials. Also given that the Banner is a weekly newspaper I included newspaper content from the weeks before Patrick's official reelection campaign kickoff and the week following the election for added commentary.