



Racial Politics at the Crossroads

Memphis Elects
Dr. W. W. Herenton

Marcus D. Pohlmann
and Michael P. Kirby

Racial Politics At The Crossroads

Keith Brewster



Racial Politics At The Crossroads:

Racial Politics at the Crossroads Marcus D. Pohlmann, 1996 In one of the closest and most racially polarized elections in the history of urban America Dr W W Herenton in 1991 became the first African American mayor of Memphis Racial Politics at the Crossroads is an in depth case study of that election exploring the unique circumstances that produced the outcome As Marcus Pohlmann and Michael Kirby explain politics in Memphis had by 1991 reached what they call a point of racial reflexivity One of the key factors that had helped elect black mayors in other cities a significant level of white liberal support for the African American candidate was largely absent in Memphis Instead the racial chasm was so wide that it precluded any cross racial appeals by either candidate and consequently the mayoral contest between Herenton and incumbent Richard Hackett consisted of parallel campaigns Rather than engage each other in debate of the issues or the usual pattern of attacks and counterattacks the two candidates concentrated on turning out and registering their own racial constituencies Herenton's success in the end hinged on the mobilization of an extraordinary level of black support in combination with critical demographic and legal factors The authors suggest that the election might easily have gone the other way if for example Memphis had been allowed to continue its annexation of predominantly white suburbs The authors analyze the election in the context of the city's history of racial politics and contrast the political dynamics of Memphis with that of other cities Finally in an epilogue written in light of Herenton's decisive 1995 reelection in which he faced only token opposition the authors conclude that bridging the black white divide in Memphis will continue to be the greatest challenge facing Herenton's administration but that the most recent election results do suggest that a significant step has been made in that direction The Authors Marcus D Pohlmann is professor of political science at Rhodes College in Memphis and the author most recently of Governing the Postindustrial City Michael P Kirby associate professor of political science at Rhodes has written extensively for scholarly journals Race, Power, and Political Emergence in Memphis Sharon D. Wright, 2021-12-12 Race Power and Political Emergence in Memphis examines black political behavior and empowerment strategies in the city of Memphis Each chapter of the text focuses on three themes mobilization emergence and incorporation By analyzing the effects of race on black political development in Memphis scholars will be able to examine broader questions about its effects in other cities How do political machines use substantial black electorates to their advantage What forms of protest do black communities conduct to rebel against machine rule What primary mobilization tactics have black citizens used during the different periods of their political development Why do blacks mobilize more quickly in some cities In cities with large and predominantly black populations what elements prevent black candidates from winning citywide races What constraints do newly elected black mayors face What benefits do black citizens gain from their representation After a predominantly black governing coalition is elected what obstacles remain Can black citizens translate proportional representation into strong political incorporation How much power can African Americans realistically expect to gain in cities This book is the most comprehensive

case study of the city's political scene written to date. The text primarily shows that white racism is not the only obstacle to black political development. Black citizens can have population majorities but lose elections for other reasons. Their ability to win elections and gain full incorporation depends heavily on whether they minimize internal conflict and establish coalitions with middle class citizens and the business establishment.

The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics Georgia A. Persons, 2011-12-31. This volume joins the preceding volumes in this distinguished series in presenting contemporary research by leading political scientists addressing topics of interest to those concerned with African American affairs. It captures the expanding boundaries of black politics and the persistent interests of the black community at large. The anchoring symposium The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics presents the scholarship of a cadre of young black political scientists actively engaged in the critical tasks of moving forward the study of black politics. Their concerns include expanding the boundaries of black politics along the lines of epistemology and methodology especially in regard to core issues and areas within this field. In an introductory essay by Todd Shaw the work of these scholars is situated within the context of temporal shifts in scholarly emphases. Overlapping issues and concerns across time as well as black political scholarship as defined in the field since its beginning are addressed. The second part of this volume entitled Maximizing the Black Vote: Recognizing the Limits of Electoral Politics concentrates on serious lingering social concerns. These include the policy significance of black mayors affecting the concomitant impact of the black vote, the boundaries being pushed concerning the conjunction of black theology and sexual identity, a gendered analysis of familial policies and the deepening social and economic plight of young black males including felon disfranchisement. The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics carries forth the search for an understanding of the relationship between religion, the black church and black political behavior, cross racial group coalitions as concerns matters of immigration, growing multiculturalism and the impact on black politics, maximizing the impact of the black vote, focusing on voting rights enforcement, the black vote in presidential elections and the voice of the Congressional Black Caucus in American foreign policy and persistent social inequalities especially as it concerns ideology, federalism and social welfare policy.

The Politics of the Black Nation Georgia A. Persons, 2017-07-12. This volume of the National Political Science Review, the official publication of the National Political Science Association is anchored by a major symposium on The Politics of the Black Nation, the book authored by Matthew Holden in 1973 which is now considered one of the most influential books in the field of black politics. Twenty five years provide a sufficient timespan on which to base a retrospective of the book and simultaneously to reflect upon the evolution of the black liberation struggle more formally called African American politics. In the present age there is not much talk about a black nation, certainly not as was heard during the 1960s and mid 1970s. Yet there is a persistent sense of separateness in that there is constant thought and talk of Black America as a significantly separate communal entity. Black Americans are seen as a racially and culturally distinct community holding to social, political, economic interests which have special significance and poignancy for them.

Holden's perception of the nature of the times in the early seventies stands in sharp contrast to how contemporary analysts of African American politics tend to perceive the nature of African Americans' role in political life and their position in American society in the present age. In this retrospective, readers have the opportunity to get a sense of what Holden argued of the seven essays that make up his seminal volume and to consider how well Holden's observations have stood the tests of time. In addition to the essays presented at the symposium which pointedly discuss Holden's work, there are essays dealing with African American Politics in Constancy and Change by contributors including Charles Henry David, Covin Robert C. Smith, Clyde Lusane, Cheryl Miller, D. Linell Finley, and Sekou Franklin, among others. Other features are a highly informative discussion of the Literary Digest magazine's Straw Vote Presidential Polls 1916-1936 and a *Contemporary Patterns Of Politics, Praxis, And Culture*. Georgia Anne Persons, 2005-01-01. The National Political Science Review is the official publication of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists. This new volume, *Contemporary Patterns of Politics, Praxis, and Culture*, reflects major research focuses across religion, race, gender, culture, and of course, politics. Themes that engage a community of scholars also engage them in praxis as individual citizens and practitioners in a democratic society and collectively as member participants in a changing culture. Two themes, religion and culture, are relatively new areas of intellectual curiosity for political scientists. Articles in this volume extend the beachheads already established by African American political scientists in studies that gauge the significance and influence of religion in both individual and group behavior. They chart religion's inevitable move onto the center stage of U.S. public affairs. The study of culture has essentially languished for almost a generation within political science, especially with regard to the study of American politics and society. During this time, the emphasis has also shifted significantly from an almost exclusive focus on civic culture to an expanding focus on the broad expanse of popular culture in the contemporary period. Culture is the crucible within which politics, race, religion, and gender both foment and ferment, and artistic products of the culture are manifestations and mirrors of how we envision and construct a changing reality. Issues of race, religion, gender, and culture are all dimensions of individual and group identity. The dynamics of changing individual and group identities change the underlying cultural canvas against which identity is displayed and politics is acted out. The concept of praxis is relatively new to the lexicon of political science. However, engagement in the practice of politics is not a new idea for African American social scientists. Indeed, particularly for this group and clearly for many others, scholarship influences praxis and praxis influences scholarship. This volume will be of particular interest to ethnic studies specialists, African American studies scholars, political scientists, historians, and sociologists. Georgia A. Persons is professor of political science in the School of Public Policy at Georgia Institute of Technology, where she also directs the Center for the Study of Social Change. *Race, Neighborhoods, and Community Power*. Neil Kraus, 2000-11-09. Examines the extent to which race affected public policy formation in Buffalo, New York, between 1934 and 1997. **Charting the Range of Black Politics**. Michael Mitchell, 2017-07-05. The election of 2008

brought onto the national stage complexities arising when the member of a minority group assumes power over national political institutions. It also underlined the limits placed on that power by the double accountability such a figure faces. The question posed in this volume of the NPSR is: Might the ascendancy of President Obama lead to a deracialization of American politics or its opposite? The contributions to this volume examine this question in a variety of ways. David Wilson and Khalilah Brown Dean analyze black attitudes towards the candidates for the Democratic Party nomination in the presidential race of 2008. Lorenzo Morris asks how perceptions of race have defined expectations of the African American ambassadors to the United Nations. Horace Bartilow and Kihong Eom use a game theoretic approach to examine US drug strategies in the Caribbean. A works in progress section follows with personal reflections by Michael C. Dawson and Andra Gillespe. They relate how personal concerns and curiosities guide their research. A book review section provides a discussion about works of interest to scholars studying black politics.

African-American Mayors David R. Colburn, Jeffrey S. Adler, 2001. On November 7, 1967, the voters of Cleveland, Ohio, and Gary, Indiana, elected the nation's first African American mayors to govern their cities. Ten years later, more than two hundred black mayors held office, and by 1993, sixty-seven major urban centers, most with majority white populations, were headed by African Americans. Once in office, African American mayors faced vexing challenges. In large and small cities, from the Sunbelt to the Rustbelt, black mayors assumed office during economic downturns and confronted the intractable problems of decaying inner cities, white flight, a dwindling tax base, violent crime, and diminishing federal support for social programs. Many encountered hostility from their own parties, city councils, and police departments; others worked against long established power structures dominated by local business owners or politicians. Still others, while trying to respond to multiple demands from a diverse constituency, were viewed as traitors by blacks expecting special attention from a leader of their own race. All struggled with the contradictory mandate of meeting the increasing needs of poor inner city residents while keeping white businesses from fleeing to the suburbs. This is the first comprehensive treatment of the complex phenomenon of African American mayors in the nation's major urban centers. Offering a diverse portrait of leadership, conflict, and almost insurmountable obstacles, this volume assesses the political alliances that brought black mayors to office, as well as their accomplishments, notably increased minority hiring and funding for minority businesses, and the challenges that marked their careers. Mayors profiled include Carl B. Stokes, Cleveland; Richard G. Hatcher, Gary; Dutch Morial, New Orleans; Harold Washington, Chicago; Tom Bradley, Los Angeles; Marion Barry, Washington, D.C.; David Dinkins, New York City; Coleman Young, Detroit; and a succession of black mayors in Atlanta: Maynard Jackson, Andrew Young, and Bill Campbell. Probing the elusive economic dimension of black power, *African American Mayors* demonstrates how the same circumstances that set the stage for the victories of black mayors exaggerated the obstacles they faced.

River of Hope Elizabeth Gritter, 2014-02-17. One of the largest southern cities and a hub for the cotton industry, Memphis, Tennessee, was at the forefront of black political empowerment during the Jim Crow era. Compared to other cities in

the South Memphis had an unusually large number of African American voters Black Memphians sought reform at the ballot box formed clubs ran for office and engaged in voter registration and education activities from the end of the Civil War through the Brown v Board of Education decision of 1954 In this groundbreaking book Elizabeth Gritter examines how and why black Memphians mobilized politically in the period between Reconstruction and the beginning of the civil rights movement Gritter illuminates in particular the efforts and influence of Robert R Church Jr an affluent Republican and founder of the Lincoln League and the notorious Memphis political boss Edward H Crump Using these two men as lenses through which to view African American political engagement this volume explores how black voters and their leaders both worked with and opposed the white political machine at the ballot box River of Hope challenges persisting notions of a Solid South of white Democratic control by arguing that the small but significant number of black southerners who retained the right to vote had more influence than scholars have heretofore assumed Gritter's nuanced study presents a fascinating view of the complex nature of political power during the Jim Crow era and provides fresh insight into the efforts of the individuals who laid the foundation for civil rights victories in the 1950s and 60s **Race Rules** Baodong Liu, James M. Vanderleeuw, 2007-01-01

Race Rules examines electoral politics over forty years up to the present day Liu and Vanderleeuw show that an understanding of New Orleans politics must start with the city's racial composition and must be viewed in terms of racial conflict and accommodation reflected in the electoral arena during the last four decades *Comparative Racial Politics in Latin America* Kwame Dixon, Ollie A. Johnson III, 2018-09-04 Latin America has a rich and complex social history marked by slavery colonialism dictatorships rebellions social movements and revolutions *Comparative Racial Politics in Latin America* explores the dynamic interplay between racial politics and hegemonic power in the region It investigates the fluid intersection of social power and racial politics and their impact on the region's histories politics identities and cultures Organized thematically with in depth country case studies and a historical overview of Afro Latin politics the volume provides a range of perspectives on Black politics and cutting edge analyses of Afro descendant peoples in the region Regional coverage includes Argentina Brazil Colombia Cuba the Dominican Republic Ecuador Haiti and more Topics discussed include Afro Civil Society antidiscrimination criminal law legal sanctions racial identity racial inequality and labor markets recent Black electoral participation Black feminism thought and praxis comparative Afro women social movements the intersection of gender race and class immigration and migration and citizenship and the struggle for human rights Recognized experts in different disciplinary fields address the depth and complexity of these issues *Comparative Racial Politics in Latin America* contributes to and builds on the study of Black politics in Latin America **Crossroads** Rian J Robinson, 2020-11-25 Each Black American regardless of his or her class education or socio economic status must at some point in their life face the realities surrounding their skin color views on faith and political affiliation In *Crossroads* Rian Robinson shares insightful reflections laced with personal intimate anecdotes to help the reader navigate through these often difficult and controversial

issues His racial religious and social experiences shape a perspective that is sincere direct and thought provoking Written with both criticism and compassion *Crossroads* takes the reader on a journey filled with hurt and hope anger and ambition towards an ultimate destination of self love and personal freedom *Race and American Political Development* Joseph E. Lowndes, Julie Novkov, Dorian T. Warren, 2012-11-12 Race has been present at every critical moment in American political development shaping political institutions political discourse public policy and its denizens political identities But because of the nature of race its evolving and dynamic status as a structure of inequality a political organizing principle an ideology and a system of power we must study the politics of race historically institutionally and discursively Covering more than three hundred years of American political history from the founding to the contemporary moment the contributors in this volume make this extended argument Together they provide an understanding of American politics that challenges our conventional disciplinary tools of studying politics and our conservative political moment s dominant narrative of racial progress This volume the first to collect essays on the role of race in American political history and development resituates race in American politics as an issue for sustained and broadened critical attention **Negotiating Racial Politics in the Family** Barbara Henkes, 2020-05-06 This book is situated at the cutting edge of the political ethical dimension of history writing Henkes investigates various responsibilities and loyalties towards family and nation as well as other major ethical obligations towards society and humanity when historical subjects have to deal with a repressive political regime In the first section we follow pre war German immigrants in the Netherlands and their German affiliation during the era of National Socialism The second section explores the positions of Dutch emigrants who settled after the Second World War in Apartheid South Africa The narratives of these transnational agents and their relatives provide a lens through which changing constructions of national identities and the acceptance or rejection of a nationalist policy on racial grounds can be observed in everyday practice *Opportunity Lost* Marcus D. Pohlmann, 2008 In *Opportunity Lost* Marcus D Pohlmann examines the troubling issue of why Memphis city school students are underperforming at alarming rates His provocative interdisciplinary analysis combining both history and social science examines the events before and after desegregation compares a city school to an affluent suburban school to pinpoint imbalances and offers critical assessments of various educational reforms In addition to his analysis of the problems Pohlmann lays out educational reforms that run the gamut from early intervention and parental involvement to increasing teacher compensation improving time utilization and more Pohlmann s illuminating and original study has wide application for a problem that bedevils inner city children everywhere and prevents the promise of equality from reaching all of our nation s citizens Book cover [Urban Politics](#) Myron Levine, 2015-02-20 This popular text mixes classic theory and research on urban politics with the most recent developments and data in urban and metropolitan affairs Its balanced and realistic approach helps students understand the nature of urban politics and the difficulty of finding effective solutions in a suburban and global age The ninth edition has been thoroughly rewritten and updated with a

continued focus on economic development and race plus renewed attention to globalization gentrification and changing demographics Boxed case studies of prominent recent and current urban development efforts provide material for class discussion and concluding material demonstrates the tradeoff between more ideal and more pragmatic urban politics Key changes in this edition include Every chapter has been thoroughly updated and rewritten The Ninth Edition reflects the most current census data and the newest trends in such areas as the new immigration suburbanization gentrification and big city revivals There is coverage of the big city pension crisis and politics in Stockton Detroit and other cities facing possible bankruptcy A brand new opening chapter introduces the concepts of the Global City the Entertainment City and the Bankrupt City New photos and boxes appear throughout the book Increased coverage of policies for sustainable urban development

Rumor, Repression, and Racial Politics George Derek Musgrove, 2012 While historians have devoted an enormous amount of attention to documenting how African Americans gained access to formal politics in the mid 1960s very few have scrutinized what happened next and the small body of work that does consider the aftermath of the civil rights movement is almost entirely limited to the Black Power era In *Rumor Repression and Racial Politics* Derek Musgrove pushes much further presenting a powerful new historical framework for understanding race and politics between 1965 and 1996 He argues that in order to make sense of this recent period we need to examine the harassment of black elected officials the ways black politicians were denied access to seats they'd won in elections or after taking office were targeted in corruption probes Musgrove's aim is not to evaluate whether individual allegations of corruption had merit but to establish what the pervasive harassment of black politicians has meant politically and culturally over the course of recent American history It's a story that takes him from California to Michigan to Alabama and along the way covers a fascinating range of topics Watergate the surveillance state the power of conspiracy theories the plunge in voter turnout and even the strange political campaigns of Lyndon LaRouche Provided by publisher

World War II and American Racial Politics Steven White, 2019-07-11 World War II played an important role in the trajectory of race and American political development but the War's effects were much more complex than many assume Steven White offers an extensive analysis of rarely utilized survey data and archival evidence to assess white racial attitudes and the executive branch response to civil rights advocacy He finds that contrary to conventional wisdom the white mass public's racial policy attitudes largely did not liberalize during the war against Nazi Germany In this context advocates turned their attention to the possibility of unilateral action by the president emphasizing a wartime civil rights agenda focused on discrimination in the defense industry and segregation in the military This book offers a reinterpretation of this critical period in American political development as well as implications for the theoretical relationship between war and the inclusion of marginalized groups in democratic societies *The Journal of Mississippi History*, 1999 Includes section Book reviews *Militarism, Ethnicity, and Politics in the Sierra Norte de Puebla, 1917-1930* Keith Brewster, 2022-08-30 In the wake of the Mexican Revolution citizens in many parts of Mexico experienced turbulent

and uncertain times This book tells the story of how the people of the Sierra Norte de Puebla emerged from those traumatic years and came to terms with the many challenges facing them in the decade that followed It also examines the phenomenon of caciquismo in the postrevolutionary period as seen in the career of one powerful individual Gabriel Barrios Cabrera leader of the Brigada Serrana rose from rural obscurity in the tiny village of Cuacuila to a position of unprecedented military strength during the Revolution and throughout the 1920s he and his brother Demetrio came to enjoy the confidence of the nation's presidents This work provides an in depth look at how a local political boss held on to power Keith Brewster reveals how the story of the Sierra is inextricably linked to that of the Barrios Cabrera family and he investigates the ways in which this interconnection developed Brewster argues that Barrios owed his long prominence to his sensitivity to the region's culture but also shows that the extent of his power was exaggerated by both contemporaries and historians Barrios was able to develop a working relationship with the federal government by endorsing its objectives and convincing them of his own indispensability but his authority depended on the weakness of the federal government and on infighting within the Puebla state government once both governments stabilized Barrios quickly lost his grip on power Masterfully blending archival sources and oral history Brewster captures life in the Sierra during the 1920s and examines the decision making processes that determined how communities responded to new pressures such as requests for soldiers or support for development projects He shows that subaltern groups were able to shape and even resist state reforms mustering evidence that the Sierra's indigenous communities drove hard bargains over issues affecting their everyday lives Although many communities used Barrios as an intermediary Brewster reveals that they did not universally accept his legitimacy but simply used his connections to pursue their own local agendas Brewster depicts the Sierra de Puebla of the 1920s as a scene of shifting balances of power where political economic social and ethnic factors combined to produce the temporary ascendancy of different interest groups beyond and within the region His study forces us to question assumptions about how power was exercised at the local and regional levels in postrevolutionary Mexico and will be of lasting interest to all concerned with the dynamics of caciquismo and the evolution of the Mexican political system

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Table of Contents Racial Politics At The Crossroads

1. Understanding the eBook Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - The Rise of Digital Reading Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Advantages of eBooks Over Traditional Books
2. Identifying Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Exploring Different Genres
 - Considering Fiction vs. Non-Fiction
 - Determining Your Reading Goals
3. Choosing the Right eBook Platform
 - Popular eBook Platforms
 - Features to Look for in an Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - User-Friendly Interface
4. Exploring eBook Recommendations from Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Personalized Recommendations
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads User Reviews and Ratings
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads and Bestseller Lists

5. Accessing Racial Politics At The Crossroads Free and Paid eBooks
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads Public Domain eBooks
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads eBook Subscription Services
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads Budget-Friendly Options
6. Navigating Racial Politics At The Crossroads eBook Formats
 - ePub, PDF, MOBI, and More
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads Compatibility with Devices
 - Racial Politics At The Crossroads Enhanced eBook Features
7. Enhancing Your Reading Experience
 - Adjustable Fonts and Text Sizes of Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Highlighting and Note-Taking Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Interactive Elements Racial Politics At The Crossroads
8. Staying Engaged with Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Joining Online Reading Communities
 - Participating in Virtual Book Clubs
 - Following Authors and Publishers Racial Politics At The Crossroads
9. Balancing eBooks and Physical Books Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Benefits of a Digital Library
 - Creating a Diverse Reading Collection Racial Politics At The Crossroads
10. Overcoming Reading Challenges
 - Dealing with Digital Eye Strain
 - Minimizing Distractions
 - Managing Screen Time
11. Cultivating a Reading Routine Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Setting Reading Goals Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Carving Out Dedicated Reading Time
12. Sourcing Reliable Information of Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Fact-Checking eBook Content of Racial Politics At The Crossroads
 - Distinguishing Credible Sources
13. Promoting Lifelong Learning

- Utilizing eBooks for Skill Development
- Exploring Educational eBooks

14. Embracing eBook Trends

- Integration of Multimedia Elements
- Interactive and Gamified eBooks

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