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HANES WALTON, JR.: ARCHITECT OF THE BLACK SCIENCE OF POLITICS

Robert C. Smith

Hanes Walton, Jr.: Architect of the Black Science of Politics

"Dr. Hanes Walton, Jr. was arguably one of the greatest social scientists of his generation. He was more than just a pioneer scholar. For years Walton set the research agenda for scholars of black politics. His research and insights into black politics have influenced scholars of African American politics and electoral politics in general. Scholars of black politics still rely heavily on his work. Smith's book highlights the man and his work. More importantly, the book helps preserve Walton's place in the annals of American political scientists."

—Wilbur C. Rich, William R. Kenan Jr.
Professor of Political Science, Emeritus Wellesley College

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Hanes Walton, Jr.: Architect of the Black Science of Politics

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Preface

Like most budding students of black politics in the early 1970s, I first encountered Hanes Walton, Jr. through his pioneering, first-in-the-field textbook *Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis.* For a young beginning graduate student aspiring to be a scholar of black politics, Walton's book demonstrated the potentials of the emergent field to contribute to a more scientific understanding of black political activities and was a crucial reference work in my early years of graduate study.

I first met Hanes in 1980 when I was on the faculty at Howard University and he was a visiting scholar at the University's Institute for Urban Affairs and Research. He had just completed the manuscript, *Invisible Politics*, his groundbreaking critique of the behavioral approach in the study of black politics. I had just become co-editor of the State University of New York Press' African American Studies series. Hanes graciously consented to allow us to consider the manuscript for publication and it became the inaugural volume in the series. Thereafter we became close friends and colleagues, reading and critiquing other's work and exchanging ideas in correspondence and phone conversations. In 1991 he conceived a new textbook in black politics and asked me to join him as co-author. Until his death in 2013 we worked on multiple editions of this text, *American Politics and the African Quest for Universal Freedom.*

I prepared this volume on Hanes' contribution to the study of black politics so that students and future political scientists will have a ready source for understanding the significance of his scholarship and its contribution to the establishment of black politics as a subfield in the political science discipline. I admire Hanes and his work. But this book is not a

paean. It is an attempt to present an objective, critical assessment of his writings as contributions to the scientific study of black politics. This is what he would expect, even from a friend and an admirer. I hope I have treated the work with the degree of admiration and detachment that good scholarship deserves.

Professors Mack Jones, Marion Orr, Lenneal Henderson, Sherri Wallace, Lester Spence, Errol Henderson and Wilbur Rich read the manuscript and made suggestions that led to its improvement. I am especially grateful to Professors Rich and Wallace for their detailed suggestions for changes and deletions that improved both the organization and substance of the manuscript. I would also like to thank Michelle Chen, my editor at Palgrave, for her interest and support for the project, and for soliciting informed and discerning reviews.

As with everything I have written over the last four decades, this book could not have been completed without the assistance of my wife, Scottie; she knows how much I love, respect and admire her.

San Francisco, CA, USA Robert C. Smith

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About the Author

Robert C. Smith (BA, University of California, Berkeley, MA, UCLA, Ph.D., Howard) Professor of Political Science, San Francisco State University, is a leading scholar of African American politics. He is the author of 12 books, more than 50 articles, the leading textbook in the field, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* co-authored with Hanes Walton, Jr., and the *Encyclopedia of African-American Politics.* In 1998 he was presented Howard's Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award.

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Abstract In this chapter Smith portrays Walton as an old-fashioned "Ebony Tower" intellectual, who shunned administrative work and engagement with the media in order to devote his energies to research and study, and laying the intellectual foundations for the modern scientific study of black politics. The first person to earn a Ph.D. in political science from Howard University, Smith notes that Walton is one of only two top-tier black political scientists to be educated entirely at historically black colleges, and suggests that this black experience was aspirational and inspirational in his work to establish black politics as a recognized field in the discipline of political science.

Keywords Historically black colleges and universities • Ebony tower scholar • Dean of black politics • Codification of black politics

When Hanes Walton, Jr. arrived at Morehouse College, one of the nation's most venerated historical black colleges and universities (HBCUs), none of his professors would have predicted that this young student would become a major political scientist of his generation. Hanes Walton, Jr. (1941–2013) became a pioneering and prolific scholar of African American politics and an architect of the modern scientific study of the subject. The first person to earn a Ph.D. in political science from Howard University, Walton devoted his career to laying the intellectual foundations for the

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study of race and politics, and lobbying the leading professional organization for political scientists, the American Political Science Association (APSA) for the establishment of what is commonly referred to as black politics as a subfield in the discipline.[1]

This book comprehensively analyzes the body of Professor Hanes Walton's writings, while providing a short history of the study of race in political science. It concludes with analysis of how the conceptualization and parameters of the field have changed since Walton's pioneering work, focusing particularly on intersectionality as an alternative to the traditional conceptualization of the black politics field.

The Making of a Black Scholar

Hanes Walton, Jr. was born in Augusta, Georgia, in 1941. In 1948 the family moved to Athens, where his father worked as a janitor at the University of Georgia. Educated in Athens' separate and unequal segregated schools, he earned his undergraduate degree in political science from Morehouse in 1963, a Masters from Atlanta University in 1964 and in 1967 he became the first person to earn the Ph.D. in political science (then called government) from Howard University. During the 1960s white universities awarded virtually all of the doctorates in political science earned by African Americans. Walton is therefore near unique among top-tier black scholars, having been educated entirely at historically black institutions (Paula McClain, a professor of political science at Duke University, is another example, receiving both her undergraduate and graduate degrees from Howard). Walton treasured his experiences at these black institutions. In the prefaces to virtually all of his books he fulsomely praised the teaching and mentoring of Professors Robert Brisbane and Tobe Johnson at Morehouse; "the ever-erudite", as Walton frequently referred to Samuel DuBois Cook, at Atlanta University; and Emmett Dorsey, Bernard Fall, Harold Gosnell, Robert Martin and Nathaniel Tillman at Howard.

Walton's professors graduated from white universities, where they had been inculcated with the dominant conceptual framework of political science-pluralism, which largely ignored the problem of race and civil rights. Walton, however, was educated at a time and at places where black professors taught about inequality and were able to cite racial discrimination examples in cities like Atlanta and Washington D.C. When Walton was taking his graduate courses, few major white universities had African

American political scientists. More importantly there were few articles or monographs on the subject of black politics. Thus Walton, working with his HBCU professors, began to construct this new field in a disciplinary vacuum. This became the essence of his life's work.

When Walton received the Ph.D., few historically black colleges had political science departments, and few courses in political science were offered at these institutions. After graduation from Howard, Walton returned to his native Georgia to accept an appointment at Savannah State College, a HBCU. He was recruited to establish a political science program, with a faculty of two teaching eight different courses a year. He spent 25 years at Savannah State, from 1967 to 1992 when he joined the University of Michigan faculty where he remained until his death in 2013. Walton also spent a year on the faculty (1971–1972) at Atlanta University where he assisted in the design of the new doctoral program in political science.

In 1972 Walton was named a Fuller E. Callaway professor, one of the 40 endowed chairs established in 1961 by the Callaway Foundation to recruit and retain outstanding faculty at Georgia universities. The Callaway chair augmented his salary and reduced his teaching load, but nevertheless Savannah State was not an environment conducive to research productivity. Southern state–funded HBCUs have a history of being underfunded, with few graduate programs and insufficient research facilities. They were mostly teaching colleges. Savannah State College certainly did not provide the resources of the University of Michigan or other major research universities in terms of teaching one or two classes in a single field, research support, small seminars and teaching and research assistants. Indeed, what Walton wrote of his mentors at Morehouse, Atlanta and Howard applied to him as well during his tenure at Savannah State:

> The scholars who are the founders and innovators in the study of African American politics literally created this scholarly subfield out of nothing. Working in small African American colleges, without major financial support or grants and with large numbers of classes and students, these scholars launched in small steps and limited ways a new area of academic study. They published in obscure and poorly diffused journals and little known presses, which resulted, in many instances, in their work being overlooked and undervalued. Racism's manifestation in the academy allowed much valuable work to remain unseen. … They persisted and persevered. And while their work is scattered and sometimes difficult to locate, it formed the basis for a new vision and perspective in political science.[2]

Professor Walton in his 25 years at Savannah was prolific, publishing 10 books and 28 articles or book chapters. A record for African American scholars that was unmatched at that time. His publication record at Savannah and to an extent at Michigan came at considerable cost in terms of money and time away from his family. Receiving only modest or no grants to support his research, he used the resources of the family to support his work which often involved extended travel to out-of-state libraries and archives and to conduct interviews. Married with two sons (Brandon and Brent), Walton was frequently away from his family for extended periods during the summer and semester breaks. Since he wrote longhand on legal pads and did not type his manuscripts, he had to hire secretaries—for a long time Margaret Mitchell Ilugbo who lived in Mississippi—who typed and retyped the manuscripts from his handwritten drafts. For many of his articles and books he also used extensive figures and graphs, which were also professionally prepared. Again, this involved a considerable drain on family financial resources since he earned extensive royalties only on the multiple editions of his second textbook that was first published in 2000.

Receiving an appointment as a full professor at a major university such as the University of Michigan represented an upgradation of his professional status within the political science discipline; one would think that it was also an overall advance for the Walton family. Actually the move to the University of Michigan took a toll on the family. He earned a substantially higher salary than at Savannah, taught fewer classes and had access to more resources to support his travel and research; but his wife Alice and sons remained behind at their home in Hilton Head, South Carolina. Maintaining two residences, one in Ann Arbor and Hilton Head, Walton lived like a graduate student in a small apartment near the campus. This sacrifice must have had a tremendous effect on Walton. Yet he was extremely productive, writing another 12 books and more than 30 articles and chapters.

Hanes Walton was an old-fashioned ebony and ivory tower scholar; for him it was work—teaching, advising and above all research—that mattered. Almost from the start of his career, he was a man with a mission—to use his abilities to further the work of his mentors, who he described as the "unheralded and the unsung",[3] and to establish the study of black politics as a recognized subfield within the American science of politics. This mission of scholarship for Walton was almost single-minded. For example, although he admired and celebrated the political activism of a Ralph Bunche or a Ronald Walters as well as their administrative work as chair of Howard's political science department, this was not his goal. In a letter in

1987 to William Keech at the University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, declining an invitation to apply for director of African American Studies, Walton explained his aversion to administrative work: "First, I have no interest in administrative jobs. Ever since graduation I have assiduously avoided such offers. My second reason stems from appreciation of the data problems in the area of black politics. … Hence, administrative work would be at best a nuance (sic) at their worse, stumbling blocks."[4]

Shy and retiring, Walton was equally reluctant to engage the media, especially television. It was his view that his participation with the media in general was a distraction. Often, for example, when contacted by reporters to discuss issues in the news related to black politics, he would demur and suggest that they get in touch with other black professors (including this writer). Although he occasionally did interviews, in general he saw this as a nuisance that all too frequently trivialized scholars and scholarship.

Professor Walton was widely hailed as a willing and engaged mentor to students and young political scientists. As one of the few blacks in the political science faculty at a major research university, he was often called upon to write letters of reference and recommendations for grants, faculty appointments and tenure and promotions. Unlike administrative and media work, he did not view this work as a nuisance or distraction. To the contrary, this was the work of scholarship and part of the long process of establishing the black politics field.

Hanes Walton was also that rarity among scholars in his willingness to share credit with colleagues—junior and senior colleagues, former students and graduate students—through co-authorships. Seven of his 25 books were co-authored, as were 24 articles. Some of these were genuine collaborations but others were not. Rather occasionally Walton would complete an article and then invite a colleague or colleagues to join him as co-authors. This kind of collegiality is rare in the academy, but Walton did it often as a good colleague and friend and to assist young scholars as they navigated the promotion and tenure process.

At the University of Michigan, Walton taught, advised and served on the dissertation committees and mentored students who went on to establish national reputations as scholars of African American politics, including Errol Henderson at Pennsylvania State University, Cathy Cohen at the University of Chicago, Katherine Tate at Brown, Lester Spence at Johns Hopkins, Ismail White of Georgetown University, Robert Brown at Spellman, Todd Shaw at the University of South Carolina and Tasha Philpot at the University of Texas.

Walton served on the editorial boards of numerous academic journals and held membership in several honor societies including Phi Beta Kappa; in 1993 he was presented Howard's Distinguished Ph.D. Alumni Award. Shortly after his death the APSA established the Hanes Walton, Jr. Award to recognize a political scientist whose lifetime of scholarship made a significant contribution to understanding racial and ethnic politics. At the University of Michigan, the Institute for Social Research established the Hanes Walton, Jr. Endowment for Graduate Study in Racial and Ethnic Politics and the political science department established a chair, the Hanes Walton, Jr. Collegiate Professor. Describing Professor Walton as the "Dean of Black Politics", the Institute credited him with "codifying black politics within the field of political science".[5]

The Length and Breadth of the Work

Writing a synthesis of Walton's work on race and politics is challenging. His first article was published in 1958; his last (a book chapter) was published posthumously in 2013. His first book was published in 1969; his last posthumously in 2016. In this more than 50-year period of work, Walton published 22 books, 80 articles, 25 book chapters and 40 book reviews.

Most of his publications dealt with aspects of African American politics, including the 1972 volume *The Poetry of Black Politics.* However, he also published a number of articles unrelated to black politics including, among others, "The Funeral Industry", "Machiavelli's Theory of Religion", "The Communist Insurrection in Malaysia" and "NATO's Approach to Multilateral Control of Nuclear Arms".

Only six of Walton's articles were published in mainstream journals of political science (three in *PS: Politics and Political Science*, one in *American Politics Quarterly*, one in the *American Journal of Political Science* and one in *Congress & Presidency*). Many were published in obscure journals (*Savannah Faculty Research Bulletin*, *Negro Education Review*, *The Quarterly Review of Higher Education among Negros*) and are virtually impossible to access. Others were published in mainstream black social science journals (*Phylon*, *Journal of Negro History*, *Black Scholar*, *Journal of Black Studies* and *National Political Science Review*) and are accessible. This history of his publication venues likely tells us more about the biases of mainstream academic journals than about the quality and importance of Walton's work. Academics who had access to his writing found a lot of intellectual insights and much to quote in his work.

The length of Walton's publication record over 50 years is impressive, publishing a book on average every two years and an article or book chapter every year (for the complete list of Walton's books and selected articles, see Appendix). The breadth insofar as black politics is concerned is equally impressive.

Hanes Walton's studies covered multiple subjects in the field of black politics. I divide the work into ten relatively discrete areas: (1) political parties, three books and numerous articles on the relationship of African Americans to the two major parties and to third or minor parties including black political parties; (2) the Native Son series, three books studying the elections of Jimmy Carter, Bill Clinton and Lyndon Johnson as southern "native sons" and their impact on African American interests and the party system; (3) a systematic, critical assessment of the political philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.; (4) Institutionalization of the Civil Rights Movement and the development of civil rights regulatory agencies and policies; (5) African politics, three books and multiple articles on aspects of African politics and US foreign policy; (6) two textbooks—including the first in the field—codifying and systematizing knowledge for pedagogical and research purposes; (7) two major reference works, *Presidential Elections, 1789–2008: County, State and National Mapping of Election Data* and the two-volume, *The African American Electorate: A Statistical History*; (8) bibliographic studies, one book and four articles surveying and updating the literature of the field; (9) Political Science and Race, a series of articles on the racist, white supremacist history of the discipline and the beginnings of the study of black politics and the development of a distinctive black science; and (10) Political Behaviorism. In *Invisible Politics*, perhaps Walton's most important and influential book, a systematic critique of the behavioral approach in the study of race is presented along with suggestions for a reformulation.[6]

In the forthcoming chapters, I analyze his contributions to black politics and the black science of politics in each of these areas.

Notes

1. The terms African American and black politics are used interchangeably in this study.
2. Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (New York: Longman, 2000): xviii.
3. Ibid.

4. Hanes Walton to William R. Keech, May 11, 1987 (Personal Files of the Author, hereafter PFA).
5. Institute of Social Research, University of Michigan, "Hanes Walton, Jr. Endowment for Graduate Study in Racial and Ethnic Politics", (ND).
6. Walton also did work on black women in politics, writing a book on black women delegates to the United Nations, which I discuss in the section on African politics and articles on black female candidates for office. See "The First Black Female Gubernatorial Candidate in Georgia" and "Black Female Presidential Candidates" in Hanes Walton, Jr. (ed.) *Black Politics and Black Political Behavior: A Linkage Analysis* (Westport, CT.: Praeger, 1994), Tasha Philpot and Hanes Walton "One of Our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them" *American Journal of Political Science* 51(2007): 49–62 and Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, "New South Heroine: Atlanta's First Black Female Mayor", *Africana.com*, January 10, 2002.

CHAPTER 2

Black Politics

Abstract This chapter is the core of the book. In the chapter the author critically examines Walton's work in multiple areas of study: political parties; the southern "native son" presidencies of Lyndon Johnson, Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton; the political philosophy of Martin King, Jr.; the institutionalization of the Civil Rights Movement and the development of civil rights enforcement policies; and African politics. The author then turns to Walton's work in codifying and systematizing knowledge as part of his work to establish the legitimacy of the black politics field, focusing on his textbooks, bibliographic studies, reference works, history of the study of race in political science and Walton's stunning and path-breaking critique of the behavioral approach in the study of race.

Keywords Blacks and political parties • African politics • The philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. • Black politics • *Invisible Politics*

Political Parties

E. E. Schattschneider's classic *Party Government* makes the argument that American democracy is what is because of the invention of political parties.[1] The study of political parties was an early and abiding interest of Walton. Coming as he did from Georgia, once a one-party Democratic state and then later switching to the Republican Party, there was much to be analyzed regarding the relationship of these organizations with the life

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chances of African Americans. His first article in 1958 was on political parties,[2] as was his first book *The Negro in Third Party Politics* (1969). In a sense his last posthumous publications were also on parties. His chapter "Ronald Walters as a Political Empowerment Theorist" was a historical and theoretical analysis of Howard University and University of Maryland's Professor Ronald Walters' concept of "independent leverage" as a strategy for blacks to influence the party system.[3]

Walton's *Lyndon Johnson and the Remaking of the Democratic Party*, one of the three native son books, was in part a study of the party system. In between his first and last party studies Walton published ten book chapters, five articles and four books on the subject.

Hanes Walton shared the scholarly commitment of the US political science community to the idea that competitive parties were imperative in democratic government—the indispensable means by which ordinary persons, without wealth or status, could use the power bases of size and solidarity to challenge the power of entrenched elites.[4] Parties may be especially important for minority groups in obtaining legislative representation and for providing a platform for articulating the support for party positions and to express dissatisfaction with their party policy preferences.

Although Walton shared his political science colleagues' position that parties are democratic requisites, he did not share their commitment to two-party systems.[5] To the contrary he viewed the two political parties system as integral in the political subordination of African Americans. Given their historic exclusion or marginalization in the two-party system, blacks have found minor parties, black parties and "satellite" parties as important instruments of dissent, protest and social change.

African Americans became full-time participants in the political two-party system during the Reconstruction era. Prior to that time both of the major political parties, the Republicans and Democrats, had ignored the morality and economics of slavery. The nineteenth-century Republican coalition contained some Free Soilers and abolitionists and the Democratic Party was divided between northern Democrats and southern factions. But both ignored the mostly enslaved and disenfranchised African American community. During Reconstruction African Americans gained the franchise and embraced immediately and almost universally the Republican Party as the party of emancipation, enfranchisement and civil rights. The two-party system for blacks, however, was in reality a one-party system because only the Republicans competed for black votes, while the Democrats, controlled by racists and white supremacists, were

committed to black disenfranchisement and subordination. Thus, during the Reconstruction era (1868–1880) black voters had no choices; there was no competition for their votes. As Frederick Douglass puts it, "The Republican Party was the deck, all else the sea".[6]

Soon the Republican Party became virtually a sea of racism and reaction as well because beginning with the so-called Compromise of 1876 it abandoned the principles of racial equalitarianism in favor of reconciliation with the South—the racist white supremacist South—on the basis of the subordination of blacks. Over time, through the southern wing of the Democratic Party with a multiple series of schemes (Grandfather Clause, white primaries, poll taxes, literacy tests, etc.) in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment that guaranteed black male enfranchisement, and through economic intimidation and terrorism, blacks throughout the South were near totally disenfranchised. Consequently, the Republican Party in the South became essentially a paper organization, with a few functionaries at the top but little mass white voter support. The South became a one-party system sustained by dishonest county voter registration clerks and white terrorism.

With no chance to win office at the local, state or national levels, the functionaries in the Republican Party had access to two important resources to keep members active. One was the appointment of delegates to the quadrennial Republican National Party conventions to nominate the presidential and vice presidential candidates. The second was federal political patronage that became available when the Party controlled the presidency. Possessing between a fifth and a third of the delegates to the conventions, southern Republicans had considerable leverage in determining party nominees and platforms. The political patronage was also considerable, including judges, postmasters, revenue collectors and diplomats. And there were fewer members to divide the spoils.

In the struggle over these resources Republican Party leadership in the southern states beginning in the 1880s split into two factions: a nominally multi-racial but largely African American "Black and Tan" faction and the racist, white supremacist "Lily White" faction, which was committed to the complete elimination of blacks from the party.

In 1975 Walton published *Black Republicans: The Politics of the Black and Tan,* the first scholarly study of black Republicans and the only systematic analysis of the Black and Tans. The book covered comprehensively the activities of the Black and Tan factions within the party and their relationship with the Lily Whites and the national Republican Party in every southern state from 1892 to 1956.

The Black and Tans in several states and nationally exercised some influence in the national Republican Party until 1932. They were able to send delegates to the conventions, exercise modest influence on Party nominees and platforms and received minor posts in the federal bureaucracy and the diplomatic corps. All this changed when President Herbert Hoover became the first Republican nominee to pursue a "Southern Strategy" by fully embracing the Lilly Whites and attempting to displace the Black and Tans. Hoover embraced the southern strategy in 1932 for the same reason Richard Nixon embraced it in 1968—to appeal to the votes of southern racists and conservatives at the expense of African Americans. A striking difference, however, between Hoover in 1932 and Nixon in 1968 is that Hoover pursued this strategy while assuming—correctly—that he could maintain the support of a majority of black voters. But in the next presidential election (1936) a majority of black voters abandoned the Republicans and never returned. The Republican Party had squandered black allegiance to the party of Lincoln. Yet in Mississippi and South Carolina the Black and Tans were still operative until the 1956 conventions, but by then the Democratic Party was becoming the deck, all else the sea. Overall, Walton concludes that the Black and Tans were of "little utility to the black community".[7]

The Black and Tans were an example of what Walton in *Black Political Parties: A Historical and Political Analysis* (1972) called "Satellite" parties, an organized party or faction within a party. Further examples of satellites parties are the South Carolina Progressive Party (SCPP) and the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP). Unlike the Black and Tans, these parties were of some utility in shaping reforms in the Democratic Party that eventually made it accessible to blacks and somewhat representative of their interests.

Before turning to Walton's analysis of these parties, it is necessary to discuss his first book on parties, *The Negro in Third Party Politics* (1969). In this work he analyzed the relationship of blacks with white third parties. His analysis focuses on nominally sympathetic progressive parties, but he notes that one of the earliest third parties in the USA was the pro-slavery Nullification Party founded in the 1830s. Other pro-slavery parties followed it during the antebellum era, including the National Southern Rights Party, the Native American Party and the "Know Nothing" (the popular name for the American Party). The purpose of these parties was to demonstrate the size and potential leverage of the pro-slavery vote regionally and nationally. To the extent one of the major parties had an anti-slavery faction, these political parties acted as potentially pro-slavery balances of power.

But Walton's main concern was the relationship of blacks with the anti-slavery parties of the antebellum era and the progressive parties of the twentieth century. Given the accommodation of the major parties to black subordination, these third political parties of the left provided some potential space for leverage in the representation of black interests. The anti-slavery Liberty and Free Soil parties provided "Free Negroes" their first political exposure by placing "Negro abolitionists in high organizational positions, acted as springboards for Negro leaders and advanced the legal positions of the slave in the free states".[8] Overall, however, Walton concluded that, "Negro activity in third parties has met the same obstacles that were encountered in the major parties". The prejudices of some Liberty Party members and the Free Soilers before the Civil War were widespread. These attitudes either alienated the Negro or so affected party policies as to render them ineffective insofar as the Negro cause was concerned. After the Civil War such third parties as the Prohibitionists, Liberal Republicans and Union Labor "sought the black vote to win elections but paid scant attention to Negro needs or desires".[9]

Looking at twentieth-century left parties, while the Progressives were often ambivalent on race issues, in 1948 the Progressive Party presidential candidate, Henry Wallace, invited black leaders such as W. E. B. DuBois to fully participate and was forthright in opposition to segregation. The Socialist Party was for most of its history racist and never made meaningful inroads with black voters and the Communist Party was handicapped, as Walton concludes, by its "inflexible ideology".[10]

Third Parties in general Walton avers "have not been able to escape the racist factor in American politics".[11] And while it is possible that the protests of the Liberty Party in part led to the Civil War and Emancipation; that the Populists in the 1880s spurred increased spending on black education; and the Progressives in1948 moved the Democrats to take more advanced positions on civil rights, but "Third party activity has been more in the nature of protest than anything else. Generally speaking, major Negro activities have been hampered because of the minor parties' inability to win. With no chance of winning, a vote cast is a vote thrown away".[12] This is the inexorable logic of winner-take-all, first past the post two-party electoral systems.

The persistent failure of black third-party activism led blacks in "frustration and desperation" to turn to all-black pressure groups or quasi-party organizations, such as the National Black Conventions of the 1830s, the National Negro Congress of the 1930s and the National Black

Convention in 1972.[13] These efforts, however, were undermined by the "persistent lack of money", "destructive factionalism", the "intoxicating tendency of leaders to surrender to the appeal of power" and in the 1930s by communist infiltration.[14]

At the state level in the twentieth century African Americans formed satellite parties revolving around the Democrats. In 1944 blacks in South Carolina created a progressive party, the SCPP to protest their exclusion from the state's regular Democratic Party. At the 1944 Democratic convention the SCPP tried, unsuccessfully, to unseat the regular South Carolina delegation. Twenty years later black activists in Mississippi created the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP), which also failed in its attempt to unseat the regular delegation. In a political compromise, the 1964 National Democratic Party gave MFDP two symbolic seats. Although both the SCPP and MFDP "failed to accomplish much of significance, their very existence represented protest against racial discrimination".[15]

Protest, Walton avers, is necessarily the main significance of black political parties, because "most blacks and their leaders favor working within the existing major parties rather than in separate or satellite black parties".[16] In the 1970s there were calls by black nationalists and others including Jesse Jackson and Howard University political scientist Ronald Walters for the creation of a black political party.[17] Walton anticipated that such efforts would fail, especially given the Democratic Party's efforts since 1968 to incorporate blacks fully into its coalition. However, the first obstacle to black party formation was class; lower class blacks tend to favor separate parties while the middle class generally favor working within the major parties. Thus "The values, life patterns and goals of the two strata are so different that bringing them together for common political action might be near impossible".[18] Aside from class cleavages, Walton saw black political party activities as a form of protest to get "in" one or both of the major parties. Once "in" the middle class black leadership would be satisfied "in spite of the notions of black control, liberation and independence".[19] Thus, "In the main Negro political parties represent a protest against the political status forced upon Negros as a group. The group wants in, and genuine political rewards from a regular party might be enough to draw them into that party's organization".[20]

Hanes Walton's last book on parties was in collaboration with his Michigan colleague Samuel Eldersveld, a party specialist and one of the founders of political behaviorism, in preparation of the second edition of

his textbook, *Political Parties in American Society* (2000). A major objective of Eldersveld inviting Walton to join him was to focus the text on how parties have appealed to and represented minorities. As they put it, "American party textbooks have not systematically incorporated data on race in their discussions of party system change. We hope to remedy that omission … [because] race is of historical significance and contemporary salience. It is a critical issue dividing us, representing a major ideological cleavage in our politics."[21]

Walton makes three distinct contributions to the new edition. First, in the chapter on third parties he includes material on black parties. Second, in the chapter "Public Support for Parties" he analyzes "The Special Case of Blacks", focusing on the transformation of their party loyalties from the Republicans to the Democrats. Finally, he writes a new chapter 16 "The Party System and the Race Problem".

The narrative of the new chapter is organized around how the major political parties have dealt with the problem of racial inequality. After Reconstruction, Walton divided the major parties' approach to racial inequality into three periods: 1880s–1933, is a period of "Two Party Indifference"; 1944–1964 a "bipartisan window" where both parties appealed to and received the black vote; and after 1980 a return to "Two Party Indifference".[22] Walton writes, "By the time of Clinton's victory in 1992 with less than a majority of the vote, the Democratic Party's obvious latent empathy for blacks and their problems did not translate into much of an active program. Indeed, one can say that to some extent the two party system was in a state of relative indifference and inaction after 1980".[23]

To account for this bipartisan indifference to racial inequality, Walton cites data showing that three-fourth of Democratic Party leadership (county and state party chairs and convention delegates) support government efforts to promote racial equality but support from Democratic "followers" declined from 40 percent in 1984 to 32 percent in 1992.[24] Meanwhile, among Republican leaders a small increase from 12 percent in 1984 to 27 percent in 1992 in support for government efforts to promote racial equality is observed, but Republican followers exhibit the opposite: a decline from 21 percent in 1984 to 12 percent in 1992.[25] The result is two-party indifference because of a fairly homogeneous Republican Party in opposition to government policies to reduce racial inequality and a significant gap in the Democratic Party between its leadership and its mass base.

Faced with these "plain facts" of the two political parties' indifference and the resulting prospect for little progress in reducing economic inequality, Walton asked, "what were the political options for blacks?" First, they could hope to see an increase in the size of the liberal, pro-equality bloc in a broad "rainbow coalition" within the Democratic Party. But given the low level of white liberal support for Jesse Jackson in his presidential campaigns, he saw little realistic prospects for this in the near term.[26] And, for reasons discussed above, he saw little prospect that black leaders "in" the Democratic Party would be willing to exit and attempt to form a more progressive third party. The only other scenario within the party system was a bipartisan black strategy, with some blacks joining the Republican Party in an effort to create a voting bloc that could change the Party's anti-equality posture. Given the homogeneous Republican elite-mass opposition to using government for racially equalitarian purposes, Walton concluded, "it is difficult to have much confidence in the present Republican Party as a partner in an alliance to improve the economic status of blacks".[27]

The final option is to go outside the party system by "returning to the mass mobilization strategy and tactics of the earlier civil rights movement is the scenario needed to re-socialize people to the problem of race, activate a mass level coalition of liberals, and force the hand of national elites".[28] However, he is pessimistic about this scenario as well:

> The prospect for mobilizing the American public today to accept and work for a new civil rights movement, in order to continue the work of the past, do not look good. We have seen the evidence of public attitudes toward proposals that the government should adopt new policies to provide economic and social aid to blacks. The support has certainly diminished. Further research on the extent and depth of racial animosity adds to this concern. … Such levels of prejudice make democratic interaction, and joint efforts to support changes in the environment to press for new legislation very difficult and unlikely.[29]

In conclusion, Hanes Walton, the prolific party scholar remained committed to parties as a requisite of democratic representation, responsiveness and legitimacy. However his historical and empirical studies led him to be skeptical about the capacity of the US party system to deliver these benefits to its black minority. Left unsaid was the fact that even where southern Democratic black politicians have been elected to political office, they have failed to uproot the entrenched party power structure. Walton's analysis also implicitly shows that third political parties cannot survive

because state laws and the patronage distributions are rigged against them. Protest parties will come and go. The two main political parties, Democrats and Republican, are practically unchallengeable. African Americans since the 1960s have for the most part cast their lot with the Democratic Party. Indeed many southern states now have African American Democrats in their congressional delegations and black Democrats are routinely elected to political office. Black alliance with the Democratic Party has allowed the Republican Party in the South to present itself as the party of white Americans. Hanes Walton's scholarship has helped scholars understand the history of political parties, why the political coalitions within them keep shifting and how the two political parties have struggled with the issue of racial equality.

The Native Son Presidential Candidates and the Democratic Party

American political science has been fascinated by the backgrounds of successful politicians. They are the individuals we write about and they make policy. We want to know their political socialization and the sources of their ambitions. Politicians who are elected to the presidency are particularly interesting. When southern politicians are elected to the presidency it brings to mind the work of V. O. Key Jr., a political scientist who attempted to discern the meaning of presidential elections in the context of southern politics.

Walton's interest in presidential politics was intensified with the Democratic Party nomination and election of two relatively conservative, centrist southern native sons as president. Was this an example of indifference to the African American quest for equality? The nomination of southern native sons James Earl Carter and William Jefferson Clinton was a response to Lyndon Johnson's embrace of progressive civil rights legislation. President Johnson had predicted that signing the 1964 Voting Rights Act would transform the once-solid Democratic South into the most reliably Republican region in the country. Because Johnson was southern himself he understood southern voters. The issue was how to get southern whites to vote for future Democratic Party candidate? It is in this political context that Democratic Party strategists assumed that the most effective way for the Party to win the presidency was to nominate a southern moderate who could return the South to the Democratic coalition. In three books Walton analyzed the native son presidencies, including Johnson's remaking the Democratic Party into the party of racial equalitarianism.

The principal purpose of Walton's work on the native son presidencies was to expand the scope of V. O. Key's concept beyond southern state politics to encompass presidential elections. In his classic *Southern Politics in State and Nation,* Key developed the native son concept to explain how in the one-party South, where there was little party competition, "localism" and a pattern of "friends and neighbors" voting emerged where candidates for state office tend to win overwhelming majorities in their home counties and draw heavy support in adjacent counties.[30] Key found that 6 of the 11 southern states exhibited this kind of localism in state elections, but he did not suggest whether the concept had theoretical or empirical relevance outside of one-party southern state elections. However, subsequent work by Lewis-Beck and Rice, among others, concluded that native sons and forces of localism might operate in presidential elections.[31] It was this expansion of Key's concept that guided Walton's work of native son theory and research.

Further, since the time of Key's work on southern politics, the Voting Rights Act had been passed and blacks were largely enfranchised. The impact of black voters on southern politics would provide new insights into the once-solid South. Walton was ideally suited to make this new analysis. As I will discuss later in this chapter in the section on political behaviorism, Walton had an abiding interest in incorporating historical and contextual factors into the analysis of observed behavior, which the longitudinal, county level analysis of multiple elections of the three presidents allowed. Political scientist Robert Brown noted that one of the "hallmarks" of the books was their "deep commitment to the influence of history and context on political parties and the role of pivotal figures in changing the Democratic Party".[32]

In President Carter's case Walton analyzed 12 elections from 1962 to 1980 in which Carter ran for state senate, governor and president. In the Clinton case, ten elections for Congress, attorney general, governor (six times) and president between 1974 and 1996. President Lyndon Johnson competed in 21 elections between 1937 and 1964 for Congress, US Senate, vice president and president. President Carter ran in Georgia and Johnson in Texas. These two states have similar southern traditions. The interplay in these states in these many elections of history, context, personalities and issues within the Democratic Party is a robust empirical contribution to theorizing the native son in southern and national elections.

Another abiding concern of Walton with respect to political behaviorism was its heavy reliance on surveys in election studies, which he argued was a mistake because it ignored the importance of the geographic component in

explaining elections. In the Johnson case reliable surveys were not available for most of his elections, thus aggregate election results were the only consistent source of data.

The use of aggregate election data for the purposes of studying electoral behavior is, however, methodologically challenging; full of "perils and pitfalls".[33] Studying Arkansas and Texas is even more difficult because, as Burnham observed, "Texas and its neighbor Arkansas have been by all odds at the quantitative bottom in official election reporting".[34] Texas is a near nightmare for the researcher using county level data, given its more than 200 counties and the fragmentary and diffuse reporting of data. Walton's research for these three books was prodigious, tedious, time-consuming and expensive.

Walton found that in their races for statewide offices Carter and Clinton were successful native sons, drawing disproportionate support from their home and adjacent counties. Johnson was different. Key found that voting in Texas was not based on native son localism. Walton confirmed this finding in the Johnson case, although he concludes that Johnson had a native son impact in his 1960 vice presidential candidacy carrying his home and adjacent states. Instead of localism, Walton suggests that Johnson created a loyal following based on economic issues and a "creative straddling" of the race issue.

Once he became president, Johnson did not straddle the race issue. Rather, he decisively broke with the racism of his native South and aligned the Democratic Party with African American civil rights. Shortly after assuming the presidency he told Georgia Senator Richard Russell, his mentor and the leader of the southern bloc in the Senate, "Dick, you've got to get out of my way on this [referring to the 1964 civil rights bill]. If you don't, I am going to roll over you. I don't intend to cavil or compromise".[35] Russell responded, "You may do that, but it's going to cost you the South, and the election". To which Johnson responded, "If that's the price I have to pay, I'll pay it gladly".[36] On the evening of the signing of the Civil Rights Act of 1964, Johnson told his aide Bill Moyers, "I think we have just delivered the South to the Republican Party for a long time".[37] Johnson, however, was myopic; he should have told Moyers that we have just delivered the white vote to the Republicans for a long time since no Democratic presidential nominee has won a majority of the white vote since Johnson in 1964.

Walton combines the literature on the native son theory and on the President as the party leader to show how Johnson "remade" the Democratic Party into the party of racial liberalism. The Republican Party

was also remade into the party of racial reaction and conservatism, and as Johnson predicted transformed the South into a reliable Republican region that gave the Republicans a virtual Electoral College lock on the presidency. How did the Democrats respond to the Republican capture of the South? According to Walton they nominated southern native sons—Carter and Clinton—without which he argued that the Party likely would not have had a presence in the White House since Johnson. The result, especially under Clinton, was a return to two-party indifference on the issue of racial inequality and little progress on reducing economic inequality.

Does the 2008 nomination and election of Barack Obama, the first northern liberal Democrat to win the presidency since John Kennedy in 1960, indicate that the southern native son was a short-term development in the Democratic Party's adjustment to the Republicans capture of the South, demonstrating that the Party could win the presidency while losing the South? Walton's assessment of Obama's election was uncertain on this point.[38] And with respect to issues of racial inequality, Obama, although an African American, also practiced the politics of indifference or avoidance.[39]

Walton's native son series offers an innovative set of propositions about southern politics, political parties and presidential party leadership. To the complex of variables—personalities, parties, issues and events—used to explain presidential elections he makes a powerful argument that region or localism should also be included.

Writing an analysis of significance of a native son status on presidential elections is difficult. Walton's monographs were illuminating. Walton produced several insights into these men and their behavior before they were elected as president. Although Johnson, Carter and Clinton were southerners, race relations had changed. Neither of them solved the race problem but they approached it differently. Scholars need these books to get a more multidimensional view of these famous southern politicians.

The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.

Rev. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. goes down in history as the greatest agent for racial change of his time, perhaps of all times. Like Hanes Walton, Martin King was a product of the state of Georgia and a Morehouse College graduate. Although not contemporaries, each approached the struggles for equal rights for African Americans with conviction, Martin King as a minister and civil rights leader and Hanes Walton as chronicler of the politics of race. King's impact on the nation was dramatic. He won the Nobel Prize for

Peace and became a champion of nonviolent protest and civil disobedience as a method to address racial and economic injustice. As a graduate student at Howard University, Hanes Walton sought the sources of Dr. King's thinking and the political philosophies that influenced his life and work.

When Walton submitted his dissertation on the political philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1967, King's strategy of nonviolent protests had already proven its efficacy by facilitating the passage of two landmark civil rights laws that effectively ended the century-old system of Jim Crow segregation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, first introduced by President John F. Kennedy and shepherded through the Congress by President Lyndon Johnson, was a direct result of the King-led protests in Birmingham, Alabama.[40] The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was introduced and enacted as a direct result of the King-led protests at Selma, Alabama.[41] The passage of these two civil rights bills represented a period of triumphalism for African Americans. Yet the struggle for equality was not over. More importantly the plight of northern blacks was different from those in South. Dr. King in 1966 was invited to the North and he tried to use his nonviolent protest approaches for change in Chicago. White reaction in Chicago was extremely hostile. The movement failed to win over the political establishment or white voters. The failure of this strategy of nonviolent protest to result in legislation or meaningful changes in northern racism and poverty had been shown by the failure of King's 1966 protests in Chicago.[42]

By the time Walton revised the thesis for its 1972 publication, King had been murdered and the nationwide riots in the aftermath of the assassination resulted in the passage of the last of the great civil rights laws of the 1960s, the Fair Housing Act of 1968. This was the last civil rights accomplishment of President Johnson. Earlier King had become a leader of the protests against the war on Viet Nam. At the time of his death, he was planning the ultimate test of his strategy of protest, a poor people's campaign to establish a federal guarantee of employment or income.

None of the foregoing historic events are discussed in Walton's treatise. Rather than a study of King's strategies of protest, Walton's work "analyzes the metaphysical and psychological basis of King's thought".[43] "There is no denying" he writes "the success his theory of nonviolent direct action has had in gaining some measure of civil rights, or its psychological impact upon the black man himself, in the sense of dignity, self-respect and personal self-worth it has given him. … Nevertheless, the implications of his nonviolent ethic, both as philosophic and strategic posture, raise as many questions as that ethic sought to answer."[44]

Walton's work is primarily deductive; to locate King's strategies of protest in his "moral speculations" on the nature of man, his relationship to God and his proper condition and purpose on earth.[45] This then is a work in political philosophy rather than political science—the first and, 50 years later, to some extent still the only systematic critique of King's work of protest as a set of philosophical ideas rather than as a mere political strategy.[46]

Political Scientist Samuel DuBois Cook, Walton's mentor at Atlanta University, wrote a foreword to the book. Cook was a friend and classmate of King at Morehouse. He wrote that reading Walton's manuscript evinced a "clash of loyalties between his admiration for his departed friend and his former student … there were times when I wanted to heap praise on my former student for his erudition and insight, but there were also times when I, in the face of his relentless and critical evaluation, wanted to defend my classmate, M.L.".[47] Walton's analysis *is* relentless and almost unwaveringly critical, viewing King's philosophy of love and nonviolence as "naive", "utopian", "an oversimplification of historical reality", and, in some cases, if followed uncritically " a willful act of political suicide".[48]

For Walton King's strategy of nonviolent protest as a civil right strategy was a direct outgrowth of the "religious and moral principles of his metaphysical stand"[49]; a metaphysical stand that had philosophical roots in the teachings of Mahatma Gandhi and David Thoreau but at its core was based on "A living, unshakeable faith in God".[50]

Nowhere was King's faith in God and the teachings of Jesus more on display than in his embrace of *agape*, the universal love of all persons, even one's enemies which ultimately, because of the interconnection of all humanity, would result in the "Beloved Community" without racism or economic exploitation.[51] The language of love is ubiquitous in King's philosophy,[52] knowing that for many of his followers (including his father, Rev. King, Sr.) this was the most difficult of the teachings of Jesus to obey.[53] Nevertheless, King argued that "The practice of love is self-validating" and those who needed love most were the racist and segregationist.[54] Ultimately, King held that it was only this kind of "redemptive" love that could bring about "genuine integration in terms of genuine person to person relations and mutual acceptance".[55]

For Walton, Dr. King's embrace of *agape* "bespeaks a tremendous naiveté, divorced from the laws of nature" since "The natural human reaction to human degradation is resentment and bitterness not love".[56]

Further, he suggests that adherence to King's notion of love reflected and reinforced stereotypes about blacks as weak and submissive. Thus "The reason for widespread acceptance of King's philosophy among liberal and moderate whites may be that it is consistent with the stereotype of the black man long-suffering, meek and more apt to resort to prayer than take decisive action against injustice".[57]

Walton is equally dismissive of King's absolute commitment to nonviolence. "One can readily see" he concluded, "that King claims too much for the nonviolent method. No single technique can possess such all-embracing virtues. … The facts of social and political life are, unfortunately, such as to make the use of violence necessary, under certain circumstances, in order to achieve an objective the non-achievement of which would be a greater evil than that involved in the use of violence."[58]

Nevertheless, overall "Despite the shortcomings in King's political thought, its logical inconsistencies, moral idealism and inherent biases, it is not easily dismissed … [because] in combination with his leadership, it gave the black masses what black thinkers from Reconstruction until 1965 had not been able to give them-a tool for removing the invisible shades of segregation".[59] But thinking perhaps of the failure of King's Chicago campaign Walton concludes that it is unclear "whether nonviolent action is well-suited to countering the more devious forms of northern discrimination. … To uncritically pursue the strategies of King's nonviolent ethic wherever political action was called for would seem in most cases a willful act of political suicide."[60]

Subjecting the heroic, recently martyred King's philosophy to such a harsh assessment was a daring undertaking for a young black scholar. Many committed pacifists and Christian religion cohorts would take issue with Walton's conclusion. Some would argue that Walton had the benefit of writing at a time (1970s) when ideas of Black Power was sweeping the nation and the minds of the next generation of black activists. Others would argue that Dr. King was a pragmatist who sought to avoid violence in states where vigilante violence against blacks was encouraged by southern politicians and tolerated by law enforcement. Still others will suggest that the approach worked because it came at a window of opportunity. Few would dismiss nonviolence protest entirely. But after 50 years Walton's analysis of the limits of King's philosophy holds up very well. A philosophical stance adhering to *agape*, nonviolence and the beloved community is perhaps admirable, but critical analysis of that philosophy is also praiseworthy.

The Institutionalization of the Civil Rights Movement

When the marches and nonviolent protests led by Dr. King stopped the Congress had enacted for the first time since Reconstruction three major civil rights bills, including the Civil Right Act of 1964.

The Civil Rights Act of 1964 was an omnibus bill, with 11 sections or Titles.[61] Two of the titles (I and VIII) were concerned with voting rights in the South. Title II prohibited discrimination on the basis of race, color, religion and national origins in access to public accommodations, and Title III prohibited state and local governments from denying access to public facilities on the basis of race. Title IV authorized the Attorney General to file suits in school desegregation cases, Title V expanded the responsibilities of the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Title X created the Community Relations Service as an agency to mediate racial conflicts in local jurisdictions and Titles IX and XI provided procedures for moving trials of civil rights violations from state to federal courts, and trial by jury in certain cases.

The voting rights titles were inconsequential and ineffective, requiring the enacting of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 the following year. The titles dealing with access to public accommodations(hotels, motels, theaters and restaurants) and public facilities(parks, libraries and swimming pools) were implemented fairly quickly, with little controversy, and the other titles were largely self-implementing requiring little enforcement mechanisms.

Title VI prohibiting discrimination by public and private entities receiving federal funds and Title VII prohibiting discrimination in private and public employment were different. They were not self-implementing. Rather they required the creation within the federal bureaucracy of civil rights enforcement or regulatory agencies. Title VII created the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission (EEOC) to enforce nondiscrimination in employment and Title VI required creation in each of the cabinet departments and major federal agencies offices of compliance to assure that federal funds did not go to institutions, public or private, practicing racial discrimination. It is these new civil rights enforcement agencies that are the focus of Walton's *When the Marching Stopped: The Politics of Civil Rights Regulatory Agencies.*

When the Marching Stopped is the first comprehensive, systematic study of these civil rights regulatory agencies; focusing on their creation, structures, budgets, staffing and enforcement strategies. While some attention

is paid to Title VII and EEOC, the main focus of the book is the multiple agencies created to enforce Title VI. To provide historical context, Walton compares these new civil rights bureaucracies with those created 100 years before during Reconstruction.

Unlike his other research projects, Walton's work on the civil rights bureaucracy was not self-financed. It was supported by three fellowships or grants. His initial interest in the subject came about as a result of the award in 1975 of a fellowship from the National Association of Schools of Public Affairs and Administration (NASPAA). This fellowship allowed him to spend a year in Washington as a visiting scholar at the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration (LEAA), where he worked as a special assistant to the director of the Office of Civil Rights Compliance from 1975 to 1976. He later received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation's Research Fellowship for Minority Scholars, which facilitated a survey of civil rights compliance offices in each cabinet department and selected federal agencies, the collection of documentary and statistical data and interviews with the directors of selected civil rights offices.

In 1983 Walton was awarded a prestigious American Political Science Association (APSA) Congressional Fellowship, where he worked in the office of Mervyn Dymally, an African American Congressman from California. Since data by the various compliance offices were collected in a slow, haphazard and unsystematic way, being in a congressional office was helpful as he was able to use the power of the office and its staff to obtain otherwise elusive information. When the formal fellowship year ended, Dymally allowed Walton to continue to work out of his office for another year facilitating further data collection.

The research was completed in 1985. Thus, from its inception in 1975 at the LEAA it consumed a decade. The analysis of the data and preparation of the manuscript consumed another two years, and the results were published in 1988 as a volume in the State University of New York's (SUNY's) African American Studies series. *When the Marching Stopped* deals with the politics of the civil rights regulatory agencies from the Johnson administration through the first term of the Reagan administration, and includes a foreword by Mary Frances Berry, the historian and member of the US Commission on Civil Rights. Walton continued research on the subject after the book was published, studying the George H. W. Bush and Clinton administrations. At the time of his death he was considering continuing the work with studies of the George W. Bush and Obama administrations.

Walton developed a theory of the "institutionalization" of the civil rights movement to partially account for the behavior of the civil rights regulatory agencies.[62] He argued that the Civil Rights Movement, at least with respect to some of its goals, became legitimate and acceptable in the political system; in a word institutionalized. This means the federal government placed part of its authority and financial resources behind the quest for civil rights. After the legislation was enacted in the 1960s, the institutionalization process in part involved the creation of civil rights enforcement or regulatory agencies within the federal bureaucracy. In short, institutionalization means in this bureaucratic sense that the government is a partner of the Civil Rights Movement. But Walton also showed that government policies may in a bureaucratic sense de-institutionalize civil rights, as it did doing Reconstruction, by reducing civil rights enforcement, which he shows occurred to some extent during the Reagan, George W. Bush and Clinton administrations.

With respect to the creation, staffing, financing and enforcement policies of these new civil rights regulatory agencies, the creation of the compliance offices was left to the discretion of the cabinet secretaries and agency administrators with no uniform guidelines from Congress or the presidency. It took eight years (1964–1972) before all cabinet level departments created compliance offices. Staffing patterns, budgets and enforcement policies varied significantly overtime and by departments, creating considerable uncertainty and instability in the civil rights regulatory policy of the government. Further, the agencies were never adequately financed. For example, Walton estimated that from the 1970s through the 1980s, once adjusted for inflation, the agencies had only about half the money they needed to fulfill their responsibilities, and during the Reagan administration even these inadequate budgets were cut.[63]

The Department of Justice was supposed to coordinate and oversee the various agencies to ensure some degree of standardization and efficiency across agencies, but Walton found that it failed to do so, and as a result there were disparities in standards and procedures across agencies and little uniformity in the application of law.[64]

However, there was one pattern of uniformity—virtually all of the agencies relied on voluntary compliance when they found that recipients of federal funds were not following the law. That is, the agencies rarely used enforcement measures such as deferral or termination of federal funds. The results, Walton concluded, were "Federally funded illegal discrimination continued after the marching stopped".[65]

Part of the reason for this lack of enforcement was that a significant anti-civil rights enforcement coalition of conservative pressure groups emerged after the marching stopped. This coalition actively sought to undermine enforcement of Titles VI and VII, and the old liberal civil rights coalition was, more often than not, unable to mount counter-pressures to ensure full compliance.[66] This "de-institutionalization" of the Civil Rights Movement was accelerated by the Reagan administration, with its emphasis on "deregulation" and states' rights. Further, Walton contends that the Reagan administration was successful in defining civil rights as just another "special interest":

> … while civil rights is supposed to be a fundamental constitutional guarantee, treating it as any other or more than the "special concerns" of a racial minority means that it can be given more or less protection depending upon what party is in power. Partisan support for this "special interest" literally depends upon political and electoral majorities. As these majorities change from one election to another, then so can the protection and enhancements of civil rights. This is identical to increasing or decreasing the military budget, price support for farmers, and space appropriations, yet civil rights is not a material or a commodity but a quality of human existence in a democratic society. A "special interest" designation does not make this distinction.[67]

Walton concluded that the institutionalization of the Civil Rights Movement through the bureaucratic process fundamentally altered the movement:

> First of all, institutionalization meant the defusing of the revolutionary fervor and emotionalism of the movement. This, in turn, means defusing of some of the concerns and priorities of the movement. … [T]he protection and promotion of civil rights by the federal government can be affected by the structuring of bureaucratic units, the staffing, financing and commitments of presidential leadership. … And in regard to the tenor, tempo, procedures and techniques designed to enhance and enlarge civil rights can be made to appear as being anti-American, unconstitutional, and reverse discrimination.[68]

A similar period of de-institutionalization, deregulation and laments about civil rights as a special interest and emphasis on states' rights occurred during the Reconstruction era, the first period in American history of civil rights regulatory enforcement. "The parallels" Walton wrote

"between the federal regulatory effort then and that which has been described in this research are striking and instructive. In both eras there was much to be desired and much more to be done".[69] While he did not anticipate a complete abandonment of civil rights enforcement as occurred during Reconstruction, Walton wrote "Institutionalization of the civil rights movement has meant that civil rights is now a 'special interest' of minorities, just like farmers, labor unions, consumers, peace groups, space enthusiasts, war mongers, etc. … These private interests are [not] the same thing as guaranteed constitutional rights. They are not and never have been."[70]

Walton viewed the conservative Reagan Administration's civil rights regulatory policies as a significant undercutting of the rights guaranteed by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. "President Reagan" he wrote "used the regulatory powers of the federal bureaucracy to rescind and undercut the civil rights of African Americans".[71] These policies were continued by the successor Bush administration. In a 1990 *Urban League Review* article assessing Bush's civil rights regulatory policies Walton wrote "The findings reveal a striking continuity between the Reagan and Bush administrations in regard to the attenuation in rules dealing with racial discrimination problems".[72] The Bush administration also shifted regulations away from racial discrimination to discrimination against the aged and handicapped; consequently few race-based anti-discrimination rules and regulations were issued during the Bush presidency.[73]

Little changed during the centrist Clinton administration; instead of changing the policies of the Reagan–Bush administrations Clinton reinforced them with his "Regulation Reinvention" initiative (lead by Vice President Albert Gore) which added a cost-benefit and cost-effectiveness criterion for developing regulations. Overall with respect to civil rights enforcement, "In both the long and short run, the Clinton regulatory reform may impact the African American community more negatively than the Reagan and Bush ones".[74]

As I indicated, at the time of his death Walton was considering extending his research on this subject to include the George W. Bush and Obama administrations. In the case of the latter, he was especially interested to learn the impact of a liberal African American President on civil rights regulatory policies in terms of staffing, budgeting and enforcement strategies.[75] This is important work to be done because the great civil rights act of 1964 a half century after its passage is only as great as its implementation, which translates rights into realities.

Walton's studies show that Titles VI and VII were eroded by the regulatory agencies created to enforce them. This means it is likely that entities receiving federal tax dollars may continue to engage in unlawful racial discrimination. We do not know because the necessary research is not being done. We do know that there continues to be widespread racial discrimination in employment in violation of Title VI.[76] To remedy these violations requires administrations committed to consistent and persistent enforcement of the law. It also requires consistent and persistent monitoring by scholars studying the civil rights regulatory agencies.

African Politics

Although Hanes Walton is best known for his studies in African American politics, he had an early and continuing interest in African politics and US foreign policy toward Africa. At Howard Africa was one of his required fields, taking courses from Africa specialists Leslie Rubin and Brian Weinstein and US foreign policy specialist Bernard Fall. While at Howard he began the research for what would become his 2002 book on J. Milton Turner, the first African American ambassador to Liberia. Between 1969 and 1971 he published several articles on Africa: "The Ghana-Togo Boundary Dispute: Past and Present" *Savannah State College Faculty Research Bulletin* (l969), "Toward A Theory Proving One Party Systems as Democratic: The Case of TANU", *Savannah State College Faculty Research Bulletin* (1970), "Toward A Theory of Black African Civilizations: The Problem of Authenticity" (1971), *Journal of Black Studies* and "The Southwest Africa Mandate", *Savannah State College Faculty Research Bulletin* (1972).

He also published three Africa related foreign policy books: *Black Women at the United Nations: A Theoretical Model and Documents* (1975), *Liberian Politics: The Portrait of African American Diplomat J. Milton Turner* (1995) and *The African Foreign Policy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger* (2007). Two of the books are co-authored and each includes multiple contributors. Each uses analysis of documents as the principal methodology and includes extensive reprints of documents.[77] Two of the books attempt to explain the impact of black diplomats on US policy toward Africa or with respect to a specific country in the Liberian case, while the Kissinger volume focuses on US policy toward southern Africa.

Black Women at the United Nations analyzes the role they played in stating and, to a modest extent, shaping US policy at the United Nations (UN) regarding Africa including the role of Mary McLeod Bethune at the

UN founding conference. The volume has multiple contributors, Ronald Branch, a Washington civil rights attorney, Shelby Lewis, director of the African Women's Center at Atlanta University, Lois Hollis, professor of political science and History at Albany State College and Bettye Carter, director of the Bethune Museum-Archives.

Many of the delegates in the study were well-known public figures such as Marian Anderson, Pearl Bailey, Coretta Scott King and Patricia Roberts Harris or Margaret Young, wife of civil rights leader Whitney Young. They were appointed because they were celebrities or prominent political figures that brought diversity—race and gender—to the US delegation. Altogether, 12 black women served as UN delegates between 1950 and 1980 (Edith Sampson, a prominent Chicago attorney, appointed by President Harry Truman in 1950, was the first African American, male or female, to serve as a US delegate to the UN).

Walton analyzed the official speeches of the delegates published by the State Department as well as their unofficial unpublished remarks. He developed a model to categorize and analyze the speeches in terms of (1) Supportive diplomacy, uncritical acceptance of official US positions as prepared by the State Department; (2) Reform diplomacy, where the delegates make limited efforts to make minor changes in the official State Department text; and (3) Protest diplomacy, in which the delegates express open dissatisfaction with official US policy. Walton writes "protest diplomacy is at the heart of black international politics".[78] Most of the delegates (8 of the 12) engaged in reform or supportive diplomacy. Four (Zelma George, Hannah Atkins, Marian Anderson and Patricia Harris) engaged in protest diplomacy. Anderson in 1958 let it be known that she "unequivocally" disagreed with US policy supporting the colonial status of the Cameroons, and George, after failing to get the State Department to change its Africa policy on colonialism, personally repudiated the policy. Specifically in 1960 George stood with African and Asian delegates in applauding the adoption of a resolution calling for an end to colonialism; a resolution on which the USA had abstained.[79] On several occasions, delegates added personal remarks to the official State Department texts, in order to bring attention to the black struggle against racism in the United States.[80]

Overall, US black female delegates, whether engaging in protest, reform or supportive diplomacy had little impact on US policy at the UN regarding Africa.[81] In a letter to Walton delegate Atkins discussed her personal beliefs regarding US Africa policy at the UN, her work with TransAfrica and how she "constantly battled the State Department when it

conflicted with her beliefs".[82] Although she indicated she was occasionally able to modify some State Department language that she disagreed with, most often she wrote, "I still felt like attaching a disclaimer [to the speech]. The views expressed are those of DOS [Department of State] and not necessarily those of the speaker".[83] Walton notes that it was perhaps for this reason that the State Department decided not to publish any of Atkins speeches in its official publications.[84]

Walton's slim volume on black women UN delegates was a modest contribution to the literature of US policy and Africa, the role of African American diplomats and black women in politics.

A more substantial contribution is the book on Liberian politics and the complicated and controversial role played by J. Milton Turner, the first black ambassador to the first black African republic, in the internal politics of the country and in shaping US policy. Turner, appointed by President Ulysses S. Grant in 1871, was an important African American Reconstruction era leader who was selected for the diplomatic post in part to secure black support for the Republican Party. As one white party leader wrote to Grant, "If [Turner] can go to Liberia for two years he will gain a national reputation which will make him the universally trusted leader of the colored men in the campaign of [18]72".[85] Rather than two years, Turner remained in his post for nearly a decade.

Walton began work on Turner and Liberia while in graduate school at Howard, purchasing Turner's diplomatic correspondence and doing some interviews as part of a larger planned project on African American diplomats. However, for a number of reasons, including his growing interest in African American politics, he dropped the project and turned to other work. In 1980 he was approached by Ronald Rosser, a recent master's graduate of Savannah's political science program, for working on a joint project. Characteristic of his collegiality and willingness to collaborate with young scholars, Walton informed Rosser of the Turner correspondence and suggested that they work on a volume centered on the correspondence and Liberian politics. This initial collaboration led to an article in the *Journal of Negro History* on Henry Highland Garrett, the abolitionist leader and diplomat.[86] They then turned to the Turner correspondence, later asking Robert Stevenson, a professor of English at Savannah with an interest in Africa, to join the project.

Walton did not devote full time to the project; rather from 1980 to the book's publication he worked intermittently on it with his colleagues for over two decades while completing research and publishing other work on

African American politics. When the book was finally published in 2002 it was more than a collection and analysis by the editors of more than 100 of Turner's diplomatic dispatches. It also included two chapters by K. C. Morrison and Georgia Persons placing Liberian politics in historical and contemporary context. This contextual material includes analysis of the brutal civil war in the 1980s (200,000 killed and more than a million refugees) in which the indigenous people of Liberia finally overthrew the Americo-Liberian elite (African American immigrants and their descendants who had dominated the country since its founding in 1822 as a colony for expatriate African Americans). The book also includes a 2001 interview by Morrison with Bismarck Myrick, the then US ambassador to Liberia.

In sum, while a book centered on a near decade (1871–1878) of Turner's diplomatic correspondence (more than 100 are reprinted in the appendix), *Liberian Politics* is also a comprehensive assessment of the politics of the country from the founding until the end of twentieth century. Walton and his colleagues emphasize that Turner's correspondence is valuable not only for its insights into the relationships between the US and Liberian governments but also as "commentary on the social, economic, political and cultural conditions" of the country itself.[87] Turner traveled throughout the country during his tenure as an ambassador and was a close observer of the Liberian society, especially the relationship between the African American settlers and the indigenous peoples. Comparing Turner's dispatches on Liberia to the observations of America made by Alexis de Tocqueville, James Bryce and Gunnar Myrdal, Walton avers "Turner got to see, reflect on and write about Liberian society, politics and governance over a substantial period of time. His diplomatic correspondence offers both an official view and a longitudinal perspective … instructions from the State Department never circumscribed and/or delimited his commentary. Therefore, his reflections and insights were broad-based and far reaching."[88]

Turner, like most of the African American settlers of Liberia, was what the historian William Moses calls a "civilizationist".[89] That is, he believed the civilizations or cultures of the West—especially the Anglo–Saxon variant—were superior to African civilizations or cultures. Thus, he was a strong supporter of the African American colonialization of Liberia; a form of domination that was at times as oppressive and brutal as that imposed by the Europeans, including a system of forced labor that at times resembled slavery in the USA. (In late 1929 an international commission was established to investigate slavery and forced labor in Liberia.)[90] Turner's civilizationist views were on full display in his first address to the President of Liberia:

> … you have planted upon the shores the germ of a republic that is destined not only to develop a civilization worthy of respect and admiration of unborn generations, but by means of the Christian religion to de-barbarize and befit for almost immediate usefulness thousands of human beings whose intellects are today debased by the destructive potency of heathenish superstition.[91]

Ambassador Turner's dispatches to Washington frequently referred to the "civilized powers" of Europe and the "barbarous" people of Liberia. His superiors in Washington shared his views but Walton and his colleagues concluded that Turner held these views on his own.[92]

As a faithful representative of US interests and the interests of the African American expatriates, Ambassador Turner's dispatches often called for "gunboat diplomacy" to protect US commercial and property interests. Walton writes, "On several occasions the United States responded to Turner's requests for military support and sent naval units to backup and support the Americo-Liberians military war with the native Africans". In the final analysis, "Turner's correspondence induced a policy of military intervention by the United States".[93]

His correspondence, however, also occasionally expressed reservations about the oppressive role of the Americo-Liberian elite, and showed support for the preservation of the indigenous peoples' culture. Yet, in the end the ambassador was complicit in the oppression.

In 1980 after 133 years low ranking soldiers from the indigenous peoples ended that oppression in a bloody coup. The United States and its first minister to Liberia bear some responsibility for the coup and its aftermath, as Walton observes, "To the early Americo-Liberians settlers and the ruling elite, the United States was their grandfather, benefactor, supporter, protector, promoter and savior. As the documents reveal, in each crisis the American government stepped in to help and assist in favor of Americo-Liberians. The relationship was one of almost total dependency."[94] Turner engaged this dependency and oppression of African peoples by African people. Yet, he, like all diplomats, was representative of his government; a government that held him and in Africa in low regard.

Anthropologist Elliot Skinner, an African American ambassador to the African republic of Upper Volta, in a comprehensive study of black diplomats, concluded that J. Milton Turner had to use "extreme prudence, designing his dispatches as much to educate officials in the State Department about the realities of Liberia as to enlist the help of his government for Liberians".[95] In general, Walton agrees; writing of African

American diplomats collectively that "Operating from the lowest rungs in the State Department … there was little chance that they would be accepted as policy innovators. To be sure there was some case-by-case successes for these African American diplomats in Africa, but these were not enough for a sustained public policy innovation to be formulated and implemented."[96]

Like the Liberian volume, the Kissinger book is based on documentary analysis. It is a comprehensive examination of all of Kissinger's—16 in total—public statements on Africa, as well as the leaked National Security Memorandum (NSM 39) prepared by Kissinger for the President in 1969. As indicated, the book is also a collaboration including the chapters "U. S. Africa Policy under Kissinger" by Robert Stevenson and "Africa Foreign Policy before the Kissinger Years: The G. Mennen 'Soapy' Williams Era, 1961–66" by Alvin Tillery.

Henry Kissinger, a former Harvard University political scientist, worked as a foreign policy scholar and policy maker. Kissinger concentrated his research on Europe and was indifferent to Africa. Walton writes that Kissinger saw five global power centers: "Russia, America, China, Japan and the European Union. … Africa's role in Kissinger's scheme was to simply stay quiet and in its place under the aegis of the old colonial client states and the white supremacy regimes of southern Africa. Africa in short had little or no role to play in the Secretary's scheme of things."[97] Walton contends that Kissinger's indifference to Africa was "in line with previous administrations. … As long as America's commercial and economic interests were secure, the region had little or no significance for US policy makers."[98] The USA, for example, did not establish a separate Africa desk until 1958, with Africa previously handled by the European desk.

The policy of indifference toward Africa was relaxed somewhat during the administration of President Kennedy, who as the senator had favored de-colonialization and famously declared "Africa for the Africans". Kennedy appointed G. Mennen Williams, Michigan's liberal pro-civil rights governor as the assistant secretary of State for Africa. Williams adopted what Tillery refers to as an "Africa first policy", prioritizing African interests over those of the European colonial powers. Indifference to African interests also relaxed somewhat in the Carter administration. In "African American Foreign Policy: From De-colonialization to Democracy", a chapter in Walton's 1992 book *African American Power and Politics: The Political Context Variable*, he shows how during the Carter administration UN ambassador Andrew Young, Trans-Africa and

the Congressional Black Caucus were able to use Carter's emphasis on human rights to influence the policy toward opposition to apartheid in South Africa and how this policy shift was abruptly changed by the Reagan administration.

US Africa policy has always been largely shaped by the racist, white supremacist views of policy makers, but with the coming of the Cold War anti-communism became the lodestar of US support for the racist regimes in southern Africa.[99] Walton suggests that under Democratic administrations these Cold War concerns were more often balanced with concerns about de-colonialization and African interests.

For Nixon and Kissinger Africa's only significance was its relevance to the larger, strategic struggle against the spread of communism. When he became president in 1969 Nixon ordered a review of US Africa policy. The result was Kissinger's National Security Memorandum 39—the so-called Tar Baby option—which called for symbolic, public opposition to the racist regimes in southern Africa while quietly backing them as bulwarks against communism in the region. Walton describes Kissinger's recommendations to Nixon as a policy based on "deception", "chicanery", "subterfuge" and a disregard of "human dignity".[100] He also regards the policy as a failure since in 1976 Kissinger, responding to the emergence of powerful Soviet and Cuban supported anti-western governments in Angola and Mozambique, in effect repudiated the Tar Baby policy and aligned US policy with the African interest in ending racial oppression. Walton views this policy change as insincere: "while switching sides from the white regimes to the black liberationist movements might have seemed dramatic and the morally the right thing to do, it was for Kissinger the last way to achieve his final goal of world peace, world stability and American superiority".[101] In the final assessment of Kissinger's Africa policy, Walton writes, "President Ford and Kissinger got stuck in the 'tar' of their policy options and the Cubans won and the Americans came up embarrassed".[102]

Although Walton spent most of his time working on African American politics, he never abandoned his early interest in African politics generally or African American diplomats and US Africa policy specifically. Although not as prolific in this area as in African American politics, viewing African politics and diplomacy as neglected he worked with numerous colleagues to research multiple studies on African politics, US Africa policy and African American diplomats. Although not major contributions to the literature, collectively they show length and perspicacity.

Textbooks

Writing textbooks for students requires a special skill. The would-be synthesizer has to summarize complicated theories, empirical findings, memorable quotes and journalistic literature so that the average college student can read, understand and engage the subject matter. In Walton's case he knew his audience well. He had taught undergraduates and he knew what they needed to know about American race politics. After graduate school Walton discovered that there was a growing demand for textbooks about black politics; a subject many white scholars treated as ancillary.

As courses in the late 1960s and early 1970s began to be taught in traditional political science programs and in Black Studies, the need for textbooks became urgent, since for the most part instructors had to rely on unsystematic, idiosyncratic readers.[103] Apart from pedagogical reasons, textbooks are necessary in a new field in order to synthesize and codify existing knowledge while identifying gaps in knowledge and areas for future research. The availability of textbooks also signals to the discipline the emergence of the new field.

Hanes Walton pioneered in this endeavor, publishing the first textbook in 1972 and then publishing in 2000 a second completely new text suitable for black politics as well as American government classes. In 1975 Milton Morris' *The Politics of Black America* became the second text in the field, followed in 1976 by Lucius Barker and Jesse McCorry's *Black Americans and the Political System*. Thus, by mid-1970s three textbooks suggested the black politics field was off to a good start.

Aside from synthesizing and codifying knowledge for teaching and research purposes, Walton wrote that another purpose or subtext of his *Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis* was to call attention to the "centrality and universality" of the Negro influence on US politics, despite being a relatively powerless minority.[104] But the major purpose of the text was to "reorient" the study of black politics, which he defined as "the attempt of blacks to implement their preferences as public policy".[105] This, as we shall see, is a rather narrow conceptualization or definition of the phenomenon that Walton later modifies. However, given this narrow conceptualization Walton nevertheless contends that political scientists had an even narrower conceptualization "where the beginning and the end of black politics have been primarily from the electoral angle".[106] Thus, a major purpose of the text was to focus attention on the need to study black pressure groups, including not just the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and the Urban League

but protest groups like CORE (Congress of Racial Equality), SNCC (Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee) and SCLC (the Southern Christian Leadership Conference). The book includes an enormous amount of historical material, contemporary journalism and social science research. A comprehensive bibliography of more than 400 entries, divided into 11 categories from general theories and methodologies to works on blacks in various parts (Congress, presidency, courts, local politics, etc.) of the political system. The book was therefore more than an ordinary textbook; it was also a reference work.

Although a textbook, perhaps because of the paucity of literature in the field, it was treated as a monograph and reviewed in academic journals. Frederick Wirt in the *Journal of Negro History* described the book as "an excellent central text for courses in black politics" and observed that "In this and other volumes in 1972–73 Hanes Walton, Jr. emerges as a major scholar of black Americans in the nation's politics".[107] Ronald Walters wrote two reviews that were near contradictory in their evaluations. In *Black Books Bulletin*, he strongly admonished Walton for failing to use a black perspective in the study:

> In general, it seems as if Hanes Walton has crawled into bed snuggly with analysts of black politics who are somewhat notorious for having distorted rather than contributed to our understanding of ourselves. It is serious that a black scholar has not taken time in this lengthy work to critically examine some of the studies which I generally refer, but it is more serious when the blind acceptance of their concepts leads Walton to mistaken assumptions.… What we need now from brother Walton is a volume which is set totally from within the black perspective, which builds on the historical material cited in this work, and which enlightens us and helps point the way to the future through the racist jungle in which we live.[108]

But, in the *Journal of Negro Education* Professor Walters lauded the book's "richness in historical detail" and concluded "In a field so new and so impoverished it is indeed a major contribution of inestimable value for such a basic work as *Black Politics* as a resource for those attempting to study, understand and improve the black political condition in America, and in our ability to win in the areas of struggle which he has outlined".[109]

Most of the other reviews were generally positive[110]; however, the historian Nancy Weiss wrote a particularly harsh assessment in the *Journal of American History:*

> Thanks to some fine studies by Harold Gosnell, James Q. Wilson, James Protho and Harry Holloway, among others, black politics has been established as an important area of inquiry. Unfortunately Hanes Walton proves that publishers are still willing to print bad books on popular subjects. *Black Politics* contributes nothing that cannot be more clearly understood in the secondary sources he cites. His history is derivative and superficial and his "theoretical insights" amount to political science jargon.[111]

Although I do not have direct evidence, it is likely that the book was adopted in Black Studies and political science courses, especially since for a time it was the only text available.

The second Walton textbook, co-authored with this writer, essentially makes a text out of the subtext of the first text. *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* was devoted to showing systematically the "centrality and universality of Negro influence" on US political institutions and processes. As we wrote in the preface to the first edition:

> This book examines the institutions and processes of American government and politics from the perspective of the African American presence and influence. We want to show how the presence of Africans in the United States affected the founding of the Republic and its political institutions and processes from the colonial era to the present. Blacks, for example, took no part in the drafting of the Declaration of Independence or the design of the Constitution; however, their presence exerted a profound influence on the shaping of both these seminal documents. And so it has been throughout American history.[112]

Walton conceived the idea of the text and developed its two major themes. In designing the text and developing its themes, he wished the book to appeal to multiple political science constituencies. It followed the format of the standard American government text, integrating the presence and influence of African Americans throughout. Thus, it could serve as the principal text in introductory American government classes, for those who wished to teach it from a black perspective. (He thought this might be especially appealing to professors at historically black colleges and universities). Second, the text could serve as a companion or supplemental text in the traditional American government course. And finally, he thought, it could serve as the basic text in black politics courses in political science and black studies. In other words, he wanted a work that would

integrate, systematically, the black experience into the American experience. "Race" we argued "is the most important cleavage in American life, with enormous impact on the nation's society, culture and politics. Indeed, as we show throughout this book, race has always been the enduring fault line in American politics, thus the need for a volume that treats this important topic with the seriousness it deserves."[113]

"The Negro people", the historian Herbert Aptheker writes, "have fought like tigers for their freedom, and in doing so have enhanced the freedom struggles of all other people".[114] This epigram at the beginning of the book highlights the first of the two interrelated themes of the text: the idea of universal freedom and the concept of minority–majority coalitions. Walton originated both of these themes. In the first he argued that in their quest for their own freedom in the USA, blacks universalized the idea of freedom. In their attack on slavery and racial subordination blacks and their leaders embraced doctrines of universal freedom. In doing so he contended that they had an important influence on shaping the democratic and constitutional government and in expanding the idea of freedom not just for themselves but for all Americans.

But Walton contended that because of their status as a subordinate racial minority, blacks could not act alone. Rather in their quest for freedom they had to form coalitions with whites. Thus, *minority inspired majority coalitions* are defining features of black politics. Historically, however, he argued that, because of the nation's ambivalence about race these coalitions have tended to be unstable and temporary, requiring that they be constantly rebuilt. This too is a defining attribute of black politics, and these two features constitute the organizing framework for the presentation of the traditional topics in introductory American government textbooks.

This second Walton text—published first in 2000 by Longman and since 2017 by Routledge, now in its eighth edition, and with Sherri Wallace as a new co-author after Walton's death—has become the most enduring of the textbooks in the field of African American politics.

Reference Works

In 2010 Walton co-authored *Presidential Elections, 1789–2008: County, State and National Mapping of Election Data,* a pioneering atlas on presidential elections. All previous ones had focused on the state as the unit of analysis; this volume included county level data. Tables display county level election results by state for each presidential election, from George

Washington in 1789 to Barack Obama in 2008. The county data is color-coded to show the intensity of support for a candidate or party, including minor parties.

This project was conceived by Donald Deskins, a geographer at the University of Michigan, who did the bulk of the tedious work of collecting the data, along with his former graduate student Sherman Puckett. Walton joined the project to provide the historical analysis and was primarily responsible for writing the narrative. He also identified racial patterns in the presidential vote, where data were available.

The 600-page volume includes multiple cartograms, tables, graphs, pie charts and figures. A detailed electoral geography, the volume also includes an extensive bibliography.

In 2012 Walton, Deskins and Puckett collaborated to produce another massive atlas, *The African American Electorate: A Statistical History*. This two-volume work of more than 1000 pages covers the African American vote from the colonial era to the election of Obama in 2008. The 27 chapters include one of the first analyses of African American party nominees and officeholders; a chapter on the enfranchisement of black women; on the reversal of African American suffrage in the colonial era and in the post-Reconstruction era; the impact of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 and recent efforts at black voter suppression in terms of the disenfranchisement of felons and ex-felons. It also includes congressional, governor and presidential elections from the 1770s to 2008.

Walton's principal contribution to the volume was again to provide the historical research and background and to write the narrative.

Finally, although not a reference work, per se Walton's in-progress work at the time of his death, in its breadth and scope, is a near-encyclopedic, atlas-like endeavor. Tentatively titled "Crossover Voting Behavior: African American Senate Elections", this was a study of every African American candidate for the US Senate. In what he called "A Political Detective Story", this study involved years of searching state records, archives, newspapers and other sources to identify the universe of black US Senate candidates. Ultimately, Walton identified 49 major party candidates, 12 satellite black party candidates, 5 third-party candidates and 6 independent candidates.[115] After the tedious work of identifying the candidates, there was the equally tedious and time-consuming work of trying to piece together a historical narrative of the elections from the 1870s to 2012. At the time of his death, Walton had completed the research and was beginning analysis of the data.

Bibliographic Studies

Hanes Walton was widely acknowledged by colleagues as the bibliophile of black politics. If one wanted a citation, a reference or to locate an obscure book or article, Walton was the man to contact. A voracious reader, Walton was also an avid book collector. In addition to his libraries at his office and residence, in Savannah he had a house that was literally a book house—a place where he stored hundreds of books, papers and artifacts related to black history and politics.

Between 1973 and 2011 Walton authored *The Study and Analysis of Black Politics: A Bibliography* and four bibliographic essays.[116] In addition, as previously mentioned, his first textbook and his reference works included extensive bibliographies, and as discussed below *Invisible Politics* is an exhaustive review and critique of the behavioral literature in the study of black politics. *The Study and Analysis of Black Politics* was an effort to keep up with the literature of this "rapidly growing subfield" by providing a "complete listing of the research on the various dimensions of black political life".[117] This was an early and continuous systematic effort by Walton to lay foundations for the establishment of black politics as a recognized field in the discipline. As he wrote in the 1985 bibliographic essay "An academic field moves in relation to its literature. The literature helps to define it, to establish its parameters, to develop its concepts, theories, models and institutions. This same literature speaks to and seeks to reconcile its conflicts about methods and about its conceptualizations and interpretations of facts. In all this, black politics is like any other academic area".[118]

The Study and Analysis of Black Politics is intended as a complete bibliography of black politics, with Walton noting that "omissions in the bibliography may be due to negligence, oversight … or the limited facilities of a small black college".[119] More than 1000 references from multiple disciplines are included, organized by 12 categories covering such areas as political socialization, parties, elections, political behavior, pressure groups, political thought, urban politics, public policy and international relations. It includes literature on various theoretical approaches in the study of black politics, such as Black Nationalism, the colonial model, coalition theory and Marxism. Walton's article "Race Relations Courses in Black Colleges" from the *Negro Educational Review* of 1968 is reprinted as an appendix.

In the first of the literature review essays published in 1985, Walton discussed three stages in the literature as they relate to the emergent field. The beginning was the period prior to 1965, where the "exceptional works" of political scientists Ralph Bunche and Harold Gosnell are noted; but in general "the literature was piecemeal, noncumulative and little of it followed from the work of its predecessors".[120] Since 1965 three phases have been identified. The first from 1965 to 1969 is constituted by the black politics readers or edited works. "Although they brought much fugitive and scattered material together" Walton concluded that, "they did not carry the field very far".[121] A small number of specialized monographs and several major textbooks characterized the second phase. Of the textbooks, he wrote, "They got the word out that there was a new kid on the block, that a new area in political science was emerging and that the discipline would have to make room and acknowledge. These textbooks synthesized much more of the scattered studies dating from 1965 and related them to many of the black political successes that followed 1965".[122] While useful, Walton contended that the popular and marketable textbooks "overshadowed the specialized studies … and may even have limited their growth. The specialized studies, works so crucial to the growth of a field, were pushed to the sidelines".[123]

In the last phase—1980–1985—the major problem was that the field had to grow without its own journal, relying instead on black studies journals, history journals and the newsletter of NCOBPS (the National Conference of Black Political Scientists). An academic field can flourish without its own journal, but a journal is important because "the crucial specialized studies are scattered, difficult to find, and scholars at small black colleges find it nearly impossible to keep up with the literature".[124] But in general Walton was optimistic in this review about the progress of the field:

> Overall, the recent literature of black politics reflects the dominant trends in the profession, most notably in its studies of black voting behavior and public policy. It has responded to new developments in black political life—the rise of black political leaders and black mayors. … But, finally our overview of the recent literature suggests some areas—methodology, African politics and ideology—have not received the serious attention they should have—black interest groups, constitutional law, political theory and philosophy have received no attention whatever. Despite the gaps, though, the literature is healthy and sound. Its perspectives are fairly diverse, which is as it should be in a new emerging field.[125]

In his 1988 review Walton analyzed books since 1985, essentially updating the 1985 review. In this article he focuses on the publication of textbooks, writing "The expansion in the number of textbooks suggests something of the popularity and acceptance of the new field in political science".[126] Anticipating his second textbook, Walton notes that one of the new texts (actually an edited volume) was designed not just for black politics classes but works as well as supplementary text in American government classes.[127] Walton writes that this was "a breakthrough volume for those individuals who wanted to enhance the limited data on ethnic and minority groups in the standard textbooks".[128]

The fourth literature review "The Pioneering Books on Black Politics in the Political Science Community, 1903–1965" traces the historical origins of the black politics field in part to the "political memoirs and reminiscences of black officeholders and essays, as well as the pamphlets of political activists".[129] Outstanding among these activist writers, he calls attention to David Walker, Henry Highland Garnett and Frederick Douglas. In what he calls the "formative years" (1903–1965) of the academic study of black politics, 92 books are identified (each of the books are listed in the article's appendix) and classified into 13 categories. Of the 92, 17 were written by political scientists, 11 by whites and 6 by blacks.

Walton devotes a long section of this essay to a comparison of the books on Chicago black politics by Harold Gosnell and James Q. Wilson. Gosnell, a Walton mentor, was an important influence on Walton's methodological approach to the study of politics. Walton viewed Wilson's book *Negro Politics* as terribly flawed, methodologically and substantively.[130] Thus, Gosnell's book he described as "about black politics, Wilson's book is little more than conservative propaganda … Gosnell's book is now a classic, and rightful so; Wilson's book is barely worth reading".[131]

The last of the bibliographic essays was published in 2011; more than a decade after the APSA formally recognized and established the field. In this essay, Walton and his colleagues update the literature since 1985.[132]

Walton's bibliographic studies were an important resource for black politics researchers, especially graduate students. Collectively, the book and the four essays are important building blocks in the edifice of the modern field of black politics.

Political Science and Race: A Historiography and a Reformulation

In several articles Walton developed a historiography of the study of race in political science, a typology of the research and a suggested reformulation of research on race in the discipline that would at the same time make it more scientific and objective and more relevant to blacks' empowerment and their struggle to end their subordination and achieve a racially equalitarian society. It is in these articles that Walton for the first time in his work explicitly embraced a black perspective or black science in the study of black politics.

In the first article "Race and Political Science: The Dual Traditions of Race Relations and African American Politics", co-authored with Joseph McCormick and Cheryl Miller, Walton engages in an "interpretative analysis" of all the articles and presidential addresses that appeared in the *American Political Science Review* and *Political Science Quarterly* between 1885 and 1990. On the basis of this analysis, Walton and his colleagues concluded that the discipline either ignored race, or offered white supremacist justifications for racism and segregation.[133] Of the more than 100 APSA presidential addresses, only 3 mentioned race, and of the more than 6000 articles in both journals only 2 percent dealt with the black experience. Walton contends that this racism and indifference did not begin to change until the late 1960s as a result of events external to the discipline (the civil rights and black power movements and the ghetto rebellions) and the increased number of blacks in the discipline. As he wrote elsewhere, "It took a major social movement for black freedom to stimulate more interest and concern with the black experience".[134]

Once the indifference ended a divide or what Walton calls "dual research traditions" emerged between those scholars (mostly white) who worked in what Walton labeled the "Race Relations Tradition" and those mainly black scholars who were in the "African American Politics Tradition". Reflecting this tendency toward a racial division of the research, of the articles published in the African American Politics tradition, 6 of the 11 were written by African Americans who grew up in the civil rights–black power era.[135]

The Race Relations tradition emphasizes "peaceful and consensual relations between the two races, even if the result is the domination of one and the subordination of the other".[136] Meanwhile, the African American

Politics tradition "instead of emphasizing black subordination and acquiescence to white interest supports parity and empowerment … to eradicate white dominance".[137]

As indicated, another label for the African American tradition is a black perspective or black science. I explore the meaning of this perspective in subsequent chapters; as I also indicated it was in this article that Walton first clearly articulated in his writings an understanding of a black perspective.[138] For him it was akin to what Bunche suggested in his 1954 APSA presidential address, when he called on the discipline to move away from "abstract formalism" and seeks to find "remedies for defects in the political order … playing a problem-solving role in both domestic and international affairs".[139] For Walton in domestic politics this meant that:

> Blacks that are in or lean toward the African American politics research tradition speak of system reform, modification and change, rather than tending to shape findings and proposals to the needs of the existing socio-political system. … From the perspective of African Americans who have and must continue the burden and legacy of racism—the relative paucity of disciplinary work that tends to support the struggle against racism, and the overwhelming influence of work that tends to support the maintenance of racism—there is a cause of concern.[140]

This rather pessimistic view about mainstream political science's embrace of the African American politics tradition was based on Walton's view that for most political scientists, including many blacks, the emergent field of black politics was at best a subject of only passing interest or at worse a social danger. Writing in 1985, paraphrasing his former Howard professor Emmett Dorsey, Walton observed:

> Black politics, as an academic area of political science, is evolving slowly … as professor Emmett E. Dorsey, the late chairman of the department of political science at Howard University, often said: "Negro politics" (as it was called as late as the mid-1950s) was long considered an "offbeat field of political science", an academic graveyard for the young scholar who sought academic respectability and an opportunity to rise to the forefront of the discipline. At best, it was viewed as an occasionally interesting subject—an intellectual toy that one might tinker with from time to time. But, since it, like black people, was looked down upon by society and, therefore, academia, one could not afford to devote extensive time, effort and attention to the subject in any sustained and consistent fashion.[141]

Insofar as social danger was concerned in 1997, in an article using the same interpretative analysis of *American Political Science Review* and *Political Science Quarterly* articles used in the earlier study, Walton and McCormick concluded that "some political scientists do not study race and the African American political experience because they see such efforts as a form of social danger".[142] Why social danger? Because (1) it may be opposed by family, friends and colleagues as an "unworthy area" of scholarship, (2) to study race is to become either an apologist or critic of the government's role in subordination of blacks and (3) working in such a "marginal area" risks professional advancement.[143]

How might these possible social dangers be ameliorated? First and foremost Walton argued that the discipline must recognize "African American politics at the departmental level".[144] And then "students and faculty interested in the field should be recruited and encouraged; and finally the tools of teaching must integrate and include the subject".[145] Yet he was realistic about the prospects for this project: "confronting the social danger will not be easy given the overall conservative nature of the discipline and profession. … Without the confrontation of the social danger reality, American political science can never obtain the scientific precision and the scholarly objectivity that it wants to claim for itself. It is now and has been afraid of its own political universe."[146]

Walton's historiography and methodology in studying race and political science has been replicated in several studies[147] and his suggestions for the reformulation of the research as black science or as a black perspective is employed by scholars, black and white, in their teaching and research.

Walton viewed Ralph Bunche as the pioneering scholar in the black politics field and a role model for young scholars. Bunche's contribution, in Walton's view, was in three areas: African politics, based initially on his dissertation research; African American and southern politics based on his work on the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal's project, *An American Dilemma* and his organizing and leading the Howard political science department in the 1930s. In Walton's view Bunche was the architect of the black politics field and "many of its intellectual concepts and foundations".[148] Moreover his "work was in the mainstream of the behavioral revolution even before it got underway".[149] Given these multiple contributions to the discipline, Walton lamented that Bunche was omitted from the books on the discipline's history and is not viewed as one of the preeminent political scientists.[150] A part of Walton's work to formally establish the black politics field was "to

establish Bunche's significance as the pioneer and chief architect of African American politics or Negro politics as it was called in his era".[151]

One reason Bunche is omitted in the standard histories of the discipline Walton avers is because he rejected its emphasis on a disengaged study of politics in favor of joining science with activism and problem-solving research.[152] But he suggests that if one examines the totality of Bunche's research, one can discern significant contributions to the scientific study of politics his activism notwithstanding. Walton divides Bunche's contributions into multiple areas: (1) African American politics, (2) southern politics, (3) political parties, (4) African Politics and (5) international organizations and world politics.[153] In two of these areas—African American and southern politics—Bunche was pioneering, providing a "groundwork and foundation for the black politics field but also for V.O. Key's classic study of the subject".[154]

Bunche's contributions to multiple fields in political science, however, in Walton's view should not be the sole basis for reevaluating his status in the discipline. Rather, his activism and problem-solving work "to reorient political scientists toward a real world approach that combined theory and practice" is also an important part of his legacy as a great political scientist.[155]

Political Behaviorism

Some scholars regard Hanes Walton's *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior* as a classic. The book is a stunning, relentless critique of the behavioral approach in the study of black politics. Yet Walton was a trained behaviorist, taught the concept and methods by Robert Brisbane at Morehouse, Samuel Cook at Atlanta and Harold Gosnell at Howard. By the time Walton entered graduate school the once-controversial behavioral approach was dominant in the discipline. As Robert Dahl wrote in his famous article "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to a Successful Protest" by the early 1960s it was orthodoxy in the discipline, understood as "an attempt to improve our understanding of politics by seeking to explain the empirical aspects of political life by means of methods, theories and criteria of proof that are acceptable according to the canons, conventions and assumptions of modern empirical science".[156] Understood in this way as simply the use of the scientific method, even radical critics of the discipline from black perspectives such as political scientist Mack Jones embraced behaviorism.[157] Thus, Walton's

critique of behaviorism was not of the approach itself but rather of its misuse by white political scientists studying the black political experience.

Walton's concerns about the limitations and misuse of behaviorism in the study of black politics may be traced to his Atlanta University mentor, Samuel Cook. In his foreword to Walton's book on Martin Luther King, Jr., Cook anticipates many of the concerns raised by Walton in *Invisible Politics*. Cook wrote that the "empiricism and realism" of the "behavioral school were not realistic or empirical enough" when it came to the study of blacks and the political system.[158] This is because, as Walton would subsequently contend, the behaviorists ignored "the brute and embarrassing realities of the black experience".[159] Further, as Walton would argue "Unless political science takes seriously the defects of the political system", it was in effect doing little more than providing "scientific sanctification and perpetuation of the political system".[160] Cook concluded with a passage that is the basic premise of Walton's study: "The problem is, therefore, fundamental. For often the very categories and presuppositions of political science are psychologically, institutionally and methodologically rigged-so clearly that the uncomfortable realities of the black experience are invisible, insignificant or nonexistent."[161] In a nutshell, this is a description of the critique in *Invisible Politics*.

In the preface to the book, "My Personal Journey to the Behavioral Approach in Black Politics", Walton acknowledges the influence of the "brilliant" Cook on his appreciation of the limits of the behavioral approach in the study of black politics, as well as the "instruction and guidance" of Gosnell at Howard where they discussed "the weaknesses in the methodologies and findings of the behavioral literature on black politics".[162]

Invisible Politics as William Nelson, an Ohio State University political scientist and black studies professor, wrote was a "highly ambitious undertaking" that Walton "pulled off with remarkable skill".[163] Based on a near decade of intensive reading in the literature, the book is encyclopedic in its coverage of the extant literature in all major subfields—political culture, voting behavior, institutions and international relations, with suggestions for how the research might be reformulated to make the invisible visible.

The book is the most influential of the 22 he published. It was the inaugural work in the SUNY African American Studies series, which this writer co-edited. The SUNY series was the first university-based African American Studies series, since Walton's 1985 book, more than 40 titles have been published. Walton's book remains the best-selling volume in the series, having sold nearly 4000 copies (the typical book in the series

sells less than 500), and even 30 years after publication it still sells a few copies a year. Widely reviewed and cited, it was adopted as a text in both political science and Black Studies courses. In 2005 NCOBPS held a special plenary at its annual meeting commemorating the twentieth anniversary of the book's publication.

Invisible Politics is enormously rich in data; a requisite if Walton was to sustain his critique of behaviorism's over-reliance on the sample survey. Among the data collected for the book was, alas, a national survey of the black electorate conducted in collaboration with the Joint Center for Political Studies, the Washington-based African American think tank, in 1972–1974. This survey was the precursor by a decade to the more sophisticated surveys of the black electorate in the National Black Election Study (NBES) conducted in the 1980s at the University of Michigan.[164] There is also a wealth of aggregate data on black voting behavior, historical analysis, case studies and interviews. These multiple sources of data are important for Walton's project for he wishes to make the case that methodologies other than the survey should be used to develop a complete, multidimensional portrait of black political behavior.

In addition to its insistence that survey data should not be the sole tool of research, Walton offers an uncompromising critique of the misuse—even unprofessional use—of the methodology by the discipline. The first problem is the generally inadequate samples of blacks in most of the studies. These inadequate samples

> created a vast behavioral literature, yielding complex interpretations and generalizations about black political behavior, based on extremely small samples of the black population. These samples never reached the magnitude of the samples on which theories about white political behavior are based. … Knowledge of black political behavior rests on some of the most tenuous empirical evidence possible. But nowhere in the literature will one find discussion of this almost scandalous practice, which is below the standard accepted by the profession.[165]

This methodological default in the studies contributes to the invisibility of black political behavior.

A second methodological limitation is the tendency of researchers to use simple demographic variables in comparing black and white political behavior. Walton writes:

> Behaviorally oriented researchers, in setting up experimental and control groups mandated by the scientific method, invariably developed black and white samples that were equal on demographic variables. Each sample has similar educational, economic, age, regional, housing and social status levels. This pairing of demographic realities leads one to assume that the two groups are equal politically and socially. … Similar demographics do not make groups equal. The politics of race which expresses itself in poll taxes, white primaries, racial gerrymandering, racial poverty, and numerous discriminatory institutional arrangements does not permit both groups to have equal access, resources participation, representation, and finally rewards. In fact, the politics of race (systemic variables) are the determinants accounting for differences and must be included with the individual ones.[166]

The foregoing methodological critiques lead to the major theoretical or conceptual critique of behaviorism—its unequivocal focus on the individual as the unit of analysis. This focus on the individual, Walton argues, renders black politics invisible for two reasons. First, it ignores or downplays what he calls "systemic", "structural", "contextual" or "institutional" variables that may shape political behavior, while emphasizing individualistic–psychological variables.[167] Second, Walton argues that the individualism of behaviorism in the literature tends to "blame the victim" for the observed political behavior. "A focus on the individual", he writes, "leads inevitably and logically to the weakness of the individual and imperfections inherent in man and away from the imperfections and weaknesses of the political system".[168]

To sum up the major tenets of the book: (1) a critique of the overreliance on and unprofessional use of the survey in studying black politics; (2) a critique of behaviorism's emphasis on the individual as the basic unit of analysis; (3) a call for multidimensional methodologies, aggregate data, interviews, case studies and historical and institutional analyses in addition to surveys; (4) a call to bring the political system back into the research, including analysis of structural, institutional and contextual variables; and (5) a rudimentary effort to apply these multidimensional conceptual and methodological approaches in his review of the literature in the various areas of study, that is, political culture, voting behavior, public opinion and so on.

Reviews of the book were mixed, frequently on the basis of whether the reviewer was a political scientist. Historian David Garrow wrote, "The repeated critique of political behaviorism's shortcomings is, unfortunately, the sole unifying theme of this book. … Regrettably, Walton chooses to reiterate this simple, valid point chapter after chapter rather than moving

on to focus his book on any of the other important themes more deserving of emphasis."[169] Describing the book as useful only to specialists in the field, Garrow concluded it was a "major disappointment for scholars who have found much of value in Professor Walton's earlier works".[170] The historian John Kirby recognized the book's contribution in focusing on the historical, structural and contextual factors that shape black political behavior, but like Garrow found the book "often tedious, frequently confusing … and the sometimes repetitious methodological debates that inform this work of value only to political scientists".[171] Meanwhile, the political scientist Renando Holland wrote that Walton was "probably the country's most prolific writer in the area of black politics … [and this] informative and important book should further enhance his reputation".[172] And political scientist Daniel Brantley wrote that Walton was "perhaps the major scholar in the emerging field of black politics … [and] the book was the most authoritative statement on the current status of this relatively new field within the American political science discipline".[173]

Invisible Politics was written for specialists in political science scholarship on race; it *was* tedious and repetitious and it *was* jargon-laden. It was also marked by poor copy editing, which was due to the wrong copy of the edited manuscript being transmitted to the publisher. However, these are minor weaknesses. The major shortcoming of the book was the under-specification of the major variables—systemic, structural and contextual—used to criticize the extant literature and suggest more appropriate lines of research. These key variables were never rigorously defined and given operational content. For example, the systemic variable was defined as "governmental factors such as laws and public policies", the structural as "institutional arrangements such as legislative procedures, elections and election systems" and the contextual as "local environmental factors, populations, the KKK, bosses and machines".[174] These are mere illustrative examples of under-defined, under-specified concepts, which offer little guidance to the researcher in terms of their operationalization in research whether the methodology used is sample surveys or some other methods.[175]

How does the work look a quarter century after its publication? What has been its impact? First, as William Nelson wrote, this was an ambitious undertaking to critique and reformulate the research in the entire field of black politics. Its shortcomings notwithstanding; *Invisible Politics* is a landmark in the modern study of black politics. Second, it was widely read by black graduate students in political science at the time of its publication and likely had some impact on the work of this cohort of political scientists. Third, since its publication sample sizes of blacks are more frequently

adequate to the task, allowing more statistical confidence in statements about black political behavior. Fourth, research after the publication of the book became more attentive to the influence of systemic, structural and contextual variables in explaining the attitudes and behavior of African Americans.

In her assessment of the book Paula McClain wrote that she was "struck by how much of the criticisms Hanes made are things we now take for granted".[176] And of his critique of behaviorism and mainstream political science, she wrote, "Hanes was pushing a perspective that was like Sisyphus pushing a rock up the hill. But unlike Sisyphus, Hanes got the rock to the top and changed how research in black politics and now REP [Race and Ethnic Politics] is done".[177] For the black politics field *Invisible Politics* might also be seen as an epitaph for a monument to a successful protest.

Notes

1. E.E Schattschneider, *Party Government* (New York: Holt Rinehart and Winston, 1972).
2. Hanes Walton, Jr. "The Negro in Progressive Party Movements" *The Quarterly Review of Education Among Negros* 36(1958): 17–26.
3. Hanes Walton, Jr. "Ronald Walters as a Political Empowerment Theorist: The Concept of Leverage Strategies" in Robert C. Smith, Cedric Johnson and Robert Newby (eds.) *What Has This Got to Do With the Liberation of Black People?: The Impact of Ronald W. Walters on African American Thought and Leadership* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014). In this chapter Walton traces Walters' theory of "independent leverage" or the black vote as a potential balance of power in presidential elections to the pioneering work of W. E. B. DuBois, Ralph Bunche and Henry Lee Moon. He concludes that Walter's work was largely ignored except in the African American community, but he writes "Walters became a matchless theorist, and his ideas will continue to cast a positive intellectual shadow on the nation's democratic order and political system. His influence is formidable. It offers new dimensions to political party analysis, voting behavior, and racial politics in making a mature democratic system such as America truly democratic. It is a new look at democratic theory itself. Thus the discipline in ignoring Walters' theorizing, delays its own growth and progress as a democracy" (p. 282).
4. Leon Epstein "The Scholarly Commitment to Parties" in Ada Finifter (ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (Washington, DC: American Political Science Association, 1983). See also Max Weber "Class, Status and Party" in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (ed.), *From Max Weber* (New York: Oxford, 1946).

5. John Bibby "In Defense of the Two Party System" in Paul Herrnson and John Green (eds.) *Multiparty Politics in America* (Lanham, MD: Rowman& Littlefield, 1997).
6. Quoted in Robert C. Smith and Richard Seltzer "The Deck and the Sea: The African American Vote in the Elections of 2000 and 2004" *National Political Science Review* 11(2007): 203–69.
7. Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Republicans: The Politics of the Black and Tan* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1975): 164.
8. Hanes Walton, Jr., *The Negro in Third Party Politics* (Philadelphia: Dorrance Press, 1969): 21.
9. Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Political Parties: A Historical and Political Analysis* (New York: The Free Press, 1971): 135.
10. Walton, *The Negro in Third Party Politics*, p. 80.
11. Ibid.
12. Walton, *Black Political Parties*, p. 36.
13. Walton, *The Negro in Third Party Politics*, p. 37.
14. Walton, *Black Political Parties*, pp. 59–63.
15. Ibid., p. 189.
16. Ibid., p. 190.
17. Amiri Baraka "Toward the Creation of Political Institutions for All African Peoples" *Black World* 21(1972): 62–63, Ronald Walters "Strategy for 1976: A Black Political Party" *Black Scholar* 7(1975): 14–25. On Jackson's call for the establishment of a black party, see Robert C. Smith, *We Have No Leaders: African Americans in the Post Civil Rights Era* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1996): 48.
18. Walton, *Black Political Parties*, p. 190.
19. Ibid., p. 204.
20. Ibid., p. 198.
21. Samuel Eldersveld and Hanes Walton, Jr, *Political Parties in American Society* (New York: Bedford/St. Martin's, 2000): xii, 254.
22. Ibid., p. 370.
23. Ibid.
24. Ibid., p. 380.
25. Ibid.
26. Ibid.
27. Ibid., p. 382.
28. Ibid.
29. Ibid., pp. 383–84.
30. V. O. Key, *Southern Politics in State and Nation* (New York: Knopf, 1949): 37–41.
31. Michael Lewis-Beck and Tom Rice "Localism in Presidential Elections: The Home State Advantage" *American Journal of Political Science* 27(1983): 548–56.

32. Robert Brown "Introduction" Hanes Walton, Jr., *Reelection: William Jefferson Clinton as a Native Son Presidential Candidate* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2000): xxi.
33. Jerome Clubb, Nancy Flanagan and Nancy Zingale (eds.), *Analyzing Electoral History: A Guide to the Study of American Voting Behavior* (Beverly Hills: Sage Publications, 1984): 15.
34. Walter Dean Burnham "Printed Sources" in Ibid., p. 58.
35. Nick Kotz, *Judgment Days: Lyndon Baines Johnson, Martin Luther King, Jr and the Laws That Changed America* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 2005): 128.
36. Ibid.
37. Randall Woods, *LBJ: Architect of American Ambition* (New York: Free Press, 2006): 480.
38. Hanes Walton, Jr., et al. "The Red and Blue State Divide in Black and White: The Historic 2008 Election of Barack Obama" *Black Scholar* 38(2008): 19–30 and Walton et al. "Dead Certain: The Election of Barack Obama and Its Implications for Racial Politics" in Charles Henry, Robert Chrisman and Robert Allen (eds.) *The Obama Phenomenon: Toward A Multiracial Democracy* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2011).
39. Robert C. Smith, *John F. Kennedy, Barack Obama and the Politics of Ethnic Incorporation and Avoidance* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2013) and Fredrick Harris, *The Price of the Ticket: Barack Obama and the Rise and Decline of Black Politics* (New York; Columbia University Press, 2012).
40. Glenn Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997).
41. David Garrow, *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr. and the Voting Rights Act (*New *Haven*: Yale, 1978).
42. James Ralph, *Northern Protest: Martin Luther King, Jr., Chicago and the Civil Rights Movement* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1993).
43. Hanes Walton, Jr., *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 1971): 49.
44. Ibid., p. 77.
45. Ibid., pp. 40–41.
46. Other inquiries into the philosophical basis of King's work include Richard Lischer, *The Preacher King: Martin Luther King, Jr and the Word That Moved America* (New York: Oxford, 1995) and Kenneth Smith and Ira Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community: The Thinking of Martin Luther King, Jr.* (Valley Forge, PA: Judson Press, 1994).
47. Samuel DuBois Cook, "Foreword", Walton, *The Political Philosophy of Martin Luther King, Jr.*, p. xxxviiii.
48. Walton, *The Political Philosophy*, pp. 79, 81, 96, 98.

49. Ibid., p. 45.
50. Ibid., p. 48.
51. Smith and Zepp, *Search for the Beloved Community.*
52. Lischer, *The Preacher King.*
53. Ibid., p. 232.
54. Ibid.
55. Ibid.
56. Walton, *The Political Philosophy*…, p. 99.
57. Ibid., p. 96.
58. Ibid., p. 109.
59. Ibid., p. 105.
60. Ibid., p. 98.
61. Charles and Barbara Whalen, *The Longest Debate: A Legislative History of the 1964 Civil Rights Act* (Cabin John, MD: Seven Locks Press, 1985), Robert Loevy, *The Civil Rights Act of 1964: The Passage of the Law That Ended Segregation* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997) and Hugh Davis Graham, *The Civil Rights Era: Origins and Development of National Policy* (New York: Oxford, 1990).
62. Hanes Walton, Jr., *When the Marching Stopped: The Politics of Civil Rights Regulatory Agencies* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1988): Chap. 2 "The Institutionalization of the Civil Rights Revolution".
63. Ibid., p. 81.
64. Ibid., p. 119.
65. Ibid., p. 121.
66. In the Reagan administration African Americans were recruited and made a part of the anti-civil rights coalition. Those recruited included Clarence Pendleton appointed chair of the Civil Rights Commission, Clarence Thomas, chair of EEOC and subsequently a justice of the Supreme Court, and the economists Thomas Sowell and Walter Williams. Once recruited Walton writes, "They were given funds, access to leading white conservative magazines, publishers and television and radio shows to promote their philosophies. Suddenly, they were everywhere. Overnight, they were challenging the black civil rights leaders … present[ing] a unified frontal assault on the efforts to effectively enforce civil rights laws." Ibid., pp. 72–73.
67. Ibid., p. 178.
68. Ibid., p. 187.
69. Ibid., p. 179.
70. Ibid.
71. Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (New York: Longman): 254.
72. Hanes Walton, Jr. et al. "An Examination of the Civil Rights Regulatory Agenda of the Bush Administration" *Urban League Review* 14(1990): 1.

73. Walton and Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom*, p. 253.
74. Ibid., p. 254.
75. The Obama administration increased the budget and staffing of civil rights enforcement agencies; in its first year the budget was increased by 18 percent. The Justice Department also in 2009 issued a memorandum to all federal agencies "urging more aggressive enforcement of regulations that forbid recipients of taxpayer money from policies that have a disparate impact on minorities". See Hanes Walton Jr., Robert C. Smith and Sherri Wallace, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* , 8th edition (New York: Routledge, 2017):287. See also Charlie Savage "Justice Department to Recharge Enforcement of Civil Rights", *New York Times*, September 1, 2009.
76. Joleen Kirschenman and Kathryn Neckerman "We'd Love to Hire Them But … The Meaning of Race for Employers" in Christopher Jencks and Paul Peterson (eds.) *The Urban Underclass* (Washington: The Urban Institute, 1991), Marianne Bertrand and Sendhil Mullainathan "Are Brendan and Emily More Employable Than Jamal and Lakisha: A Field Experiment on Labor Market Discrimination" *American Economic Review* 94(2004): 991–1013, S. Michael Gaddis "Discrimination in the Credential Society: An Audit Study of Race and College Selectivity in the Job Market" *Social Forces* 93(2015): 445–79 and Devah Pager "The Sociology of Discrimination in Employment, Credit and Consumer Markets" *Annual Review of Sociology* 34(2008): 181–209.
77. Paula McClain suggests that Walton's use of the analysis of documents as a methodology may be a result of his taking courses at Howard with Merze Tate, the distinguished diplomatic historian who made extensive use of document analysis in her research. See McClain "From Ralph Johnson Bunche to Hanes Walton, Jr.", Hanes Walton Memorial Lecture, University of Michigan, Center for Political Studies, November 12, 2015 (For a video of the lecture see http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=). The seminal work using the correspondence of African American diplomats is James Padgett "Ministers to Liberia and Their Diplomacy" *Journal of Negro History* 22(1957): 50–92 and Padgett "Diplomats to Haiti and Their Correspondence" *Journal of Negro History* 25(1940): 265–30. On Tate, the first African American woman to earn a Ph.D. in political science, see Barbara Savage "Professor Merze Tate: Diplomatic Historian, Cosmopolitan", paper prepared for presentation at the National Museum of African American History, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC, May 21, 2016. Walton's earliest use of diplomatic correspondence is Walton et al. "Henry Highland Garnett Revisited via His Diplomatic Correspondence" *Journal of Negro History* 53(1983): 80–92.

78. Hanes Walton, Jr. *Black Women at the United Nations: A Theoretical Model and the Documents* (San Bernardino, CA: The Borgo Press, 1995): 43.
79. The most famous case of protest by a black UN delegate occurred during the Nixon administration when Michigan Congressman Charles Diggs resigned to protest a US vote supporting apartheid in South Africa.
80. Ibid.
81. Ibid., p. 44.
82. Ibid., p. 41.
83. Ibid.
84. Ibid.
85. Quoted in Gary Kremer, *J. Milton Turner and the Promise of America: The Public Life of a Post-Civil War Black Leader* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1991): 53.
86. See Walton et al. "Henry Highland Garnett Revisited Via His Diplomatic Correspondence".
87. Hanes Walton, Jr., James Rosser and Robert Louis Stevenson, *Liberian Politics: The Portrait by African Diplomat J. Milton Turner* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2002): 5.
88. Ibid.
89. William Moses, *Alexander Crummell: A Study and Civilization and Discontent* (New York: Oxford, 1969).
90. For a novel account of slavery in Liberia see the story by the African American journalist George Schuyler, *Slaves Today: A Story of Liberia* (Baltimore, MD: McGrath, 1931).
91. Walton, Rosser and Stevenson, *Liberian Politics*, p. 22.
92. Ibid.
93. Ibid., p. 62.
94. Ibid., p. 358.
95. Elliott Skinner, *African Americans and U.S. Foreign Policy toward Africa, 1850–1924* (Washington: Howard University Press, 1992): 319.
96. Hanes Walton, Jr., James Rosser and Robert Louis Stevenson, *The African Foreign Policy of Secretary of State Henry Kissinger: A Documentary Analysis* (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2007).
97. Ibid., p. 267.
98. Ibid., p. 5.
99. Thomas Borstelmann, *Apartheid's Reluctant Uncle: The United States and Southern Africa in the Early Cold War* (New York: Oxford, 1993).
100. Walton, Rosser and Stevenson, *The Africa Policy of Secretary of State…*
101. Ibid., p. 81.
102. Ibid., p. 290.
103. Examples of such readers include Harry Bailey, Jr. *Negro Politics in America* (Columbus, Ohio: Charles E. Merrill, 1967), David Greenberg,

Neal Milner and David Olson (eds.) *Black Politics: The Inevitability of Conflict (*New York: Holt , Rinehart and Winston, 1971), Stephen Herzog (ed.) *Minority Group Politics* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1971) and Lenneal Henderson (ed.) *Black Political Life in the United States* (San Francisco: Chandler Publishing, 1972). For Walton's analysis of the black politics readers, see Walton, Leslie McLemore and C. Vernon Gray "Black Politics: View from the Readers" *American Politics Quarterly* 12(1973):139–44.

104. Hanes Walton, Jr., *Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott, 1972): xxi.
105. Ibid., p. 82.
106. Ibid.
107. Frederick Wirt, "Review of Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis", *Journal of Negro Education* 50(1973): 99.
108. Ronald Walters, "Review of Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis", *Black Books Bulletin,* March, 1974, pp. 69–70.
109. Ronald Walters, "Review of Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis", *Journal of Negro Education* 43(1974): 528–30.
110. See the reviews by Harry Holloway, *Journal of Politics* 35(1973): 234–36, Carolyn Sue Williams, *American Political Science Review* 70(1976): 1317–18 and C. Vernon Gray, *Publius 4(1974)*: 137–38.
111. Nancy Weiss, "Review of Black Politics: A Theoretical and Structural Analysis" *Journal of American History* 59(1972): 778–79.
112. Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith, *American Politics and the African American Quest for Universal Freedom* (New York: Longman, 2000): xvii.
113. Ibid.
114. Herbert Aptheker (ed.) *A Documentary History of the Negro People in the United States, Vol. 1* (New York: Citadel Press, 1967): 1.
115. Hanes Walton, Jr. "Crossover Voting Behavior: African American Senate Elections", ND (PFA).
116. Hanes Walton, Jr. "The Recent Literature of Black Politics", *PS: Political Science & Politics* 18(1985): 769–80; "The Current Literature of Black Politics" *National Political Science Review* 2(1988): 152–68; "The Pioneering Books on Black Politics and the Political Science Community 1903–1965", *National Political Science Review* 2(1989): 196–208 and "The Literature of African American Politics: The Decade of the Nineties" *Politics & Policy*, December, 2011, pp. 753–82.
117. Hanes Walton' Jr., *The Study and Analysis of Black Politics: A Bibliography* (Metuchen, NJ: Scarecrow Press, 1973): xv.
118. Walton, "The Recent Literature of Black Politics", p. 769.
119. Walton, *The Study and Analysis of Black Politics*, p. xiii.

120. Walton, "The Recent Literature of Black Politics", p. 767.
121. Ibid.
122. Ibid., p. 770.
123. Ibid.
124. Ibid., p. 769.
125. Ibid.
126. Walton, "The Current Literature of Black Politics", p. 152.
127. Ibid., pp. 153–54.
128. The volume referred to is Franklin Jones et al., *Readings in American Political Issues* (Dubuque, Iowa: Kendall/Hunt, 1987).
129. Walton, "The Pioneering Books on Black Politics", p. 196.
130. The books referred to are Harold Gosnell, *Negro Politicians: The Rise of Negro Politics in Chicago* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1935, 1967) and James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership* (New York: The Free Press, 1960).
131. For Walton's extended critique of Wilson's work in relationship to Gosnell's see "The Problem of Preconceived Perceptions in Black Urban Politics" *National Political Science Review* 3(1992): 217–29.
132. Walton, The Literature on African American Politics: The Decade of the Nineties".
133. Hanes Walton, Jr., Joseph McCormick and Cheryl Miller, "Race and Political Science: The Dual Traditions of Race Relations Politics and African American Politics" in James Farr, John Dryzek and Stephen Leonard (eds.) *Political Science in History: Research Programs and Political Traditions* (New York: Cambridge Press, 1995). For a history of the discipline that reaches similar conclusions to Walton and his colleagues, see Rogers Smith "The Puzzling Place of Race in Political Science" *PS: Politics and Political Science* 37(2000): 41–45. See also Donald Matthews "Political Science Research on Race Relations" in Irwin Katz and Patricia Gurin (eds.) *Race and the Social Sciences* (New York: Basic Books, 1969).
134. Walton, "The Problem of Preconceived Perceptions in Black Urban Politics", p. 208.
135. Walton, McCormick and Miller "Race and Political Science", p. 158.
136. Ibid., p. 150.
137. Ibid.
138. At the 1991 NCOBPS conference this writer organized two panels assessing the extent to which Walton's work reflected a black perspective. See Robert C. Smith, "The 'Black' Politics of Hanes Walton, Jr.". Paper prepared for presentation at the 1991 annual meeting of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, March 13–17, Jackson, Mississippi. See also the papers presented by David Covin "The 'Black' Politics of Hanes Walton, Jr." and Joseph McCormick "Hanes Walton, Jr.: "Is There Anything There That's Black, and If So What".

139. Hanes Walton, Jr. "The Political Science Educational Philosophy of Ralph Bunche" *Journal of Negro Education* 73(2004): 152.
140. Walton, McCormick and Miller, "Race and Political Science", pp. 166–67.
141. Hanes Walton, Jr " Foreword", Jeffrey Elliot(ed.) *Black Voices in American Politics* (New York: Harcourt, Brace and Jovanovich, 1986): xi.
142. Hanes Walton, Jr. and Joseph McCormick "The Study of African American Politics as Social Danger: Clues from the Disciplinary Journals" *National Political Science Review* 6(1997): 230.
143. Ibid.
144. Ibid., p. 241.
145. Ibid.
146. Ibid.
147. See Paula McClain et al. "Race, Power and Knowledge: Tracing the Roots of Exclusion in the Development of Political Science in the United States" *Politics, Groups and Identities* 4(2006): 467–82, Harwood McClerking and Ray Block "Say Our Name (and say it right): Expanding Walton et al. On the Evolution of Race in Political Science" *Research and Politics*, April, 2006, pp. 1–8 and McClerking and Tasha Philpot "Struggling to Be Noticed: The Civil Rights Movement as an Academic Agenda Setter" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 26(1985): 813–17.
148. Walton, "The Political Science Educational Philosophy of Ralph Bunche", p. 156.
149. Ibid.
150. Ibid.
151. Hanes Walton, Jr., "Ralph Bunche Minus African American Politics, review of Benjamin Rivlin (ed.) Ralph Bunche and His Times" *National Political Science Review* 4(1994): 320.
152. Hanes Walton, Jr. and Robert C. Smith "The Race Variable and the American Political Science Association's State of the Discipline Reports and Books, 1907–2002". in Wilbur Rich (ed.) *African American Perspectives on Political Science* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007).
153. Walton "The Political Science Educational Philosophy of Ralph Bunche", p. 151.
154. Ibid.
155. Ibid.
156. Robert Dahl "The Behavioral Approach in Political Science: Epitaph for a Monument to A Successful Protest" *American Political Science Review* 55(1961): 767.
157. Mack Jones "Scientific Method, Value Judgment and the Black Predicament in the U. S." *Review of Black Political Economy* 7(1976): 9–23, reprinted in Jones *Knowledge, Power and Black Politic* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014).
158. Cook, "Foreword", p. xxxv.

159. Ibid., p. xv.
160. Ibid., p. xviii.
161. Ibid.
162. Hanes Walton, Jr., *Invisible Politics: Black Political Behavior* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1985): xix.
163. William Nelson, "Reader's Report, Invisible Politics, State University of New York Press, ND (PFA).
164. The National Black Election Study (NBES) is a landmark in the study of black political behavior. It was the largest national survey specifically designed to study the attitudes and behavior of African Americans. The survey was conducted in 1884 and 1988 by the Program for Research on Black Americans at the University of Michigan's Institute for Social Research. Dozens of scholarly papers and articles and three books by African American scholars were published based on the NBES, which made important contributions to an empirically sound understanding of black political behavior. Walton was a member of the advisory board for the design and conduct of the survey. The three books based on the NBES are Patricia Gurin, Shirley Hatchett and James Jackson, *Hope and Independence: Blacks' Response to Electoral Politics* (New York: Russell Sage, 1989), Michael Dawson, *Behind the Mule: Race and Class in African American Politics* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995) and Katherine Tate, *From Protest to Politics: The New Black Voter in American Elections* (Cambridge: Harvard, 1994).
165. Walton, *Invisible Politics*, p. 12.
166. Ibid., pp. 12–13.
167. Ibid., p. 3.
168. Ibid.
169. David Garrow, "Review of Invisible Politics", *South Atlantic Quarterly* 3(1986): 85.
170. Ibid.
171. John Kirby, "Review of Invisible Politics", *Georgia Historical Quarterly* 60(1986): 174.
172. Renando Holland "Review of Invisible Politics", *Journal of Politics* 48(1985): 487.
173. Daniel Brantley "Review of Invisible Politics", *Phylon* 48(187): 99.
174. Walton, *Invisible Politics*, pp. 18–19.
175. In subsequent books *Black Politics: A Linkage Analysis* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1994) and *African American Power and Politics: The Political Context Variable*—especially the latter—Walton made some progress in the specification of the context variable and developing testable propositions. But overall this remains a major shortcoming of the book.
176. McClain, "From Ralph Johnson Bunche to Hanes Walton, Jr".
177. Ibid.

CHAPTER 3

Black Science

Abstract This chapter presents a history of the development and institutionalization of black politics in the political science discipline, focusing on the pivotal role of Walton's writings in helping to define the parameters of the field, the organizing of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists, and Walton's lobbying of the American Political Science Association, which resulted in the establishment of black politics as a subfield in the discipline in 1989.

Keywords Black science • Black perspective • Racism in political science • Race relations research tradition • African American politics research • Tradition

In the 1960s African Americans debated the aspirational notion of Black Power. It was a concept that generated a variety of interpretations, but among political scientists there was an agreement that black power was a call for cultural revitalization and autonomous organization in a drive to acquire more political and economic power for Black Americans.[1] It was a controversial term as was the idea of Black Science. Brown University's political scientist Katherine Tate discussed how three black scholars, political scientists Ronald Walters and Linda Williams and the legal scholar Derrick Bell, use the concept black science.[2] Black science work, she writes, is "often more sharply critical of American political institutions and

R. C. Smith, *Hanes Walton, Jr.: Architect of the Black Science of Politics*, https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-319-75571-7_3

American society than mainstream work. As a type of subfield, it competes with the values rooted in the white nationalism that generally dominates mainstream work."[3] Tate's notion of black science is akin to the idea of a black perspective advanced by early black studies scholars such as Ronald Walters[4] and to the concept of "liberation" scholarship advanced by political scientist Mack Jones. This idea is controversial between black and white scholars and among black scholars who argue that science—even the social sciences—knows no color or purpose other than the intersubjective, non-normative universal pursuit of knowledge.

Jones, also an architect of black science in black politics, is the earliest, most prolific and determined advocate of a black science narrative in the black politics field. In 1969 Jewel Prestage, chair of the political science department at Southern University, working through Samuel Cook, then a program officer at the Ford Foundation, secured funding for a conference at Southern University to assess the status of blacks in the profession and the political science curriculum at historically black colleges and universities.[5]

Held on April 17–20, 1969, 35 black political scientists, including Walton and Jones, along with several representatives of the American Political Science Association (APSA) attended the conference at Southern University at Baton Rouge, Louisiana. According to the report of the conference proceedings, much of the discussion at the conference's opening session revolved around Jones' argument that research in black politics and the curriculum of black colleges should contribute to the "black liberation struggle" by promoting "disenchantment" among students to the existing racial order.[6] Reactions to Jones' suggestion were "mixed". While Jones' thesis about "liberation scholarship" was supported by some conferees, others objected or were ambivalent. Some argued that black colleges, contrary to Jones views, should explain and support the American political system.[7] Others argued that except when the research was related to blacks and politics, there was no reason to assume any common frame of reference such as a black perspective, while still others called for a clear distinction between facts and ideology in the research process.[8] At the end of the conference there was a general agreement among conferees that political science as a profession or discipline had "failed to adequately illuminate those aspects of politics that are of most interest to outgroups … no consensus on the role of political science departments in Black liberation struggle was evident … the obvious conclusion [was] that Black political scientists are not in full agreement on the content of a common frame of reference".[9]

Although there was no general consensus on the issues among attendees at this conference, the meeting served an important purpose. In retrospect, given the composition of audience, it was unlikely there would be consensus on these epistemological and theoretical issues; but it was at this meeting that the idea of black science first takes roots. The conference report does not indicate Walton's position, but Mack Jones went on to write several influential papers that helped to establish epistemological and theoretical foundations of black science in the black politics field,[10] that Walton embraced in his concept of the African American politics tradition.

As we have seen, Walton in his papers on the study of race in political science indicated that it was events in the 1960s; and an increase in the number of black political scientists during this period that led to an end to the discipline's racism and indifference to the study of black politics. The triumph of the Civil Rights Movement made avowed white supremacism and racism unacceptable; and the black power movement, the ghetto rebellions and the anti-Vietnam War movement "aroused rebellions in the discipline [and] … and challenges to the profession about the relevance of political science to modern problems of war, peace and civil rights".[11]

In addition, in the late 1960s the number of blacks enrolled in college grew rapidly, increasing from 3 percent in 1964 to more than 10 percent by 1976.[12] To put these percentages in numbers, in 1960 an estimated 200,000 blacks were enrolled, with about 35 percent attending predominantly white institutions. By 1970 that number had doubled to more than 500,000, with two-thirds attending predominantly white institutions.[13] This for the first time in the history of higher education in the USA created a small but critical mass of black students on campuses of predominantly white universities. Not only were their numbers relatively large but this cohort of black students were probably the most ideologically sophisticated and politically engaged group of students in the history of the American University. As Rogers puts it "no generation of students read more political literature than these campus activists".[14] These activist students immediately began to launch protests for black studies and the recruitment of more black students and professors. Many were graduate students in political science and the other social sciences who went on to become professors.

In 1969 there were approximately 80 blacks with the Ph.D. in political science.[15] Within a decade that number increased substantially as a result of, among other things, affirmative action.[16] It was the interplay of these

external and internal factors that gave rise to the attempt to insert black perspectives or black science into political science and to establish black politics as a field. Walton writes, "The impact of the times was profound" because young neophyte scholars

> had to conceptualize and structure a methodology for an area that many hoped would become the cutting edge of a rejuvenated civil rights movement. … They all knew that the very discipline of which they were a part of had not escaped the racism and oppression of this society. These explain the interplay of facts and ideas in the new field, and the more we know about these realities, the better we will grasp the sociology of knowledge and the academic and intellectual processes marking the rise of a new field.[17]

The Southern University conferees resolved that they did not consider their gathering as the nucleus of a new organization, but rather to have "an opportunity to determine what problems they might have in common with other political scientists and transmit their findings to the A. P. S. A.".[18] However, the Southern meeting and some of its participants were the nucleus for the creation of a new organization—the National Conference of Black Political Scientists (NCOBPS) and the institutionalization of black science in the black politics field.

In 1969 the APSA had established the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession, a multiracial group committed to recruiting black graduate students, enhancing the political science curriculum at black colleges, hiring black faculty at predominantly white universities and to an overall increase in black participation in the affairs of the Association.[19] At the fall annual meeting of the APSA, many of the Southern University conferees led by Jones and including Walton and Prestage convened the Conference of Black Political Scientists. They argued that the aims of the Southern meeting could not be met through the Committee on the Status of Blacks. Instead, Jones argued that an autonomous organization was needed to pursue research and teaching from a black perspective.[20]

This conference at the 1969 APSA meeting formalized itself as NCOBPS and held its first meeting in Atlanta in 1971, where Jones was elected the first president and more than 100 black political science professors and graduate students were in attendance including Walton.

In 1993 the APSA published the second of its "State of the Discipline" volumes, reviewing the state of theory and research in the major fields of the discipline. It included the essay by Paula McClain and John Garcia

"Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries: Black, Latino and Racial Minority Group Politics". (The first volume published in 1983 did not include an article on black or minority politics because the author commissioned to write it failed to submit by the publication deadline.) The third volume included a chapter on race and ethnic politics by Michael Dawson and Cathy Cohen, which will be discussed in the concluding chapter.

The McCain and Garcia essay includes discrete sections by McCain covering black politics and Garcia on Latinos and other racial minorities. As an academic area within political science, McCain divides the field into four generations. It begins with William Nowlin's 1931 book *The Negro in American National Politics*, the first book by a black political scientist and includes Gosnell's work and the contributions of Bunche.[21] The second generation is the Negro leadership studies beginning with Burgess' *Negro Leadership in a Southern city* (1962) and ending with Ladd's 1966 study, *Negro Political Leadership*.[22] It is noteworthy that with the exception of Daniel Thompson's book, white political scientists wrote all of the black leadership studies.[23]

The third generations of black political scientists are the Hanes Walton cohort. Among the leading scholars of this generation, McClain mentions Jones, Walton and Matthew Holden, Jr.[24] Ronald Walters might also have been mentioned for his research and activism and leadership as first chair of Black Studies at Brandeis and as chair of political science at Howard, where he established the first black politics field in any department in the country. William "Nick" Nelson was also a leading scholar in this cohort. Nelson, the founding and long-serving chair of the Department of Black Studies at the Ohio State University, pioneered in the study of urban black politics.[25] Finally, one should mention Jewel Prestage, the long-serving chair of Southern University's political science department; she helped to develop the political science curriculum at many southern black colleges, organized the important Southern University conference, was a founding member and second president of NCOBPS, mentored scores of black political scientists and was a pioneering black feminist scholar and role model for black women political scientists.[26]

If one measures by McClain's citation count—an imperfect measure for sure—Walton is clearly the dominant figure in this generation. There are 12 Walton citations, almost double the count for the next persons (this writer and Lucius Barker) at seven.[27] McCain writes that Walton's generation "pushed, or some argue, pulled the fledging field of black politics into a new era … [and] gave rise to a new generation of research by

black political scientists".[28] The success of the Walton generation "in broadening the definition of the field of black politics and shifting the spotlight beyond the ability to vote, coupled with a series of political events, generated a fourth generation covering a broad spectrum of black political life".[29]

McCain's fourth generation is marked by research by black political scientists in multiple areas, relating the politics of race to urban politics, voting rights, Congress, the courts, the presidency and gender. While the research is extensive, McClain went back to the debate at the 1969 Southern University Conference that questioned, "What is really the locus and focus of black politics. [Are] having blacks as the population under study in any category of political research a sufficient condition to lead one to conclude that it qualifies as black politics"?[30] Moreover, "There is no dominant theoretical framework that delineates the field. … Based on a review of the extant literature in the fourth generation, it could be argued that the orientation of the individual researchers, rather than the questions under study determine the choice of theoretical frameworks."[31] This is lamentable, perhaps, but the same is the case for all of the fields and subfields of contemporary political science, as evidenced in the three states of the discipline volumes and the debate about whether there is or can be a "core" that unifies the discipline or even its major fields.[32]

It is not likely that Mack Jones or most of the founding members of NCOBPS cared if the APSA legitimatized black politics by establishing it as one of the discipline's fields of study. However, as we have seen, this was an abiding interest and concern of Walton. In his early publications he made the case for recognition of the field, informally lobbied colleagues in the APSA Washington office, members of the Executive Council and at the annual meetings. In 1989 this work paid off proximately as a direct result of Walton's lobbying.

On May 29, 1987, Walton wrote a letter to Thomas Mann, the executive director of the APSA Washington office, calling his attention to the fact that "[t]here is no subfield listing for black politics" in the Association's biographical directory.[33] Walton went on "I am not sure where NCOBPS or the Committee on the Status of Blacks stand on this matter or even if they have already contacted the Association about it, but personally I feel a change would greatly benefit an area that is poorly integrated into the discipline".[34] On June 5, 1987, Mann responded informing Walton that he was "bringing his letter before the committee that develops new subfield lists".[35] On June 18, 1987, Catherine Rudder, the Association's

associate director, wrote Walton informing him that the APSA Committee on Departmental Services had reviewed his letter and "agreed Black Politics should definitely be listed as a subfield. We will begin with our next publication of *Guide to Graduate Studies*. … This is one case where a letter made a difference."[36]

Black Politics was formally established as a subfield in the APSA's 1989 *Guide to Graduate Study in Political Science*. Studying race is central to explaining American history, society and politics. Walton's work, in his persistent writings and lobbying the APSA to establish the black politics field, made a singular contribution to the recognition of this centrality by the political science profession.

Notes

1. Paul Peterson, "Organizational Imperatives and Ideological Change: The Case of Black Power", *Urban Affairs Quarterly* 14(1979): 463–84, Donald McCormack, "Stokely Carmichael and Pan Africanism: Back to Black Power" *Journal of Politics* 35(1973): 386–409 and Robert C. Smith, "Black Power and the Transformation from Protest to Politics" *Political Science Quarterly* 96(1981): 431–45. More generally see Robert C. Smith, *Ronald W. Walters and the Fight for Black Power, 1969–2016* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2018).
2. Katherine Tate, "Black Science in Political Science" in Robert C. Smith, Cedric Johnson and Robert Newby (eds.), *What Has This Got to Do with the Liberation of Black People?: The Impact of Ronald W. Walters on African American Thought and Leadership* (Albany: SUNY Press 2014): 93.
3. Ibid., p. 95.
4. Ronald Walters, "The Meaning of Black Studies" in Samuel Goldman and Peter Clark (eds.), *Integration and Separation in Education* (Syracuse: School of Education, Syracuse University, 1970) and Walters, "Toward a Definition of Black Social Science" in Joyce Ladner (ed.) *The Death of White Sociology* (New York: Free Press, 1973). On Walters' role in developing a black perspective in Black Studies and in establishing the Black Politics field in political science at Howard see Smith, *Ronald W. Walters and the Fight for Black Power, 1969–2016*, Chaps. 4–6.
5. "Report of the Conference on Political Science Curriculum at Predominantly Black Universities", *PS: Political Science and Politics* 2(1969): 321–53.
6. Ibid., p. 325.
7. Ibid.
8. Ibid.

9. Ibid., p. 329.
10. Mack Jones, "A Frame of Reference for Black Politics" in Lenneal Henderson (ed.) *Black Political Life in the U.S.* (San Francisco: Chandler, 1972); "Scientific Method, Value Judgments and the Black Predicament in the United States", *Review of Black Political Economy* 7(1976): 9–23; and "Political science and the Black Political Experience: Issues in Epistemology and Relevance", *National Political Science Review* 3(1992): 3–12. Each of these articles is reprinted in Jones, *Knowledge, Power and Black Politics: Collected Essays* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014). In addition to his writings, Jones contributed to the development of black politics as a field through his leadership as the founding President of NCOBPS and as founding Chair of the Atlanta University doctoral program in political science (Atlanta and Howard were the only black universities to offer the PhD in political science). On Jones' leadership in NCOBPS' founding see Joseph McCormick, "Beyond Tactical Withdrawal: An Early History of the National Conference of Black Political Scientists", *National Political Science Review* 13 (2012): 159–78. On Atlanta's PhD program, see Adolph Reed, Jr., "Reflections on Atlanta University Political Science", *National Political Science Review 9* (2003): 236–45.
11. Hanes Walton, Jr., "The Recent Literature of Black Politics" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 18(1985): 771. On the impact of the Civil Rights Movement specifically on the study of race in the social sciences see Harwood McClerking and Tasha Philpot "Struggling to Be Noticed: The Civil Rights Movement as an Agenda Setter" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 23(2008):813–17.
12. Ibram Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement: Black Students and the Racial Reconstruction of Higher Education* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 151.
13. Alex Poinsett "The Plight of Black Studies" *Ebony*, December, 1973.
14. Rogers, *The Black Campus Movement*, p. 82.
15. "Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 2(1969): 553.
16. Maurice Woodard and Michael Preston "The Rise and Decline of Black Political Scientists in the Profession" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 17(1984): 787–92.
17. Walton, "The Recent Literature of Black Politics", p. 772.
18. "Report of the Conference on Political Science at Predominantly Black Universities", p. 334.
19. "Report of the Committee on the Status of Blacks in the Profession".
20. McCormick, "Beyond Tactical Withdrawal".
21. Not much is known about Nowlin but the book (reprinted in 1970) is a descriptive analysis of blacks in Congress, national party conventions,

presidential campaigns and administrations from Reconstruction to the 1930s. It also includes analysis of the role of the NAACP concluding that "It appears that the position of the Negro in politics for some time in the future will depend largely upon the leadership of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People." *The Negro in American National Politics* (New York: Russell & Russell, 1930, 1970): 144.

22. Margaret Burgess, *Negro Leadership in a Southern City* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962), Donald Matthews and James Protho, *Negros and the New Southern Politics* (New York: Harcourt Brace and World, 1966), Daniel Thompson, *The Negro Leadership Class* (Englewood Cliffs, NJ: Prentice Hall, 1963), James Q. Wilson, *Negro Politics: The Search for Leadership* (New York: The Free Press, 1960) and Everett Carl Ladd, *Negro Political Leadership (*Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1966).
23. These leadership studies are reviewed in Robert C Smith, *Black Leadership: A Survey of Theory and Research* (Washington: Howard University, Institute for Urban Affairs and Research, 1983), reprinted as Part 1 in Ronald Walters and Robert C. Smith, *African American Leadership* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1999).
24. Paula McClain and John Garcia, "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries: Black, Latino and Racial Minority Group Politics" in Ada Finifter (ed.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (Washington: American Political Science Association, 1973). Matthew Holden's major fields were bureaucracy and the regulatory process. But his *The Politics of the Black Nation* (New York: Chandler Publishing, 1973) is a seminal text in the field for the Walton generation. On the significance of the book see "Symposium: The Politics of the Black Nation" Joseph McCormick (ed.) *National Political Science Review* 8(2000). Holden's companion volume, *The White Man's Burden* (New York: Chandler Publishing, 1973) is an incisive analysis of the ideology of white supremacy.
25. On Nelson, see Lester Spence "Heroism and the Political Scientist: Reflections on Richard Iton, Nick Nelson and Hanes Walton" *Politics, Groups and Identities* 1(2013): 594–601 and Khalilah Brown-Dean "In the Final Analysis: On Nick Nelson's Contributions to the Study of Black Politics" *Politics, Groups and Identities* 1(2013): 562–70.
26. Hanes Walton, Jr., "Introduction: Essays in Honor of Jewel Limar Prestage" in Shelby Lewis Smith (ed.) *Black Political Scientists and Black Survival* (Lansing, MI: Balamp Publishing, 1977) and Shelia Martin Harmon, "Jewel Limar Prestage: Trailblazer and Mother of Black Political Science" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 38(2005): 95–97. See also Marianne Githens and Jewel Prestage, *A Portrait of Marginality: The Political Behavior of the American Woman* (New York: David McKay,

1976) and Prestage "In Quest of African American Political Woman" *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 515(1991): 88–103.

27. Barker's major fields were the courts and civil liberties and civil rights, writing a number of articles on race and the courts and civil rights. Also the author of a textbook in the field and a former NCOBPS president, he was the founding editor (1989) of the NCOBPS journal, *National Political Science Review*.
28. McClain and Garcia, "Expanding Disciplinary Boundaries", p. 251.
29. Ibid., p. 253.
30. Ibid.
31. Ibid., p. 256.
32. On the absence of a "core" in political science or its major fields see "The Nature of Contemporary Political Science: A Roundtable" *PS: Political Science and Politics* 23(1990):34–42.
33. Hanes Walton to Thomas Mann, April 29, 1987 (PFA).
34. Ibid.
35. Thomas Mann to Hanes Walton, June 5, 1987 (PFA).
36. Catherine Rudder to Hanes Walton, June 18, 1987 (PFA).

CHAPTER 4

Conclusion

Abstract The concluding chapter looks at changes in the study of black politics and the emergent new directions in the field since Walton's pioneering work. The focus is on how intersectionality, multiculturalism and black feminism complicate the traditional divisions in the black politics field between those who prioritized race and those who prioritized class analysis as the theoretical focus of research.

Keywords Segregation in political science • Footnote apartheid • Intersectionality • Race analysis • Class analysis • Black feminism

In the 30 years since the American Political Science Association (APSA) established black politics as a subfield for graduate study, the implicit and sometimes explicit racism and indifference that Hanes Walton had asserted about the discipline's historical treatment of race has for the most part disappeared. As the African American political scientist Jerry Watts concluded "The historical devaluation of Afro-American politics as a subject worthy of the study is no longer the norm in the discipline".[1] On the contrary "During the past thirty years, the status and recognition given to scholarship on race and racism and Afro-American politics has gradually improved … culminating in a virtual explosion of scholarship on race, racism and Afro-American politics during the last twenty five years".[2] And instead of being what Walton called an academic graveyard for the young

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scholar the study of race is now for some a ticket to what political scientist Wilbur Rich calls "academic heaven", appointment to the faculties of the most prestigious universities.[3]

Yet while the study of race may have become integral in political science, blacks and white political scientists tend to sit at separate, segregated tables. In the 1989 article "Separate Tables: Sects and Schools in Political Science", Gabriel Almond lamented the absence of a unifying core in the discipline, viewing political science as divided into four different sects: the hard and soft left and the hard and soft right.[4] Almond might also have noted that separate tables for black science and white science similarly divide the discipline. And increasingly within black science there are separate tables or schools dividing those who practice the traditional black politics scholarship pioneered by the Walton generation and those who adhere to intersectionality, neo-Marxist class analysis and black feminist/womanist scholarship. The overall and challenging question is whether crossover scholarship is possible or are we political scientists trapped at our separate tables?

A number of scholars have called attention to the segregation in political science or the black–white political science research divide. William Crotty, a white political scientist, as an example, writes "There is a division by race in the study of black/white politics more pronounced than in related disciplines such as sociology or history. In addition, when political scientists and more specifically when white political scientists study African American political questions, they produce distinctively different types of research. They ask different questions and employ different criteria to judge the significance of what they uncover."[5] The African American political scientist Katherine Tate writes, "While no longer invisible, studies of black politics remain segregated from mainstream work. New works in black politics are rarely discussed in mainstream publications".[6] The segregation in the discipline Tate contends is so profound that the scholarship "produced by those working within the field of African American politics and law can be called the field of 'black science', not so much because many scholars of black politics are also of black descent but simply because of its segregation within the discipline".[7] Ronald Walters referred to this as "footnote apartheid", in that "works on race by non-African Americans routinely do not include, or minimally include African American works, reference the aforementioned work, or virtually any other".[8]

In a review of the history of the modern black politics field, Todd Shaw identifies epistemologically three generations of scholarship; generations defined not in terms of age cohorts but in regard to "cohorts of research questions".[9] The first is the Walton generation, which was primarily

concerned with the empowerment and incorporation of blacks into systemic institutions and processes. By the mid-1970s what Shaw calls "an uneasy consensus" had formed that defined "the practice of *black politics*" as entailing "individual and collective black struggles that seek political power, whether internal or external to the American polity, so to define and achieve black group liberation amidst the realities of racism and/or white supremacy".[10] Accompanying this agreement on the definition of the phenomenon was also the agreement that its study required "'black political science' as a response to the perceived racial myopia as well as atheoretical lacuna of mainstream political science, which had ignored the fundamental insights, racialized persons and the Third World brought to the study of political power".[11]

Within this uneasy consensus, however, were important differences between what Shaw calls black nationalists scholars who emphasized race or "nation" as the primary unit of analysis; feminists who argued the field should also encompass gender, patriarchy and sexism; and neo-Marxists who emphasized capitalist economic exploitation as the basis of black subordination.[12]

The second generation involved multiple scholars studying the impact of black incorporation—in urban politics, state legislatures, the Congress, the executive and judicial branches—on the status of the black community, especially the poor.[13] Generally these scholars operated within the boundaries of the consensus black empowerment framework of the field.

The third and present generation is inaugurated, in Shaw's view, with the 1999 publication of Cathy Cohen's influential text, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics*. In this work, Cohen developed "Marginalization Theory", which contends that "an observable characteristic or distinguishing behavior shared by a group of individuals" such as race, class, gender or sexual orientation "is systematically used within the larger society to signal inferior and subordinate status of the group".[14] Cohen distinguishes between the external and internal dimensions of marginality in black politics. The external or "absolute" or "categorical marginalization" involves the subordinating effects of racism and white supremacy, which constrains the life chances of all blacks. The internal dimension within the black community constrains the life chances of specific subsections of the black community, gays or women, but which tends to be ignored by black leaders and traditional black politics scholarship because of sexism and heterosexism, and because it was viewed as a distraction in the struggle against racism and white supremacy and as a hindrance to black unity.

Shaw concludes that "Cohen's dynamic framework provides a starting point from which to further expand the theoretical, epistemological and methodological boundaries of the black politics literature".[15] Overall, Shaw views Cohen's "interjection of sexual orientation and health status as heretofore under examined cleavages in black politics (until the late 1990s) as well as the way her work uniquely though not singularly encouraged the growth of what I call the third generation of black politics scholarship and its use of several 'new paradigms'", specifically intersectionality, among others, as a major contribution to expanding the boundaries of the traditional black politics field as it was developed by the Walton generation.[16]

In addition to Cohen's injection of sexuality into the discourse, younger and more consciously black feminist scholars than those of the first generation argue that the study of black women should constitute a separate table in black politics. As Alexander-Floyd and Jordon–Zachery, guest editors of a special issue of the *National Political Science Review*, devoted to women wrote, "This special issue on Black women in politics—the first to appear in any political science journal—provides much—needed context for exploring recent developments in Black women in politics as a subfield of political science in its own right. It highlights three dimensions—identity, power and justice—that are foundational to intersectionality theory as developed by Black women and other women of color."[17]

As Shaw points out debates about the parameters or boundaries of the black politics field are not new; what is new is the inclusion of sexuality and a more conscious black feminism. The emergence of these tendencies in the field and in the discipline may be explained by the same external and internal factors that presaged the emergence of the black politics field in the late 1960s. The external factor is the growing influence and power of the feminist and LGBT (Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual and Transgender) movements in the society in general and in the political science community specifically. The internal factor is the growth in the number of consciously identified feminists, and open and avowed gays and lesbians in political science, reflected in the establishment of committees on the status of women, and gays and lesbians in the APSA and National Conference of Black Political Sciences (NCOBPS).

Cathy Cohen with Michael Dawson co-authored the chapter on race politics in the third state of the discipline volume. Unlike the contribution of McClain and Garcia to the second volume where there were distinct sections on black and other minority group politics, Dawson and Cohen treat "minority politics" as a single inclusive field. This reflects the dis-

placement in 1995 of the black politics subfield and its inclusion under the broader rubric of Race and Ethnic Politics (REP). Dawson and Cohen agree with this sublimation of the black politics field, writing "It is important for those who study race and politics to move beyond the black-white paradigm and for researchers in the largely racially fragmented camps to start building a more unified research agenda".[18]

Like Shaw, Dawson and Cohen contend that the "study of race and politics must move toward greater investigation of the intersection of forms of subordination as well as the intersection of the concerns of political science with those of other social sciences".[19] Intersectionality, which they describe as the "colonizing of race" is a new departure for REP because of its "inherent recognition of the ways in which race interacts with other categories of organization such as gender, class and sexuality to produce different racialized experiences for members of the same racial and ethnic groups".[20]

Intersectionality, then, is clearly a separate table in the black politics field, along with black feminism, class analysis and the traditional black politics study. Neo-Marxist class analysis has a long tradition in black politics going back to the work of Bunche in the 1930s although he abandoned class analysis later in his career,[21] but political scientist Adolph Reed, Jr. has been the most persistent and consistent scholar of class analysis in the modern era.[22]

Like the separate schools and sects in political science generally, it is unlikely that these separate tables in black politics—including other racialized minorities under REP—can cohere into a unified, core field of study. Dawson and Cohen write of the "high degree of fragmentation" in the field; of the divide between "normative and positivist" work and the "fissures" in the scholarship on the basis of race.[23]

Dawson and Cohen write that the field of "minority politics pioneered the study of race and political institutions. Hanes Walton, Jr.'s entire corpus looks at institutions ranging from political parties to the bureaucracy from the standpoint of black politics."[24] The Dawson and Cohen essay covers REP not just black politics, and looks at the social science literature generally not just political science, unlike the McClain essay that focused exclusively on black politics and the political science literature. Thus, the citation count is an even less useful indicator of status or contributions to the field than McClain's. Nevertheless, for what it's worth, Dawson and Cohen cite Dawson's work six times, Walton four, Katherine Tate twice and Adolph Reed, Jr. and Dianne Pinderhughes once.

So, what would Hanes Walton think of these developments in the black politics field since it was formally established in 1989? What would he think about the new generation of black political scientists and their more inclusive interest? We do not know. He did not write about intersectionality, black feminist/womanist politics or REP, and I never discussed these issues with him. Tate writes that, in Walton's view, "Black politics scholars had a special mission" that requires "an exclusive focus on black politics and it should be a separate field".[25] It would appear that sublimating black politics under REP vitiates this mission. Does co-mingling black politics with the politics of other racialized minorities or other marginalized groups such as gays vitiate the mission? Does class analysis' deprecating of the centrality of racism and white supremacy in explaining and resolving the problem of black subordination alter the mission?

We cannot find the answers to these questions based on Walton's writings. What we do know is that he understood and fully specified that changes in political science and the related social sciences are products of external and internal forces isomorphic with the times. The Civil Rights and Black Power movements shaped Walton's black politics insights and findings. In the context of those times he produced a body of work that in its length, breadth and depth leaves a legacy for students of black politics no matter the tables in which they might sit.

Notes

1. Jerry Watts, "Political Science Confronts Afro-America: A Reconsideration" in Wilbur Rich (ed.) *African American Perspectives on Political Science* (Philadelphia: Temple University Press, 2007): 405.
2. Ibid., p. 399.
3. Wilbur Rich, "African American Political Scientists in Academic Wonderland", in Ibid., p. 46. Rich's edited collection of 18 papers by leading black political scientists—*African American Perspectives on Political Science*—like Walton's work, is a powerful critique of racism in political science research including in some of the discipline's classic works. Contributors also suggest, as Walton did, how research might be reformulated in the various fields to more accurately and systematically incorporate the black experience.
4. Gabriel Almond, "Separate Tables: Schools and Sects", *PS: Political Science and Politics* 21(1988): 828–42.

5. William Crotty, "Introduction: Setting the Stage" in *Political Science: Looking to the Future*, ed. by William Crotty (Evanston, Il.: Northwestern University Press, 1991): 12.
6. Katherine Tate, "The Black Science in Political Science" in Robert C. Smith, Cedric Johnson and Robert Newby (eds.) *What Has This Got to Do With the Liberation of Black People?: The Impact of Ronald W. Walters on African American Thought and Leadership* (Albany: SUNY Press, 2014): 94.
7. Ibid.
8. Ronald W. Walters, "Reflections" in *What Has This Got to Do With the Liberation of Black People?* p. 88.
9. Todd Shaw, "The Expanding Boundaries of Black Politics", *National Political Science Review* 11(2007): 6.
10. Ibid., p. 5.
11. Ibid.
12. Ibid.
13. Ibid., p. 6.
14. Cathy Cohen, *The Boundaries of Blackness: AIDS and the Breakdown of Black Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999): 24–25.
15. Shaw, pp. 4–5.
16. Ibid.
17. Nikol Alexander-Floyd and Julia Jordan-Zachery (eds.) "Symposium on Black Women in Politics", *National Political Science Review* 16(2014): ix.
18. Michael Dawson and Cathy Cohen "Problems in the Study of the Politics of Race" in Ira Katznelson and Helen Milner (eds.) *Political Science: The State of the Discipline* (New York: W.W. Norton, 2002): 504.
19. Ibid., p. 493.
20. Ibid., p. 493.
21. Jonathan Holloway, *Confronting the Viel: Abram Harris, E. Franklin Frazier and Ralph Bunche, 1919–1941* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001) and Charles Henry, "Abram Harris, E. Franklin Frazier and Ralph Bunche: The Howard School of Social Thought", *National Political Science Review* 5(1995): 36–56.
22. Adolph Reed, Jr., *Class Notes* (New York: New Press, 2001).
23. Dawson and Cohen, "Problems in the Study of the Politics of Race".
24. Ibid., p. 509.
25. Tate, "The Black Science in Political Science", pp. 93–94. Leslie McLemore in one of the earliest attempts to formulate the theoretical boundaries of the field wrote "The very foundations of a theory of black politics rests on the clear understanding that Afro-Americans are a *racial* group and not an ethnic group. … When we speak of a racial group we are referring to those minorities in a society which are set off from the majority not only by

cultural differences but in a more profound sense by skin color (high visibility) and a near total inability of that group to assimilate into the larger society." See "Toward a Theory of Black Politics: The Black and Ethnic Models Revisited" *Journal of Black Studies* 1(1972): 323–31. On this notion of black exceptionalism even among ethnic groups of color, see also David Sears, Jack Citrin and Collette Van Laar, "Black Exceptionalism in Multicultural Society", Paper prepared for presentation at the 1996 annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, Chicago. More generally see Harold Cruse, *Plural But Equal: Blacks and Minorities in America's Plural Society* (New York: William Morrow, 1987).

Appendix

Hanes Walton, Jr.

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[1] Note: Page numbers followed by 'n' refer to notes.

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