



THE
POLITICAL
SOCIOLOGY
OF THE

NEGRO: A Selective Review of the Literature

by Gerald A. McWorter

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INTRODUCTION

It is easily agreed that scientific knowledge should be cumulative and presented in such a way that new findings can be incorporated into a body of knowledge. However, upon examination, this is not a frequently chosen task. Toward such an end, this article brings together a portion of the literature dealing with the sociology of politics and the Negro. While the compilation of a useful bibliography is in itself a major task, this article is a first attempt to select and comment on studies that make a contribution to this body of literature.

Other efforts to compile material dealing with the Negro and race relations usually have not assumed the focus of the sociology of politics, or minority-majority relations as determined by power and its management.¹ However, there are at least three kinds of review materials: 1) encyclopedic compilations of material on the Negro; 2) compilations of material dealing primarily with prejudice and/or discrimination; and 3) general reviews of the continuities and discontinuities of current research.²

The completeness of this literature review has been affected by the physical limitations of its presentation and the intention to present only a portion of the literature; this is intended to be a guide for research. At least three major areas are not given separate attention in this discussion. Psychological processes (e.g., political socialization) are omitted, as general discussions of psychological aspects of race and

¹There are exceptions to this statement as represented by at least the following articles:

Blalock, H. M. "Power Analysis of Racial Discrimination," *Social Forces*, XXXIX (October, 1960), 53-59.

Henderson, Donald. "Minority Response and the Conflict Model," *Phylon*, 1964, XXV (Spring), 18-26.

Roncek, Joseph S. "Minority-Majority Relations in their Power Aspects," *Phylon*, XVII (1956), 25-26.

Schermerhorn, R. A. "Power as a Primary Concept in the Study of Minorities," *Social Forces*, XXXV (October, 1956), 53-56.

²See, for example, the following:

Blumer, Herbert. "Research on Racial Relations: United States of America," *Internat. Soc. Sci. Bull.*, X (1958), 403-47.

Drake, St. Clair. "Recent Trends in Research on the Negro in the United States," *Internat. Soc. Sci. Bull.*, IX (1957), 475-92.

Frazier, E. Franklin. "Areas of Research in Race Relations," *Sociol. and Social Research*, XLII (July-August, 1948), 424-29.

Gordon, Milton. "Recent Trends in the Study of Minority and Race Relations," *American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCCL (November, 1963), 148-56.

Kessler, S. H. "American Negro Literature: A Bibliographical Guide," *Bulletin of Bibliography*, XXI (1955), 181-85.

Miller, Elizabeth W. *The Negro in America: A Bibliography*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1966.

Smythe, Hugh, and Chase, L. "Current Research on the Negro: A Critique," *Sociol. and Social Research*, XLII (1958), 199-202.

Tumin, Melvin M. *Research Annual on Intergroup Relations—1965*. New York: Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith, 1966. (Similar volumes exist for each year since 1958.)

politics are available elsewhere. Another portion of the literature not covered is the historical background. While it behooves all research-oriented social scientists to be aware of the relevance of history, such a review is beyond the province of this presentation. Lastly, material discussing the perspective and reactions of white people is in large part omitted, and certainly not systematically included.

While a procedure exists for reaching consensus about the quality of a particular contribution (e.g., crude measures of importance can be used, like the frequency of a footnote citation in professional journals), this selective review is also based on the author's access to the literature and his idiosyncratic preferences. This discussion should be considered a guide, and not an analysis of the works included in it. An attempt is made to indicate major areas of research and relevant findings, recognizing that this approach does not do justice to the intricate arguments presented in some of the complete works.

This literature review of political sociology and the Negro is constructed in six areas. The introductory section deals with the two basic structural bases of political behavior: 1) The form and process of legal structures represent the sphere of legitimate political activities; 2) The social structure reflects the social and material resources on which political activities are based. Secondly, formal political behavior is discussed in terms of voting, political organization and office holding. The patterns of leadership and community power—the topic of the third section—demonstrate the kind of informal political behavior that is dominant in the Negro community. The fourth section focuses on civil rights organizations and activities with the implicit assumption that a great deal of Negro political activity is confined to this parapolitical arena. And the final section is concerned with the patterns of beliefs and strategy that constitute the political ideology of the Negro community.

RACE, SOCIAL STRUCTURE, AND THE LAW

The Law and the Negro

Since the era of slavery, the law has to a great extent conditioned, and frequently determined, the social situation of the Negro (18). The Civil Rights bills of 1956-57 (2), 1960 (10), and 1964 (6) represent the major Congressional efforts to erase discriminatory practices, particularly in the areas of public accommodations, education, voting, as well as in many programs supported by federal funds.

From these efforts until now, however, the role of the courts has been the most vital legal force changing the status of the Negro (18). Hill and Greenberg, particularly from the point of view of the legal campaigns of the NAACP, trace changes leading to the 1954 Supreme Court decision declaring school segregation unconstitutional (23). While the most dramatic court decisions have been in the area of education (14, 31), the courts have regulated voting practices (1), and many other areas (35). Recently, a number of books and articles have appeared discussing the contemporary progress and tension between law and rights, notably Marshall (26).

Social Structure of the Negro Community

The population characteristics and demographic composition of the Negro population has been discussed by Bogue *et al.* (7), Hauser (22), and Duncan and Duncan (12). Taeuber and Taeuber, utilizing a statistical measure of biracial residential proximity, describe the degree of residential segregation in urban areas, and the pattern and rate of Negro migration from the rural South to the urban South and urban North (34). Bernard presents the most recent survey of research dealing with the Negro family (4), while Moynihan discusses the effects of discrimination and segregation on the lower-class Negro family (30). The most helpful treatment of economic discrimination is presented by Becker (5). He develops specific conceptual tools and measurements of the effects of discrimination and segregation, especially on income. Following Becker's cue, Siegel developed precise measures of racial differences in income (33), while Hodge and Hodge (24) find that racial increase for specific occupational categories has a negative effect on income.

The social institutions of the Negro community have not yet become the serious concern of sociological research. However, several impor-

tant works serve as an introduction to this area. Frazier has treated the Negro church historically and demonstrated that it has been the central institution in the Negro community (17). In addition, Mays and Nicholson present extensive descriptive data on Negro ministers and churches (28). Detweiler, though published in the 1920's, is the best historical overview of the Negro press (9), with the only major recent discussion being limited to testing a narrowly-defined hypothesis that Negro newspapers reflect a pro-American democratic ideology (8). Further, there are summary discussions of the development of Negro middle-class institutions by Frazier (especially business and social and fraternal organizations) (15, 16), and others dealing with labor (19, 25, 27), higher education (29), and the professions (13, 32). Studies dealing with the nature of organizational participation contain conflicting findings (3, 20). The relevant questions are: What are the patterns (rates and quality) of participation? What does this mean for the individuals and for the Negro community? There are a number of studies dealing with the entire complex of the Negro community (11, 21). While most of these are dated, the overall importance of Negro community studies has been to document the collective patterns of adjustment to various climates of segregation and discrimination.

NEGRO POLITICAL BEHAVIOR

There are about 11 million Negroes of voting age in the United States, according to the 1960 census (103, 58, 81). However, research has repeatedly shown that Negroes in the South have lower rates of registration and voting; e.g., Wilson suggests that from 1960 to 1964 the Negro vote ranged from 60 per cent to 70 per cent in the North and West while only 28-38 per cent in the South (103). Glantz, in a comparative analysis of eight Northern cities, presents similar findings (54); in addition, he documents a significant increase in participation for seven of the cities over the 1948, 1952, and 1956 presidential elections, a finding replicated by Orum (83), Walker (99), and Gosnell and Martin (58).

As implied above, in voting statistics there has been a marked difference between northern and southern Negro political participation. Discriminatory legal barriers and Negroes' efforts to eliminate them (e.g., grandfather clauses, the white primary, and poll taxes), have been discussed by Moon (77), Lewinson (64), and Bunche (39). Local case studies—e.g., Strong on Texas (93), Farris on Florida (47), Price on

Florida (84, 85), Sisk on Atlanta (90), and others (44, 52, 66)—point to a wide variety of these more widely-practiced measures. More recent discussions can be found in the 1961 and 1963 reports on voting by the United States Civil Rights Commissions (97, 98). A particularly interesting and important case of gerrymandering in Tuskegee, Alabama, is presented by Gomillion (55) and Taper (96).

As would be expected, a major portion of this literature employs a social stratification model to explain variance in voting behavior, particularly the historical increase noted above (87, 62, 75). Seasholes and Cleveland, with comparative data from Durham and Winston-Salem, account for much of the variance with observed change in levels of income, education, and occupation (88), in much the same way as Wilson (102) and Bacote (36, 37). H. Price (85), M. Price (86), and Strong (94), using southern data, found a strong inverse relationship between the density of Negroes in an area and the degree of Negro voter participation. Farris found higher rates of voting in an urban area in the South (46, 47), while Glantz concluded that over 50 per cent of the increase in political potential in the North was due to the migration of southern Negroes (54). Fenton, focusing on the positive effect of Roman Catholics in Louisiana, found religious milieu to be a good indicator of the stratification systems that determined the rate of Negro political participation (48, 49). Most of the above indicators are discussed in the sample of cases presented by the Civil Rights Commission (97, 98). Moreover, by employing correlation and multiple regression analysis, Matthews and Prothro isolate 21 socioeconomic variables and 10 political variables which seem to account for 50 per cent of the variation in county registration for Negroes (68, 69).

A major development since 1960, particularly in urban areas and "Black Belt" counties, has been the mobilization of intense voter education and registration projects (58, 95). One of the major motivational factors utilized by such programs, as discussed by Wilson (102), Holloway (59, 60), Matthews and Prothro (70), Middleton (74), and Siegel (89), is the central concern Negroes have for "race issues." A classic example, as described by Gosnell and Martin (58), is the last-minute support of Negroes in 1960 given John Kennedy as a result of his making a public plea for the release of Martin Luther King from an Atlanta city jail after his arrest during a sit-in demonstration. Perhaps a better example is the marked increase in voter organization and turnout during the 1964 presidential election, described by Wilson (103), a change in part due to Goldwater's anti-Negro image and his opposition to the Civil Rights Bill.

In a manner comparable with European immigrants to the city, a race-interest organizational framework has provided the form for political participation. Banfield and Wilson (38) and others (56, 57, 42), find that Negro political participation is in part a function of (a) the local political party organization (there is more registration in machine and/or solidly democratic cities); (b) the size of the political units (small political units tend to be racially homogeneous, a pattern within which most relevant issues can be redefined as racial); and (c) the nature of elections (there is a higher turnout for ward candidates than at-large candidates). Discussions by Gosnell (56), Lubell (67), Meier (72), Morris (79), and others (84, 85, 90, 100, 53) document the intense party loyalty of Negro voters. However, using the 1956 presidential election, Moon demonstrates southern Negro voters to be less loyal; e.g., Negroes in Chicago increased support for Eisenhower only from 29.5 per cent in 1952 to 37.2 per cent in 1956, while in Atlanta the vote increased from 30.9 to 85.3 per cent (78, 43).

As southern Negroes were denied access to regular political party organizations, political clubs were developed and called voters' leagues (51). Price describes the functions of voters' leagues in Florida as those of screening candidates, conducting registration drives, and managing the needs of the Negro community (85). Cities that have had successful voters' leagues include Atlanta (36, 37, 90, 99), Jacksonville (84, 85), Tuskegee (55), Durham (82, 63, 88), and Virginia (71). However, Fleming (50), Clubock (41), and Edmonds (45) make the point that these efforts can succeed only when the programs remain within "the consensual basis of the Negro community." Furthermore, Banfield and Wilson (38), Gosnell and Martin (58), and Price (85) describe cases like Memphis where Negro political leaders were committed to the Democratic machine of "Boss Crump." Minnis defines another kind of political organization, the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party—i.e., a predominantly Negro political party that challenges the legitimacy of segregated or discriminatory parties and openly competes within the national Democratic party and for local offices (76). The most recent development is the Black Panther political party of Lowndes County, Alabama. Meier describes it as a traditional form of bloc voting and not quite a functioning third party (73).

Negroes have held some kind of elected political office since the Civil War, though during the period from 1901 until 1928 there were no Negroes elected to Congress (64, 72, 91). Wilson discusses the alternative political leadership styles represented by the two senior Negro congressmen, William Dawson and Adam Clayton Powell (101). Dawson is char-

acterized as a traditional machine politician who maintains a precinct level organization on the basis of patronage and material incentives (40, 100, 101). Powell, by contrast, is a charismatic leader with a symbolic role, a politician who is sustained by the sentiment and emotional attachment of his constituency (40, 100, 80). In addition, Powell is the pastor of a very large Baptist church with a congregation which frequently doubles as his campaign organization (65, 40). Wilson (103) indicates there were (in 1965) 31 Negro city councilmen out of 206 offices in the nine largest northern cities; (in 1962) 48 state senators in Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, New York, Missouri, Maryland, and California; and (in 1966) 6 Negro congressmen. The best national survey of Negro officeholders was done in the fall of 1963 by Gosnell and Martin (40, 58, 92). Wilson concludes, "After the 1964 elections, an estimated 280 Negroes held elective office" (103, p. 445).

Since the Reconstruction, there have been appointive positions in the federal government traditionally reserved for Negroes—e.g., Recorder of Deeds of the District of Columbia and several of the Ambassadorial positions to all-Negro nations like Haiti (58, 103). Several discussions describe various situational factors related to such appointments since F. D. Roosevelt (39, 61, 103, 58). The two most frequent rationales are (a) courting the electoral support of the Negro community; and (b) responding symbolically to a situation of racial crisis. Alternatively, state and federal executives have appointed an obvious "friend" of the Negro to accomplish the same end—e.g., Eisenhower's appointment of Earl Warren to the U.S. Supreme Court (58). Hope and Shelton (61) point out that while Negroes are only 10.3 per cent of the labor force, they hold 13 per cent of the jobs in federal service.

NEGRO COMMUNITY POWER AND LEADERSHIP

There is considerable writing about Negro leadership on a national level (106, 120, 123, 108, 117, 140). Although primarily concerned with ideological positions, Johnson maintains that trends in social stratification in large part determine Negro leadership styles (117). Cox contends that leadership is the result of "inter-group conflict and antagonism" and describes the development of leadership or ideological groups (110, 111). Smythe, while contending that Negro leadership has been to a great extent legitimated by white opinion leaders, describes the changing patterns of leadership since the 1930's (138, 139). He sees it as being

more diffuse, based on organized support, and sustained by resources from the Negro community. Articles by DuBois (114), Winston (145), and Monahan and Monahan (129, 142) respectively, describe the demographic composition of national Negro leadership for the 1900's, the 1930's, and the 1950's. Though based on limited secondary sources, these articles can be combined with survey discussions like Bardolph's (104, 125) to gain a clearer understanding of the historical trend and current picture of Negro leadership.

Record challenges popular conceptions of leadership and describes the role assumed by intellectuals as being unstable and ambiguous (135, 136, 137). Some aspects of leadership seen as determinant are the visibility of the leader in the Negro community, social distance from followers and flexibility of leadership roles for change (107, 120, 143). It has been generally agreed that to sustain leadership roles some form of interaction between leaders and followers is necessary, though the degree of interaction remains a subject of controversy (131, 126, 127, 130). In general, most discussions are critical of the general patterns of Negro leadership (124).

While most analyses of national Negro leadership have not been based on systematic research, some empirical data is available from community studies. Among the cities on which data are available are Atlanta (143), Seattle (105, 144), Montgomery (118), Little Rock (109), Providence (134), Tallahassee (122), Durham (107), Chicago (100, 101), St. Louis (113), New Orleans (141), Winston-Salem and Greenville (63). One general finding indicates that the median age of local Negro leaders approaches the late forties, with some change occurring during times of crisis. Crisis has meant that new groups, generational as well as ideological, tend to move into leadership roles. This general pattern is modified by stable forms of institutional leadership (e.g., politicians, ministers, businessmen), that tend to survive, though frequently with less prominent leadership roles, as the generalized Negro leaders. Negro leaders tend to be professionals, managers, and officials. On all demographic characteristics, however, there is a close relationship between the social structure of the general Negro community and the social characteristics of the leadership (116, 132, 133). Pfautz contends that this leads to a monolithic professional group (134). The cases of Durham, Winston-Salem, and Atlanta clearly demonstrate that this is not the pattern with a more developed social structure for the Negro community. Further, the cases of Atlanta, Chicago, and St. Louis point to the development of a set of diversified functional leadership groups, a pattern predicted by E. Franklin Frazier. In these cases each group has its own social base to

support leaders with particular characteristics—e.g., politicians tend to be lawyers, while ministers have not yet come to rely so heavily on professional education (115).

The literature contains many efforts to describe the styles of Negro leadership, particularly in the form of race leader typologies (107). Thompson focuses on Negro-white relationships (Race Man, Racial Diplomat, and Uncle Tom) (141). Johnson uses desired rates of change (gradualist, revolutionary) (119). And Killian and Grigg point to generational groups of leaders (old leaders, new leaders) (121, 122). While these typologies concentrate on one dimension, others attempt multi-dimensional typologies. Wilson discusses three types of Negro leaders (militants, moderates, and conservatives) as they vary on essentially two polarized factors (104), from status to welfare goals (105), from a methodology of direct action to bargaining. While these discussions have identified seemingly important dimensions of leadership styles, the job remains to operationalize these dimensions of leadership and systematically describe current trends with empirical data.

These typologies of leadership style are related to the structure of leadership. Factors described as generating a unified leadership structure are (1) the necessity of being oriented to race issues (107, 141), and (2) the demands of periods of crisis (109, 121). Included among those factors seen to fracture leadership structures are institutional development within the Negro community, the organizational diversity, and the degree of leadership professionalization (143). Compared to general leadership structures, Burgess concludes that, given different contexts of social structure and organization, it is likely that in most communities minority leadership will be significantly different (107). This is contrary to the long-held view that minority group leadership is to a great extent determined by leadership patterns of the majority (112).

Barth and Abu-Laban contend that a lack of large business and industrial organization accounts for the lack of a genuine power structure (105). Others have clearly demonstrated that within the Negro community there are gradations of leadership groups on a scale of power (141, 143). In addition, the studies of Negro political and protest actions have demonstrated the existence of power as a potential force from the Negro community (121). Killian and Grigg demonstrated this in a study of bi-racial committees (122). They conclude, "The pressure of militant action by Negroes is more effective in leading to the creation of a bi-racial committee than a mere appeal..." The patterns of power structures within the Negro community, and how they function are research questions yet to be answered.

Dean and Rosen attempt to show the relevance of community power structure to intergroup relations by inferring that key locations of officials and leaders can affect decision-making structures (256). McKee challenges this view on the basis of the implied bias of their use of social science knowledge (128). On another level, Killian describes the dysfunctional aspects of the Negro leader's role in decision-making-negotiative situations (120). He views the problem as essentially one of a non-expert dealing with experts, one with limited information and an ambiguous base of support confronting those representing large bureaucratic resources. Wilson argues that the difficulty stems from the conflict between the expectations of the Negro leader's role as a dynamic mass leader and as a disciplined bargainer (252).

NEGRO SOCIAL PROTEST AND THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT

The civil rights movement, particularly when viewed as a set of organizational structures (see Clark, 152), has been the major source of action for changing the societal conditions affecting Negroes. Hughes (163) and Jack (164) cover the history of the NAACP, and present sympathetic descriptions from 1962 and 1943, respectively. The organizational structure (how it has become more bureaucratic, how the quasi-autonomous NAACP Legal and Educational Fund functions, and how the NAACP relates to other organizations) is best presented by Burns (151) and St. James (198). Bennett (146) describes how NAACP national board members have been a closed circle of primarily eastern professionals and aristocrats, and calls them the "Black Establishment." Record (195) outlines how the NAACP has successfully adapted to organizational problems such as staff recruitment from the ranks of Negro intellectuals, and attempts by the communist party to take control. And Friedman (158) explores the middle-class urban bases of participation in the NAACP.

Lomax (173) has leveled the most severe and persistent criticisms at the NAACP by charging it with undemocratic organizational procedures, misdirection of the focus of civil rights to school integration, and estrangement from both "young student rebels" and the Negro masses. Meier (182) engages this journalistic analysis by presenting additional factual data and a more dispassionate evaluation of the

NAACP and its place in the civil rights movement. Both Brink and Harris (147), and Killian and Grigg (167), while using a national sample and a sample from a Florida city, concur that Negroes rate the NAACP as the most effective civil rights organization.

The organizational and policy development of the Urban League, such as its bi-racial membership and welfare program, are contained in Jones (165), Stokes (209), and Wood (218). Strickland (210) presents the only comprehensive discussion of a local chapter of the Urban League. Of particular interest is his account of how the Board of Directors and the executive staff reflect the themes and conflicts of the Negro community in general. Young, in a very brief paper, outlines the Urban League as "a professional community-service agency" sharing ultimate goals with several civil rights organizations but placing its emphasis on a more widely-based concern for socioeconomic welfare (219). Marshall (27) describes the NALC as emerging from the Labor movement with the impetus coming from A. Philip Randolph in the 1958, 1959, and 1960 NAACP conventions; though acting within organized labor, the NALC is functionally similar to the Urban League. Randolph (166), as a vice-president of the AFL-CIO and a long-time national Negro leader, maintains influence in the organization as one of its major spokesmen.

Peck (190), traces the moral, social and intellectual origin of CORE, and how sit-ins and freedom rides were undertaken by its integrated following during the 1940's and 1950's. Farmer (232) presents an overview of his experiences as a CORE founder and leader. *Freedomways* (207) illustrates how students involved in the 1960-61 sit-ins became organized and formed SNCC, which is characterized by Zinn (221) as the "new abolitionists." His discussion contains a collection of personal and official documents, and focuses on particular campaigns (e.g., Albany, Georgia and Greenwood, Mississippi) and problems faced by SNCC (e.g., the role of whites in the "movement," and the aversion to organizational structure by SNCC organizers).

An impressionistic natural history of SCLC is contained in Martin Luther King's autobiography (168), Bennett (146), and Clayton (154). Meier (183) describes King as a "conservative militant," and views SCLC as a major factor moderating the potential open conflict between civil rights militants and conservatives. Further, King is best at articulating and communicating the aspirations of Negro people, and in providing a "verbal catharsis for whites, leaving them feeling purified and comfortable." In contrast to SCLC (particularly its commitment to Christianity, non-violence, and integration), Essien-Udom (158), and

Lincoln (171, 172) describe the Muslim organization as a religious movement in the tradition of Negro separatist nationalism. Nevertheless, the organization is similarly monolithic and led by a charismatic religious figure.

There are several general historical accounts of the civil rights movement. The 1941 March on Washington Movement, the major direct-action precedent for the 1950's, is discussed by Garfinkel (160) as a result of pressures on national Negro leaders based on rising expectations of Negroes. Burns (151) presents the historical development of several different positions within the current "voices of Negro protest"—differences that he considers to result from the range of experiences in the growth and change of the Negro community. Lomax (173) gives an analysis that emphasizes the "student rebel" as the benchmark for evaluation and key to progressive social change. Lewis (170), utilizing materials collected by the *New York Times*, attempts to describe the major events during the 1954-64 decade and to isolate the major components of social change. Three articles by Meier (180, 181, 182) contain the most comprehensive discussion of the civil rights movement, particularly the development and interaction of civil rights organizations. His articles contain a perceptive treatment of seldom-analyzed events and problems.

The 1960-61 southern student direct-action protests (sit-ins and freedom rides) are set in chronological sequence by two Southern Regional Council reports (205, 206), reports that include data on the states and cities involved, the number of demonstrators, the number of arrests and legal violations charged, and the results. Thompson (212) discusses the sit-ins as a strategy for protest. The effect of the sit-in movement is examined with reference to academic freedom (148), economics (150), social psychological implications (155), politics (185), and religion (196). In special editions of the *Annals* (187) fourteen articles attempt to clarify the current pattern of Negro social protest.

Vander Zanden (215) contends that for Negroes with limited power non-violence is the most effective strategy and has engendered a legitimate climate of opinion for Negro social protest. Solomon and Fishman (203, 204) analyze the student sit-ins in terms of identity formation and a process of "pro-social" acting-out of aggression and frustration, while Searles and Williams (199) conclude that "sit-in protests are less indicative of social alienation than of their identification with or positive reference to the white middle class." And Pettigrew (191) points to the conflict in the material gains and psychological losses associated with

the social protest movement. Oppenheimer (188, 189), on the basis of data collected in sixty-nine southern communities in 1960, concludes that Negroes in urban areas with Negro colleges "tend to have that heightened sense of morale or group solidarity which seems to be so essential to social protest." Personal accounts of sit-in activity include Proudfoot (193), Smith (202), and Nash (186); additional case studies cover Tallahassee (217), Baltimore (179), Atlanta (215A), and North Carolina (156, 216).

Community level direct-action campaigns have been the focus of several discussions. McWorter (176) is a study of 14 cases of protest and community social structure. Valien (214) employed Robert E. Park's sequential model of collective behavior in analyzing the Montgomery bus boycott, and Petrof (192) examines the positive effect of an economic boycott in Atlanta. Zinn (220), using as a case study the 1961-62 events in Albany, Georgia, demonstrates the ineffectiveness of governmental control and develops a set of seven guidelines designed for more instrumental government intervention on the local level. Grigg and Killian (161) demonstrate that the organization of a community bi-racial committee is a function of tension and crisis. Bennett (146A) describes the planning and strategy of Project "C" (for confrontation) which resulted in the Birmingham demonstrations of 1963. Rustin (197) views the significance of the Birmingham project to be the first major mass involvement of lower-class Negroes in civil rights protests. Clarke (153), comparing Montgomery, Tuskegee, and Birmingham, found that community civil rights programs utilize different forms of protest, but all prefer the strategy of non-violence and respond to the pressures of a racial crisis with increased group solidarity and more crystallized goals.

Additional strategies of protest have been initiated in northern cities. Fuchs' (159) data indicate that since Negroes value education as an essential tool for social change, they therefore found it appropriate to use the school boycott as the means of expressing a general discontent with conditions in New York. Two journalistic accounts (149, 169) of Chicago's boycotts describe the development of the issues in the school controversy, but also indicate how the ultimate intention of the boycotts was to place pressure on the city political administration to implement changes beyond the scope of the Board of Education. Swanson (211), in a systematic case study of the New York school controversy, emphasizes political influence and describes the pro-boycott groups as lacking the resources necessary to overcome the pressure of resistance groups. The growth of community organizations, as contained in Silberman's (201) discussion of The Woodlawn Organization (TWO)

in Chicago, is a response to this kind of powerlessness in lower income Negro areas. Sherrard and Murray (200) contend that institutional cooperation to start community organizations is necessary if lower income people are to overcome their powerlessness; although, with institutions staffed with professionals (e.g., church or welfare agencies), there is a danger of community organization serving other interests.

IDEOLOGY AND THE NEGRO

A complex pattern of political attitudes and beliefs has developed within the Negro community. The major traditions have centered around two concepts—nationalism and integration. Essein-Udom (157) and Meier (242, 243) contend that nationalism, a militant sentiment of racial solidarity and pride, has a historical development involving major institutional aspects of the Negro community as well as extremist movements. Record (247) classifies nationalism into five categories: cosmopolitan, cultural, political, economic, and integral. Even by examining the 1830-1861 national Negro convention movement, Bell (223) is able to outline a similar variety of nationalist positions.

Marcus Garvey, as best discussed by Cronon (228), became the leading spokesman for an extreme type of separatist religious nationalism. Muhammed (244) has continued the Garvey tradition, but replaces the desire to go "back to Africa" with intentions of establishing a Black nation on North American soil. Malcolm X (239, 240) became the most articulate interpreter for Muhammed; however, he moved to the position of using the nationalist approach to work for the general socioeconomic and political progress of American Negroes (240, 241). Lincoln (238) appropriates the nationalist tradition from his Christian perspective in order to spell out the dangers implicit in contemporary American race relations.

The general picture of the current ideological diversity within the "mainstream" of the civil rights movement is best presented in a series of anthologies. Broderick and Meier (224) present fifty-four selections written by active participants that explain organization policy, interpret strategy, and deal with problems such as the use of violence, and the role of white people in the civil rights movement. Jacobs and Landau (233) and Kopkind (237) present selections that specifically deal with the new forms of "radicalism" among young people that emerged fol-

lowing the sit-ins in 1960, and the relationship between the "new left" and the civil rights movement. *Who Speaks for the Negro* (250) is a more diffuse collection of discussions and interviews conducted by Robert Penn Warren with a wide range of Negroes in an attempt to delineate points of view and identify representative spokesman. *Commentary* (222) published the transcription of a discussion between James Baldwin and four "white liberals" which raised many ideological problems, particularly around the questions of assimilation versus pluralism as ultimate goals. And Clark (227) pinpoints distinctions between James Baldwin, Malcolm X, and Martin Luther King. Further general discussion is included in Farmer (232), Young (253), and King (236).

The alternative of using violence, for the most part, has been a settled question. King (235) is the recognized spokesman for non-violence, both as a strategy for social change and as a philosophical basis for living. Oppenheimer (246) presents guidelines for the application of non-violence to forms of direct action. Lewis (3) describes a trend in the civil rights movement toward "aggressive nonviolent action." Williams (251), within the context of discussing incidents in Monroe, North Carolina, takes a position in favor of violent self-defense, the same view espoused by Malcolm X (241). While no definite discussions of aggressive violent action have emerged, the course of action argued for by Fanon (231) is considered by some a logical possibility.

There are at least two opposing views for the strategy of organizing the "movement." Rustin (248) is the leading spokesman for a broad coalition of the Negro protest movement, the labor movement, and liberals in general. Another view, represented by Malcolm X (240, 241) and Stokely Carmichael (15), holds that Negroes must maintain a distinct identity and control of their community and social movement. The former position views the coalition as preceding social action, while the latter view maintains that any coalition must emerge among equal parties already in the midst of social action, each specifically concerned with their own "community." Given these positions, Killian (120) presents important considerations which affect the performance of Negro leaders, especially the limiting factors of ideology, expertise, and organizational support.

The goals sought by Negro spokesmen are as varied as other aspects of the political arena. Wilson (252) finds that goals in Chicago fall into the categories of status goals and welfare goals—i.e., issues involving principles versus those involving material things. The NAACP, as dis-

cussed above (see previous section), has not clearly pursued goals to enforce constitutional rights. Young (3) and Hill (3) present welfare goals, particularly as welfare issues become more visible in the midst of achieving equal rights. Lawson (3) spells out a position emphasizing a moral change as the ultimate concern of the non-violent protest movement. Summarily, Rustin (3) views the protest movement as fast becoming a "full-fledged social movement...now concerned not merely with removing the barriers to full *opportunity* but with achieving the fact of *equality*."

The climate of race relations has taken a radical turn since the 1966 summer march through Mississippi initiated by James Meredith. The term "Black Power" has seemingly fractured the unity of civil rights organizations, isolating at least SNCC and CORE as exponents of the controversial concept. Rustin (248) "would contend that 'Black Power' not only lacks any real value for the civil rights movement, but that its propaganda is positively harmful." Danzig (230) considers that "such slogans betoken...a new political realism based on the perception that group solidarity is the only road to Negro salvation," although he also sees danger in dissolving the traditional civil rights coalition. The *Negro Digest* (245) published a collection of twelve statements by Negro writers that deal with Black Power, a collection of personal statements which by and large sanction the use of the concept. While the above articles only suggest the available printed discussions, definitive articles on Black Power have not yet been published.

Thompson (213) sampled a number of civil rights leaders and presents a sample of statements outlining the range of goals sought by the civil rights movement. Brink and Harris (147), using a sample of 100 Negro leaders and a national sample of the Negro population, present the most comprehensive survey of beliefs which represent and support ideological positions. While these two studies make use of sample survey data, Wilson (252) presents a more limiting description based on observation of actual events. He suggests that "the apparent absence of concerted protest action among northern Negroes can be accounted for by the nature of the ends sought, the diffusion of relevant targets, the differentiation of the Negro community along class lines, and the organizational constraints placed on Negroes as they enter into partial contact with the white community."

A CONCLUSION

It should be clear that the general development of this body of literature has to a great extent been conditioned by the prevalent and inhibiting influences of discriminatory laws, quasi-secret or underground organizational activities, and an apathetic or uninterested scholarly community. The combined result of these factors can point to either of a quite distinct pair of alternatives. The first alternative, and obviously the pessimistic one, is that this literature is representative of the best of what is to come. In other words, the field of race relations is now defunct and no longer merits special attention by the scholarly or academic community. This is a highly untenable alternative, one that would deny the findings that do exist, as well as be a major blunder in the perception by social scientists of contemporary social patterns.

The second alternative would suggest that the activity of the last decade or so, both in terms of published research and actual events, is a signal for the reconsideration of a vital area of inquiry. Indeed it would hold that this area might be usefully focused on the political sociology of the Negro, and be concerned with power and the management of change. This selective review has been prepared on the assumption that this alternative is accurate; therefore, steps need be taken to assess our current position and develop guidelines for future research.

Hughes has called for a more creative and vigorous consideration of race relations (254). He states, "The kind of freeing of the imagination that I am speaking of requires a great and deep detachment, a pursuit of sociological thought and research in a playful mood. But it is a detachment of deep concern and intense curiosity that turns away from no human activity." Appropriately, he is dealing with how the social scientist ought to approach this field, a basic problem of sociological inquiry.

A more detailed battle plan is outlined in an article by Rossi (255). He notes the ironical pattern that "as the *pace of change* in race relations *stepped up* in the past few years the *volume of social science research has declined* during the same period." Rossi goes on to suggest a set of guidelines for new research. He places emphasis on three themes: 1) "a social bookkeeping system" to document the particulars during this period of rapid and frequently turbulent change; 2) "the politics of integration" to view race relations through the relevant systems of social control; and 3) "religious and ethnic groupings" as a look to the

final product of integration, and what might otherwise be regarded as unintended consequences. If one were to elaborate the second theme, it is clear that a long list of projects would be given priority. Rossi lists the "organizational forms taken by Negro protest movements," "the social organization of the total community," and "the 'style' of leadership displayed by Negroes and whites." One could easily add topics such as Negro political beliefs and values, patterns of seeking and holding political office and analyses of Negro social institutions.

In conclusion, the argument underlying this review, admittedly a limited undertaking, is threefold and quite simple: 1) The current state of affairs, meaning the saliency of race as an issue in American life and the limited character of published research, signals the need to reconceptualize and thereby reinstate the field of race relations as a central focus of social science research; 2) The study of race relations ought to include a broad political dimension as a necessary ingredient for any model or research design; and 3) research in this area ought to be done with an awareness of the peculiar socio-cultural world of the Negro, although published research has yet to delineate and operationalize adequately the characteristics of such a phenomenon.

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