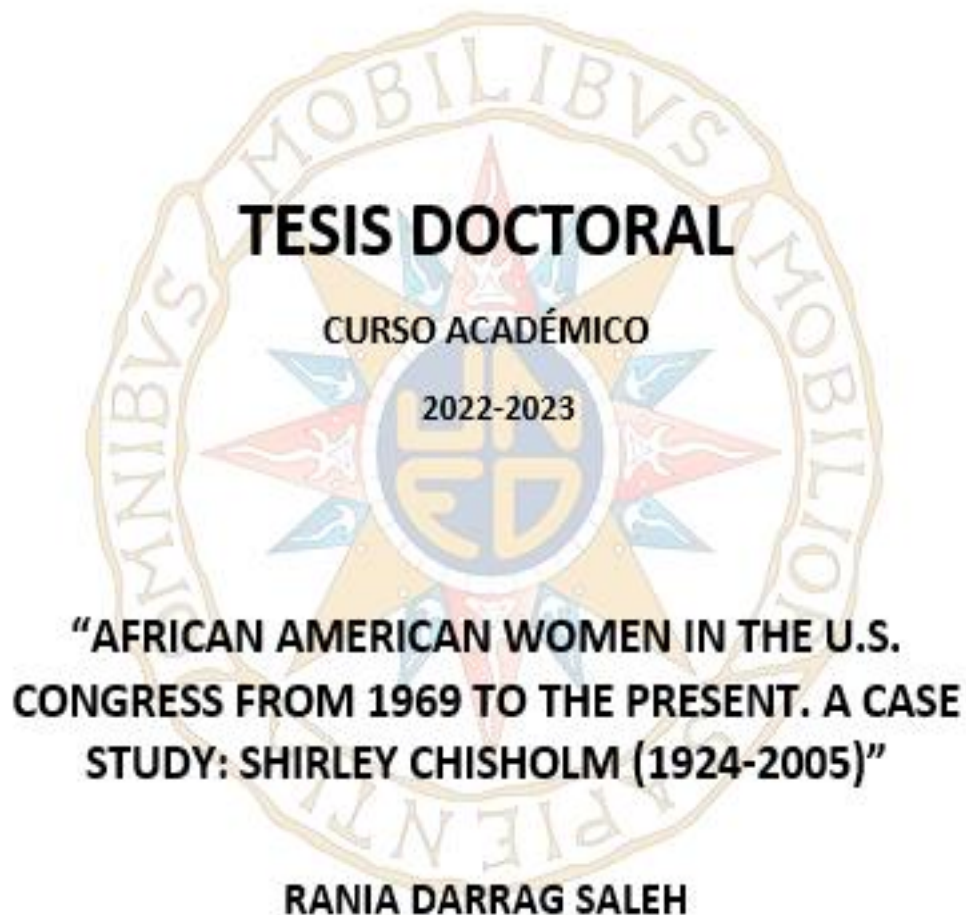


THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”



**PROGRAMA DE DOCTORADO EN FILOLOGÍA. ESTUDIOS
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THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

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INTRODUCTION

Discrimination has retarded the socio-economic upward mobility of African American women. In this respect, they have endured worse conditions than what was put up with by their male counterparts with regard to segregation. Their burden was tripled as they faced three types of discrimination within their black community because of gender, social class, and the intensity of colour, as lighter black ladies are more favoured among African Americans (colourism). Then, they were condemned to further racism in white America, which is established on the same grounds that exist in their black community, except for colourism, as they were discriminated against in white America just for being black, regardless of the density of their colour.

This research sheds light on the restraining laws and behaviours that conditioned the black women’s access to education and politics before, during, and after 1969 until the early years of the 21st century.

The hypothesis of this dissertation is that there is a correlation between the African American women’s higher educational attainment and their political participation in the US Congress from 1969 to the present.

The main objective of the thesis is to deepen into specific aspects, such as the slow and microscopic advancement of the African American women’s political participation in the US Congress throughout more than half a century despite the significant increase in

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their higher educational achievement rates at that time. The second objective is to point out the relevance of the higher educational attainment rate of African American women and their congressional participation rate.

The black women’s share in the US Congress in 2023 is 6.66% of the Congress’ total number of members. On top of that, the realisation of the fact that this number is occurring after more than half a century since 1969 when Shirley Chisholm was the first and only black Congresswoman to be elected, makes us reflect upon the reasons that led to that result, and wonder if there are any related phenomena.

The fact that the percentage of African American women with a bachelor’s degree or higher was 30.50% in 2020, according to the 2020 U.S. Census, raises further questions about the past and the current political system in the United States of America and the need to conduct research to try to connect the dots between the higher educational accomplishment of black women and their political participation in the U.S. Congress from 1969 to the present.

That was another reason for our work, given the fact that most of the U.S. Congress members are college graduates who hold a bachelor’s degree as well as higher ones, according to the Congressional Research Service.

The main reason for choosing Shirley Chisholm as the case study was the significance of her election, since she was the first black woman to be elected as a

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Congresswoman in the history of the United States of America in 1969 and she continued to be the only one until 1973.

In addition to that, Chisholm’s struggle during her running for the United States of America’s presidential elections, positioned her as an eyewitness in the site of the phenomenon and events that the research is analysing regarding African American women’s educational and political achievements at that significant point of the country’s history.

Shirley Chisholm’s political career and legacy made her the perfect choice to be studied while conducting this work due to her close ties to the circumstances and her proximity to the country’s political history milestone. No other African American woman would have been a better candidate to be studied for that critical specific part of the American momentous events, as she is the embodiment of all the struggles of black women at that time. In this connection, we should bear in mind that high-profile careers were a rarity for African American women back then in 1969. That is the reason why we take her fight to be able to access the US Congress and her Presidential campaign as a case study.

Our research is innovative regarding the treatment of the correlation between African American women’s higher educational attainment and their number in the US Congress (1969-2020). In fact, this work provides a ground-breaking qualitative and quantitative study to determine the extent to which the mentioned correlation exists in the

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lives of black women. It also aspires to open a debate about its socio-economic impact on them.

Additionally, this thesis is an essential and valuable contribution to the political and educational studies of the United States of America concerning African American women from 1969 to the present. It introduces original data and numbers that did not exist before the dissertation and provides progressive statistics with relation to that correlation.

What is more, choosing Shirley Chisholm as the epitome of hope for a better future for African American women was enhanced in this study, as it was treated in previous works such as the articles “Before Hillary Clinton, There Was Shirley Chisholm” (2016), and “An Inspiration to Women Candidates in 2018: Remembering Shirley Chisholm” (2018).

As far as the structure is concerned, the corpus of this work is made up of five chapters. The first one starts with the historical context of blacks in the United States of America and African American women’s triple discrimination, their economic conditions, work segregation, and housing risks. This was the qualitative foundation of our study and it was tremendously important in order to understand and make sense of events.

Later on, the second chapter widens the concept of educational segregation with relation to the laws that consolidated the exclusion of African Americans. In this regard,

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there is a special focus on black women’s educational attainments from 1960 to the present, compared to other minorities for the purpose of contrasting results.

Afterwards, chapter three concentrates on black women in politics, especially their share in the US Congress, after introducing the segregating political laws that cut off all the African Americans from politics in the past and retarded their upward socio-economic mobility. It also displays numerical data regarding the African Americans’ access to the US Congress from 1871 onwards, until 2023. The data extend to African American women and their political participation in the US Congress from 1969 to the present in an attempt to draw a clear idea about their high-ranking political position’s status in Congress.

Regarding figures and data that support our thesis, chapter four offers a quantitative correlational study of the number of African American Congresswomen and their higher educational attainment.

In chapter five, the dissertation pays a special tribute to Shirley Chisholm for being a pioneer in Congress due to her position as the first black Congresswoman to be elected. The case study depicts her life, her path, her struggles to obtain a high-profile career, her being a barrier breaker to all the existing restrictions, her participation and foundation of African American societies and organisations, her being a risk taker and taking her chances on U.S. presidency candidacy, as well as her legacy, using her two autobiographical books *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), and *The Good Fight* (1973), T.V. and radio interviews,

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speeches, in addition to the press articles that were published about her at that time and recent ones as well.

The conclusion of the research contains a discussion of the interpretation of the findings and results of the correlational study proving our hypothesis. It also provides proposals leading to the improvement of the current situation of African American women, as well as further lines of research.

The Appendices of the thesis are divided into five sections: section A contains governmental documents and law cases that are retrieved from the US Library of Congress and The National Archives such as The Emancipation Proclamation, Public Law-Voting Rights Act of 1965- Statue 79, and *Brown Versus Board of Education of Topeka*, and the like. Section B consists of tables and charts from the US Census. Section C includes transcripts of Chisholm’s speeches and interviews. Section D holds an important article about Shirley Chisholm. Finally, section E is made up of material that I prepared by myself by including a table of members of the 91st US Congress, a timeline of African American history, a questionnaire that was prepared for the study, but was not answered, and its covering letter.

Regarding the educational position of African American women, this dissertation departs from various educational indicators used in previous studies, such as *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait* (1993), which gives a clear panoramic vision of

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the educational status of American citizens by gender, race, and age from 1869-70 to 1990-93. This book was used as a reference during the preparation of our study. In addition to that book, the publication *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017* (2017) was among the reliable sources that allowed us to delve into the educational level of African Americans and other minorities in the United States of America by gender and age during the 21st century.

Concerning the discriminatory legislation, the book *Commentaries on American Law* (1832) was taken as a source of the segregating codification in the United States of America in the 19th century, as well as law cases such as *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896), which ruled the separation of whites and blacks in accommodation and stood as evidence of the bigotry experienced by black population. While lawsuits such as *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* (1954) were used as proof of the milestone educational integration of African Americans.

As for the state of art concerning racist conducts in the 21st century, there are press articles such as “Derek Chauvin Verdict Brings a Rare Rebuke of Police Misconduct” (2021), which gave an insight into the continuity of brutal behaviour towards African American citizens in 2021.

A theoretical approach to previous research on the economic situation and work risks of African American women in the 20th century was done by using *The Cambridge*

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Companion to Modern American Culture (2001), which laid the base of our qualitative information about the economic and work segregation that black women had to endure.

Furthermore, the articles “Contextualized Stress, Global Stress, and Depression in Well-Educated, Pregnant, African-American Women” (2012), and “Examining the Burdens of Gendered Racism: Implications for Pregnancy Outcomes among College-Educated African American Women” (2001) served us to determine the negative health outcome of housing discrimination on well-educated African American women and their children.

In order to have a full idea about decreased congressional participation of black women throughout the 20th century and the 21st century, “Women in Congress” from History, Art & Archives. *The U.S. House of Representatives* provided the needed data, in addition to “Women of Color in Elective Office 2021”, and “116th Congress (2019–2021)”.

The political struggles of Shirley Chisholm, and her life path were documented in the only two books that she wrote, *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970) and *The Good Fight* (1973), as well as the articles that were written about her, like "Shirley Chisholm, 'Unbossed' Pioneer in Congress, Is Dead at 80" (2005), “‘Unbought and Unbossed’: When a Black Woman Ran for the White House” (2016), "Shirley Chisholm: Catalyst for Change" (2011), and “Shirley Chisholm’s Newly Unearthed ‘Do Women Dare?’ Speech Is Just as Relevant Today” (2022), which helped us to draw a close portrayal of her determined, steadfast, strong character.

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In addition to that, there were her retrieved speeches, such as “1972 Shirley Chisholm Presidential Campaign Announcement” from *REEL AMERICA. AMERICAN HISTORY TV C-SPAN3*, in which Chisholm declared her Presidential candidacy and the reason for her running for the President of the United States of America. All of that illuminated the way of our study and made us more insightful into the lives of black women from the sixties to the present, as well as fully informed of their uphill educational and political battles.

As for the methodology, I have used a triangulation of data from different sources such as the US Census Bureau, reputable guaranteed research centres as the PEW Research Center, and Brookings, the National Archives, the Center for African American Women and Politics, the Library of Congress, original governmental law cases and The White House in order to gain access to reliable information about the past and the current situation of African American women regarding their higher educational attainment and congressional participation.

The statistical data, collected throughout the present research, have served to design specific tables that allowed to construct different sorts of graphs-histograms, bar charts and pie charts- aiming at the establishment of correlational links that may connect the congressional situation of African American women and their higher educational status from 1969 onwards to the present.

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To accomplish that, I gathered data from the American Census Bureau from 1969 to the present, from prestigious research centres, as well as the previously mentioned sources. Afterwards, I compared them in order to prove the hypothesis that the deteriorated higher educational condition of African American women in 1969 affected their political integration in the US Congress at that time and that phenomenon has continued to be true for African American women in the 21st century.

Thus, the research links the higher educational results in 1969 with the contemporary higher educational status of African American women does the same with their Congress participation rates, and then pools all the results. In order to do that, I created a correlational line chart demonstrating that phenomenon.

The target group selected for the detection of higher educational progress was African American women holding a bachelor’s degree or a higher one from 1969 to 2020 from the US Census Bureau of 1960, 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020. The target group for pinpointing the congressional representation is African American Congresswomen from 1969 to the present from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*.

Exploring all the previous data and statistics, this study is meant to present the gradual chronological change of the African American women’s higher educational attainment rate and Congress access situations. A quantitative parallel correlational work of

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the effect of the African American women's higher educational achievement rate on their political career in Congress from 1969 to the present is introduced, as well as a qualitative one connecting their past educational and political situation to their present concerning legislation and restrictions.

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CHAPTER ONE

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1. HISTORICAL AND CULTURAL CONTEXT

1.1.1. THE ARRIVAL OF AFRICAN PEOPLE, SLAVERY, AND THE EFFECTS OF THE CIVIL WAR: A HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Millions of African people were forcibly brought to and held captive in the United States of America from 1555 to 1865. Originally, they were captured in African wars or raids and transported in the Atlantic slave trade which signified that the enslaved African people were transported by slave traders, mainly to the Americas using the triangular trade route across the Atlantic regularly (Westbury, 1985: 228-37)¹.

The vast majority of those who were enslaved and transported in the transatlantic slave trade were people from central and western Africa, who had been sold by other West Africans to Western European slave traders (with a small number being captured directly by the slave traders in coastal raids), who brought them to the Americas. They belonged to diverse ethnic groups such as the Hausa, Bakongo, Igbo, Mandé, Wolof, Akan, Fon,

¹ For further reading about the Atlantic slave trade, see: Northrup, David. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 2002. Klein, Herbert S., and Jacob Klein. *The Atlantic Slave Trade*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1999. Davidson, Basil. *The African Slave Trade*. Boston: Back Bay Books, 1988. Mannix, Daniel. *Black Cargoes*. New York: The Viking Press, 1962.

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Yoruba, and Makua, among many others. This trade took place from the 16th to the 19th century. Hence, African Americans are descended from various ethnic groups, mostly from western and central Africa, including the Sahel, a smaller number came from eastern and southeastern Africa. (Klein, and Klein, 1999: 103-139).

On the ships that had trafficked the captured Africans, the slaves were separated from their families long before they boarded the ships. Once aboard, the captives were then classified by gender. Under the deck, the slaves were stuffed in a tiny place with no space to walk around freely. Male slaves were generally kept in the ship’s hold, where they struggled to survive. The captives stationed on the floor beneath low-lying bunks could barely move and spent much of the voyage stuck to the floor, which could, over time, decay the skin on their elbows down to the bone (White, 2013: 27). The lack of basic hygiene, appropriate alimention and dehydration led to the widespread of diseases and death was more likely to happen. As for the African women on the ships, they were often raped by the crewmen (Mannix, 1962: 1-5).

As soon as they arrived in America, slaves were overworked, inadequately housed, fed, and received a poor medical care. In terms of definition, slaves were defined literally as properties, as they were bought, sold, and leased, a matter that tore apart the African American families. Concerning slave women, they were abused to breed slaves for sale, as their children were the property of their masters.

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Moreover, according to the law, slave marriages were illegal, and slaves were prohibited from owning a property or testifying against a white man in courts. Furthermore, no education was provided or allowed for slaves and their children, as it was not legitimate for them to receive education (Martin, James Kirby et al., 1997: 398-404).

Consequently, the black population and their descendants for consecutive generations were locked out of the essential tools to maintain a healthy, stable and united life, move upward socio-economically, and fulfil their dreams.

Slavery was hell on earth to Afro-Americans, but slaves fought that by resorting to religion, music, and folklore to strengthen their ties despite the psychologically dehumanising effects of slavery. Robinson and Nelson explained that “African Americans have always seen God as a source of comfort in times of distress—a relationship with a higher power” (2010: 1182).

African Americans found support and power in their spiritual life, which they were denied in other places. In addition to that, they perceived their religious singing as a way to express themselves and their hardships non-violently.

Nevertheless, the blacks’ responses and reactions were not peaceful all the time. They also revolted aggressively through protests against slavery which included sabotaging, and stealing from their masters and even murdering them as it happened in

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Southampton Country, Southern Virginia on August 22nd, 1831, when Nat Turner² led a group of slaves and murdered the entire household of his master. By the 1860, about half a million African Americans were not slaves as many slave-owners freed thousands of them and other slaves were emancipated by escaping.

It is commonly believed that one of the main causes of the very existence of the ideology of slavery itself was an economic one. Hence, the South Atlantic and Caribbean economies especially were dependent on the supply of secure labour to produce commodity crops, making goods and clothing to sell in Europe. That was vital to those western European countries, which in the late 17th and 18th centuries, were competing to create overseas empires (Westbury, 1985: 228-37).

Slavery was not vanquished in 1860 through the emancipation process that was implemented by cooperative slave owners and led by the efforts of determined slaves, as the Southern states renounced emancipation and maintained slavery within their borders.

² Nat Turner (October 2nd, 1800 – November 11th, 1831) was an enslaved African-American preacher who led the four-day rebellion of enslaved and free black people in Southampton County, Virginia in 1831. He was born into slavery in Southampton County, Virginia, an area with more blacks than whites. Benjamin Turner, his family's owner, recorded him as "Nat". When Benjamin Turner died in 1810, Nat was inherited as property by Benjamin's son Samuel Turner. For most of his life, he was known as "Nat", but after the 1831 rebellion, he was widely referred to as "Nat Turner". For more information, see: White, Deborah G., Mia Bay, and Waldo E. Martin Jr. *Freedom on My Mind: A History of African Americans, with Documents*. Boston: Bedford/St. Martins, 2013. Greenberg, Kenneth S. *Nat Turner: A Slave Rebellion in History and Memory*. New York: Oxford UP, 2003. Drewry, William Sidney. *The Southampton Insurrection*. Washington D.C.: The Neale Company, 1900.

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Therefore, Abraham Lincoln³, the 16th President of the United States of America, led the country through a critical period of its history.

Consequently, the federal troops tried to force the ending of slavery and accepted black soldiers to serve in the Civil War that targeted the rebellious states. It was a war for freedom and union and Abraham Lincoln was aware of its embedded meaning.

The Civil War (1861-1865) which shaped the American nation was a landmark in the history of the United States of America. That war settled two pivotal issues: whether the United States was to remain a disintegrative confederation of sovereign states or to become a unified nation with a powerful national government; and whether slavery was to continue to be carried out in the country or to be stopped. Slavery was ended by the Northern states' victory in the war and the country was preserved as an amalgamated nation (McPherson, 2008: paragraph 1-3)⁴.

Abraham Lincoln issued the Emancipation Proclamation on January 1st, 1863. The Proclamation declared “that all persons held as slaves are, and henceforward shall be free”

³ Abraham Lincoln (February 12, 1809 – April 15, 1865) the 16th President of the United States of America from 1861 until his assassination in 1865. He was an American lawyer and statesman. Lincoln led the American society through the Civil War, maintained the union of the country, putting an end to slavery, strengthening the federal government, and updating the U.S. economy (<https://www.whitehouse.gov/about-the-white-house/presidents/abraham-lincoln/>).

⁴ For further information, see: McPherson, James. “A Brief Overview of the American Civil War, A Defining Time in Our Nation's History.” *AMERICAN BATTLEFIELD TRUST* 20 Nov. 2008. Accessed 25 Nov. 2021. <https://www.battlefields.org/learn/articles/brief-overview-american-civil-war>
Weber, Jennifer L. and Hassler, Warren W. "American Civil War." Encyclopaedia Britannica, 5 Apr. 2021. Accessed 25 Nov. 2021. <https://www.britannica.com/event/American-Civil-War>

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(National Archives. “The Emancipation Proclamation.”). The Proclamation did not realise its goal, as it was not applied to all the states. And the Southern states that broke away from the United States of America did not follow the principles of the Proclamation and slavery continued in those states.

Following in the footsteps of the Civil War, the Thirteenth, the Fourteenth and the Fifteenth Amendments⁵ were passed between 1873 and 1883, as they were planned to end slavery, grant citizenship, and provide the right to vote for the newly freed blacks respectively. Unfortunately, those Amendments failed in guaranteeing any of the rights that they promised, as the Supreme Court’s decrees crushed the Congress’ central work during the Reconstitution era.

⁵ The Thirteenth Amendment (Amendment XIII) to the United States Constitution put an end to slavery and involuntary servitude, except as punishment for a crime. The amendment was passed by Congress on January 31st, 1865, and officially approved by the required 27 of the then 36 states on December 6, 1865 and proclaimed on December 18th. It was the first of the three Reconstruction Amendments adopted following the American Civil War. For more information, see: Foner, E. *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988. Stamp, Kenneth M. *The Imperilled Union: Essays on the Background of the Civil War*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.

The Fourteenth Amendment (Amendment XIV) to the United States Constitution was adopted on July 9th, 1868, as one of the Reconstruction Amendments. It addresses citizenship rights and equal protection under the law and was proposed in response to issues related to former slaves following the American Civil War. The amendment was harshly opposed, particularly by the states of the defeated Confederacy, which were forced to ratify it in order to regain representation in Congress. The amendment, particularly its first section, is one of the most litigated parts of the Constitution, forming the basis for milestone Supreme Court decisions such as *Brown v. Board of Education* (1954) regarding racial segregation. For more information, see: Nelson, William E. *The Fourteenth Amendment: From Political Principle to Judicial Doctrine*. Cambridge, Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1988. Foner, E. *Reconstruction: America’s Unfinished Revolution 1863-1877*. New York: Harper and Row, 1988. The Fifteenth Amendment (Amendment XV), also served to effectuate compulsory labour relations.

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Later on, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) was founded in 1909, as a consequence of socialist William English Walling's⁶ publication of a report about a bloody race rampage in Springfield, Illinois in 1908⁷. Among the earliest and most vital efforts of NAACP that was registered at the bottom of the founding document of the NAACP (1909) is:

That there be equal educational opportunities for all and in all the States, and that public school expenditure be the same for Negro and white child ("Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee," 1909).

The mentioned principle of the NAACP was a needed procedure to eliminate the racial discrimination in education that the black population had suffered. It stemmed from the educational inequality that risked the innermost present and future of African Americans and threatened to destroy their normal existence. This measure paved the way for the law cases, the resistance, and the desegregation that followed afterwards.

⁶ William English Walling (1877–1936) was an American work reformer and Socialist Republican who came from a rich family in Louisville, Kentucky. He investigated the Springfield Race Riot of 1908 in the state capital of Illinois, and as a result of his investigation, he co-founded the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in 1909 (Boylan, 1998: 334).

⁷ The Springfield race riot of 1908 were events of multitude racial violence committed against Black Americans by a crowd of about 5,000 white Americans and European immigrants in Springfield, Illinois, between August 14th and 16th, 1908. Two black men had been seized as being accused of rape, and attempted rape and murder. The claimed victims were two young white women and the father of one of them. The sheriff had transferred the suspects out of the city. Consequently, a mob of whites who wanted to lynch the arrested Black men, attacked black neighbourhoods violently, slaughtered black citizens on the streets, and demolished black businesses and homes. The state army force was summoned to put an end to the rioting (Senechal de la Roche, 2008: 10).

1.1.2. SEGREGATION, THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT, AND BLACK RESISTANCE TACTICS

The problems of African Americans continued after their emancipation as most of them lived in poverty and faced harsh legal, economic, and social discrimination. African Americans endured not being allowed to marry whites, testify in court against them, and they were forced to work in underpaid, low jobs. Whites forced them in segregated jails, graveyards, and schools. African Americans also continued to lead a low and dull life as they lived in stables and sheds, without windows, or furniture, with leaking roofs and sinking floors in the ground (Martin, James Kirby et al., 1997: 404-6).

Consequently, discrimination spread all over the country and covered all aspects of life, as Afro-Americans experienced segregation in housing, health care, education, salaries, and jobs, and the United States’ laws were the ones that conditioned and validated all the different practices of racism and legalised them. Leiman in *The Political Economy of Racism* (1993) expressed that as follows:

The web of white discrimination against blacks is wide and complex. It affects all aspects of black life including education, employment, income, housing, health and the law. The relationship between the black ghetto community and the overwhelmingly white power structure has never approached a level of genuine equality. Power and comparative affluence at one end contrast dramatically with powerlessness and comparative poverty at the other end (Leiman, 1993: 3).

The housing discrimination that was depicted by Leiman generated inferior living places for the Afro-Americans. Those degrading places were referred to as: “African American homes have been described as “sick, pathological, deviant, or underdeveloped” (Nieto,

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1996: 244). That could be considered as a symbol and reflection of the subordinate socio-economic achievement of the black population in comparison to whites due to the web of racial discrimination.

Housing segregation is the practice of denying African Americans or other minority groups equal access to housing through the process of misinformation, denial of realty and financing services, in addition to racial steering (King, and Mieszkowski, 1973: 590-606).

And that was a solid reality for blacks as it is shown in the following lines:

In 1912, the residential segregation law empowered cities and towns to designate districts as "white" or "colored," on the basis of whether 50 percent of the inhabitants were white or Negro. While one could not be forced to move out of a district designated for the opposite race, beginning twelve months after such designation, persons of the opposite race were forbidden to move into the district. Violators might be fined from five to fifty dollars, plus an additional two dollars for each day they remained (Wynes, 1967: 418).

Accordingly, the power of legislation is incomparable when it comes to isolating a group in one place. Residential racism⁸ continued to be the dominant norm despite the striking down of the discriminating housing-segregation laws by the Supreme Court in 1917 (Eyer, 2019:

⁸ For more explanation about the residential segregation and its enforcement using utterly colour-blind policies but internally racist procedures, see: Eyer, Katie. "The New Jim Crow Is the Old Jim Crow." *The Yale Law Journal* 128.4 (2019): 1002-1077. Web. 24 May 2020. Rothstein, Richard. *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How Our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation, 2017. Metzger, J. "Planned Abandonment: The Neighborhood Life-Cycle Theory and National Urban Policy." *Housing Policy Debate* 11.1 (2000): 7-40. Benston, G. J. "The Persistent Myth of Redlining." *Real Estate Appraiser* 44 (1978): 4-7. Hunter, O. "Redlining: Common Sense or Social Scourge?" *Real Estate Appraiser* 42 (1976): 5-6. Wynes, Charles. "The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia." *Phylon* 28 (1967): 416-25.

1032). As the previous extract mentions, constraints were everywhere and sometimes they were disguised, but at the same time targeted the same aims of discrimination against the same group.

Residential segregation laws were decreed by the United States Supreme Court in 1917 in Kentucky, *Buchanan v. Warley* to be unconstitutional. The same thing happened in 1918 when Virginia's Supreme Court of Appeals cast off a Clifton Forge ordinance in *Irvine v. City of Clifton Forge*. In the same way, the United States Supreme Court adopted the same attitude when it condemned alike laws in 1928 and 1930. But it was not until 1950 when the statute of Virginia was abandoned from its Code (Wynes, 1967: 418). The verdict of the Supreme Court regarding *Buchanan v. Warley* was the following one:

We think this attempt to prevent the alienation of the property in question to a person of color was not a legitimate exercise of the police power of the State, and is in direct violation of the fundamental law enacted in the Fourteenth Amendment of the Constitution preventing state interference with property rights except by due process of law. That being the case the ordinance cannot stand. *Booth v. Illinois*, 184 U. S. 425, 429; *Otis v. Parker*, 187 U. S. 606, 609 (Day, William Rufus, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Buchanan v. Warley*, 245 U.S. 60. 1917).

Another aspect of residential legal discrimination was a phenomenon called Redlining. This practice started in the 1930s, when federal agencies urged lenders to rate neighbourhoods for mortgage risk. Since the 1960s, redlining in the United States of America has been connected to disinvestment, racial inequality and neighbourhood decline, and inner city has been associated with the redlining (Harris and Forrester, 2003: 2661). Redlining is defined as follows:

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Broadly denied, redlining occurs when one or more lending institutions decline to loan in a specific area, or demand terms that are so stringent as to be prohibitive. Usually it reflects the lenders’ “sincere and studied business judgement” about the costs of doing business (Hunter, 1976: 5; Benston, 1978: 4-7).

Redlining was implemented in the United States of America in compliance with the suppression of the Afro-Americans and their alienation in their own country. Redlining is one of the features of racial discrimination in the United States of America, as it includes denial of credit. In addition, redlining has been considered by some as an issue that began to surface in inner suburbs, but the majority argued that the most vulnerable areas are in the city (Tootell, 1996: 1049-1079; Agelasto and Listoken, 1977: 80; Marcuse, 1979: 549-556; Smith, Coris, and Wyle, 2001: 497-531). Therefore, redlining existed in the inner city as well as in inner suburbs, and it was not exclusive to one place and not the other. The origins of the redlining can be perceived as follows:

In historical terms, redlining is a recent phenomenon. It became possible once home-buyers had come to rely upon mortgage credit to acquire homes and when institutional lenders had become the main sources of mortgage finance. Before then, lenders may well have chosen not to make loans in specific areas, but such decisions carried little weight and violated few social expectations (Harris, and Forrester, 2003: 2662).

In such a context, redlining belonged to a period previous to the time when it began to come to light and draw attention. In the US, redlining was a reality at the beginning of the twentieth century, at least in urban areas: “most buyers took on debt and most borrowers turned to a bank, insurance company or a Savings and Loan” (Harris and Ragonetti, 1998: 223-238).

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Although redlining was practised in urban areas in the early 20th century, it was not spoken about until the 1930s, when it was supported by federal agencies as part of the new plan to reduce mortgage risk. Just like any other rule, redlining started to be more effective and well-known as soon as it was backed by the government and its agencies.

Most Scholars believed that in the US “the main (if not the sole) targets of redlining were poorer inner-city districts, especially those occupied by large numbers of racialized minorities” (Jackson, 1985: 190-230; Metzger, 2000: 7-40; Bradford, 1979: 313-335).

This is enforced by the fact that during the middle decades of the twentieth century US suburbs were white dominated and because of that they were attractive to lenders. The suburbs were various: some were industrial; others were residential but poor, lacking public regulation and services (lenders were warned of such areas) (Fishman, 1987: 39-72; Jackson, 1985: 190-230; Harris and Lewis, 2000: 262-293; Douglass, 1925: 74-122). As a consultant to the Federal Housing Administration, FHA, Hoyt (1937) recommended that:

[...] agency-approved lenders avoid lower-grade districts wherever they might be and the FHA formalised his proscriptions against areas that were not covered by zoning or private deed restrictions, that lacked utilities or that were still undeveloped and whose potential was unproven (US FHA, 1935: 3-7; Hoyt, 1937: 5-7).

Furthermore, poor areas had few or no utilities at all, and they were the last to be paid attention to because the lenders were warned of them. That led to the decline of those unfortunate areas as well as the trapping of their residents in low-grade districts with no hope to leave them. Additionally, there was not even any possibility for a development in

their infra-structure to be happening soon as those areas were not secured and the lenders were restricted not to lend buyers of houses there.

Moreover, a large number of marginal areas were redlined, which triggered the questioning of favouritism of the FHA, which denied blacks any guaranteeing of their mortgages when they tried to buy houses in white neighbourhoods, and segregated camps were maintained. The FHA insured more homes in the suburbs than in the cities because that was where most new homes were being built (Harris, and Forrester, 2003: 2661-2663). That was how the redlining worked in favour of white high-standard districts at the expense of poor areas that were always inhabited by minorities, especially the African Americans.

That phenomenon created what is known as: “The “race versus space” debate, crucial in understanding why minorities (especially blacks) suffer from economic disadvantages” (Zenou, and Boccard, 2000: 260). Thus, space or residential segregation based on colour and race provoked the poverty problem of the Afro-Americans because they lived in poor-funded, insecure districts that generated low-funded schools, which led to inferior education, blue collar, underpaid job opportunities, and eventually impoverishment and sickness.

It was argued that: “Over the past 100 years, ethnic minorities and the poor have become increasingly concentrated and isolated in low-income urban neighborhoods” (Eisenhauer, 2001: 125). This can be explained in terms of the low taxes that were collected

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in poor neighbourhoods, which led to ill-equipped schools, and the poor became poorer, inferiorly educated, unemployed, sick, and dependent.

In addition, most white people still prefer white neighbourhoods⁹, and they consider living in others with a substantial quantity of African Americans as less advisable and more dangerous compared with identical white neighbourhoods. A multitude of studies have shown that African Americans (especially African American males) are unjustifiably considered by whites as dangerous, and sometimes with deadly consequences (Eyer, 2019: 1030-1031).

By perceiving African American neighbourhoods to be dangerous, and jeopardising their peace and safety, white people are using another indirect method of housing-segregation aside from the obligatory force of legislation as they choose voluntarily to live in white majority districts. That was how they reinforced the residential segregation that negatively affected African Americans' life and deepened their sense of inferiority.

In an attempt to ease the clout of segregation, President Roosevelt adopted some measures in the New Deal's programs to help the black minority. Lamentably, they did not

⁹ See: Onwuachi-Willig, Angela. “Policing the Boundaries of Whiteness: The Tragedy of Being Out of Place from Emmett Till to Trayvon Martin.” *Iowa Law Review* 102.3 (2017): 1113, 1115. Wilson, John Paul, Nicholas O. Rule, and Kurt Hugenberg. “Racial Bias in Judgments of Physical Size and Formidability: From Size to Threat.” *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 113.1 (2017): 59-80. Mekawi, Yara and Konrad Bresin, “Is the Evidence from Racial Bias Shooting Task Studies a Smoking Gun? Results from a Meta-Analysis.” *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology* 61 (2015): 120. Krysan, Maria et al. “Does Race Matter in Neighborhood Preferences? Results from a Video Experiment.” *AJS; American Journal of Sociology* 115.2 (2009): 527-59. Quillian, Lincoln, and Devah Pager. “Black Neighbors, Higher Crime? The Role of Racial Stereotypes in Evaluations of Neighborhood Crime.” *American Journal of Sociology* 107.3 (2001): 717-767.

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solve the problem of African Americans’ discrimination, as the National Recovery Administration (NRA) deprived blacks from high-standard jobs and separated them from whites.

Furthermore, blacks were forced off the land in 1933 and 1934 and they found it hard if not impossible to be hired in the jobs that were not traditionally their zone of domain, like agriculture or servitude for example due to the Social Security Act. Eleanor Roosevelt, the President’s wife, played a great role convincing her husband and the government officials with her ideas to offer work to Afro-American women. She visited families and investigated the conditions of the jobs that were offered to African Americans, checking every detail in the New Deal programs (Martin, James Kirby et al., 1997: 844-45).

Despite Roosevelt and his wife’s non-stoppable efforts to help blacks, no significant results were achieved. They were not fighting alone to attain progress in Civil Rights, there were also remarkable figures like Mary Bethune¹⁰, who was a highly-important advisor to

¹⁰ Mary Jane McLeod Bethune (born Mary Jane McLeod; July 10th, 1875 – May 18th, 1955) was an American educator, stateswoman, philanthropist, humanitarian, and civil rights activist. She was known for opening a private school for the African-Americans in Daytona Beach, Florida. She also contributed to the foundation of the UNCF on April 25th, 1944 with William Trent and Fredrick D. Patterson. She developed the academic school as a college, and then that college was later expanded, and named after her to be known now as Bethune-Cookman University. She was also the national advisor to the president Franklin D. Roosevelt. For more information about Mary Bethune, read: Long, Nancy Ann Zrinyi. *Mary McLeod Bethune: Her Life and Legacy*. Florida: Florida Historical Society, 2019. Jones, Ida E. *Mary McLeod Bethune in Washington, D.C.: Activism and Education in Logan Circle*. Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2013. Poole, Bernice Anderson. *Mary McLeod Bethune: Educator*. Cambridgeshire: Melrose Square Publishing Company, 1994.

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President Roosevelt, and led a key role in the black cabinet¹¹. She was one of the active national leaders in the United States of America. Bethune protested against the lynching bill in a Southern Conference on Human Welfare (McCluskey, and Smith, 2002: 3-8).

Apart from that, at the end of World War II, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill, a law that provided a range of benefits for returning World War II veterans¹², expanded segregation practices by keeping African Americans out of European American neighbourhoods which shows another dark side of the African American housing plight. When millions of World War II veterans returned home from overseas, they benefited from the GI Bill, which was passed by the 78th United States Congress and was signed on June 22nd, 1944 by Franklin D. Roosevelt as it gave them education, training opportunities, guaranteed loans for home, farm, or business, job finding assistance, and unemployment pay of \$20 a week for up to 52 weeks if a veteran could not find a job (Altschuler, and Blumin, 2009: 118).

¹¹ The Black Cabinet, or Federal Council of Negro Affairs or Black Brain Trust, was the informal term for a group of African Americans who served as public policy advisors to President Franklin D. Roosevelt and his wife Eleanor Roosevelt in his 1933-45 terms in office. There was no official organization. The term was coined in 1936 by Mary McLeod Bethune and was occasionally used in the press. By mid-1935, there were 45 African Americans working in federal executive departments and New Deal agencies. For more information about the Black Cabinet, see: Barron, James. "Robert C. Weaver 89, First Black Cabinet Member, Dies". *New York Times* 19 July 1997.

¹² The original G.I. Bill expired in 1956, but the term "G.I. Bill" is still used to refer to programs created to assist U.S. military veterans. For further information about the G.I. Bill, consult: Altschuler, Glenn C., and Stuart M. Blumin. *The GI Bill a New Deal for Veterans*. Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009. Mettler, Suzanne. "The Creation of the G.I. Bill of Rights of 1944: Melding Social and Participatory Citizenship Ideals." *Journal of Policy History* 17.4 (2005): 345–374.

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More than half of the veterans used the educational supplies: 2.2 million sought a college education or graduate degree, and 5.6 million obtained vocational or on-the-job training. The low-interest loans for the buying of homes, farms, and businesses benefited 29 percent of veterans (Mettler, 2005: 345).

Moreover, the final bill offered instant financial recompenses for almost all World War II veterans, as a way to circumvent the delayed life insurance policy payout for World War I veterans that had created a political unrest in the 1920s and 1930s (Altschuler, 2009: 118).

Consequently, this law allowed millions of U.S. soldiers to purchase their first homes with inexpensive mortgages, which signified the mounting of suburbs and the emergence of the notion of a suburban lifestyle, excluding blacks out of those zones just by denying them the exact same advantages.

That was another way to residentially segregate African Americans since most of the awarded veterans were whites and they were the only ones who received the financial help in education, employment, as well as the low-cost mortgage loans to buy homes, farms, or start businesses. It was truly an orchestrated plan to segregate black people and always keep them at the end if not off the train of progress in life.

On the other side, African Americans faced discrimination when trying to purchase a home in overwhelmingly white neighbourhoods. The realtors would not show those

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houses to African Americans, and when they did, they would try and talk them out of buying there. This was due to the realtors’ belief that they would be losing future business by dealing with African Americans and selling them houses in a European American neighbourhood, which would reduce the value of the surrounding houses (Gibson, 2007: 3-25). This was conveyed as follows:

This was really part of much, much larger forces that are at work, and they may or may not be consciously malicious... This is the result of city policy, of other kinds of larger-scale things that systematically cripple or dismember a community. Some neighborhoods are “fed”. Others are bled (Gibson, 2007: 3).

As Gibson explained here, the city policies and laws were not fair and that there was no equality when it comes to dealing with different neighbourhoods, as some of them are very well maintained and secured, whereas the others are neglected, isolated and endured poor or no funds for their infrastructure.

Between 1950 and 1970, about 7 million white Americans moved to the suburbs, and approximately 3 million blacks commuted from the South to the North, a matter that increased the ghettos, where African Americans and their children were trapped in poor, crime-oriented zones.

On top of that, blacks were not only forbidden from buying houses in the suburbs, but they were also banned from even renting homes there, as it happened in 1960 for

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instance in the new communities built by William Levitt¹³ (Kushner, 2009: 43). Blacks were solely allowed to enter those premises as servants and nothing more. Those behaviours added to the blacks’ poverty which soared in the urban non-white communities and therefore suburbs became a white domain. African Americans lived in the city’s underprivileged neighbourhoods and the white were accumulated in the suburbs between 1965 and 1970.

Furthermore, in the 1990s, most of the suburban whites lived in nearly black free communities, as those places were still out of the blacks’ league and the median wealth of the whites’ household was ten times more than the Afro-Americans’. A very low ratio of blacks owned their own houses compared to whites. Moreover, in 2000, few blacks lived in suburbs in mainly black communities (Foner, 2005: 946-1097).

As a result, redlining, segregating legislation, and the discrimination through the GI Bill, together with the white who voluntarily abandoned black majority neighbourhoods to

¹³ William Laird Levitt (February 11th, 1907- January 28th, 1994) was a realtor from Brooklyn, New York City. He was named by the *Time Magazine* as one of the “100 Most Influential People of the 20th Century”. He managed Levitt & Sons Company, which was founded by his father Abraham Levitt. The company was known for building the town of Levittown, New York, which he refused to sell its houses to the Afro-Americans. His sales contracts prevented even the resale to blacks. His discriminative policies led to Civil Rights protests in Bowie, Maryland in 1963. He faced opposition from different associations and unions like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, The American Civil Liberties Union, and the Federal Housing Administration. For more information about William Levitt and Levittown, see: Kushner, David. *Levittown: Two Families, One Tycoon, and the Fight for Civil Rights in America’s Legendary Suburb*. New York: Walker & Company, 2009.

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live in white majority ones, downgraded most African Americans and gathered them in a crowded area within the city with low property values and high crime rates.

Additionally, segregation reached universities and separate colleges for African Americans were built in the South after the Civil War, such as Howard University (Mauk, and Oakland, 2014: 314). All of that explains the African Americans’ rejection of their surrounding circumstances, their feelings of humiliation, and their extreme determination to move upward. In fact, socio-economic segregation is the natural enemy of the African Americans’ socio-economic upward mobility as it destroyed any chance whatsoever to better their standards of life and deepened their sense of alienation in their own country.

That was because of Jim Crow’s laws that were shaped in the “separate, but equal” doctrine that was based on inequality and took place from the late 19th century up until the early 20th century. As a result, the African Americans’ social and economic growth was retarded if not stopped by those practices. Segregation meant forcing poverty on blacks, and their subordination which entails humiliation and several psychological problems regarding their self-esteem.

Jim Crow’s laws were designed and used by white people to restore black people to a low status and to control every single detail in their lives. Jim Crow decreed that the black and the white should be separated. That obliged black people to eat and drink in separate places, as well as sleeping in different hotels and learning in separate schools, etc.

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Moreover, they were sent to substandard schools, excluded from the white neighbourhoods, the ones of high quality.

In the 1950s, the United States was a segregated, unequal place for blacks as they lived in poverty, because of labour discrimination, in which African Americans were the first to get fired and lose their jobs as it is explained in the following extract:

Though urbanization meant more African Americans had access to education beyond elementary school (there were few high schools that accepted black pupils in the rural South), the Depression hit predominantly black occupations very hard. Agricultural employment tumbled, and employers either cut back on household help or replaced African American servants with white women “trading down” when they lost other jobs (Kleinberg, 2001: 200-201).

According to Kleinberg, African Americans seemed to be the scapegoats. Whenever there was a problem, an error, or a price that should be paid to cover an irregularity, they would be the ones who should pay. Thus, they lived the slave lifestyle repeatedly regardless of their freedom.

In the 1960s, John F. Kennedy addressed the American people on Civil Rights on June 11th, 1963, and argued that African American children, regardless of the state where they were born, had half the chance of completing a high school compared with the white children in the same place and that African American children were expected to live 7 years less than the white ones. He continued that the segregated schools in which those children studied; subjected them to inadequate education. Also denying the admission of blacks to universities resulted in demolishing their chances to get well-paid jobs and trapped them in

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simple, underpaid, non-managerial ones (John F. Kennedy Presidential Library and Museum)¹⁴.

African Americans were not free even after their emancipation, as President Johnson mentioned in the Democratic convention in 1964 that hunger, want and the disability to educate one’s children is a kind of slavery, and that freedom is not just doing what one wants or choosing one’s leaders in an indication to the poverty, discrimination and inequality that ailed blacks for centuries. President Johnson signed the Civil Rights Act on July 2nd, 1964, that forbade the discrimination against the black in public places like hotels, motels, schools, libraries, restaurants, etc. That act also decreed the providing of equal employment opportunities¹⁵.

Generally, African Americans resisted segregation regardless of its form. Blacks’ resistance included many ways and techniques, as it is mentioned in the following extract:

Migration, networking, and education were the primary documented strategies used by African Americans to overcome the barriers in their pursuit of upward mobility, but a fourth strategy should also be included in these lists of strategies: the Civil Rights Act¹⁶ of 1964.

¹⁴ The address to the American People on Civil Rights was a speech on civil rights, “Report to the American People on Civil Rights” delivered on radio and television by United States President John F. Kennedy from the Oval Office on June 11th, 1963 in which he proposed legislation that would later become the Civil Rights Act of 1964. For further information, the speech is available at:

<https://www.jfklibrary.org/learn/about-jfk/historic-speeches/televised-address-to-the-nation-on-civil-rights>

¹⁵ For further information about the Civil Rights Act, see: Field, Ron. *Civil Rights in America, 1865-1980*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2014. Arroyo Vázquez, María Luz and Antonia Sagredo Santos. *Los Estados Unidos en sus Documentos*. Madrid: Addenda, 2008.

¹⁶ For more information about the Civil Rights Act, consult: History.com Editors. “Civil Rights Act of 1964.” *History*, A&E Television Networks, 2 June 2020. Web. 2 Aug. 2020, <<https://www.history.com/topics/black-history/civil-rights-act>>.

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The passage of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 was an attempt to level the playing field for African Americans and women of color. The Civil Rights Act of 1964 mandated the prohibition of discrimination based on race, sex, color, religion, or national origin (Robinson and Nelson, 2010: 1171-72).

Thanks to the Civil Rights Act of 1964, segregation founded on race, religion or national origin was forbidden at all public places, including courthouses, parks, restaurants, theatres, and hotels. African Americans and other minorities were not denied being served because of the colour of their skin anymore. The act also banned employers, and labour unions’ race, religious, national origin and gender bias and created an Equal Employment Opportunity Commission that has the power to file lawsuits on behalf of discriminated workers.

Furthermore, the act prevented the use of federal funds for any discriminatory program, authorised the Office of Education, known now as the Department of Education, to assist with school desegregation, endorsed the Commission on Civil Rights and prohibited the unequal application of voting requirements such as the literacy tests that targeted African Americans in order to deprive them of the right to vote.

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Later on, the disabled Americans, the elderly and women in collegiate athletics were included under the umbrella of the Civil Rights Act. It also paved the way for two milestone follow-up laws: the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which forbade literacy tests and other discriminatory voting practices, and the Fair Housing Act of 1968, which banned discrimination in the sale, rental and financing of property based on colour or race.

Even after that act, Williams (1991) described blacks' lives as follows: “They are penniless, illiterate, and have both a high birth rate and a high death rate” (217). Poverty and low life-hood continued to haunt African Americans in the sixties.

In February 1988, the Congressional Budget Office confirmed that between 1979 and 1986 blacks earned far less than white Americans and most African Americans were unemployed. Black unemployment was two and a half times higher than the whites', and blacks were three times more likely to live in substandard housing. Black unemployment continued in the 1990s as well (Leiman, 1993: 2; Mauk, and Oakland, 2014: 100).

It can be detected that most of the blacks practised manual jobs as a result of educational segregation, inadequate, poor-funded schools and deprivation of opportunities at public and private universities. Hence, poverty was a forced intergenerational reality for African Americans.

Actually, the resistance tactics varied, but the main target was unchangeable. Thus, commuting from one's birth region to another for better jobs, incomes, and conditions of

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life, developing a team-work strategy to achieve the same objective and obtaining the best education available, in addition to the Civil Rights Act were basically the only affordable price that African Americans could pay in order to conquer discrimination and its unbearable consequences in which they were living on a daily basis.

Apparently, that was not enough for some young black men and women who saw that the change and the improvement that were created by peaceful Civil Rights movement were slow and not satisfying. A matter that led to the emergence of Black Power movement.

Black Power movement commenced in the late 1960s and the 1970s and it stressed the racial pride, the creation of political and cultural institutions, in addition to economic force. The first introduction of the term “Black Power” dates back to author Richard Wright’s non-fictional book *Black Power* which came to be published in 1954. Moreover, the slogan “Black Power for Black People” was used for the first time in 1965 by the Lowndes County Freedom Organization (LCFO) in order to promote its political candidates¹⁷.

The first spark of the Black Power movement was seen in 1966, after the shooting of James Meredith. Meredith was the first African American to attend the University of Mississippi, aka. Ole Miss, in 1962. He set the March Against Fear, a voting rights’ march

¹⁷ For further information, see: African American Heritage. “Black Power.” n.d. Web. 4 Aug. 2022. <https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/black-power>

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in Mississippi in June 1966. After his assassination, Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) Chairman Stokely Carmichael, with Martin Luther King, Jr. of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), as well as Floyd McKissick of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) continued the March Against Fear. Carmichael regrouped the marchers, chanting “we want Black Power” (Pruitt, 2020: paragraph 5-7).

Facts lead to the evidence that Carmichael did not agree with Martin Luther King, Jr., as Carmichael embraced Malcolm X’s ideas that focused on racial pride, autonomy, self-determination, equality, and justice “by any means” including violence. While Martin Luther King, Jr. sought the same principles through peaceful, non-aggressive ways (Warden, 1976: 25, 26; Pruitt, 2020: paragraph 9).

In the aftermath of King’s murder, there were riots in more than 100 U.S. cities, and in the same year, a very detectable Black Power protest took place at the Summer Olympics in Mexico-city. During that protest, black athletes John Carlos, and Tommie Smith raised fists in black gloves in the air on the medal podium. Later on, Carmichael changed his name to Kwame Ture and moved with his wife to Africa in 1970 (Pruitt, 2020: paragraph 11, 12).

Another part of the Black Power movement was Black Panther Party for Self-Defense (BPP) which was established in October 1966 in Oakland, California by Huey P.

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Newton and Bobby Seale. It was a revolutionary organisation that was fixated upon guarding African American neighbourhoods against police brutality, and socialism. The Black Panther Party was targeted by the FBI and weakened by the mid of the 1970s through spying, criminal framing, jailing, and even murder¹⁸.

After about five decades, Black Lives Matter movement (BLM) can be considered as a continuation of the Black Power and the Civil Rights movements. That movement was founded in 2013 in response to the absolution of the killer of Trayvon Martin. It started following the murders of Trayvon Martin, Michael Brown, among others. It is a global organisation that exists in the United States of America, the United Kingdom, and Canada. It seeks to remove white supremacy, battling violence, police brutality against blacks, as well as creating a safe space for them¹⁹.

The movement returned to the public eye in 2020 after the murder of George Floyd, a black man, whose life was taken by a Minneapolis police officer, Derek Chauvin, who kneeled on the victim's neck for nine minutes and 29 seconds continuously, although Floyd repeated 20 times that he could not breathe, and even bystanders tried to intervene with no use (Eligon, et al., 2021: paragraphs 4 and 5).

¹⁸ For more information, see: Duncan, Garrett Albert. "Black Panther Party." *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 25 Aug. 2022, Accessed 4 Sep. 2022.

<https://www.britannica.com/topic/Black-Panther-Party>. Accessed 4 September 2022

¹⁹ For more information, see: <https://blacklivesmatter.com/>

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All the previously mentioned movements: Black Power, Black Panther Party for Self-Defense, and Black Lives Matter demonstrate that there is still a long way ahead of the Civil Rights movement and African Americans in order to achieve equality and justice. The very existence of those movements connotes the presence of political, social, and economic troubles in the black population's contemporary world as well as in the past one and implies that the past problems are not solved yet.

1.2. AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN FACING A TRIPLE DISCRIMINATION

African American women were not far from the bias that African American men suffered. Like black men, black women endured the same segregating laws and practices that excluded them from education, job opportunities, social benefits, housing loans, and white districts which led to their impoverishment. They suffered from the Black Codes, and the Jim Crow’s laws, and their consequences without exemption. Apart from that, their burden was tripled, and that is going to be detailed later in this section.

As early as their boarding the ships that brought them to the United States of America, black women had already suffered from rape, then slavery and servitude upon their arrival to the United States of America.

Harding explained that discrimination is something like a three-sided triangle that cannot be maintained without sexism, racism as well as class oppression and that all these sides depend on each other for survival along the continuously changing historical contexts as follows:

Sexism, racism and class oppression construct and maintain each other, and they do this not once and for all, but over and over again in changing historical contexts. Both intentionally and unintentionally, they form mutual assistance bonds. They can call on each other for aid if one or another is threatened.... We should think of race, class and gender as interlocking: one cannot dislodge one piece without disturbing the others. Each is held up, buoyed up, directed and provided with resources by the other two (Harding, 1989: 14).

Thus, Afro-American women were not exempted from the domestication project that targeted women in general, which was an aspect of sexism. Moreover, they suffered

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additional discrimination based on colour and class outside their own race, as well as gender and class bigotry and surprisingly extra racism inside their own race as lighter skinned women were more appreciated among the Afro-Americans themselves.

Regarding sexism among black people, it was observed that: “The African American man felt that the only rights the African American woman had were the ones he chose to extend to her” (Robinson, and Nelson, 2010: 1169). That was detailed by Nanny, a character in Hurston’s *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937) in the following quotation:

Honey, de [sic] white man is de [sic] ruler of everything as fur [sic] as ah [sic] been able to find out. Maybe it’s some place off in de [sic] ocean where de [sic] black man is in power, but we e don’t know nothing but what we see. So de [sic] white man thrown down de [sic] load and tell de [sic] nigger man tuh [sic] pick it up. He pick [sic] it up because he have [sic] to, but he don’t [sic] tote [sic] it. He hand [sic] it to his women folks. De [sic] nigger woman is de [sic] mule uh de [sic] so fur [sic] as ah can see (Hurston, 1937: 16).

This quotation encompasses the American society’s power hierarchy that places the white man on the top of the human pyramid followed by the white woman, then the African American man, and finally the black woman, who lies at the deepest bottom of that pyramid. According to the excerpt, the black woman is the one who tolerates everyone in American society and she is considered the legitimate slave of all the rest. It can also be observed that black women endured the deprivation of education, as it can be seen in a multitude of spelling and grammatical mistakes in the excerpt that were used to stress their ignorance in the 1930s.

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Davies (1994) agreed with that devastating hierarchical order and argued that the only valued human being is the white male as follows:

One is valued if one is white, thin, male, young, heterosexual, Christian and financially secure. Yet, we already know that each of these categories of authority can be destabilized, or enhanced, by an oppositional positioning, i.e., one has less value if one is fat, Black, female, old, homosexual, etc. (Davies, 1994: 153-54).

Seemingly, Davies wanted to highlight the quantity of discrimination that is faced by black women in society and that the white male supremacy is the only constant in the United States of America as far as real life is concerned.

White America did not represent the only sexist oppression of black women. The African American man was cited as an additional source of sexism for the African American woman as follows: "The oppressive experiences of black men have not deterred them from being oppressive themselves" (Hernton, 1987: 7).

The previous quotation intensifies the notion that the African-American woman is the one who received the largest amount of oppression and repression, when compared to her white counterparts and on the hands of the African American man, who suffered from colour racism and class discrimination, but apparently took out his problems on the black woman in order to compensate for his wounded pride instead of empathising with her.

Russell, Wilson, and Hall (1992) mentioned in their article "Pursuing Upward Mobility: African American Professional Women Reflect on Their Journey" that colourism

is a remnant that slavery had left on the minds of black people and it favours the individuals who have light skin, delicate facial features as well as straight hair.

That means that even in the last decades of the 20th century, skin colour was a deciding factor, regarding the status and the power that were granted to African American women even within their own black community, which exposed them to a deeper sense of inferiority, humiliation, and alienation within their own people. Thus, they suffered triple discrimination based on colour, gender, and class counting the one in the white community and the other one inside their black community.

Unfortunately, black women have not always been represented in the literary and the academic field by themselves. That was why their sufferings and hardships were not narrated justly, but they were tinted with a what-a black-woman-should-be-like colour. A colour that was far from their true natural selves and that was how the real images of black women were hidden from the public eye, which served the interests of the dominant patriarchal discipline outside and inside the African American society. That resembles what happened to women in general over history, as they have been underestimated, intimidated and almost always invisible regarding their intellectual work.

In addition, African Americans were deprived of a written language. And black women were seen as stereotypes who were cooks, cleaners and beautifiers in a community life which was ruled by gender myths. Even within the black community, black women

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were reduced to private places, where they told stories, while men were working in public venues. For example, Hurston is one of the few black women who became a published writer²⁰. It was stated that: “The reasons for previous critical neglect of Hurston can be found in the underrepresentation of women in general and the marginalisation of black writers in particular, within the American literary canon” (Birch, 2001: 41-57).

Generally, women were denied the right to publish their work unless their husbands or fathers authorised that and they suffered from intellectual underestimation and infantilization because of the patriarchal dominion. It was even worse when it came to poor/black/females, or the triangle of misery, oppression, and marginalisation.

Agreeingly, Evans mentioned in her book *Black Women Writers* (1984) that the Afro-American woman was absent from the intellectual life until she was discovered by other black women writers through their literary activity in the latter part of the 20th century. Thus, black women writers are the most capable ones to write about the triple discrimination that is faced by their black sisters which is race, sex and class bigotry in two communities at the same time.

²⁰ Zora Neale Hurston (January 7th, 1891– January 28th, 1960) was an influential author of African-American literature and anthropologist, who portrayed racial struggles in the early 20th century American South, and published research on Haitian voodoo. Hurston wrote four novels and more than 50 published short stories, plays, and essays. Her most popular novel is *Their Eyes Were Watching God* (1937). For further information, see: Hurston, Lucy Anne. *Speak, So You Can Speak Again: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston*. New York: Doubleday, 2004. Boyd, Valerie. *Wrapped in Rainbows: The Life of Zora Neale Hurston*. New York: Scribner, 2003.

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Reflecting on the terrible reality that was lived by an African American girl in the United States of America during slavery in Alabama in the 1800s, Jenny Proctor narrated her miserable life during that period and how she was ill-treated, ill fed, lived in basically animal habitats, separated from her family, prohibited from education, or any aspect of human life and constantly punished with or without reasons. Blacks knew no money, no clothes or shoes until they grew up thinking that they were the possessions of whites just like animals (Boyd, 2001: 59-64). Proctor described one incident when she was cruelly beaten just for eating one biscuit as follows:

I finds [sic] a biscuit, and I's [sic] so hungry I et [sic] it, 'cause we never see such a thing as a biscuit only sometimes on Sunday morning. We just have corn bread and syrup and sometimes fat bacon, but when I et [sic] that biscuit and she comes in and say [sic], "Where that biscuit?" I say, "Miss, I et [sic] it 'cause I's [sic] so hungry." Then she grab [sic] the broom and start [sic] to beating me over the head with it and calling me low-down nigger, and I just clean [sic] lost my head 'cause I knowed [sic] better than to fight her if I knowed [sic] anything 't [sic] all, but I start to fight her, and the driver, he comes in and he grabs me and starts beating me with that cat-o' – nine tails, and he beats me till I fall to the floor nearly dead. He cut my back all to pieces, then they rubs [sic] salt in the cuts for more punishment. Lord, Lord, honey! Them was awful days. When Old Master come to the house, he say [sic], "What you beat that nigger like that for?" And the driver tells him why, and he say [sic], "She can't work now for a week. She pay [sic] for several biscuits in that time." (Boyd, 2001: 61-62).

The previous situation was no stranger to the African American woman's life after slavery as she continued to be subjected to poverty, sexism, colourism, segregation, and class oppression exactly the same way it was before her emancipation due to the Black Codes, Jim Crow's laws, as well as the discriminating behaviour of white America. Thence, family

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lives were denied for black women and they were condemned to be breeders of future slaves.

Moreover, Wisker mentioned that even after being freed and being given homes by the freed states, black women were not safe from the slave catchers who crossed to those states to recapture them and bring them back to slavery (Wisker, 2001: 84). This was conveyed in the novel *Beloved* (1988), that captured the essence of black women's life, as follows:

Caught red-handed, so to speak, they would seem to recognize the futility of outsmarting a whiteman and the hopelessness of outrunning a rifle. Smile even, like a child caught dead with his hand in the jelly jar, and when you reached for the rope to tie him, well, even then you couldn't tell. The very nigger with his head hanging and a little jelly-jar smile on his face could all of a sudden roar like a bull or some such, and commence to do unbelievable things.... (Morrison, 1988: 148).

The quotation echoes an incident called a *Cause Célèbre*, in 1855, when Margret Garner, an Afro-American woman, who escaped from slavery with her family, saw the slave-catchers coming and tried to kill her four children. She managed to murder her baby girl, but her other children lived.

Paradoxically, the mother was charged for escaping from her owner rather than being convicted of murder. The way that Afro-American woman was charged indicates that the life of a black woman and her family was not valued. It was all about their worth as objects that can serve their masters. That murder incident was portrayed in the novel *Beloved* (1988) as follows:

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Inside, the two boys bled in the sawdust and dirt at the feet of a niggerwoman holding a blood-soaked child to her chest and an infant by the heels in the other. She did not look at them; she simply swung the baby toward the wall planks, missed and tried to connect a second time (Morrison, 1988: 149).

Assumedly, the incident shows that Mother love could be confusing and could lead to a disastrous fate if it was confronted by an unbearable pressure when death was the only solution or the only way out of slavery that could not be stopped even by legislation at that time. Here, death for that woman was considered a salvation and a better future for her offspring who were endangered by slavery and torture.

It was pointed out that “The real mother had no say; her powerlessness was imposed by state law that made her and her child helpless in relation to the father”. It was also added that matriarchy in the black American society was deprived of power (Williams, 1991: 225; Birch, 2014: 134).

To add to their anguish, African American women are marked by sexual raping, forced pregnancy, and motherhood, and other societal obligations imposed on her by the white female, by the black male and by the boss of the previous first two, the white male, as he is considered the origin and the initiator of discrimination.

In other words, African American women were used as wet nurses to feed white babies and they never got the same chance to take care of their own children, as the children of the Afro-American woman inherited her inferior status and were only regarded as future slaves or servants. Thus, black women were exploited by the sexist black man, the

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racist, upper class white woman, and the racist, sexist white man as well. Consequently, black women led fragmented, meaningless lives.

Considering black women's life and activities, Evans (1984) indicated that they have defied the dominant sexist society by developing a type of folklore and oral literature based on their rituals. Black women bonded together and that was their source of power, survival, information, and psychological and emotional support. They believed in magic and superstition as well as their black community.

Since magic and superstition were part of the blacks' source of knowledge, therefore, that was how they explored, acknowledged, and dealt with their surroundings, as it was the only available or to be honest the permitted and the affordable source of knowledge for them, given their long deprivation of education.

Because African American women were oppressed on many levels, they were deprived of their right to decide on the time as well as the quantity of children that they wanted to have and that was documented as follows: "In 1980, the tubal sterilization rate for black women... was 45 percent greater than that for white women." (Williams, 1991: 218-219). Black women were sterilised without neither their consent nor knowledge. They were reduced to infants who cannot decide on anything and whose life and future were run by others, who were more mature than them and that would be white America in that case.

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According to Scott (1991), there is a "double bind" for African American women as they are raised to be independent, get good education, and a good job in order to survive alone. But the African American church refutes that and cultivates the notion that they should be subordinate and obey men (155).

This might be confusing and distracting to African American women in the 1980s, and the 1990s, as they could be torn between their need to assert their identities, and their pursuit of socio-economic upward mobility on the one hand and the acceptance of the inferior role that is imposed on them by their churches on the other. This is probably an internal struggle that can deteriorate the Afro-American women's health and lives.

Generally, black churches have always been a sacred place for Afro-Americans. And they were controlled by black men, which is why all the restrictions that were dictated were always directed towards black women and their prescribed domestic roles.

Even when black female ministers started to work in churches, their work was always conditioned by patriarchal rules and they were working under pressure to prove themselves worthy of their jobs besides working behind the scenes, negotiating the options that were available to them according to the black male ministers who represented the majority of churches.

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Clearly, being a minister was considered originally as a male job, and when black females emerged as ministers, they were seen as a rarity. They were also seen as a threat to the authority of the black male ministers²¹.

Furthermore, there is a bias in judging black men and black women for infidelity, as the black men’s adultery is defended in their society. Men were not jeopardised for having love affairs outside the wedlock, whereas women were forbidden to do so. Even though, freed black women sought marriage as a way to secure their financial status post bellum (Birch, 2001: 60-78).

Supposedly, that could be a slave mentality behaviour, as black women continued to think that they had to be dependent on men to survive even if that person is a cheating husband, which can be referred to low self-esteem and lack of self-confidence. In that regard, the following was demonstrated:

The findings, however, did not appear to indicate that the women had suffered because of the interactive effects of race, gender, and class. Instead, gender emerged as the number one obstacle to the pursuit of upward mobility; it was cited by all six participants (Robinson, and Nelson, 2010: 1178-1179).

As it is implied here, in the 21st century, sexism has a far more destructive effect on African American women who strive for socio-economic upward mobility than any other discriminative factor. It retards or even restrains black women from achieving their dreams

²¹ For more information, see: Robinson, Gail, and Barbara Mullins Nelson. “Pursuing Upward Mobility: African American Professional Women Reflect on Their Journey.” *Journal of Black Studies* 40.6 (2010): 1168–1188.

and fulfilling their identity, as African-American women are forced in a moulded female role that they have to follow.

Concerning black women's relationship with white women, a great deal of discrepancies can be foreseen and it was mentioned that "White suffragists rarely worked with African American women, who established their own organizations such as the Chicago-based Alpha Suffrage Club²², led by Ida Wells-Barnett". The club was launched after Chicago women were granted the right to vote in 1910. It fought against the white Chicago women who were trying to prevent African Americans from voting altogether. It also aimed to reinforce the election of African Americans to public office (Kleinberg, 2001: 199; Delmar, 1994: 5-25).

The Alpha Suffrage Club was the first and most important black female suffrage club in Chicago and one of the most focal in Illinois. It was established on January 30th, 1913 by Ida B. Wells with the assistance of her white co-workers Belle Squire and Virginia Brooks. The club's main objective was to support the free expression of African American women, who had been alienated from national suffrage organisations such as the National American Woman Suffrage Association (NAWSA). In addition to advising black women about their public duty and systemizing them to aid in the process of the election of

²² For further information about The Alpha Suffrage Club, see: Wheeler, Marjorie. *One Woman, One Vote: Rediscovering the Woman Suffrage Movement*. California: New Sage Press, 1995. Wells, Ida B. *Crusade for Justice: The Autobiography of Ida B. Wells*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970. Neale, R. S. "Working-Class Women and Women's Suffrage." *Labour History* 12 (1967): 16-34.

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candidates, who would best work on the interests of African Americans in Chicago (Neale, R. S., 1967: 16-34).

Among the unforgettable members of the club, there were Ida B. Wells-Barnett, co-founder, president, Belle Squire, co-founder who helped Wells-Barnett during the woman suffrage parade of 1913, Virginia Brooks, co-founder, Mary E. Jackson, the first vice president of the club, Sadie L. Williams, corresponding secretary, Viola Hill, second vice president, Vera Wesley Green, recording secretary, Laura Beasley, treasurer, K.J. Bills, editor, and Bettiola Heloise Fortson, vice president.

Thus, even within the feminist movement that aimed at achieving equality among men and women in every field, African American women were excluded on the grounds that they were black. The feminist movement theorists could not understand that extra barrier because white women were granted a higher status and dominance over black women. Even their needs were quite different due to the colour factor.

Therefore, it has been depicted that white women could intimidate black women because of the superiority that was ceded to them by their skin colour and social class. A matter that pushed African American women to work alone to solve their own problems away from the white suffragists.

Regarding the relationship that exists among black women, they could make a lot of trouble and discriminate against each other as they can be envious of the accomplishment

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that some of them can achieve despite all the obstacles that they are going through. It was emphasised that there is also jealousy among black women, especially when some of them succeeded in spite of the racist circumstances that they have to endure every day (Birch, 2014: 137).

Supposedly, there is a sense of competition and rivalry among black women as if their success is jeopardised by the others'. They felt bitterness as they did not make it the way other black women did under the same unpleasant, oppressing circumstances and that can justify their attempts to sabotage each other.

Consequently, the black woman is struggling to survive a triple discrimination. That is a great deal of repression that a person can take. It looks like she is trapped wherever she chooses to exist. She is always judged negatively within her black folks' men or women as well as within the white community regardless of the gender. It seems that black women live as camouflaged slaves within both communities.

1.2.1. AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN’S ECONOMIC CONDITIONS AND WORK SEGREGATION

Working was a fundamental issue for African American women. It was a survival mechanism for them. It was stated that: “By 1930, 12 percent of all wives were gainfully employed, with 10 percent of white and 33 percent of black women in the labor force”. African American women worked mainly as servants or in agriculture. It was also mentioned that during World War I, Southern legislators and city council members passed the mandate “work or fight” to domestic servants (Kleinberg, 2001: 196-198).

Moreover, Wallace (1980) highlighted that African American women were more likely inclined to work and be financially independent than white women who did not show such a tendency in the past. That can be associated with the social status of black women, who saw that it was imperative to hold a job or even more than one in order to provide for their families, as they had much more possibility to be single mothers and could not depend on anyone else’s income. A situation that was not in common with white women.

As a result, these data signify that African American women were in a desperate need to work as they were the ones who supported their families without relying much on men unlike their white counterparts. On top of that, black women were doomed to work as servants and they got arrested if they refused to work in servitude due to the “work or fight” mandate, which represented an extreme oppression on black women.

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In 1935, the Social Security Act implemented retirement benefits and unemployment payments for the white male industrial workers. It excluded most of the female workers and African Americans by not including domestic servants, farm workers, charity, or public employees under its umbrella. It was indicated that “White men constituted over 74 percent of those employed on WPA projects in 1938; African American men were 12 percent; white women 11 percent, but African American women were mere 2 percent”. In addition, African American women served in segregated units in the Women’s Army Corps (WACs), and they counted only for 6 percent of the Corps as the Marines refused to incorporate coloured women and the Navy started to accept them following an order issued by President Roosevelt in 1944. But actual integration started in 1948, when President Harry Truman issued Executive Order 9981 desegregating the army (Kleinberg, 2001: 201-203).

Thus, a tight job, salary, and retirement’s segregation was maintained. And black women were among the worst to be paid as they suffered from demeaning financial conditions because of those racist practices. Even working in the army in the Women’s Corps was a very difficult goal for African American women. They were segregated from white women due to their skin colour just as what had happened earlier with the black women suffragists.

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Afterwards, in the 1990s African American women began to abandon underpaid, unskilled domestic services to higher paid, skilled jobs, which was a direct result of the affirmative-action in the late 1960s and the early 1970s. African-American women only gained access to skilled clerical jobs when white females left them for better job opportunities (Dubeck, 1997: 36-37).

Apparently, the African American woman’s hardships, morbid circumstances and the fact that she could not depend on anyone except herself to survive and provide for her family propelled her to work. But when white woman started to join the labour force, she was more likely to be hired than her black counterpart as well as having a favoured access when it came to high managerial positions, a matter that connotes the existence of competition and favouritism that privileged white women and prejudiced black ones, as Leiman states:

Both women and blacks suffer from discrimination in the form of lower average income and thus greater absolute exploitation; both women and blacks have less access to jobs involving decision making, prestige and power. Black women bear a double yoke of servitude (1993: 10).

Black women suffered from the same jobs and salaries’ discrimination because of their colour just like black men. The extra load here is that black women served outside their homes as paid maids for whites and inside their own houses as free servants, hidden under the label of wives’ duties towards their black husbands.

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Regarding the lack of a chance to access white collar jobs, this problem dates back to the educational segregation and the gap that was generated between blacks and whites in general and between men and women in particular due to the racist patriarchal mentality and practices, which made it impossible for the segregated groups to cope with the advancements and the vocational skills that were obtained, experienced and benefited by the favoured ones.

Consequently, this can be true in relation with white women and black ones, as white women had outdone their black competitors in high-ranked jobs. According to Kleinberg: “In 2000, racial disparities also remain; over one-third of all white women hold managerial and professional positions, compared with over one-fourth of blacks” (2001: 208). That is evidence that racism based on skin colour still persists as an unsolved problem in the 21st century and after the implementation of all the legal and civil acts.

Lamentably, black women continued to be the sole bread-winners for their families, as in 2012, about 28 percent of children under 6 years old, who were not enrolled in kindergarten, regularly received centre-based care as their primary care arrangement and the percentage of the children who regularly received that care was higher for black children (34 percent) than for the white ones (29 percent) (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017: 46). That was because African American women had to work more intensively to earn the living of their families and children, given the fact that they rely only on themselves unlike white

women and that was why they had to leave their children in care centres earlier than the white mothers.

Furthermore, Entmacher et al. (2014) mentioned that according to National data, black women are considered as the most underpaid workers in the United States of America in comparison with women from other racial backgrounds. Agreeing with them, it was stated that “Well-educated African-American women reported having financial pressures and fewer opportunities than White women, which is suggestive of disparities in economic returns on education” (Jackson et al., 2001: 95–107). These data highlight the racial injustice that even well-educated African American women suffer discriminative incomes despite their high educational attainments compared not only to white women, but also to other racial groups, which increases the African American women’s likelihood to experience lifelong impoverishment.

As a consequence of that decline in black women’s incomes, the poverty rate for black children under the age of eighteen living only with their African American mothers was higher (17%) than that for white children living in single mothers’ households (11%) (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017: 23). The statistics in Musu-Gillette et al. show how African American generations continue to inherit poverty from their mothers regardless of how well educated they are. The only constant is inequity from which even children who did not enter the labour market are suffering.

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Job segregation and discrimination against the income of black women in the 21st century carries no other meaning than forcing a predicted lifelong impoverishment for decades to come on African American women and their offspring, as most of the African American households depend on black women financially. This is literally an on purpose, systematic destruction of any chances of their socio-economic upward mobility.

1.2.2. BLACK WOMEN AND HOUSING RISKS

Women are regarded to be the most vulnerable persons in the case of housing segregations. Thus, for example concerning the housing conditions of black women, it was indicated that “One implication of high segregation is that African American women from Detroit live in lower quality neighborhoods, including those with substantially higher risk of violence, exposure to disorder, higher poverty and lower socioeconomic status” (Sampson, and Wilson, 1995: 37-54).

Accordingly, it was pointed out that living in a lower quality neighbourhood is directly related to higher depressive symptoms, stress, and lower social support during pregnancy among African American women (Giurgescu et al., 2012: 178). It is a cause-effect relationship that maintains each other and as African American women were the most exposed to live in lower segregated neighbourhoods, they were the most who suffer from its negative consequences, which put their health and wellbeing under risk.

Moreover, it was mentioned that “Women face a higher risk of depression than men” (Kessler, 2003: 5-13). That justifies how African American women’s health was the most deteriorated by any anomaly that happens around them. Even well-educated African American women were not safe from that risk as well as the problem of small for gestational age SGA due to their life-course poverty and struggles (Curry and Jackson,

2015: 382). Those effects are common in the black community as most African Americans live in poor neighbourhoods because of segregation, discrimination, and oppression.

African American women have more possibility to live in poor, dangerous urban neighbourhoods than white women during their life course. In addition, the exposure of African American women to neighbourhood poverty during delivery increased the likelihood to have SGA or small for gestational age birth. But when a small percentage of those poor born black women lived in wealthy neighbourhoods at the time of giving birth, the risk to have SGA babies decreased (Collins et al., 2009: 326–333; Collins, and David, 1997: 184–190; Collins, Rankin, and David, 2011: 714–719).

The previous data mean that early life experiences are critical in one’s life and therefore the better the black woman’s residential neighbourhood is, the better her babies will be and vice versa which implies that upward socio-economic mobility is an essential factor for the improvement of the health of African American women and their children.

It was conveyed that “Scientists agree that early life experiences can have a profound impact on health and well-being across the life-course” (Braveman, and Barclay, 2009: 163- 175). That theory can be reflected on all the misfortune that orbited African Americans in general and it can be applied to African American women in particular, whose early life experiences can be claimed to be worse than that of African American men with an emphasis on leading a dull servitude life.

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Accordingly, the socio-economic position (SEP) is a factor that is related to health, and well-being, as people with high SEP have satisfactory health conditions. On the one hand, higher SEP can diminish stress as well as its effects because there will be less probability for unpleasant life situations to happen, due to the existence of social, financial, and psychological support in order to endure negative life events. On the other hand, lower SEP and health problems are related, as lower SEP persons are more exposed to negative circumstances (Adler et al., 1994: 15).

Therefore, the SEP of African American women has definitely affected their health. And because they were poor, illiterate, black women who worked as servants, they had health issues. Being rich and well-educated would have contributed to their health improvement and well-being and would have lessened the stress and the negative circumstances that they have been tolerating along their entire life.

Applying that to Afro-American women’s low standard housing problem, and taking into consideration their continuous struggle with a triple discrimination that they face along their life-course, the segregation that marginalised, reduced, oppressed, and maintained them in a poor status, and the catastrophic gap that was sprung as a result of that, it can be deduced that most of the Afro-American women have a low SEP. This means that they are stressed and depressed with unresolved health problems.

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On the contrary, African American women with higher SEP were less exposed to depression, but the risk of being depressed increased in general for women due to other factors. Regarding African American women and despite their high SEP and well education; they are unexpectedly vulnerable to depression as well as poor birth outcomes because they have aspirations for themselves and for their children, which stressed them even more (Jackson, Rowley, and Owens, 2012: 329– 336; Jackson et al., 2001: 95–107).

In general, African American women with high SEP do not gain in their health as white women do. This is because African American women must support their family members economically and emotionally. They also have to protect African American children from race discrimination. Moreover, black women work in places where they are subjected to harassment, as well as racism and gender inequality (Jackson et al., 2001: 95–107; Thomas, Witherspoon, and Speight, 2008: 307-314).

To live or to die living that is the question that black women are asking themselves, as they endure the horrors of their daily existence in poor neighbourhoods with all the problems of walkability, violence, crimes, cleanliness, and the lack of fundamental facilities in their houses. Those women have to survive a deadly crisis on a daily basis.

1.3. LEGISLATION AND ITS EFFECT ON AFRICAN AMERICANS

Legislation organises people’s lives, and preserves order, rights, and peace among them, by preventing, and penalising unwanted behaviours, and deeds. Its massive effect is described as follows:

In the law, rights are islands of empowerment. To be unrighted is to be disempowered, and the line between rights and no-rights is most often the line between dominators and oppressed. Rights contain images of power, and manipulating those images, either visually or linguistically, is central in the making and maintenance of rights. In principle, therefore, the more dizzyingly diverse the images that are propagated, the more empowered we will be as a society (Williams, 1991: 233-34).

The previous extract clarifies that legislation is a very powerful tool that can be used to maintain justice in a society or propagate a messed-up future of a subordinated group that will be always disqualified and considered as the wrong misfit one. That will lead to the favouritism and empowerment of part of society and the exclusion of the other part from power and a fair share of resources and authority. Consequently, this will result in the locking out of the misfit group of all the useful assets of a country and eventually its impoverishment at many levels such as education, wealth, health, or property.

1.3.1. THE BLACK CODES

Legislation is the labelling machine in any society that can label one group right and with which comes great power, and it can also unright the other and comes with that the deprivation of all kinds of authority as can be seen in the following extract:

The laws also supported racial and gender by requiring that free people of color defer to whites. Section 40 of the 1806 Black Code admonished free people of color “never to insult or strike white people, nor presume to conceive themselves equal to whites: but on the contrary that they ought to yield to them in every occasion” (Aslakson, 2014: 118).

Consequently, it was mandated by the law that African Americans were inferior in comparison to whites, as it was manifested in the mentioned Section 40 of the 1806 Black Code.

Since the colonial period, colonies and states had enacted laws that discriminated against free African Americans. For example, in the South, those laws were generally included in "slave codes"; the catch was to reduce the impact of free blacks (particularly after slave rebellions) because of their potential influence on slaves. Restrictions included prohibiting them from voting (although North Carolina had allowed this before 1831), carrying arms, gathering in groups for worship, and learning to read and write. A major aim of those laws was to preserve slavery (Wilson, 1965: 66).

In the aftermath of slavery, many locations in the South criminalized morally unobjectionable “offenses,” such as unemployment, with the purpose and effect of forcing freedmen back into servitude²³ (Eyer, 2019: 1034).

²³ For further information about forced servitude on freed African Americans, see: Haney López, Ian F. “Post-Racial Racism: Racial Stratification and Mass Incarceration in the Age of Obama.” *California Law Review*

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Slaves or freed, legal or illegal, there was only one fate for African Americans and that fate was discrimination, segregation, oppression, and alienation. After the external end of slavery, freed African Americans continued to practise the same kind of activities that they had been doing during slavery, as they worked as servants against their own will, and were jailed if they refused to do so according to the previous quotation.

One of the main causes of the black's impoverishment and obligation to work in servitude was at first the Afro-Americans' criminalization if they refused to work as servants, after that came the allegation that they lacked qualifications to work in white collar jobs because of the educational segregation. Therefore, poverty was the outcome.

Moreover, and as soon as the American Civil War ended, Southern states' governments initiated the redefinition of the social, political, and economic roles of former slaves. In fact, those measures took place by the end of 1865, as some states, such as Mississippi and South Carolina put "Black Codes"²⁴ into effect, which drastically restricted the employment options of black southerners (Foner, 1988: 199-200).

The Black Codes, sometimes called Black Laws, were laws governing the conduct of African Americans (free blacks). The most known of them were passed in 1865 and

98.1023 (2010): 1041-45. Novak, Daniel A. *The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor after Slavery*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978.

²⁴ For further information about the Black Codes and its purposes, see: Forte, David F. "Spiritual Equality, the Black Codes, and the Americanization of the Freedmen." *Loyola Law Review* 43 (1998): 604-609. Wilson, Theodor Brantner. *The Black Codes of the South*. Alabama: University of Alabama Press, 1965. Kent, James. *Commentaries on American Law*. 2nd ed. New-York: O. Halsted, 1832.

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1866 by Southern states, after the American Civil War, in order to restrict African Americans' freedom, and to oblige them to work for low wages. However, Black Codes existed before the Civil War, and many Northern states had them (Kent, 1832: 258). It was commented that in most of the United States:

[...] there is a distinction in respect to political privileges, between free white persons and free coloured persons of African blood; and in no part of the country do the latter, in point of fact, participate equally with the whites, in the exercise of civil and political rights (Kent, 1832: 258).

What is meant here is that white America did not need organised public codes for African-Americans in order to segregate, repress, exclude, and discriminate against them after the emancipation. Whites were already doing so without announcing or agreeing on any terms and this manifested in their alienating behaviour towards blacks regarding political privileges, and Civil Rights.

It can be inferred that Black Codes were part of a larger whites' scam, trying to sustain political dominance and oppress the freedmen, or the newly emancipated African-Americans. Black Codes were mainly replacements for slave codes in those states which used to depend on slave labour.

Although Northern states had prohibited slavery, they passed Black Codes before the Civil War. Those states: Connecticut, Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, Michigan, and New York passed laws to discourage free blacks from inhabiting those states. African Americans were denied equal political rights, including the right to vote, the right to attend public schools,

and the right to equal treatment under the law. Some of the Northern states repealed such laws around the same time that the Civil War ended and slavery was terminated by Constitutional amendment.

Stampp (1980) noted that the Black Codes infuriated public opinion in the North because it seemed that the South was creating a form of quasi-slavery to obstruct the results of the war. The radical 39th Congress, re-celebrated in December 1865, was generally outraged about the developments that had occurred during Johnson's Presidential Reconstruction, as the Black Codes, along with the appointment of essential Confederates to Congress, meant that the South had been encouraged by Johnson to maintain its old political order.

Decrying the Black Codes as a return to slavery in violation of the Thirteenth Amendment, the Congress passed the Civil Rights Act of 1866, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the Second Freedmen's Bureau Bill. Moreover, the Memphis Riots in May 1866 and the New Orleans massacre in July of the same year, drew further attention and urgency to the racial crisis.

Black women were partners with black men, as they suffered from the same consequences of the Black Codes just like their male counterparts. For example, interracial marriage was prohibited between blacks and whites since the late 17th century or early 18th century. Regardless of the skin colour, both men and women were imprisoned if they

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violated the US Supreme Court's anti-miscegenation laws that simulated the principles of the Black Codes (Woodson, 1918: 335-353).

1.3.2. JIM CROW'S LAWS: "SEPARATE, BUT EQUAL"

After winning with a large majority in the 1866 elections, the Republican Congress passed the Reconstruction Acts placing the South under the military's rule. That arrangement lasted until the military's withdrawal, which was put into effect by the Compromise of 1877 (Foner, 1988: 199-200).

In order to maintain the effect of the Black Codes for a longer time, Dailey, Gilmore, and Simon (2000) mentioned that when the federal troops left the South in 1877, most Southern states swiftly introduced the legislated Jim Crow²⁵ system which was based upon the Black Codes. It should be noticed that 1877 represents the beginning of the Jim Crow era.

The Black Codes were an open manifestation of the system of white supremacy that continued to dominate the American South. Historians have described that system as the clear result of a wide variety of laws and practices, conducted on all levels of jurisdiction. Legal restrictions depended on so many different local codes, and they did not undergo the same amount of inspection like the statewide legislation. It can be deduced that even under

²⁵ For more information about the reactions to the Black Codes, the Black involuntary servitude, civil rights and the aftermath riots, see: Goluboff, Risa L. "The Thirteenth Amendment and the Lost Origins of Civil Rights." *Duke Law Journal* 50 (2001): 1657–1658. Forehand, Beverly, "Striking Resemblance: Kentucky, Tennessee, Black Codes and Readjustment, 1865-1866." *Masters Theses & Specialist Projects* 868 (1996): 2, 53. Daniel, Pete. "Metamorphosis of Slavery." *Journal of American History* 66.1 (1979): 89, 96-97. Novak, Daniel A. *The Wheel of Servitude: Black Forced Labor after Slavery*. Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1978. Cohen, William. "Negro Involuntary Servitude in the South, 1865-1940: A preliminary Analysis." *The Journal of Southern History* 42.1 (1976): 31–32.

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the military's rule; local authorities were able to maintain a racist pattern of law enforcement as long as it took place under a legal regime that was superficially race-neutral.

It did not get any better later, as in 1893–1909 every Southern state except Tennessee passed new laws. Those laws were more severe than the ones passed in 1865 and used vague terms that granted wide powers to police officers enforcing the law. In wartime, blacks might have been exposed to "work or fight" laws, which increased penalties for those who did not join the military. The Supreme Court endorsed racist state laws and nullified the federal efforts to counteract them; in *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896)²⁶ it supported the constitutionality of racial segregation and introduced the "separate, but equal" doctrine (Novak, 1978: 2-3).

The decision legalised many state laws, re-authorizing discrimination based on race that had been approved in the American South after the end of the Reconstruction Era (1865–1877). *Plessy v. Ferguson* occurred in 1892 when Homer Plessy, an "octoroon" (person of seven-eighths white and one-eighth black ancestry) who lived in New Orleans, violated Louisiana's Separate Car Act of 1890 on purpose. That Act mandated "separate,

²⁶ *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537 (1896), was a turning point decision of the U.S. Supreme Court that backed the constitutionality of racial segregation laws for public facilities as long as the segregated facilities had the same quality, a doctrine that is known as "separate but equal". For more information, see: Higginbotham, F. Michael. *Ghosts of Jim Crow: Ending Racism in Post-Racial America*. New York: New York University Press, 2013. Foner, Eric. *Give Me Liberty: An American History*. New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 2005. Martin, James Kirby, et al., *America and Its Peoples; A Mosaic in the Making*. New York: Longman, 1997.

but equal " train car accommodations for white and coloured passengers. As a result of being charged for getting on an exclusive whites' train car, Plessy's lawyers defended him by arguing that the law was unconstitutional. He lost at trial, and on his appeal to the U.S. Louisiana Supreme Court, and the sentence was affirmed. Later when Plessy appealed to the U.S. Supreme Court, it agreed to hear his case.

A general system of legitimised anti-black violence, as exemplified by the Ku Klux Klan²⁷, played a major part in imposing the practical law of white supremacy. The continuous threat of violence against black people (and white people who sympathised with them) maintained a system of extra-legal terror. Although this system is now well known for prohibiting black suffrage after the Fifteenth Amendment, it also served to effectuate compulsory labour relations. Fear of casual violence provided new support for a suffocating relationship between plantation owners and their black workers (Daniel, 1979: 89, 96-97).

Lawmakers have always been the rulers of any society and their decisions and legislation have been the ones that were implemented. Since the patriarchal whites were speculated to be the dominant group in the United States of America, therefore, racial and gender discriminating legislation was a reality on the land.

²⁷ The Ku Klux Klan, also known as KKK or the Klan, is an American hate group of white supremacists that stood mainly against all the minorities in the United States of America (African Americans, Asian Americans, Jews, Latinos, etc.). The group was characterised with extreme reactionary stances. The First Klan was established at the beginning of the American Civil War (McVeigh, 1999: 1463). For further information, see: McVeigh, Rory. "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915–1925". *Social Forces*, 77. 4 (1999): 1463.

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As a result, State Constitution and legal codes included Jim Crow provisions that codified racial segregation, and defined indirectly all social, economic, and political relationships among black and white citizens. The Jim Crow system contained dire limitations on the use of public facilities and transportation by black citizens, illegalized interracial marriage, forced segregated schools and drastically restricted access to the political system (Gilmore, 1996: chapter 1; Woodward, 1957: chapter 1).

Furthermore, the Jim Crow system was underlying geographic constraints as it initiated racialized spaces and was approved by the United States Supreme Court in 1896 in its decision in *Plessy v. Ferguson* which concluded that “separate, but equal” public facilities were constitutional (Delaney, 1998: chapter 4; Hoelscher, 2003: 657-686; Weiner, 2004: 214).

Since no one could argue with the law because it is the most powerful, compelling force in any country, therefore, Jim Crow’s laws paved the way for white America to be racist and oppress African Americans in every single field of life.

Mixing races on trains was opposed by the people of Virginia and “[...] in 1900, the legislature passed and Governor J. Hoge Tyler signed into law Virginia's first statute requiring the railroads to furnish separate cars, or partitioned cars, for the two races”. Segregation was maintained on the railroads as what happened in 1904, when a new law authorised railroad operators to prevent the access of any coloured person to the dining,

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Pullman, parlour, chair, or compartment car. In 1918, the laws of the state of Virginia ordered to separate the races as was advised in the State Penitentiary. And "in 1920, the Board of Directors of the Penitentiary ordered the prison superintendent and the superintendent of the state farm to see that the races were separated "as far as practicable"" (Wynes: 1967: 417-418).

It can be observed that in the beginning of the twentieth century, segregation became a shockingly funded reality. It was not just a rootless behaviour or an abstract statement in a constitution. Governments of states like Virginia were funding projects to furnish new separate cars with the purpose of isolating blacks from whites. That was a solid persistence to change the face of life for African Americans, as all measures were taken to employ segregation. In addition to the segregating laws and the governmental funded projects, instructions were given to railroad operators to maintain segregation and prevent any integration among the races.

Furthermore, the Anglo-Saxon Clubs²⁸ inspired and encouraged going ahead with massive segregation laws as what happened in the 1920s. Those clubs were small, but very influential in the American community. They were a racist group that was established in Richmond in 1922, but after that they were expanded in eleven states as well.

Its "fundamental purpose" was the "preservation and maintenance of Anglo-Saxon ideals in America." Aimed primarily at the "Negro Problem," the Anglo-Saxon Clubs also advocated

²⁸ For further information about the Anglo-Saxon Clubs and their ideals, see: Wynes, Charles. "The Evolution of Jim Crow Laws in Twentieth Century Virginia." *Phylon* 28 (1967): 416-25.

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more intelligent selection of immigrants allowed into the United States so as to strengthen "Anglo Saxon instincts, traditions, and principles" in America (Wynes, 1967: 419).

As it can be detected from the excerpt, those clubs were not only controlling the present of the United States of America, but they also made sure that its future will be prosperous for its whites by maintaining its Anglo-Saxon ideals and limiting the number of the "Negros" in the United States of America to the least provided that they matched their own rules. That way African Americans were reduced to a second-class citizenship with no rights or hopes in a bright future.

Moreover, "In 1926, Delegate G. Alvin Massenberg of Elizabeth City County introduced the "Massenberg Bill calling for separation of the races in all theatres, public auditoriums, and other places of public assembly". In 1930, the Virginia General Assembly passed a segregation law for operating state buses. That ordinance demanded that some of the seats on each bus must be separated for Negroes away from other passengers - but nothing was mentioned regarding being set in the back of the bus (Wynes, 1967: 419-421).

Even in entertainment, segregation continued to be the rule. Transportation did not fall far from the Afro-American alienation project and African Americans found themselves separated on Virginia's buses from other passengers as what had happened earlier on the train cars. The degrading effect of that procedure can never be measured precisely, but it should be destructive on blacks and their psychological health.

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Although “colorblind” Jim Crow’s laws²⁹ and legal action were not explicitly racist, they played a vital role in sustaining inequality and segregation as it can be seen in the following extract:

And, indeed, such “colorblind” measures were enormously successful in abrogating the voting and jury service rights of African Americans, in spite of the fact that such rights were nominally guaranteed (Eyer, 2019: 1033-1034).

Apparently, nothing about the Jim Crow’s laws was discriminatory, although the real motivator for issuing them was purely racist. It can be conjectured that the oppressive behaviour was always hidden under a deceiving motto, “separate, but equal”.

Jim Crow’s “separate, but equal” affected African American women just like black men as what happened when black passengers were obliged by the local law to ride on the back of the bus. On December 1st, 1955, in Montgomery, Alabama, Rosa Parks³⁰, an Afro-

²⁹ For more discussion about the outwardly race-neutral policies but inwardly racist policies and the practices before *Brown versus the Board of Education*, and the NAACP efforts to refute that, see: Chhablani, Sanjay K. “Re-Framing the ‘Fair Cross-Section’ Requirement.” *Journal of Constitutional Law* 13.4 (2011): 931, 937-38. National Historic Landmarks Program. *Civil Rights Voting in America: Racial Voting Rights*. Washington: National Park Service, 2009. <http://www.npshistory.com/publications/nhl/theme-studies/civil-rights-voting-rights.pdf>. Klarman, Michael J. *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004. Eskridge, Jr., William N. “Some Effects of Identity-Based Social Movements on Constitutional Law in the Twentieth Century.” *Michigan Law Review* 100.2062 (2002): 2073-77.

³⁰ Rosa Louise McCauley Parks (February 4th, 1913 – October 24th, 2005) was an African American civil rights activist. She was born in Tuskegee, Alabama in the United States of America. She was called the “Mother of the Modern-Day American civil rights movement” and “the mother of the freedom movement”. She served for many years in the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP). For more information about Rosa Parks, see: Parks, Rosa. “Rosa Louise Parks Biography.” *Rosa Parks.org*. Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute. Web. 17 May 2019. <<https://www.rosaparks.org/biography/>>.

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American woman, a tailor’s assistant refused to give her seat to a white passenger. Afterwards, she was arrested, and her arrest provoked a year of bus boycott. Black residents of Montgomery, Alabama had to go to work on foot during the boycott in order to support the African American Civil Rights (Foner, 2005: 967). That boycott transmitted every African American’s will to live in an equal, integrated environment where they will not be judged by their skin colour and conveyed that blacks are offended by discrimination and intolerant of low-ranking life.

In addition to that, the “freedom riders” appeared in 1961 as a group of African Americans and whites, who were willing to defy segregation and support integration. The “freedom riders” were attacked violently in many spots of the United States of America, as they were challenging segregation in interstate travel (Arsenault, 2006: xi). Moreover, there were the sit-ins³¹ that had spread in several states in the South.

On the surface, “separate, but equal” was a fair doctrine that benefited everybody but deep underneath it, the white supremacy and its hegemony were served in every possible way and above all of that, it was legal and constitutional. Southern whites took advantage of it, as they were segregating secretly, using colour blind policies to cover what they were doing with a tint of legal competence.

³¹ The sit-in movement, sit-in campaign or student sit-in movement, were consecutive movements of sit-ins that were led by African-American College students, and followed the Greensboro sit-ins on February 1st, 1960 in North Carolina. The sit-in movement was a nonviolent face to face action and was an essential event during the Civil Rights Movement. For more information, see: Foner, Eric. *Give Me Liberty: An American History*. New York: Norton & Company, Inc., 2005.

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Those laws created a spirit of humiliation, oppression, resistance and then they led to violence, which was punished in the jails of the United States of America. That can explain the rise in the ratio of the African American prisoners.

Smith (1993) argued that despite the United States' inclination towards democracy and equality for all its citizens, its institutions still represent a real setback on the way to the dark ages of discrimination, repression, and segregation.

Despite such progress, the multiple traditions argument warns that America has not been characterized by a march toward purely democratic ideals. Institutions will, at times, serve to reinforce rather than break down group-based hierarchies. (Smith, 1993: 550)

Despite the advancement of the United States of America towards democracy and impartiality, it is undeniable that the shadows of segregation persist to force itself on people through distinct institutions' attitudes towards minorities as it can be proved through the high ratio of African Americans in prison, and the high ratio of whites in white collar, managerial jobs around the country.

While flagrantly racist Jim Crow's laws became legally unconstitutional by the end of the 1960s³², many of their pillars remained deeply hidden in state Constitutions and legal

³² For further information about the legal end of the Jim Crow's laws, see: Webster, G., and N. Quinton. "The Electoral Geographies of Two Segregationist ("Jim Crow") Referenda in Alabama." *Political Geography* 29.7 (2010): 370-80. Klarman, Michael J. *From Jim Crow to Civil Rights: The Supreme Court and the Struggle for Racial Equality*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004.

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codes. Recently, some Southern states have started to focus on updating their Constitutions and legal codes (Webster, and Quinton, 2010: 370).

Evidently, and deducing from Webster, and Quinton’s previous argument, discrimination was not totally eliminated from the Constitution of the United States of America. It was kept disguised under outwardly good intentions, but secretly alienating actions and motivations. That is why some Southern states are revising their Constitutions and legal codes because they detected an anomaly in them.

Equality needs more than changing the Constitution and laws to be effective. It needs a genuine change in the mentality and the conscience of the society that once embraced discrimination and oppression. That society was the origin of racism, segregation, and the discriminative laws and not vice versa. Therefore, society should be the changing force of all its negative creations, as laws are one of them in addition to unexplained and completely rootless segregating discourse and behaviours for example among others.

CHAPTER TWO

AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN’S EDUCATION

It seems that racism and gender discrimination are always the main obstacles in the way of black women’s socio-economic upward mobility, as the racist patriarchal mentality feels threatened and endangered by any opposing force. It was formulated that “Women are better educated, better paid, and better represented than ever before, but gender and race continue to shape their lives and life chances” (Kleinberg, 2001: 209). Therefore, women in general and black women in particular are seen on the other end of that mentality’s beliefs, as the racist patriarchal mentality considers any feminine advancement as an imminent risk to its stability and continuity.

Booker T. Washington³³ affirmed that “people should be judged not by the height of their achievement but the depth of their starting point, thus implying that education brought with it an upward social mobility” (Booker T. Washington, qtd. in Birch, 2014: 135-37). Accordingly, black women’s starting point could be the worst and the deepest as they have put up with numerous, diverse types of discrimination during their process of socio-

³³ Booker Taliaferro Washington (c. 1856 – November 14th, 1915) was an American educator, author, orator, and advisor to presidents of the United States. Between 1890 and 1915, Washington was the prominent leader in the African American community.

Washington was from the last generation of black American leaders born into slavery and became the leading voice of the former slaves and their descendants. They were newly oppressed in the South by disenfranchisement and the Jim Crow discriminatory laws enacted in the post-Reconstruction Southern states in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. For further information, see: Jefferson Norrell, Robert. *Up from History: The Life of Booker T. Washington*. Cambridge: Harvard UP, 2009.

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economic upward mobility if they were compared to black men or white women and therefore their accomplishments should be given even a higher credit than they actually are.

African American women used education as a survival technique. It was how they were able to get away from the outrageous oppression that they were living as well as being their ladder for their socio-economic upward mobility, which can explain their excelling in education. That is why segregated education could block their financial emancipation. Hence, education should be integrated in order not to deprive them and their children of equal opportunities in life.

2.1. EDUCATIONAL SEGREGATION

Education was a red zone for African Americans since their arrival in the United States of America, and laws were passed to make sure that blacks were to stay locked out of it.

Therefore, anti-literacy laws impacted both slaves, and freedmen negatively before and during the American Civil War, as Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North and South Carolina, and Virginia decreed anti-literacy laws between 1740 and 1834. Moreover, constraints on the teaching of black students were not restricted to the South. Although educating blacks in the North was not against the law, many Northern states and cities banned black students from public schools (Williams, 2009: 13)³⁴.

For example, South Carolina legislated the first law that forbade teaching slaves to read and write, and whoever did so was penalised by a fine of 100 pounds and six months in prison. That was done by an amendment to its 1739 Negro Act. In 1829, Georgia did the same to whoever educated blacks in general, slaves or freed. In addition to that, Louisiana, North Carolina authorised a law in 1830, punishing anyone teaching blacks to read with fines, imprisonment or whippings (Tolley, 2016: 13-33; Span, 2005: 26-53).

³⁴ For further information, see: Cornelius, Janet Duitsman. *When I Can Read My Title Clear: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South*. Columbia, South Carolina: University of South Carolina Press, 1991.

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Consecutively, in 1832, Alabama and Virginia followed in the footsteps of Louisiana, North Carolina with the whites who taught blacks to read or write. Topping that, in 1833, Georgia issued an employment law, forbidding blacks from working in reading or writing jobs, in addition to enacting an anti-literacy law, prohibiting teaching blacks, punished by fines and floggings. And in 1847, Missouri approved a law to ban gathering or educating slaves to read or write ("Negroes and Mulattoes.").

Between 1740 and 1834, Mississippi state law penalised a white person by making him serve up to a year in prison for teaching a slave to read. Moving towards the same destination, North Carolina punished black people, who broke its ant-literacy law by floggings, whereas whites faced a fine and/or prison time ("Literacy and Anti-Literacy Laws."). Furthermore, in the 19th century, Virginia passed a law that stated that:

[E]very assemblage of negroes for the purpose of instruction in reading or writing, or in the night time for any purpose, shall be an unlawful assembly. Any justice may issue his warrant to any office or other person, requiring him to enter any place where such assemblage may be, and seize any negro therein; and he, or any other justice, may order such negro to be punished with stripes ("Offences against Public Policy" Title 54, Chapter 198, 1849: 747).

Mapping the legal history of the limitations and the restrictions that were put on blacks' access to education across the country, one can detect the reason for blacks' illiteracy, educational gap with whites as well as their impoverishment from their first existence in the United States of America.

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Erasing the effect of segregating laws and unwritten codes of discriminating behaviour was a long and difficult process. In the 1930s, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, NAACP, with Charles Houston as dean of the Law School at Howard University, and Thurgood Marshall³⁵, started a legal attack on the specific logic that justified the preservation of segregated schools. The NAACP attempted the elimination of the idea that separate schools could be equal or Jim Crow’s doctrine “separate, but equal” in the United States of America, and it was mentioned that:

In the major first victory, *Gaines v. Missouri* (1938), the Supreme Court struck down the argument that a government could avoid the responsibility of operating a school for blacks (in this case, a law school) when it preserved one exclusively for whites (White, 1994: 12).

Missouri facilitated the sending of its black law students to schools in other states, but the nine lawyers who served as judges on the Court were persuaded by the logic of the NAACP: they apprehended that attending a law school in one’s practice state holds a great deal of advantages for law students and depriving the black students of those privileges deeply risks their careers.

In *Sweatt v. Painter* (1950), the Court decreed that the exchange law school, determined for blacks by the state of Texas, was not able to provide an adequate

³⁵ Thurgood Marshall (July 2nd, 1908 – January 24th, 1993) was an American lawyer who served as Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States from October 1967 until October 1991. Marshall was the Court’s 96th justice and its first African-American justice. Prior to his judicial service, he successfully argued several cases before the Supreme Court, including *Brown v. Board of Education*. Thurgood Marshall was the young protégé of Charles Houston. Marshall served later as a Supreme Court justice (Gibson, 2012: 84). For further information about Thurgood Marshall, see: Gibson, Larry S. *Young Thurgood: The Making of a Supreme Court Justice*. New York: Prometheus Books. 2012.

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educational system for black students. The lawyers on the court were convinced that a law school that had a deficiency in a sufficient library, and a lot of other vital facilities of high-standard legal education was undoubtedly inferior and thus unequal (Vinson and Supreme Court of the United States). This was conveyed in the Supreme Court’s verdict as follows:

[...] petitioner may claim his full constitutional right: legal education equivalent to that offered by the State to students of other races. Such education is not available to him in a separate law school as offered by the 'State. We cannot, therefore, agree with respondents that the doctrine of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U. S. 537 (1896), requires affirmance of the judgment below. Nor need we reach petitioner's contention that *Plessy v. Ferguson* should be re-examined in the light of contemporary knowledge respecting the purposes of the Fourteenth Amendment and the effects of racial segregation. See *supra*, p. 631.

We hold that the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment requires that petitioner be admitted to the University of Texas Law School. The judgment is reversed and the cause is remanded -for proceedings not inconsistent with this opinion (Vinson, Fred Moore, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Sweatt v. Painter*, 339 U.S. 629. 1949).

The Supreme Court renounced the separation of the black student in a lower-grade law school. It also called for the re-examination of the *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) case as it believed that the case was unconstitutional according to the Fourteenth Amendment.

Although the *Plessy v. Ferguson* was constituted at its time as follows:

[...] according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the purpose of humiliating citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the Constitution (Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Plessy v. Ferguson*, 163 U.S. 537. 1895).

That verdict legalised the separation of black and white people on trains based on the “separate, but equal” doctrine that isolated African Americans in every way and wherever they existed, giving them a second-place treatment that insulted and underestimated them.

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“In *McLaurin v. Oklahoma* (1950), the Court found that separate treatment of blacks, even when they were allowed to attend the same school as whites, was also unconstitutional discrimination” (White, 1994: 12). In that case, the claimant had been obliged to sit in the hallway outside the classrooms, where he should have been sitting and having his lectures, his access to library had been restricted, in addition to an extra humiliating treatment, which aimed at lessening his interaction with white students. The court’s verdict was the following:

We conclude that the conditions under which this appellant is required to receive his education deprive him of his personal and present right to the equal protection of the laws. See *Sweatt v. Painter*, ante, p. 629. We hold that under these circumstances the Fourteenth Amendment precludes differences in, treatment by the state based upon race. Appellant, having been admitted to a state-supported graduate school, must receive the same treatment at the hands of the state as students of other races. The judgment is reversed (Vinson, Fred Moore, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents*, 339 U.S. 637. 1949).

During the fifties, the burden of racial discrimination began to be slightly lifted as a result of the Supreme Court verdicts, like the previous one as well as *Brown versus Topeka Board of Education*³⁶ in 1954, as it mentioned that segregated schools were not equal. In May 1955, the Supreme Court decreed that black children should be admitted to white public schools upon their request and as fast as it should be done. That is shown in the following extract:

[...] remanded to the said District Court to take such proceedings and enter such orders and decrees consistent with the opinions of this Court as are necessary and proper to admit to

³⁶ For more information, see: Patterson, James T. *Brown v. Board of Education: A Civil Rights Milestone and Its Troubled Legacy*. New York: Oxford UP, 2001.

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public schools on a racially non-discriminatory basis with all deliberate speed the parties to this case. Per Mr. Chief Justice Warren, May 17, 1955³⁷.

The quoted extract is evidence that the integration process was not an easy task and it required a legislative role from the Supreme Court, as well as a supporting and forceful power from the army of the United States of America in order to reach the required goal. The Supreme Court decreed the unconstitutionality of the principle “separate, but equal” and one year later the court ruled the desegregation of public schools and tried to do so by bussing African American students to different schools in order to achieve integration (Mauk and Oakland, 2014: 315- 16).

In that case, the Supreme Court recognized the importance of education to the democratic society, as the foundation of good citizenship, and its pivotal role in the lives of human beings, as it represents the most valuable tool for a person’s later professional training and the infra-structure of his or her adjustment to the environment. The Supreme Court added that no one can succeed in life without getting the opportunity of an education, and that it should be available and equal to everyone in the United States of America. It also discussed the morbid impact of segregation on the minds and the souls of black children as well as the humiliation that they experienced as a result of such practices (Arroyo and Sagredo, 2008: 696-97).

³⁷ For further information, see: <https://www.archives.gov/historical-docs/todays-doc/index.html?dod-date=517>

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The Brown’s case started when Oliver Brown, a part-time minister, tried to enrol his eldest daughter, Linda, in a school near their house named Charles Sumner Elementary School in order to avoid walking long distances and bad weather on her way to her original school. Oliver’s attempts to enrol his daughter in that school failed and the principal explained that the school was for whites only and that was how the Supreme Court’s case *Brown versus Board of Education of Topeka* started on May 17th, 1954 (Patterson, 2001: 1-50).

Consequently, President Dwight D. Eisenhower sent the Federal army so as to keep order during the implementation of the integration of Central High School in Little Rock, Arkansas in fulfilment of the executive order of September 23rd, 1957, which he signed. In addition to that, black activists played great roles in the vanquishing of the segregation of schools like Martin Luther King³⁸ and his wife Coretta³⁹ among others.

³⁸ Martin Luther King was a world known civil rights activist who fought against racial injustice. He is also a Nobel prize winner in peace and had a famous speech “I have a dream” at the Lincoln Memorial in 1963. His speech embodied every African American cry for equality and rejection to segregation. For further information about Martin Luther King and his speech, see: *Tikkanen, Amy. "I Have a Dream." Encyclopaedia Britannica. Encyclopedia Britannica. Web. 7 May 2019. Arroyo Vázquez, María Luz and Antonia Sagredo Santos. Los Estados Unidos en sus Documentos. Madrid: Addenda, 2008. Hansen, D, D. The Dream: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech that Inspired a Nation. New York: Harper Collins, 2005.*

³⁹ Coretta Scott King (April 27th, 1927 – January 30th, 2006) was an American author, activist, civil rights leader, and the wife of Martin Luther King, Jr. Coretta Scott King helped lead the Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. She was an active advocate for African American equality. King met her husband while attending graduate school in Boston. They both became increasingly active in the American Civil Rights Movement. She was also an accomplished singer, and often incorporated music into her civil rights work. Coretta Scott King played a prominent role in the years after her husband's assassination in 1968 when she took on the leadership of the struggle for racial equality herself and became active in the Women's Movement. Coretta founded the King Center and sought to make her husband’s birthday a national holiday. She finally succeeded when Ronald Reagan signed legislation which established Martin Luther King, Jr. Day on

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The previously mentioned cases dealt with various discriminating features that encompassed lack of black facilities, and/or separate black facilities that always had inferior quality, in addition to demeaning and insulting treatment of black students.

Despite the declared illegality of the system of Jim Crow, that system became even more implanted in the region’s structured race relations after the turn of the 20th century. States continued to add their own tailored sets of racially driven laws, mostly during the massive resistance to the Supreme Court’s 1954, *Brown v. the Board of Education of Topeka* decision (Packard, 2002: chapter 3; Bartley, 1969: 50-360).

For instance, Georgia’s general assembly passed laws allowing the governor to close the state’s school systems if integration was instructed by courts. And Mississippi passed resolutions, forbidding state officials from implementing court orders requiring desegregation, in addition to nullifying laws demanding obligatory school attendance. It can be deduced that almost all Southern states used similar tactics to prohibit or obstruct legal integration (Wilhoit, 1973: chapter 7).

Thus, the resistance of integration was a common status across the Southern states. Southern whites fought desegregation using the law card, which was available to them,

November 2nd, 1983. Coretta became friends with many politicians before and after Martin Luther King's death, most notably John F. Kennedy, Lyndon B. Johnson, and Robert F. Kennedy. Her telephone conversation with John F. Kennedy during the 1960 presidential election has been credited by historians for mobilising African-American voters. For further information, see: *Bagley, Edyth Scott. Desert Rose: The Life and Legacy of Coretta Scott King.* Alabama: U of Alabama P, 2012. Waxman, Laura Hamilton. *Coretta Scott King.* Minneapolis: Lerner Publications, 2008. Vivian, Octavia. *Coretta: The Story of Coretta Scott King.* Minneapolis: Fortress Press, 2006.

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given their dominant position in white America, taking advantage of the fact that they were the only law makers in the country at that time and that their decisions would not be questioned or inspected.

During all that fight, remarkable African American figures appeared to defend what was rightfully theirs. Among those figures, there was Coretta Scott King, wife of Martin Luther King Junior, who played a great role in Civil Rights with her husband. She appeared in a performance on April 25th, 1958, in Birmingham, Alabama, and used her good voice, changed some songs and told the story of Montgomery Bus Boycott to advocate for Civil Rights. Later, Coretta accompanied her husband to attack the segregation of schools in the Northern states that took place without any legal support. It was pointed out that “[...] the ghetto schools were all black and completely inadequate” (Bagley, 2012: 150; King, 1969: 275).

Those segregated schools were used to keep black students isolated from white ones. Even the books of black students were stored in a separate place away from those of other students. There was no legal action that decreed those practices, but they were happening regardless of any considerations.

Although the NAACP had triumphed in the Supreme Court and lower courts and had aimed at ending the exclusion of African Americans in higher-education programs as well as terminating the low salaries that the states paid to black teachers, yet equality in

those fields, was not accomplished due to long-lasting segregating behaviours that will need more time to change⁴⁰.

Racial exclusion led to educational discrimination, as blacks continued to hold a low profile in high-status studies in the 1990s. By 2000, black students were more segregated from white ones than in 1970. By 2006, resegregation escalated, and more than 40 percent of the schools were African American majority or white free, as the resegregation of the schools began to take its toll in the late 1980s (Mauk, and Oakland, 2014: 100, 317; Foner, 2005: 1096-97). Few black children had the chance to complete college and enter a profession. Most of the schools were segregated and African American students were the victims of the consequences.

Looking into the reasons that orchestrated the educational exclusion, one can find that the residential segregation conditioned that because most whites had deserted the city and was swollen in the suburbs. Therefore, African Americans were suffering from segregation in schools as they attended black majority schools in the city, whereas white children attended white majority schools in the suburbs, a phenomenon that conjured up a sense of exile and imprisonment among African Americans and added to their ordeal.

⁴⁰ For more discussion about educational inequality for African Americans, see: Baker, R. Scott. *Paradoxes of Desegregation: African American Struggles for Educational Equity in Charleston, South Carolina, 1926-1972*. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2006.

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Moreover, studies have shown that many white parents nowadays continue to use race as a sign for school quality, connecting declines in school quality to the racial composition of their neighbourhood schools, when it inclines towards a greater predominance of minorities⁴¹. Most of the white community including parents, scholars, and sometimes even Supreme Court Justices still believe that African American students are a mismatch to compete with their white mates and it might be more advisable for them to study in less developed schools, where their skills would be more in accord with those of their colleagues⁴² (Eyer, 2019: 1030-1033).

It can be inferred that the forces that drive American society towards resegregation are much more beyond abstract segregating laws. There is history, traditions, customs, beliefs, and finally interests that are conditioned by competition. All those forces can be considered as different forms of indirect resistance against all the gains that were achieved through the Civil Rights movement. They took the shape of deselection of the black majority schools, when white parents intended to enrol their children in schools. They regarded those African American majority schools as inferior and degrading for their children and that entails a certain kind of humiliation to Afro-Americans.

⁴¹ For further information about recent racial attitudes related to school rankings in the United States of America, see: Goyette, Kimberly A., Danielle Farrie, and Joshua Freely. “This School’s Gone Downhill: Racial Change and Perceived School Quality among Whites.” *Society for the Study of Social Problems* 59.2 (2012): 155.

⁴² For further discussion, see: Transcript of Oral Argument, *Fisher v. Univ. of Texas At Austin*, 136 S. Ct. 2198 (2016) (No. 14-981).

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As white parents, scholars and even sometimes supported by the Supreme Court were convinced that African American students cannot be intellectually equal to their white children, they were admitting that African Americans' education was inferior and more than that they were not willing to improve it, but instead they resorted to isolating them by keeping them in their status quo. All of that contradicts the concept "the melting pot", which is used in the United States of America to adapt all the different races together in harmony⁴³.

It can be deduced that the negative outcomes of the educational attainment of African Americans compared to their white counterparts might be attributed to the segregated educational system that discriminated African Americans and favoured whites, which stemmed from the racial legislation against blacks of the United States of America, as well as other forces outside the law that are related to discriminating customs and traditions. A matter that led to repressing behaviours that damaged the African Americans' lives.

African Americans believe that education is their ticket to upward mobility. Smith (1989) paraphrased that "schooling was viewed increasingly by blacks as the most vital

⁴³ The United States of America adopted a cultural and racial model, known as "melting-pot", which focused on combining the Americans who come from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds in harmony. For further information about the "melting-pot" concept, see: Hollinger, David A. "Amalgamation and Hypodescent: The Question of Ethnoracial Mixture in the History of the United States." *The American Historical Review* 108.5 (2003): 1363- 90.

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component of 'making it' in the labor market" (427). African Americans had to attain certain levels of education that accredited required competences in order to be able to access the work force and be accepted, so that they can earn their living and be able to move up the social ladder.

Without doing that they would have been excluded from the work market. Blacks fought to obtain education and thus, depriving them intentionally of a good one using segregation as a weapon, means closing the door in the face of their employment, upward mobility process, as well as throwing them to the wilderness of poverty, failure, and frustration for generations to come.

As a result of segregated housing and education, African Americans were twice unemployed than whites, earning way less than them and if they were employed, most of them would work in blue collar jobs. Consequently, the poverty rate was extremely high among black families (Martin, James Kirby et al., 1997: 1054-55).

The competition that is felt by white people towards black people and their fear that if African Americans achieved higher educational attainments, that would mean a second-place for them and, accordingly, less job opportunities, in addition to their inability to accumulate fortune and bequeath it to the following generations might be the motivation behind segregation.

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According to the situation described, we may assume that black people were free, but they were not able to live the life they have always longed for. They were not able to get the educational quality or level that they wanted. They were working, but in the same inferior places, doing the same jobs of servitude and agriculture as if they were still in slavery, gaining so little which made it difficult for them to live in an adequate place, so they resorted to a low-standard lifestyle.

2.2. AFRICAN AMERICANS’ EDUCATIONAL ACHIEVEMENTS FROM 1850 TO 2019 AND THEIR EFFECTS

The deteriorated current situation of African Americans in general and African American women in particular can be traced back to several factors that have driven them to that situation. Segregated education was an essential element that led to their retarded status.

Regarding the available statistical sources on which the graphs were built, there are the Census Bureau, PEW Research Center, Brookings Research Center, and National Center for Education Statistics. The following chart 2.1 shows how the educational discrimination that started in the 19th century and continued in the 20th century is still biasing black population.

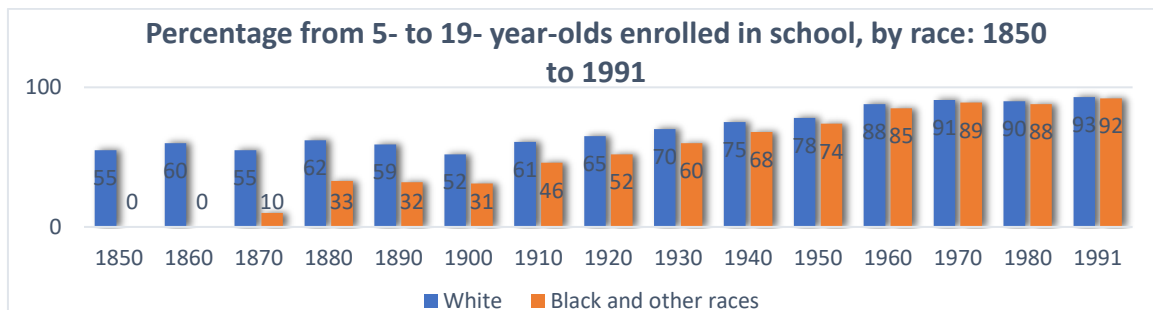


Chart 2.1: Percentage from 5- to 19- year-olds enrolled in school, by race: 1850 to 1991.

SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Percent from 5- to 19- year-olds enrolled in school, by race: 1850 to 1991, based on U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-20, School Enrollment – Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, various issues in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 6.

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The previous chart shows how the rates of enrolment in schools for white people maintained the trend of being higher than blacks’ for over a century starting in 1850 until 1991. Chart 2.1 X-rays the holes that happened in the educational history of black population regardless of gender. It accurately explains the reason for black poverty, unemployment, and illiteracy along 141 years and the intergenerational consequences of those ailments that have sickened that population and worn it up.

According to the previous chart, black population was deprived of education from 1850 to 1869. During that time only whites were allowed to go to schools and blacks were slaves who were forbidden to do so before the American Civil War, and that was one of its reasons.

Nevertheless, the enrolment rates of blacks experienced a significant improvement in 1940. The difference shrunk down to 7 points instead of 21 in 1900 (Snyder, 1993: 6).

The enrolment rates continued to increase along the 20th century and that justifies the appearance of high-profile black politicians in the 20th century more than ever such as, Martin Luther King Junior, Rosa Parks, and Barack Obama among others as they received their education during that time of increased black enrolment in schools. The results of the anti-literacy laws can be shown in the following chart:

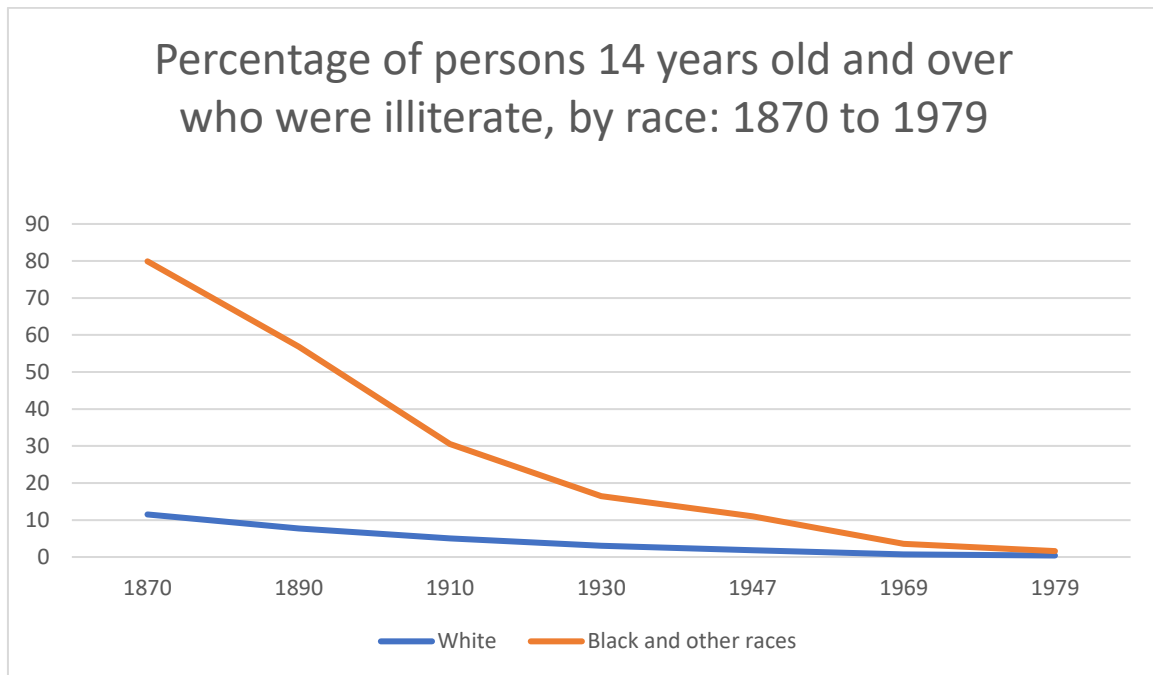


Chart 2.2: Percentage of persons 14 years old and over who were illiterate, by race: 1870 to 1979.

SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author showing the Percentage of persons 14 years old and over who were illiterate, by race: 1870 to 1979 based on data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-23, Ancestry and Language in the United States: November 1979. in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 21.

In 1979, 1.6% of the black population, who aged 14 years old and over were illiterate, while 0.4% of the white population faced the same problem.

A ratio that consolidates the assumption of an educational system that favoured the white over the black. That favouritism cycle continued later to include dependent aspects such as high-profile jobs and employment exclusion in general.

The following chart 2.3 shows the level of the 17-year-olds proficiency in science by race in 1989-1990:

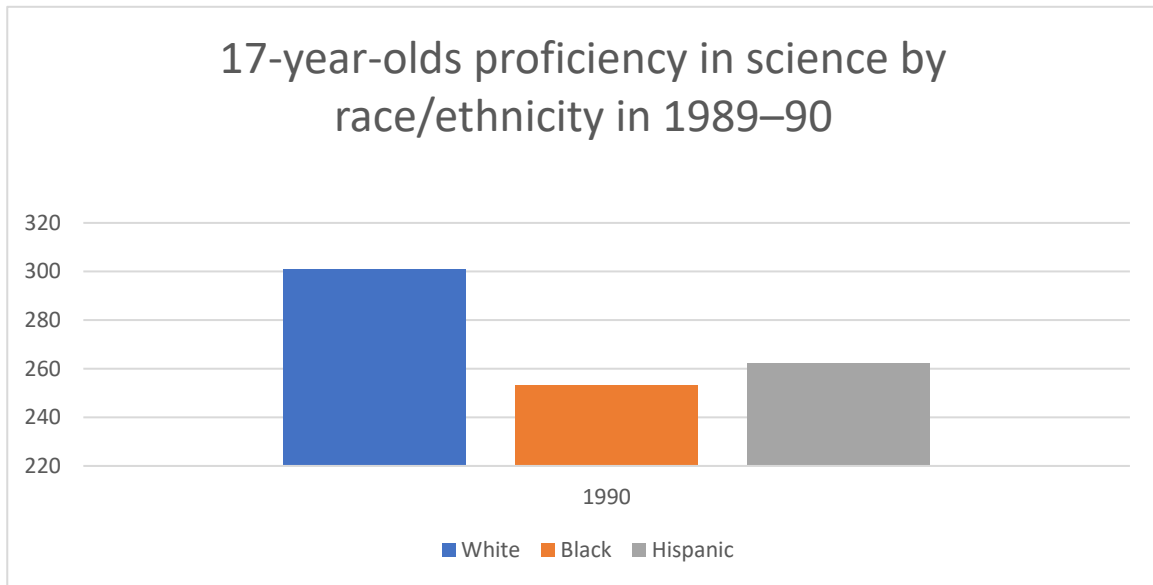


Chart 2.3: 17-Year-Olds proficiency in science, by race/ethnicity: 1989-90.

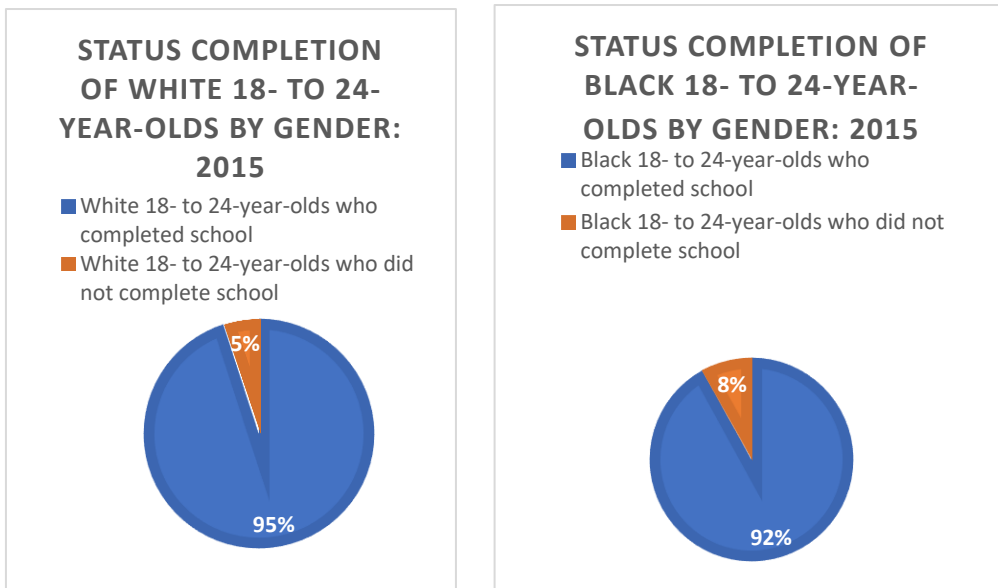
SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author of the 17-year-olds proficiency in science by race/ethnicity in 1989-90 based on data from U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, National Assessment of Educational Progress, Trends in Academic Progress, November 1991. Available at: <https://nces.ed.gov/surveys/SurveyGroups.asp?group=4> Accessed on 20 Oct. 2021.

Seventeen-year-old white students excelled in science and scored 301 in 1990 while 17-year-old black students scored 253, according to the previous chart which paved the way of deducing who were going to work in the higher white-collar jobs and who were going to handle the minor simple ones.

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It was a systematic graduation that targeted the decline of black population towards illiteracy and the status NEET (not in education, employment, or training). That status was more than enough to catalyse the downward socio-economic situation of African Americans throughout the 20th century and beyond.

As for the 21st century, the educational circumstances of African Americans were not the best at school completion with respect to other races. That can be seen in the following chart:



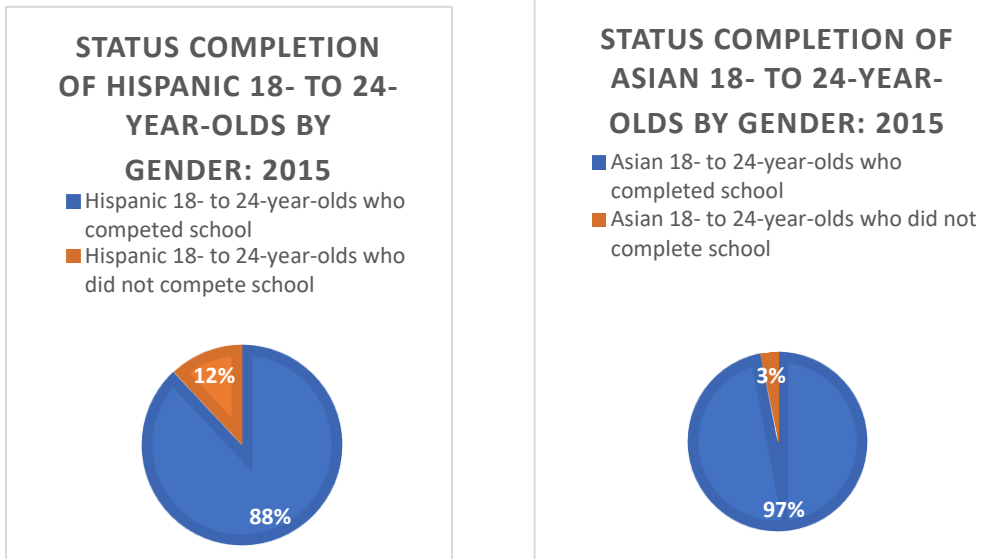


Chart 2.4: Status completion rates of 18- to 24-year-olds, by race/ethnicity and gender: 2015

Source: Prepared charts by the author that show status completion rates of 18- to 24-year-olds, by race/ethnicity and gender: 2015 based on data from Musu-Gillette, Lauren, et al. *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017*. National Center for Education Statistics: Washington, 2017, p. 84.

According to the previous charts, Asians were the most education completers and dedicated students within the age group of 18- to 24-year-olds in the United States of America in 2015 with 97% of them who finished their education at that age, followed by white people with 95% of them who followed in the same footsteps. Then, black people reached a ratio of 92% in the same year. Hispanics came in last place with 88% of education completers.

The mentioned data shows that African Americans came in third place after Asians and white people in education completion and were only followed by Hispanics. These data could lead us to consider that other groups of population may have better job opportunities than black citizens in the United States.

The following chart 2.5 shows the college enrolment rates of the 18- to 24-year-olds by race from 1990 to 2015.

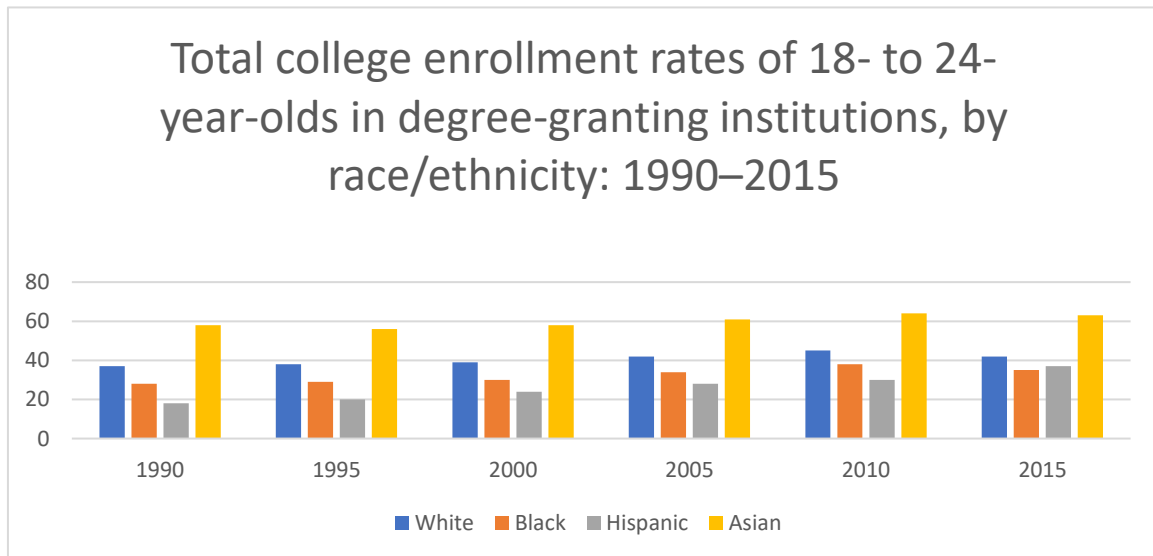


Chart 2.5: Total college enrolment rates of 18- to 24-year-olds in degree-granting institutions, by race/ethnicity: 1990–2015

Source: A prepared chart by the author that explains the total college enrolment rates of 18- to 24-year-olds in degree-granting institutions, by race/ethnicity: 1990–2015 based on data from Musu-Gillette, Lauren, et al. *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017*. National Center for Education Statistics: Washington, 2017, p. 90.

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The introduced chart 2.5 gives an insight into the college enrolment rates of the 18- to 24-year-olds by race from 1990 to 2015, referring particularly to African Americans, white people, Asian people, and Hispanic people and it can be noticed that throughout those 25 years, Asians were always in the first place of college enrolment followed by whites. Blacks came after them, holding the third place until 2010, but in 2015 that trend changed and African Americans came in last place as they were surpassed by Asians, white people, and Hispanic.

The following chart 2.6 shows the percentage of college attainment of the total and black populations age 25 and older: 1940-2019:

Percentage of College Attainment of the Total and Black Populations Age 25 and Older: 1940-2019

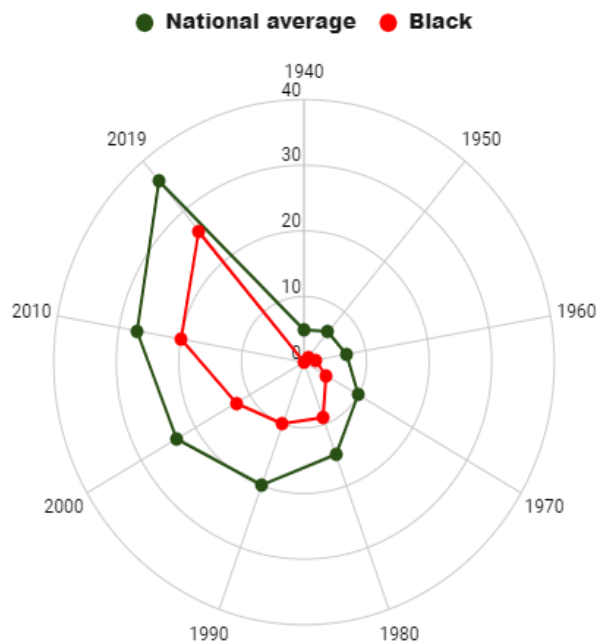


Chart 2.6: Percentage of College Attainment of the Total and Black Populations Aged 25 and Older: 1940-2019.

Source: A designed chart by the author that shows the College Attainment of the Total and Black Populations Age 25 and Older: 1940-2019 that is based on data from U.S. Census Bureau, 1940 Census and 1947-2019 Current Population Survey, March and Annual Social and Economic Supplements. Available at:

<https://www.census.gov/library/stories/2020/06/black-high-school-attainment-nearly-on-par-with-national-average.html>

Accessed on 20 Nov. 2021.

The previous chart 2.6 shows that there was a slight improvement in the educational attainment of blacks, but it also consolidates that it did not reach an equal status in comparison with the rest of the nation and that African Americans are still currently suffering from educational discrimination. That can be read in the mentioned data that compares them to the rest of the Americans.

The following chart 2.7 introduces the percentage of African American adults with a bachelor’s degree or higher in 2019:

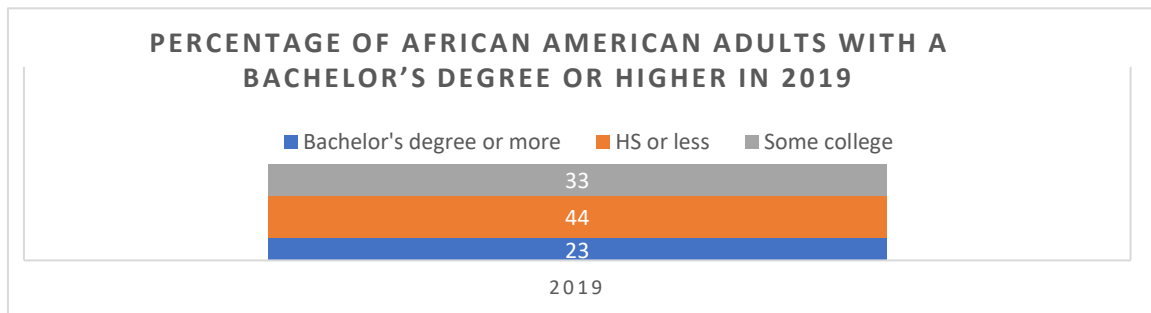


Chart 2.7: Percentage of African American adults with a Bachelor’s Degree or higher in 2019

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Source: A prepared chart by the author that is based on data from PEW Research Center tabulations of the 2019 American Community Survey (1% IPUMS). Available at: https://www.pewresearch.org/social-trends/all-blacks_education2/ Accessed on 10 Dec. 2021.

The previous chart 2.7 shows how African Americans continued to have a scarce share of higher education as less than 25% of the black population were able to obtain a bachelor’s degree or higher. This data corresponds to 2019, which means that the impact of segregation still exists in the contemporary years, robbing African Americans from their fair quota of decent life opportunities.

Consequently, the price of the educational discrepancies came out of the pockets of the black households, as nearly half of those households are not high earners, as it can be shown in the following chart:

Median Net Worth of US Households in 2016 by Race and Educational Attainment of Household Head

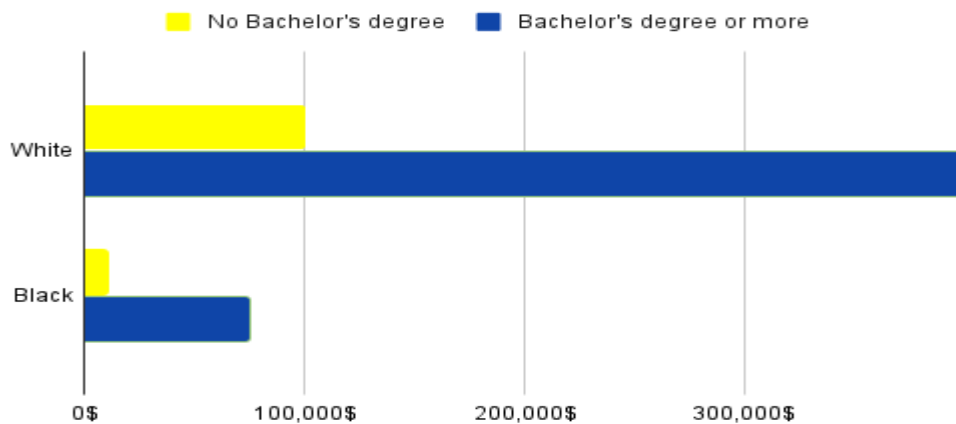


Chart 2.8: Median Net Worth of US Households in 2016, by Race and Educational Attainment of Household Head.

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows Median Net Worth of US Households in 2016, by Race and Educational Attainment of Household Head, based on information from Dettling, Lisa J., Joanne W. Hsu, Lindsay Jacobs, et al. “Recent Trends in Wealth-Holding by Race and Ethnicity: Evidence from the Survey of Consumer Finances.” Federal Reserve Board. September 27, 2017. BROOKINGS. Available at:

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/>

Accessed on 5 Nov. 2021.

Apparently, obtaining a bachelor’s degree did not seem to narrow the wealth gap that exists between blacks and whites in the United States of America. According to the previous chart 2.8 of 2016, black people can hold the same educational degree, but still do not make the same amount of income like their white counterparts.

Their median net worth was less than 100 thousand dollars in 2016, which was less than the one that white people receive, even though they matched their educational level. This shows that educational outcomes do not seem to be doing their expected effect regarding the African Americans’ upward mobility in the 21st century.

Paradoxically, education or college degree attainment was not the answer to wealth gaps’ problems, and African Americans did not get their golden ticket to the promised land of affluence and socio-economic upward mobility.

2.3. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENTS OF AMERICAN WOMEN FROM 1940 TO THE 21ST CENTURY

Among several elements that conditioned the domestication of American women, sexism comes in the first place of those elements. As without its sequels, American women would have enjoyed equal rights in education as their male counterparts.

The following chart 2.9 shows the change that was experienced by American women regarding their school enrolment from 1940 to 1991 in comparison with American men:

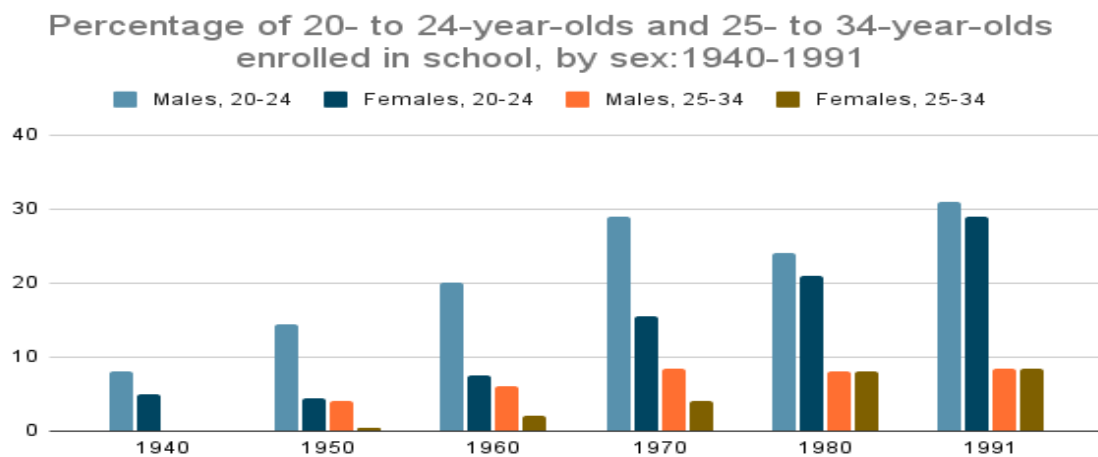


Chart 2.9: Percentage of 20- to 24- year-olds and 25- to 34- year-olds enrolled in school, by sex: 1940-1991

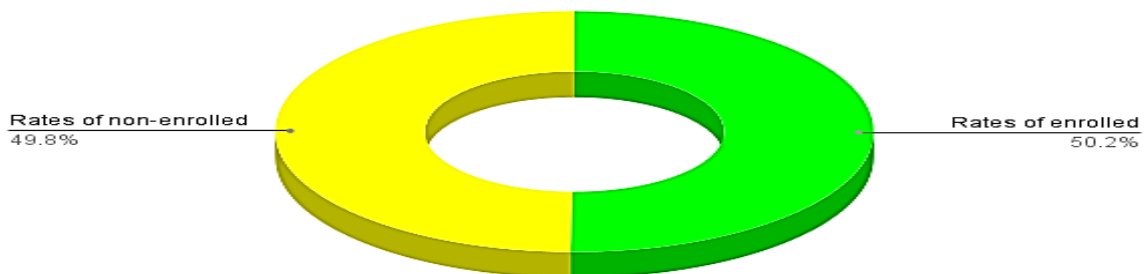
SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author that shows the percentage of 20- to 24- year-olds and 25- to 34- year-olds enrolled in school, by gender: 1940-1991 based on information from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-20, School Enrollment – Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, various issues in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 7.

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Regarding male and female school enrolment’s ratios in 1970, men who aged from 20 to 24 years old surpassed women who belonged to the same age group, scoring 32%, whereas women scored way worse than that rate, as they scored 16%.

As for 1991 the following charts 2.10, and 2.11 show the percentage of men and women aged from 5 years old to 34 years old who were enrolled in school in that year.

Percentage of Women Who Were Enrolled in School in 1991



Percentage of Men Who Were Enrolled in School in 1991



Chart 2.10: Percentage of women aged from 5 years old to 34 years old who were enrolled in school: 1991.

Chart 2.11: Percentage of men aged from 5 years old to 34 years old who were enrolled in school: 1991.

SOURCE: Prepared statistical doughnuts by the author that show the Percentage of Women Who Were Enrolled in School in 1991 and the Percentage of Men Who are Enrolled in School in 1991 that are based on data from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-20, School Enrollment - Social and Economic Characteristics of Students, various years in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 15, 16 17.

Based on the age from 5 years old to 34 years old, the enrolment gap between women and men narrowed down, as the enrolled females comprised 50.2% of the whole female population in 1991. Male students counted 52.3% of the whole male population in the same year.

The following charts show the percentage distribution of postbaccalaureate student enrolment in degree-granting institutions, by race and gender in 2014:

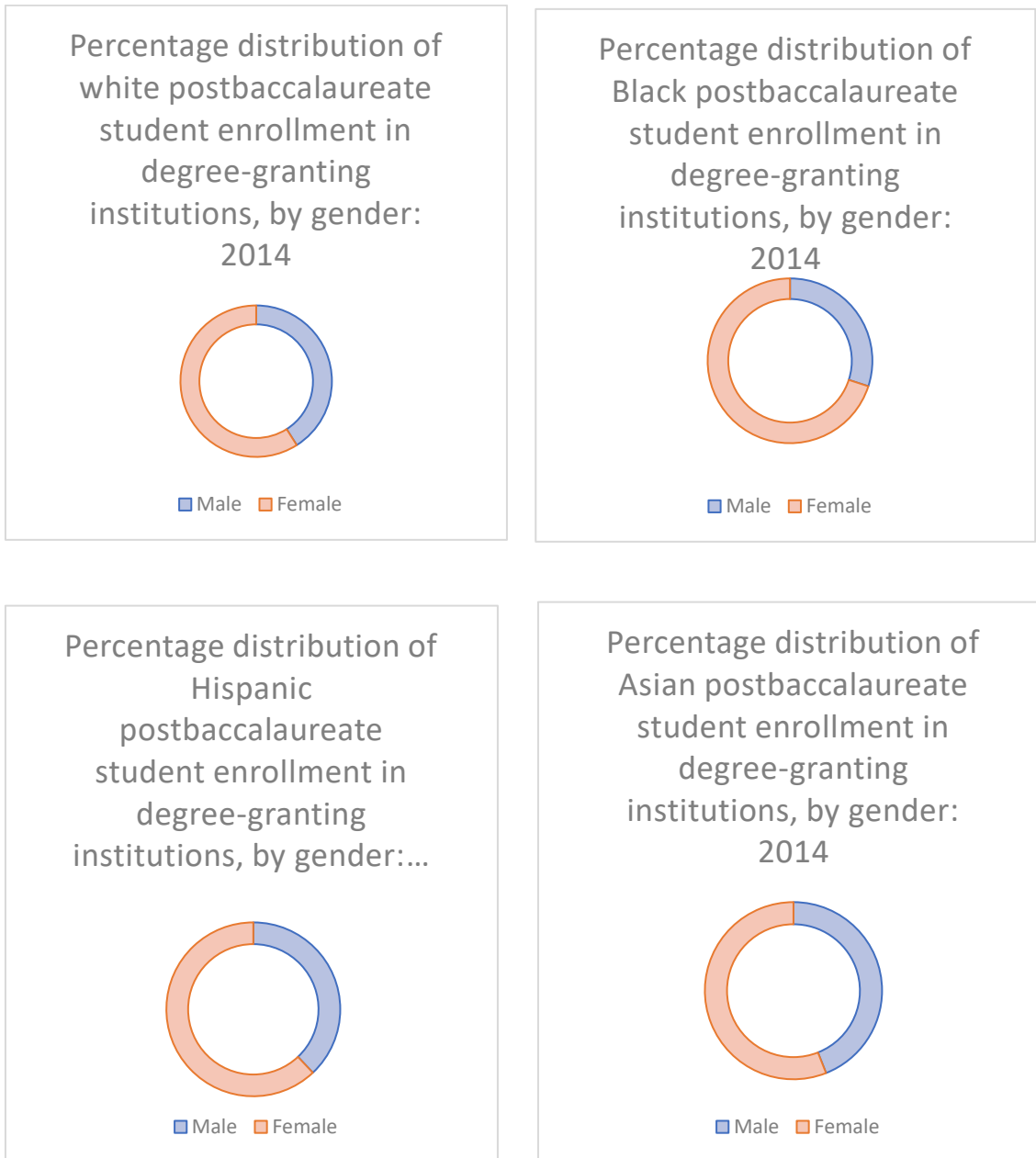


Chart 2.12: Percentage distribution of postbaccalaureate student enrolment in degree-granting institutions, by race, and gender: 2014

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Source: Prepared statistical doughnuts by the author that show the percentage distribution of male and female postbaccalaureate student enrollment in degree-granting institutions, by race and gender: 2014 based on data from Musu-Gillette, Lauren, et al. *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017*. National Center for Education Statistics: Washington, 2017. p. 102.

According to the previous statistical doughnuts, American women exceeded their male counterparts in the percentage of the postbaccalaureate student enrolment in degree-granting institutions regardless of the ethnic group in 2014.

In 2014, 59% of the white population who were enrolled in degree-granting institutions were white women, 70% of the black population who were enrolled in the same type of institutions in the same year were black women, 62% of the Hispanic population who were enrolled in degree-granting institutions were Hispanic women, and 56% of the Asian population who were enrolled in degree-granting institutions in the same year were Asian women.

That rate is very optimistic for women in general and for African American women in particular. However, there is no evidence that confirms that the income of African American women has increased at the same pace as their academic achievement.

The following chart 2.13 introduces the percentage distribution of associate degrees and bachelor’s degrees awarded by degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity and sex: academic year 2013–14:

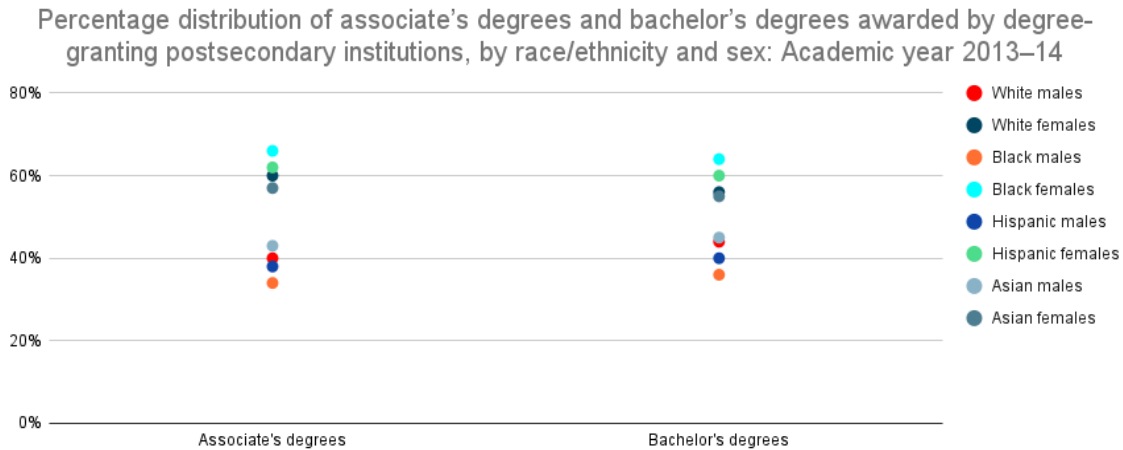


Chart 2.13: Percentage distribution of associate degrees and bachelor’s degrees awarded by degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity and sex: Academic year 2013–14.

Source: Prepared chart by the author that explains the percentage distribution of associate degrees and bachelor’s degrees awarded by degree-granting postsecondary institutions, by race/ethnicity and sex: Academic year 2013–14 based on data from Musu-Gillette, Lauren, et al. *Status and Trends in the Education of Racial and Ethnic Groups 2017*. National Center for Education Statistics: Washington, 2017, p. 115.

The chart 2.13 shows that in the academic year 2013-14, black women were the most associate’s, as well as bachelor’s degree holders compared not only to their male counterparts but also to Asians, whites, and Hispanics regardless of the gender.

In the same year, 40% of the Hispanic population, who earned a bachelor’s degree, were Hispanic men, 60% of the Hispanic population, who earned the same degree, were women, 45% of the Asian population, who obtained the same degree in the same year, were Asian men, and 55% of them were Asian women.

As for the master’s, and the doctor’s degrees in the academic year 2013-14, black women showed great commitment to winning those degrees compared to the percentage of the black male holders. Within their black group, black women excelled their male peers even more than white, Asian, or Hispanic women did.

For example, in 2013–14, black female students obtained 70% of the master’s degrees awarded to black students. At the doctor’s degree level, black female students earned 64% of the degrees compared to 36% of the degrees awarded to black male students. White females earned 52% of the doctor’s degrees among white students⁴⁴ (Musu-Gillette et al., 2017: 117).

That pleasant news had nothing to do with their salaries that were irrelevant to their educational attainments. As for the current situation of black female graduates with bachelor’s degree or higher one with respect to general female population in the USA, the following chart shows it:

⁴⁴ Source: U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System (IPEDS), IPEDS Fall 2014, Completions component. See: *Digest of Education Statistics 2015*, tables 323.20 and 324.20.

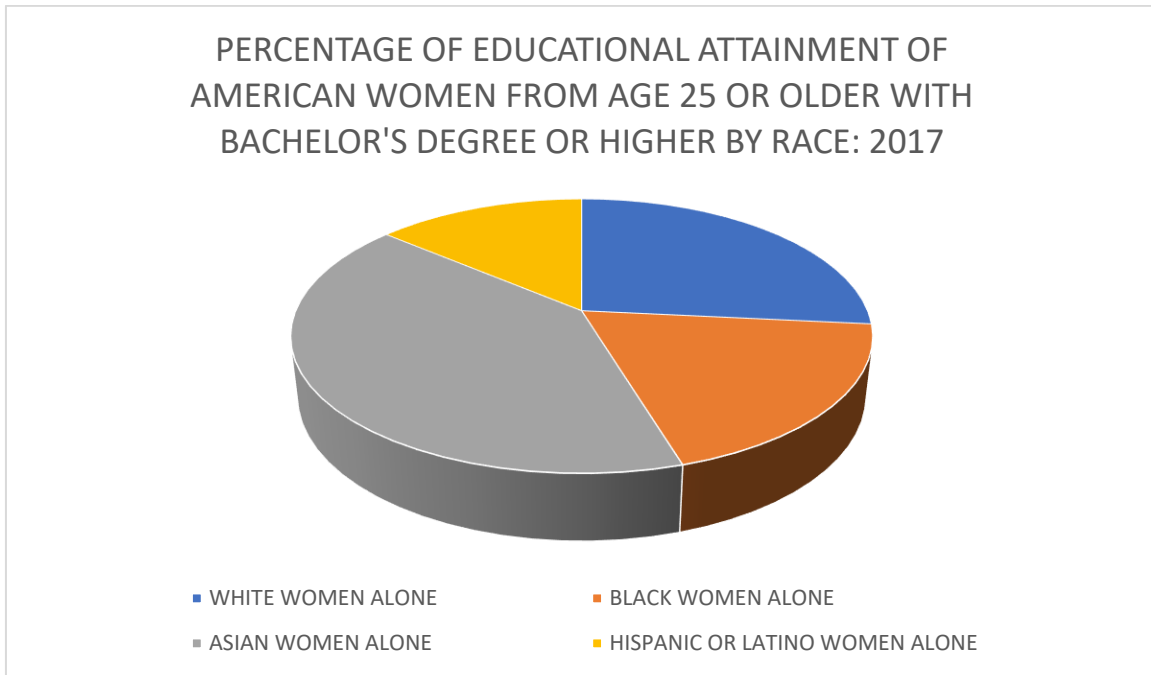


Chart 2.14: Percentage of Educational attainment of American Women from Age 25 or older with bachelor's degree or higher by race: 2017

Source: statistical pie prepared by the author showing Percentage of Educational attainment of American Women from Age 25 or older with bachelor's degree or higher by race: 2017, based on information from U.S. Census Bureau, 2017 American Community Survey 1-Year Estimates. Pdf, available at:

<https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/visualizations/2019/comm/womens-education-attainment.pdf>

Accessed on 23 June 2021.

According to chart 2.14, in 2017, African American women who were able to make it in obtaining a bachelor's degree or higher one represented 23.8% of their total number. White women had 33.7% of them with the same educational attainment in the same year. It seems that Asian women were the highest educational-level-accomplished women in the same year with 51.8% of them who held a bachelor's degree or higher one, whereas

Hispanic women represented the lowest candidates in that domain with a mere 17.6% of them who reached the same educational level in the same year.

As for the annual average income of high school and college graduates, 25 years old and over, in constant 1991 dollars, by gender: 1959- 1991, chart 2.15 shows that as follows:

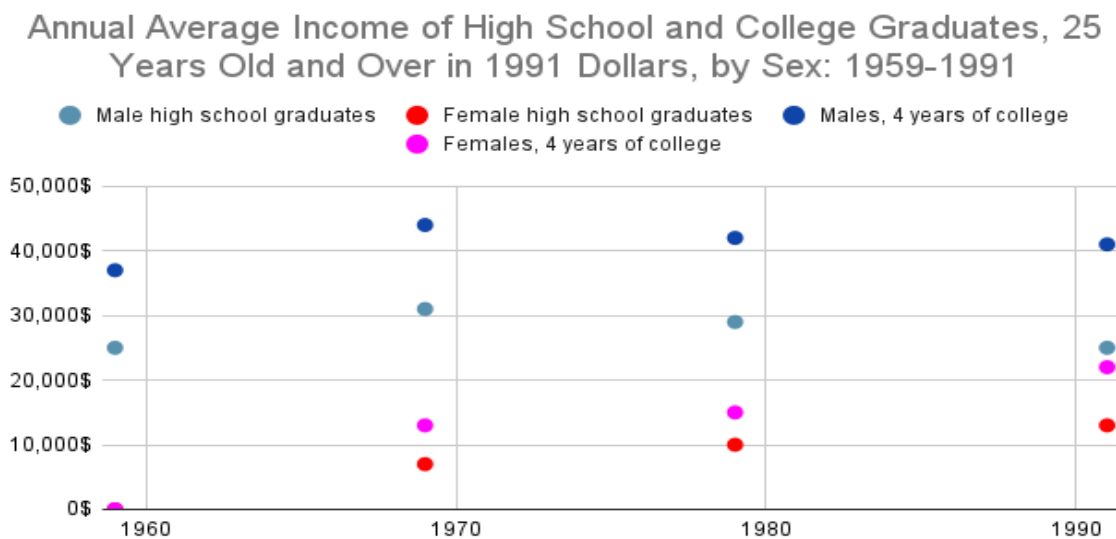


Chart 2.15: Annual average income of high school and college graduates, 25 years old and over, in constant 1991 dollars, by gender: 1959 to 1991.

SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Annual average income of high school and college graduates, 25 years old and over, in constant 1991 dollars, by gender: 1959- 1991 based on information from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States; unpublished data in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 10.

Concerning the outcome of the high school completion and college graduation for 25-year-olds and over, the previous chart 2.15 shows that women in general were not able

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to reach the 30000 dollars’ income per year despite their education and regardless of their colour in 1991. On the contrary, men succeeded in securing more than 40000 dollars per year having the same level of education.

The previous data imply that education did not play its expected role in guaranteeing good jobs and high pay for the women who attained a high level of education and men exceeded women and received higher salaries, which may be interpreted as proof of gender discrimination.

That financial difference between men and women in the United States of America has reached the extent that male high-school graduates made more money than female 4-year-college graduates even in the last decade of the 20th century as shown in the previous chart.

The following chart 2.16 shows the difference in the mean income between men and women who completed 5 years or more of college in 1991:

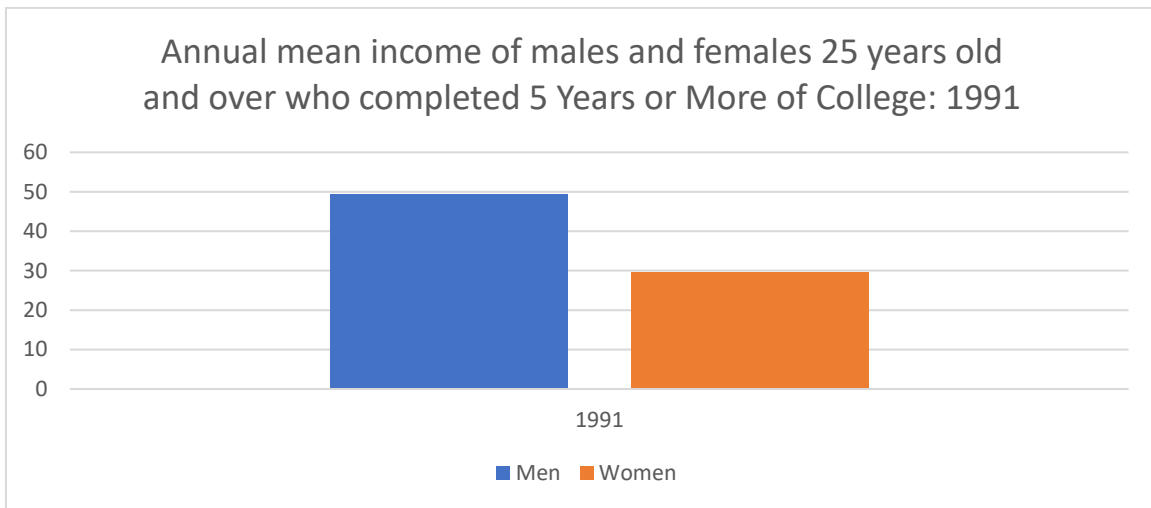


Chart 2.16: Annual mean income of males and females 25 years old and over, by years of school completed: 1991.

SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Annual mean income of males and females 25 years old and over who completed 5 Years or More of College: 1991 based on information from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; Current Population Reports, Money Income of Families and Persons in the United States, and unpublished data in data in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 22, 23.

Twenty-five-year-old and over males were able to earn 49.259\$ per year in 1991 after completing 5 years or more of college. Unfortunately, 25-year-old women, who completed the same number of college years were able to make only 29.466\$ per year in the same year, according to the previous chart.

The following chart 2.17 shows the percentage of male and female teachers: 1950-1991, which commemorates dated misconceptions of stereotypical jobs for men and women:

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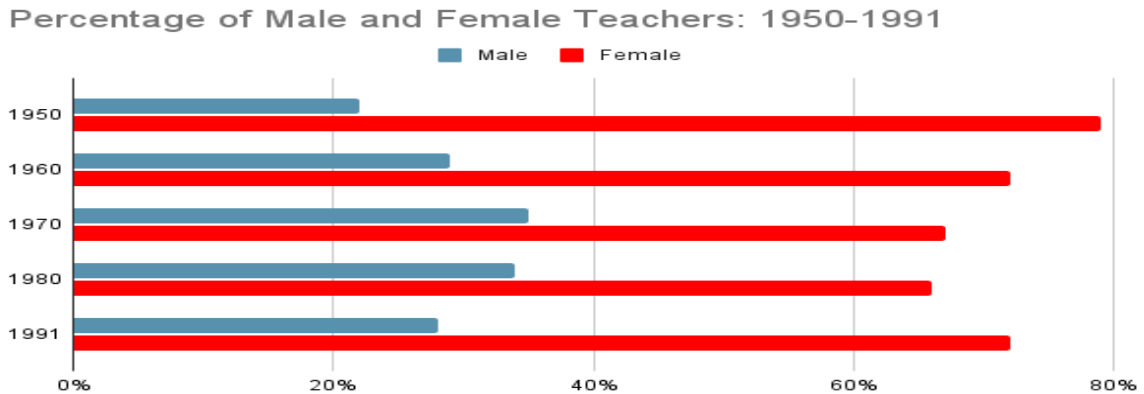


Chart 2.17: Percentage of male and female elementary and secondary school teachers: 1950- 1991.

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Percentage of Male and Female Teachers: 1950-1991 that is based on information from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and U.S. Department of Education, National Center for Education Statistics, Digest of Education Statistics, various issues in data in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 29.

Female teachers continued to exceed the male ones even in the last decade of the 20th century as shown in the previous chart due to dated misconceptions about women and their eternal sacred mission in life as beautifiers, caregivers, nurses, or teachers of mankind. A mission that was mandated on women as a result of societal classification that unfavoured women and worked in a way that aimed at domesticating them in general.

On top of that, women’s salaries were not the highest in the country. That was the result of keeping them in their prescribed role as teachers, fulfilling their destiny, limiting their skills and nullifying their chances to advance both intellectually and financially by

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tricking them into believing that they were made for that job and that they were good for nothing else.

Regardless of the reason, whether it is the poor school enrolment rates, the low income although the same level of education was obtained including even a higher one, or a moulded mentality that dictated that women should work in specific jobs because of their biological structure (the domestication project), the aftermath was and is always the same.

American women are the ones who suffered from retarded educational levels, more unemployment or employment in service-oriented jobs with low salaries, as parity was not a determining factor at the time of job selection, and that was how political careers and high-ranked jobs were male domains in American society.

2.4. EDUCATIONAL ACCOMPLISHMENTS OF AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN FROM 1960 TO THE PRESENT

African American women were not isolated from the rest of American women and their gender discrimination hardships. Furthermore, African American women suffered from extra discrimination that included racism based on their skin colour inside and outside white America in addition to social class oppression.

It was advocated that the education of the black race rested upon the shoulders of black women, as they played a central role in black education in general and the education of African American girls in particular. Archived records have shown that during slavery, slave women who succeeded in learning how to read, gave secret classes to other slaves passing down what they learnt (Wolfman, 1997: 158-167).

Regarding the schools that accepted African Americans, they took the form of church missionaries in the post-Reconstruction era, and most of them were established by Northern whites, as well as Freedmen’s Bureau, a governmental agency that secured the change of blacks from slavery to freedom (McCluskey, 1997: 403-426).

Those schools were started by African American women specially the ones for black girls and women. Among the prominent black women school founders, there was Mary McLeod Bethune (Thomas, 2007: 360).

Mary Jane McLeod (July 10th, 1875 – May 18th, 1955) was an American educator, stateswoman, philanthropist, humanitarian, and civil rights activist. She was known for

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opening a private school for African-Americans in Daytona Beach, Florida. She also developed the academic school as a college. Later that college was named after Bethune to become known now as Bethune-Cookman University. She was also the national advisor to President Franklin D. Roosevelt⁴⁵.

While working as an educator in a building in Daytona Beach, Florida, Bethune opened a school for African American girls in October 1904, named the Daytona Literary and Industrial School for Training Negro Girls, as she saw that they were not having an equal opportunity in education. She started with 5 girls and added her own son to them. In order to fund the school, Bethune and her students, baked pies and made ice cream. In the beginning, the school focused on elementary classes, then it moved on to secondary courses, while emphasising industrial training, and religious education. Later on, the school included more academic subjects. Bethune never rejected a girl regardless of her parents' ability to pay the school tuition (Thomas, 2007: 361).

In 1916, Bethune founded Mary McLeod Hospital and Training School for Nurses. At that time, it was the only nurses' training school for African Americans on the East Coast.

⁴⁵ For more information about Mary Bethune, read: Long, Nancy Ann Zrinyi. *Mary McLeod Bethune: Her Life and Legacy*. Florida: Florida Historical Society, 2019. Jones, Ida E. *Mary McLeod Bethune in Washington, D.C.: Activism and Education in Logan Circle*. Charleston, South Carolina: The History Press, 2013. Poole, Bernice Anderson. *Mary McLeod Bethune: Educator*. Cambridgeshire: Melrose Square Publishing Company, 1994.

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Concerning the colleges that accepted black women, Oberlin College (Oberlin, Ohio) was the first college that admitted men and women of all races in 1833, right in the eye of a mighty opposition of providing higher education for women and blacks. The first fruit of black women’s higher education was Mary Jane Patterson, who was the first African American woman to earn a Bachelor of Arts (BA) from an established college, as she graduated from Oberlin College in 1862 (Lawson and Merrill, 1983: 142-155; Cowan and Maquire, 1995: 86-90).

Due to the restrictions that were put on higher education for black women in the South, efforts were made to establish African American women’s colleges. Four colleges were founded in the late 1800s, and early 1900s, dedicated to the education of black women. Those colleges were: Spelman College in Atlanta, Georgia; Bennett College in Greensboro, North Carolina; Tillotson College in Austin, Texas; and Barber-Scotia College in Concord, North Carolina. Part of that advance in black women’s higher education was owed to legislation, Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, that prohibited discrimination because of gender in educational institutions that received federal funds (Thomas, 2007: 364-365).

The following chart 2.18 shows the advance of college enrolment status of black population by gender from 1969 to 2020:

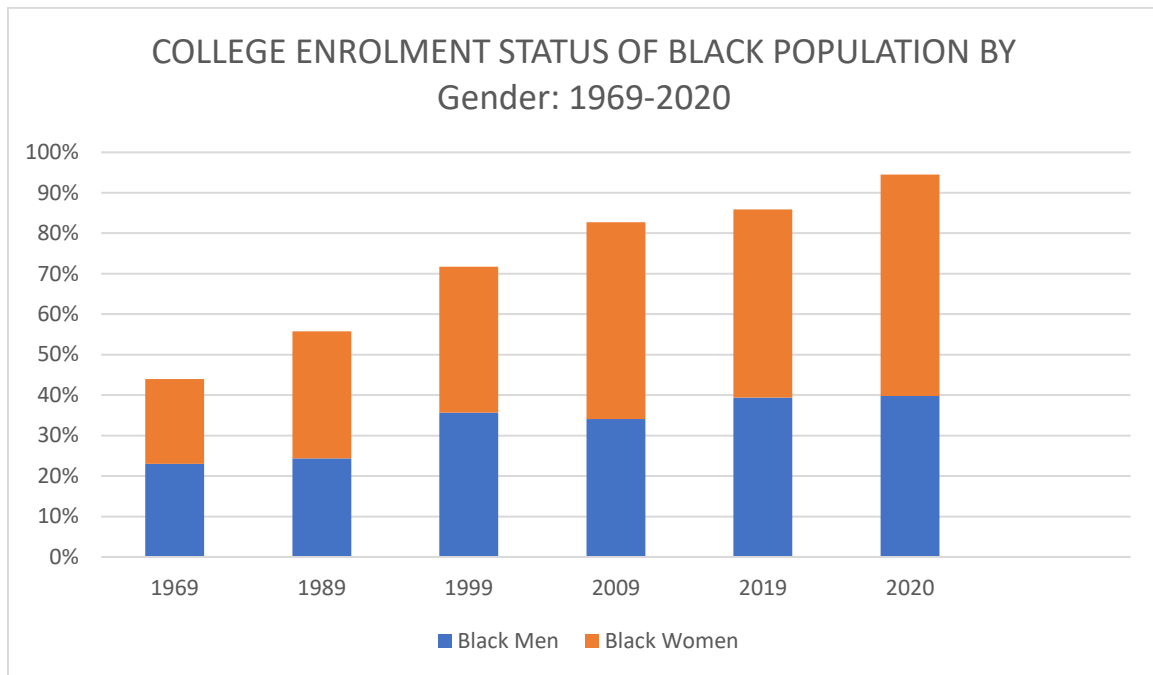


Chart 2.18: College Enrolment Status of Black Population by Gender: 1969-2020

SOURCE: A designed chart by the author displaying the College Enrolment Status of Black Population by Gender: 1969-2020, based on the 1969, 1989, 1999, 2009, 2019, and 2020 Censuses. Available at: <https://www.census.gov/topics/education/school-enrollment.html> Accessed on 5 Mar. 2023.

The previous chart maps the progress of African American women’s education across the years from the sixties to the present. It explains how African American women’s college matriculation rates have escalated through the years. And in 2020 they represented 55% of the black population according to the U.S. Census. That rate was not even possible in the 1960s, as the mentioned educational segregating laws and behaviours forbade that from happening.

The following chart 2.19 shows the improvement that occurred in the percentage of 25- year-olds and over completing 4 years of college by race and gender: 1960-1991:

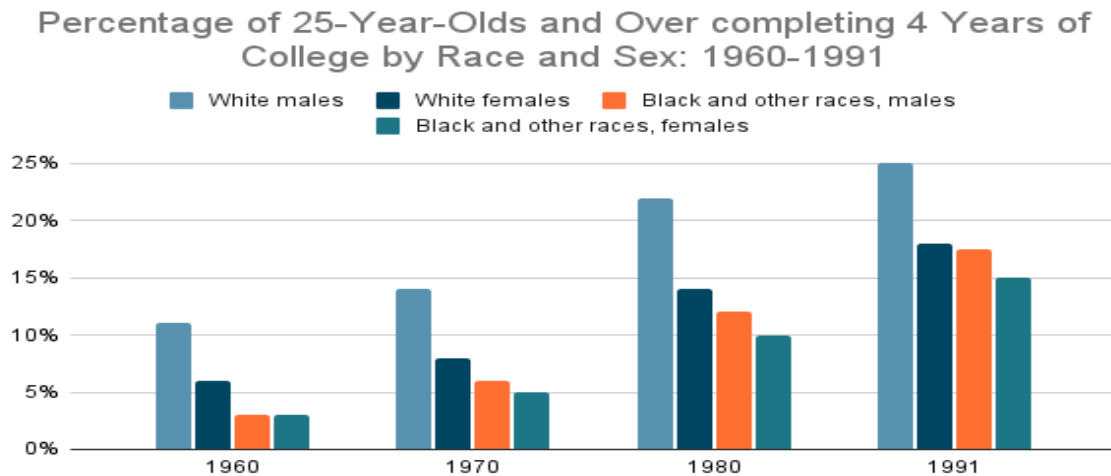


Chart 2.19: Percentage of persons 25 years old and over completing 4 years of college, by race and gender: 1960 to 1991.

SOURCE: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Percentage of 25- Year-Olds and Over Completing 4 Years of College by Race and Gender: 1960-1991 based on information from U.S. Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Historical Statistics of the United States, Colonial Times to 1970; and Current Population Reports, Series P-20, Educational Attainment in the United States, various issues data in Snyder, Thomas D. *120 Years of American Education: A Statistical Portrait*. Washington, D.C: U.S. Dept. of Education, Office of Educational Research and Improvement, National Center for Education Statistics, 1993, p. 8.

As for 4-year-college completion, African American women continued the tendency to be below African American men specially in the second half of the 20th century as shown in the previous chart 2.19.

It can be observed in the previous chart 2.19 that black females scored the lowest on the four-year-college completion scale up until the nineties of the past century with only

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about 15% of them that were able to graduate at that time. That trend did not see much change in the 21st century, as it can be seen in the chart 2.20 to come.

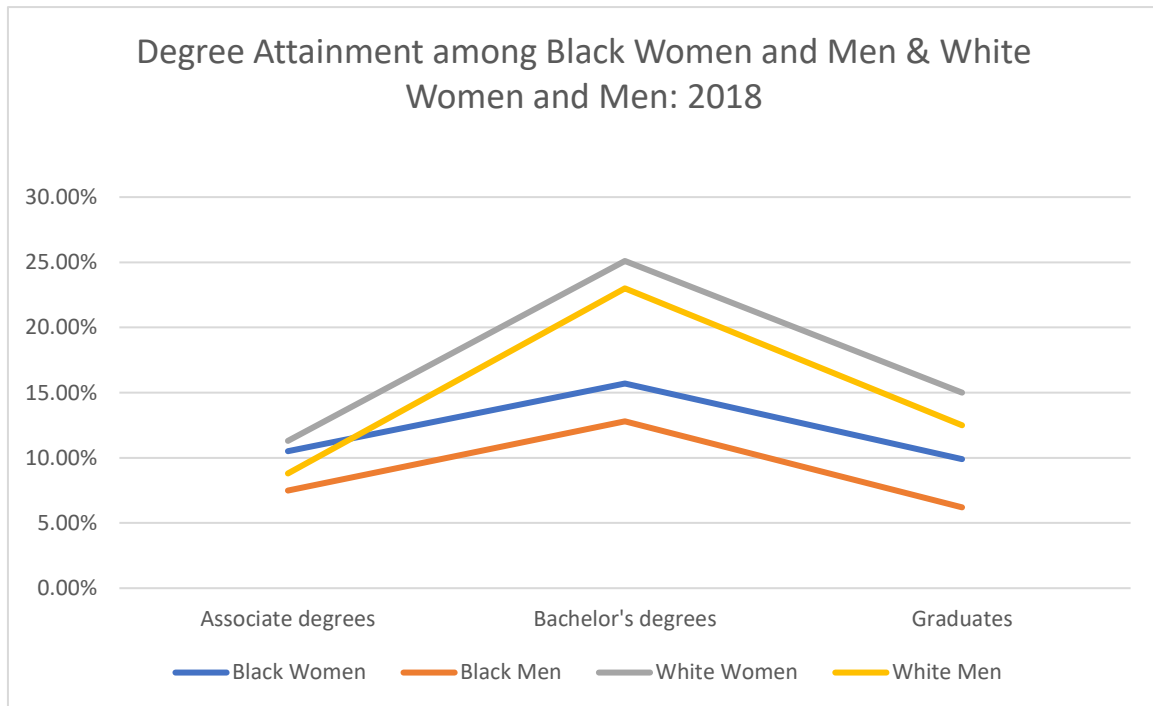


Chart 2.20: Degree Attainment among Black Women and Men & White Women and Men: 2018.

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows Degree Attainment among Black Women and Men & White Women and Men: 2018 based on information from ED Trust Analysis of the United States Census Bureau’s 2018 American Community Survey (all 50 states and DC included). Available at: <https://edtrust.org/resource/national-and-state-degree-attainment-for-black-women-and-men/>

Accessed on 10 Dec. 2021.

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According to the United States Census Bureau’s Trust analysis of 2018 upon which the previous chart 2.20 was designed, 36.1% of the black women were able to get a degree and as recent as in 2018. Thus, the advancement was slow and not massive.

African American women did better than African American men in education according to the 2018 Census. They were high achievers who managed to surpass their male counterparts, even though they were faced with bigger challenges. Still, that did not mean equality, because they were lower than white women and men. The black woman scored only 9.9% of their total as graduates, 15.7% as bachelor’s degree holders, while the white woman scored 15% as graduates and 25.1% as bachelor’s degree holders.

Comparing African American women’s degree attainment to white American women’s, the record shows that black women were lower than their white counterparts despite the enormous sacrifices that they endured to obtain a degree, as white women were above them in that domain.

The college gap between blacks and whites on the one hand and black women and white women on the other hand continued in the 21st century, as it can be revealed in the following table:

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YEAR	WHITE MEN	WHITE WOMEN	BLACK MEN	BLACK WOMEN
1940	9%	5%	-	-
1950	5%	2.5%	-	-
1960	17.5%	8%	4%	4%
1970	21%	12.5%	6%	6%
1980	29%	22%	12%	12%
1990	26%	25%	11%	14%
2000	31%	34%	11%	18%
2010	33%	42%	15%	22.5%
2015	35%	44%	16%	24%

Table 2.1: Percentage of the College Gap by Race and Gender: 1940-2015

Source: A designed table by the author that shows the College Gap by Race and Gender: 1940-2015 that is based on information from BROOKINGS. Author’s tabulations of American Community Survey data (2001-2015) and decennial Census data (1940-2000) using IPUMS.

Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/>

Accessed on 20 Mar. 2021.

Regardless of the race, women are more likely to be higher achievers than men according to the previous charts, and table 2.1, as it started in the 21st century. Women exceeded men when it came to 4+ years of college education. They excelled in college completion. As for black women they only topped black men, but never surpassed neither white men nor white women. Thus, black women were only able to shine within their own race. They could not do that out of the black community.

According to CDC, Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, the college graduation rates of African American women in 2017-2018 were passed down to 2018-2019 with no change whatsoever. As black women kept the tendency to have only less than 30% of them within the age range of 25 to 44-year-old, who were college graduates. That

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tendency was maintained from 2017 until 2019 just on the verge of the strike of the Covid-19 pandemic.

This data is slightly higher than their educational accomplishment in 2015 when only 25% of them were degree holders, which means that their conditions remained the same even over the course of four years. Change and improvement were slowed down when it came to black women.

Accordingly, unemployment was foreseen for a population of black women, who did not obtain a decent level of education unlike what was happening with white women. Thus, the unemployment rates of black women in February 2021 were the following:

White Men	White Women	Black Men	Black Women	Hispanic American Men	Hispanic American Women	Asian American Men	Asian American Women
5.3%	5.2%	10.2%	8.9%	7.7%	8.5%	4.3%	6%

Table 2.2: Unemployment Rates of 20 Years and Over, by Race and Gender: February 2021

Source: A prepared table by the author that shows Unemployment Rates, 20 Years and Over, by Race and Gender: February 2021, based on information from U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, “Economic News Release, Table A-2. Employment status of the civilian population by race, sex and age.”. BLACK WOMEN’S ROUNDTABLE REPORT. *BLACK WOMEN IN THE U.S. 2021: PRIORITIES, POLICY AND POWER*. 18th edition, 2021, p.72. Pdf available at: <https://www.ncbcp.org/programs/bwr/BWR-2021-Report.pdf> Accessed on 30 May 2021.

The previous table 2.2 shows that black women had the highest rate of unemployment among all the races in the United States of America in 2021. They scored 8.9% of unemployed black women which was the worst unemployment rate for women in

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the whole country in 2021 right in the eye of a lethal pandemic that devoured the lives of millions in the United States of America. The data give an insight into the lives of black women, who were jobless and at the same time fighting a deadly virus for their own lives.

The previous data prove that great improvement had happened in the lives of black women in the recent years, regarding their education, as it was totally a different thing for them in the forties. Speaking about Hurtson and Emecheta's⁴⁶ lives, Birch said that “To climb out of second-class citizenship, both women took a typical working-class view that an education would provide the needed ladder” (2014: 135).

That was how those two women writers acted to fulfil themselves and get out of the hardships of being poor black females. It was not that easy for black women. Education is considered now as well as in the past, black women's only way out of the restrictions of their gender, race, and class.

Black women's higher educational attainment compared to black men's, reflects their determined need to overcome their excessive discrimination. In fact, inequality, alienation and marginalisation could be the real reasons that fuelled African American women to continue their educational accomplishments.

⁴⁶ Florence Onyebuchi "Buchi" Emecheta OBE (21st July 1944 – 25th January 2017) was a Nigerian-born British novelist, based in the UK from 1962, who also wrote plays and autobiography, as well as children literature. She was the author of more than 20 books, including *Second Class Citizen* (1974), *The Bride Price* (1976), *The Slave Girl* (1977) and *The Joys of Motherhood* (1979). For further information, see: Dawson, Ashley. *Mongrel Nation: Diasporic Culture and the Making of Postcolonial Britain*. Ann Arbor: U of Michigan, 2007.

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Pragmatically, education cannot be the only answer to the question of discrimination, as this deadlock is old made, multi-spread and involves numerous issues that condition several aspects of life. Active movements and acts as well as the changing of the racist patriarchal mentality are even more important to achieve the goal of terminating bigotry and all its alarming aspects.

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CHAPTER THREE

BLACK WOMEN IN POLITICS

Black women started to take part in socio-political matters endorsing the community as early as the American Civil War via organisations, clubs, and social services' communities. Yet politics-wise, they are still marginalised and alienated from the public eye in the United States of America, when it comes to acts that are passed by elected offices. Even though, that did not prevent black women from supporting vital issues like child welfare, human rights and identity using the political dialogue (Hooper, 2012: 44-45).

An example of black women's repression in the political world is the fact that white women have been able to practise their right to vote since 1920, but African-American women were not granted that essential right until the legislating of the Voting Rights Act in 1965, which vanquished the previous discriminatory tactics that decreed the deprivation of African American women from voting (Terborg-Penn, 1998: 8). That has delayed black women's political rights for about half a century, which had been reflected negatively on different aspects of their lives.

It has been pointed out that among the hardships that African American women faced during their voting ban were the exclusive test that examined their constitutional

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knowledge, physical violence, threats as well as fabricated legal accusations⁴⁷. All of that ruined their chances to have their fair share in the voting process, which was a pivotal measure in order to defend their civic rights and gain a decent amount of liberty and equality away from the isolating practices that dated back to their existence in the United States of America.

Black women were able to make it through the winding politics of the United States of America that excluded women in general due to the domesticating system that was applied to all women regardless of their race or colour. In addition to the intended racial castration of black women from the public/political life.

Among those outstanding black women figures that held high-profile political positions was Shirley Chisholm, who was an American politician, teacher, and writer. She was the first African American Congresswoman in the United States of America as well as being the first African American woman to run for the Democratic Party’s Presidential nomination.

Furthermore, there was Condoleezza Rice, who was the first in history to become the first black woman to serve as Secretary of State in 2005, during Bush’s presidency as

⁴⁷ For further information, see: Norman, Martha Prescod. *Shinning in the Dark: Black Women and the Struggle for the Vote: 1955-1965*. Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1997.

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well as becoming the first black woman who held the position of the National Security Advisor⁴⁸.

The List of the African American women who served in high-ranking political positions is not a long one, and it includes 21 black women who served in the U.S. House of Representatives until 2021 as it appears in the following timeline:

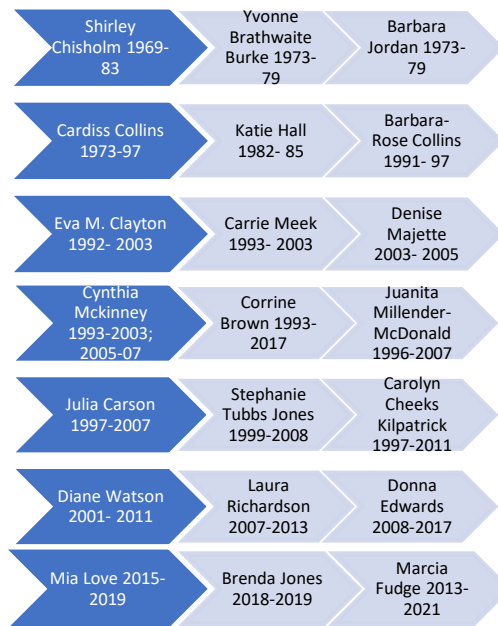


Chart 3.1: Timeline of black women who served in the U.S. House of Representatives until 2021

Source: A prepared timeline by the author that shows the black women in the US Congress, based on a table from Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP). 2021. “Women of Color in Elective Office 2021.” New Brunswick, NJ: Center for American Women and Politics, Eagleton Institute of Politics, Rutgers University-New Brunswick. Available at: <https://cawp.rutgers.edu/history-women-color-us-politics> Accessed 5 May 2022.

⁴⁸ For further information, see: THE WHITE HOUSE. “Condoleezza Rice.” n.d. Web. 10 Feb. 2022. <https://georgewbush-whitehouse.archives.gov/government/rice-bio.html>

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Among the most illuminating figures of the African American women, who have reached prestigious political positions, there is Loretta Lynch, who worked as the 83rd attorney general during Obama’s presidency (Shepherd, 2022: paragraph 4-5).

Apart from Lynch, Obama’s presidency had seen another significant political figure, and that was Susan Rice, who served as the National Security Advisor from 2013 to 2017. Before holding that position, Susan Rice worked as a foreign policy aide to Michael Dukakis during Clinton’s presidency. Moreover, she had been an asset that helped the United States of America’s undertakings on the Iran Nuclear Deal in 2015 as well as the Paris Agreement on climate change⁴⁹.

In addition to the previously mentioned figures, there is Ilhan Omar, an American politician. She has served as a member of the United States of America’s House of Representatives from Minnesota’s fifth district since 2019. Her main concerns are decent wages, economical housing, and students’ loan debt forgiveness, among others. Omar was the first coloured woman to be elected to represent Minnesota in the American Congress⁵⁰.

Kamala Harris, a name that echoed intensively in American politics in 2020 as she became the third vice-presidential nominee woman in the history of the United States of America after Geraldine Ferraro, and Sarah Palin. On November the 7th, 2020, President

⁴⁹ For further information, see: Martin, Jonathan, Alexander Burns, and Katie Glueck. “Lobbying Intensifies Among V.P. Candidates as Biden’s Search Nears an End.” *The New York Times* 31 July 2020.

⁵⁰ For further information, see: Golden, Erin. “Ilhan Omar Makes History, Becoming First Somali-American Elected to U.S. House.” *AP News* 7 Nov. 2018.

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Joe Biden’s victory in the American presidency elections was announced over Donald Trump, which meant that Kamala Harris became the first black woman and the first Indian American to hold the office of the vice president in the United States of America⁵¹.

Examining the reasons that led to the underrepresentation of women in general and black women particularly in politics and high-profile positions, it cannot be denied that the political misogynoir that trapped African American women and moulded them in stereotypical roles, excluding them from the political scene because of their race and gender was the cause of the bigotry that they suffered.

Applying that theory on the presidential elections that led to Kamala Harris’ winning of the vice-president office, it can be inferred that before and after the election of Kamala Harris, she has endured a great deal of harassment and several allegations claiming that she was not a natural American citizen and that she was born outside the United States of America, which would have prevented her from assuming her rightful position as a vice president, according to the Constitution of the United States of America. Later, those allegations were refuted and declared to be fake⁵².

Eastman (2020) pointed out that the conspiracy did not stop till the previously mentioned claim, but it also continued to question the nationality of her parents at the time

⁵¹ For further information, see: Zeleny, Jeff, et al. “Joe Biden Picks Kamala Harris as His Running Mate” *CNN* 12 Aug. 2020.

⁵² For further information, read: Seitz, Amanda. “Kamala Harris Is Eligible to Serve as President.” *AP News* 7 Aug. 2020.

of her birth in the United States of America. In an attempt to ruin Harris’ chances in holding the position of a vice president, the falsification alleged that if her parents were not American citizens or permanent residents during her birth, Kamala could not be considered an American citizen.

Therefore, it can be concluded that birtherism, which doubts the US natural birth of a citizen in order to be disqualified in a political position like what had happened with Kamala Harris during her Presidential campaign, and misogynoir that is a combination of racism and sexism (it implies hatred of black women), were the main weapons that were targeting black women in politics, in order to stop them from assuming distinguished places in that field and to strip them from their opportunities in achieving socio-economic upward mobility. This paper is going to focus on Shirley Chisholm as a case study and shed light on her role in the American political sphere, discussing her sufferings and her success⁵³.

African American women have put up with a lot of struggles and difficulties through their journey to accomplish an eminent political position. They had to fight dated misconceptions about women and their limited sphere of work at homes or schools for instance within their black community and outside it. What is more, they were subjected to racism that harassed them and questioned their rightfulness and worth to have a political job.

⁵³ The word misogynoir was first coined by Moya Baily in her book *Misogynoir Transformed: Black Women’s Digital Resistance* (2021). For more information, see: Baily, Moya. *Misogynoir Transformed: Black Women’s Digital Resistance*. New York: New York University Press, 2021.

3.1. POLITICAL SEGREGATION

African Americans did not have the right to vote in the original United States of America's Constitution. It was not allowed until 1870 when the Constitutional Amendment started to change that bias. The Fifteenth Amendment (approved in 1870) broadened the voting rights umbrella to cover all races. But that was neither sufficient nor effective because racial practices such as literacy tests, poll taxes, the 'grandfather clause'⁵⁴, the outright intimidation, laws and states' constitutions forbade them from enjoying that right.

In 1857, the U.S. Supreme Court considered that black people "are not included, and were not intended to be included, under the word 'citizens' in the Constitution," (Taney, Roger Brooke, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Dred Scott v. Sandford*, 60 U.S. 19 How. 393. 1856: 393).

That was mentioned in the *Dred Scott versus Sandford* (1857) lawsuit that was concerned with a former slave, Dred Scott, who crossed to Missouri, but was returned back to Illinois against his own will and was enslaved one more time. Dred Scott rejected his position and took what had happened to him to the court, indicting his owners for his

⁵⁴ 'Grandfather clause' which limited voting rights to men who were permitted to vote, or whose male ancestors were allowed to vote, before 1867 was also a popular method of disempower African American men - because they were not allowed to vote before the approval of the 15th Amendment. Therefore, the grandfather clause denied the African Americans their voting rights.
<https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/vote>

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freedom, claiming that by his crossing into a state that outlawed slavery, he should have been automatically freed.

Thus, the rights and the privileges that were given to American citizens were not extended to blacks. The U.S. Supreme Court’s mentioned verdict was a clear defiance of all the emancipating movements that were spread all over the country and was a direct reason among other enslaving-friendly sentences for which the Thirteenth Amendment was passed and ratified by the Congress in 1865 in order to vanquish slavery in the United States of America.

The Fifteenth Amendment (1870) was mainly concerned with the Americans’ right to vote regardless of their skin colour, race, precedent conditions as servants, or being slave descendants. And together with the Thirteenth, and Fourteenth Amendments formed the Reconstruction Amendments that eradicated slavery, conceding citizenship, and voting rights to the black population of the United States of America as shown in the following extract:

The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude (“The Fifteenth Amendment,” art. XV, sec. 1).

The previous quote is from the Fifteenth Amendment (1870) declaring the full undiscriminating voting rights for African Americans that should not be hindered or obstructed by the United States or any State because of any racial, or social class factors.

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Afterwards, three Enforcement Acts (1870-1871), also known as the Force Acts, which were a series of bills that were validated in Congress under President Ulysses S. Grant, enfranchised the federal government and accredited it to supervise local elections and to prosecute those who contravened the civil and political rights of African Americans, especially members of the Ku Klux Klan⁵⁵, who used terrorization and force to oppress black population and prevent them from voting, campaigning for a public office, and/or working as juries. Those Acts also authorised the President to implement force in order to protect African Americans. The Acts condemned the Ku Klux Klan and rendered them to be illegal (United States Senate www.senate.gov).

The First Act was investigating Southern attempts that tried to stop the Reconstruction Amendments. The other two Acts, which were also known as Ku Klux Klan Acts, were formed in order to empower the Fourteenth Amendment and the Civil Rights Act of 1866⁵⁶.

⁵⁵ The Ku Klux Klan, also known as KKK or the Klan, is an American hate group of white supremacists that stood mainly against all the minorities in the United States of America (African Americans, Asian Americans, Jews, Latinos, etc..). The group was characterized with extreme reactionary stances. The First Klan was established since the beginning of the American Civil War (McVeigh, 1999: 1463). For further information, see: McVeigh, Rory. "Structural Incentives for Conservative Mobilization: Power Devaluation and the Rise of the Ku Klux Klan, 1915–1925". *Social Forces*, 77. 4 (1999): 1463.

⁵⁶For further information, see: Wright, K. “The Enforcement Act of 1870 (1870-1871).” *BlackPast.org*. 11 Dec. 2019.

<https://www.blackpast.org/african-american-history/the-enforcement-act-of-1870-1870-1871/>

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The Second Act authorised the federal government, the federal judges, and the United States marshals to invigilate local polling places. Thus, the national elections were always supervised and were under control and that became a law in February 1871⁵⁷.

The Third Force Act licensed the President to order the military forces to fight those who machinated to reject Equal Protection Legislation using force to impose the Act if necessary. That Act was put into effect in April 1871. Although the Force Acts helped to stop the violence, and terrorization that were used against African Americans, the end of the formal Reconstruction in 1877 facilitated the coming back of extensive disempowerment of African Americans (United States Senate)⁵⁸.

This can be observed in the Supreme Court case *United States versus Cruikshank* (1876), as it was asserted that the private actors and state governments were exempted from the Bill of Rights regardless of the adoption of Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. It reversed the criminal charges that were pressed against Civil Rights violators as it can be seen in the following:

Confessedly, some of the defects existing in the preceding count are avoided in the count in question; as, for example, the description of the particular right or privilege of the said citizens which it was the intent of the defendants to invade is clearly alleged: but the difficulty in the count is, that it does not allege for what purpose the election or elections were to be ordered, nor when or where the elections were to be had and held. All that is alleged upon the subject is, that it was the intent of the defendants to prevent and hinder the said citizens of African descent and persons of color in the free exercise and enjoyment of

⁵⁷ For further information, consult: Britannica, The Editors of Encyclopaedia. "Force Acts". Encyclopaedia Britannica, 16 Apr. 2018. <https://www.britannica.com/topic/Force-Acts>

⁵⁸For further information, see:

<https://www.senate.gov/artandhistory/history/common/generic/EnforcementActs.htm>

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the right and privilege to vote at any election thereafter to be had and held, according to law, by the people of the State, or by the people of the parish, without any other allegation whatever as to the purpose of the election, or any allegation as to the time and place when and where the election was to be had and held (Waite, Morrison Remick, and Supreme Court Of The United States. *U.S. Reports: United States v. Cruikshank et al.*, 92 U.S. 542. 1875: 567).

The previous extract from the case shows exactly how the voting rights were stripped from African Americans and their descendants because of trivial allegations of unspecified time or place. A matter that halted the blacks’ ability to vote and express themselves by claiming that the Fourteenth Amendment was short regarding the determination of the setting of its domain and therefore the verdict of that case was the following: “Tested by these considerations, it is quite clear that the fourteenth count is not sufficient to warrant the conviction and sentence of the accused.” (Waite, Morrison Remick, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: United States v. Cruikshank et al.*, 92 U.S. 542. 1875: 568).

Judging the voting rights’ violations as mentioned above, meant that blacks could never be able to choose anything or even come near the political life of their country. They were kept in a dull place for the rest of their lives by suppressing their voting rights.

Following the same trend of African-Americans’ deprivation of their voting rights came, *United States versus Reese* (1876) which was a voting rights’ case that took place after the ratification of the Fifteenth Amendment and the Enforcement Act of 1870. The reason why that case occurred was that two election inspectors denied William Garner’s

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right to vote in Kentucky as they claimed that he did not pay a tax as it can be detected in the following quotation:

This case come here by reason of a division of opinion between the judges of the Circuit Court in the District of Kentucky. It presents an indictment containing four counts, under sects. 3 and 4 of the act of May 31, 1870 (16 Stat. 140), against two of the inspectors of a municipal election in the State of Kentucky, for refusing to receive and count at such election the vote of William Garner, a citizen of the United States of African descent. All the questions presented by the certificate of division arose upon general demurrers to the several counts of the indictment (Waite, Morrison Remick, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: United States v. Reese et al.*, 92 U.S. 214. 1875: 215).

The Supreme Court claimed that the Fifteenth Amendment did not allow African Americans to vote, and it only forbade their exclusion from the voting process on the basis of their colour. That was how the defendants escaped from punishment, and how the other states twisted the true essence of the Fifteenth Amendment in order to lock blacks out of their right to vote by limiting their access to voting activity through several cunning, misleading, made-up rules, such as poll taxes, restricted residency requirements, and literacy tests that camouflaged their real intent.

Even after about three quarters of a century, the United States' Courts were still hearing cases related to voting access restrictions that prohibited African American citizens from voting as what had happened in the *Smith versus Allwright* (1944) case, where a distinguished black dentist named Lonnie Smith sued the country election official, who prevented him from voting in the Texas Democratic Primary in 1940 following the

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Southern Democratic strategy of allowing white only primaries. The Supreme Court rejected that as follows:

Upon examination of the statutes of Texas regulating primaries, held that the exclusion of Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary to select nominees for a general election—although by resolution of a state convention of the party its membership was limited to white citizens—was State action in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment (Reed, Stanley Forman, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: Smith v. Allwright*, 321 U.S. 649. 1943: 649).

As it can be seen from the verdict, the Supreme Court adopted a fair stance and outlawed the Southern Democratic strategy mentioning that it was unconstitutional for Texas and other states to maintain race-based primaries as it violated the Fifteenth Amendment. Moreover, the Supreme court ruled out a Texas state law that entitled parties to design their own primary elections’ norms.

Moving in the same direction, poll taxes, as a requirement for voting in federal elections, were banned when the Twenty-Fourth Amendment was passed in 1962 by a vote of 295 to 86. At that time, most of the states accepted it, except for five states: Virginia, Alabama, Mississippi, Arkansas, and Texas, which maintained the poll taxes that basically affected African American voters. The poll tax embodied “Jim Crow” laws. Its main aim was to exclude black voters and administer segregation (History, Art & Archives)⁵⁹.

The Twenty-Fourth Amendment became part of the Constitution on January 23rd, 1964, when South Dakota notarized it. It questioned the egalitarianism of the African

⁵⁹ For further information, see:
<https://history.house.gov/HistoricalHighlight/Detail/37045>

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Americans’ political rights and it interdicted the use of poll taxes in federal elections. Moreover, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 anchored voting rights for grown-ups regardless of their gender and their race through federal codes that coerced white America to accept the amendments (National Archives)⁶⁰.

President Johnson stated: “The vote is the most powerful instrument ever devised by man for breaking down injustice and destroying the terrible walls which imprison men because they are different from other men”⁶¹ in the Capitol Rotunda at the signing of the Voting Rights Act on August 6th, 1965. His statement echoed the common sense that establishes the concept that being able to vote freely and make the right choices are the only ways out of the cruelly designed segregating system that oppressed all the marginalised groups. That implies that political liberty would have served a great deal of fairness and equality to African Americans if it had been applied since the beginning. The Voting Rights Act is a federal legislation that forbids voting inequality. Given the fact that that Act is not an Amendment, it has to be reapproved before it expires. In order to broaden its range of protection, it has been amended five times by Congress.

It targeted the incrementation of the number of people registered to vote in the areas with a previous record of bias. That piece of legislation disenfranchised literacy tests and

⁶⁰ For further information, see:

<https://www.archives.gov/research/african-americans/vote>

⁶¹ See: Lyndon B. Johnson, Remarks in the Capitol Rotunda at the Signing of the Voting Rights Act. Online by Gerhard Peters and John T. Woolley, The American Presidency Project

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/remarks-the-capitol-rotunda-the-signing-the-voting-rights-act>

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granted the appointed federal examiners the power to register qualified voters in specific states with a history of voting discrimination.

Moreover, those states did not have the power to change any voting practices or procedures without pre-authorization of the U.S. Attorney General or the District Court for Washington, D.C. That Act de facto removed the power of voters' registration from state and local officials and placed it in the hands of the federal government.

Predictably, that law was attacked by the states and that led to several law cases among which was *South Carolina Versus Katzenbach, Attorney General* (1966), where South Carolina State sought questioning the constitutionality of using federal examiners to qualify applicants for voting registration among other decrees in the Voting Rights Act of 1965 (Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301. 1965: 301).

Fortunately, the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the Act and defended its legislation as follows:

After enduring nearly a century of widespread resistance to the Fifteenth Amendment, Congress has marshalled an array of potent weapons against the evil, with authority in the Attorney General to employ them effectively. Many of the areas directly affected by this development have indicated their willingness to abide by any restraints legitimately imposed upon them." We here hold that the portions of the Voting Rights Act properly before us are a valid means for carrying out the commands of the Fifteenth Amendment. Hopefully, millions of non-white Americans will now be able to participate for the first time on an equal basis in the government under which they live. We may finally look forward to the day when truly "[t]he right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or

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previous condition of servitude." (Warren, Earl, and Supreme Court of The United States. *U.S. Reports: South Carolina v. Katzenbach*, 383 U.S. 301. 1965: 337).

The extract proved that the Supreme Court took the side of the Fifteenth Amendment, and the Voting Rights Act of 1965. It aimed to enforce equality among all American citizens regardless of any discriminating factors. That was why the Court supported the appointment of federal examiners if any voting registration violations were committed by the state and its local officials in question.

Regarding African American women's situation in the voting process, when white women won the right to vote after the confirmation of the 19th Amendment in 1920, coloured women were often out of that zone. They confronted racial segregation and were prevented from voting via aggression⁶².

They were not only fighting sexism to win that right, but they were also fighting racism. Thus, their plight was bigger than their male counterparts. That was because white suffragists did not share their voting right victory with black ones. The 19th Amendment granted the right to vote to all American women, but white women refused to let black suffragists enjoy it as well (Terborg-Penn, 1998: 8; Delmar, 1994: 5-25).

Afterwards, the Civil Rights Movement jolted the nation by the 1950s. Civil Rights Acts were passed by the Congress in 1957, 1960, and 1964, but they could not stop the

⁶² For further information, see: California Commission on the Status of Women and Girls "Women of Color and the Fight for Women's Suffrage."
Available at: <https://women.ca.gov/women-of-color-and-the-fight-for-womens-suffrage/>
Accessed 23 June 2023.

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voting bigotry that was practised by local officials against African Americans regardless of their gender.

The federal voting rights protection was pivotal as it constitutionally balanced the control of power between the states and their local officials, who determined the qualifications for the voting process on the one hand and the federal government on the other.

It can be inferred that American politics, the housing system as well as the educational system are profoundly affected by each other. Thus, segregated voting meant that the housing and the educational systems were and are confined.

On top of that, segregated education meant low educational attainment for the black population, which ceased them from running for a Congress position, or even being able to vote. It was a cycle that maintained itself by maintaining all the different elements.

3.2. AFRICAN AMERICANS IN CONGRESS COMPARED TO OTHER MINORITIES

The American Congress remained a white male’s territory for several decades. In this respect, the political desegregation process of African Americans started slowly, and black population was obstructed from participating in Congress from the 57th Congress until the 70th Congress. Then, it was resumed in the 71st Congress.

Consequently, African Americans were absent from the Congress for more than the first quarter of the 20th century from 1901 until 1929. A matter that retarded African Americans’ advancement in every aspect of life until almost the second half of the 20th century due to their lack of representation in the United States Congress.

The following chart 3.2 shows the gradual incorporation of African Americans in the US Congress as follows:

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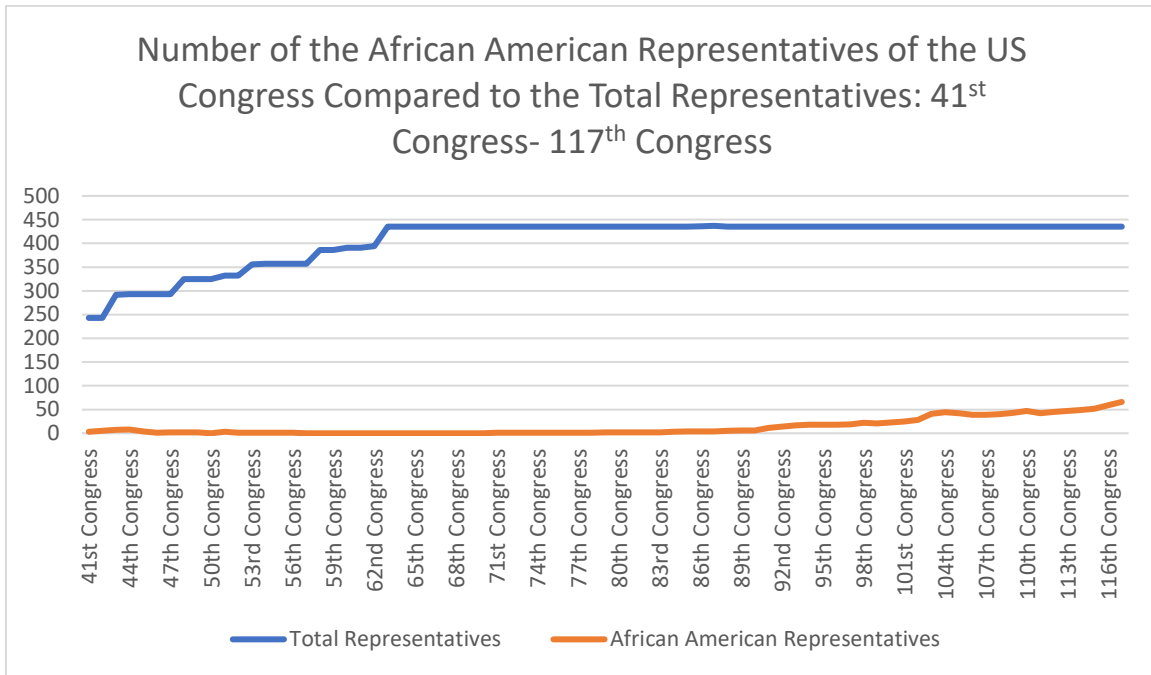


Chart 3.2: Number of the African American Representatives of the US Congress Compared to the total Representatives: 41st Congress- 117th Congress

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the number of the African American Representatives of the US Congress Compared to the total Representatives: 41st Congress- 117th Congress, based on information from *History, Art & Archives. U.S. House of Representatives. “116th Congress (2019–2021).”* Available at:

<https://history.house.gov/Congressional-Overview/Profiles/116th/>

Accessed 20 Aug. 2022.

The total number of African Americans in the 117th Congress (2021-2023) was 66 members out of the entire number of the Congress members, which was 553, according to

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the previous chart 3.2⁶³. This means that African Americans represented only 11.93% of that Congress.

Those numbers reflect the actual dominance, political weight, and effect of African Americans in Congress which directly means their decreased influence on the decision making of American society. That scarce political power can be regarded as a result of several historical discriminatory procedures that caused the current situation.

It demonstrates how racism led to that incredibly low number of the African American members, which caused the disempowerment of blacks in the United States of America along several generations.

Even in the present, the representation of African Americans in Congress suffered from reduction and minimization. That called for their shutting and cutting from other places, as they were not backed in the House of decisions and legislature. That weakened their stance wherever they existed or tried to prove their real worth, as they were met by belittling and degradation.

This circle of oppression and exclusion cost blacks an expensive price that was paid in terms of their demeaning health conditions, educational attainment, as well as economic and social marginalisation.

⁶³ For further information, visit: the House Office of the Historian and Office of Art and Archives. <http://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/BAIC/Black-Americans-in-Congress/>

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The previous chart 3.2 shows that blacks are experiencing a slow progress in the number of the Congress representatives. That progress started to be felt recently in the last 22 years. Even in the 21st century, African Americans remained a minority in Congress. That minority signifies minor power, decreased decision-making force, and diminished control on all aspects of the American resources. All of that has perpetuated the poverty of the black population along the 20th and the 21st centuries.

Comparing African Americans with other minority groups, it can be observed that there is a difference in their congressional participation rates.

Concerning the Percentage of African Americans in Congress in Comparison to Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans: 91st Congress- 117th Congress, the following

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chart shows that, and how they had a modest start that has improved slowly in recent years.

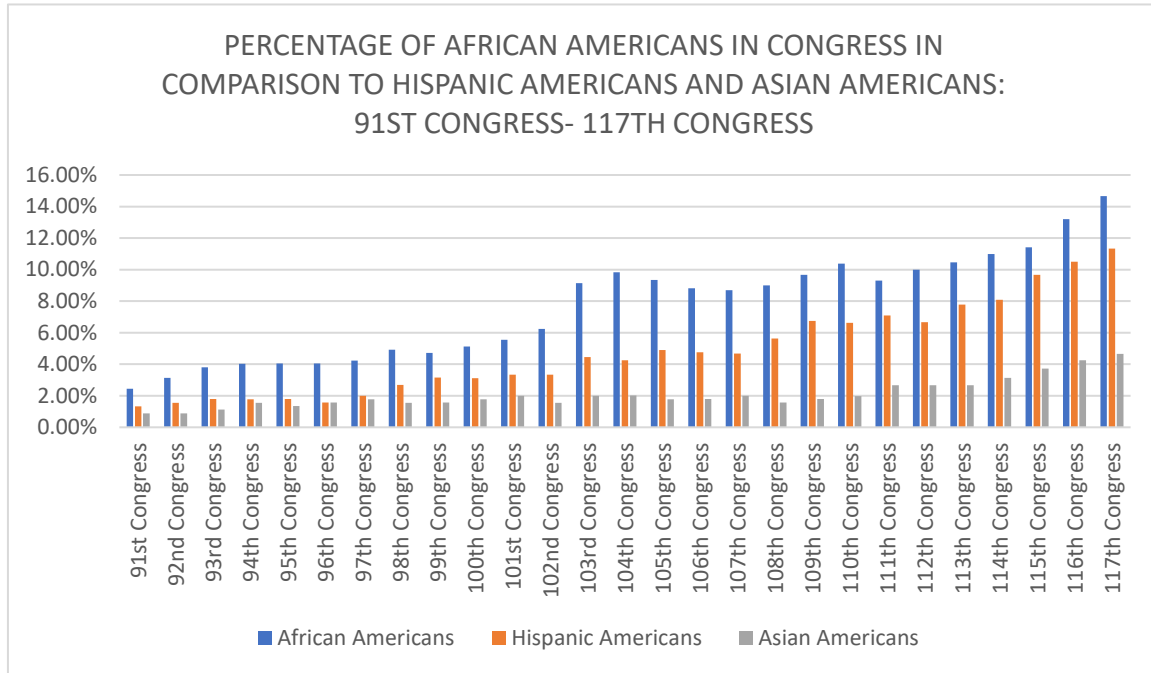


Chart 3.3: Percentage of African Americans in Congress in Comparison to Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans: 91st Congress- 117th Congress

Source: A designed chart by the author that shows the Percentage of African Americans in Congress in Comparison to Hispanic Americans and Asian Americans: 91st Congress- 117th Congress, based on data from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> Accessed 13 Aug. 2022. *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress, 1900–2017*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2018. “Asian and Pacific Islander American Representatives, Senators, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners by Congress.” Accessed 4 Aug. 2022⁶⁴.

⁶⁴ Available at: <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Data/By-Congress/>

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Comparing the African Americans’ representatives with the Latin Americans’ representatives in Congress, it can be noticed that African Americans had better chances in Congress than Latin Americans from the 91st Congress to the 117th Congress despite all the obstacles that delayed their participation.

Regarding the African Americans’ representatives in Congress in comparison with the percentage of the Asian American representatives, it cannot be denied that African Americans did better than Asian Americans with regard to their congressional participation.

Having an overall look, it can be detected that African Americans had superior chances than Asian Americans and Latin Americans concerning their number in Congress from the 91st to the 117th Congress. That should have benefited African Americans on many levels regarding job opportunities, social services, health care, etc...

3.3. AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN CONGRESS

African American women were cast out of the American Congress for several decades. There were no African American women in the US Congress until 1969 when Shirley Chisholm was elected to represent them.

It seems to be a mechanism that conserved males’ hegemony over the Congress or any other governing institution in American society. That can explain the rarity of women and especially African American women in high-rank positions.

Congress	Number of African American men	Number of African American women	Total
91 st Congress	10	1	11
92 nd Congress	13	1	14
93 rd Congress	13	4	17
94 th Congress	14	4	18
95 th Congress	14	4	18
96 th Congress	16	2	18
97 th Congress	16	3	19
98 th Congress	20	2	22
99 th Congress	20	1	21
100 th Congress	22	1	23
101 st Congress	24	1	25
102 nd Congress	23	5	28
103 rd Congress	31	10	41
104 th Congress	32	12	44
105 th Congress	28	14	42
106 th Congress	25	14	39
107 th Congress	24	15	39
108 th Congress	27	13	40
109 th Congress	29	14	43
110 th Congress	30	17	47
111 th Congress	28	14	42
112 th Congress	30	15	45
113 th Congress	30	17	47
114 th Congress	29	20	49
115 th Congress	30	22	52

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116 th Congress	34	25	59
117 th Congress	36	30	66

Table 3.1: Number of African Americans by Gender: 91st Congress- 117th Congress.

Source: A prepared table by the author that shows the number of the African American members of the US Congress by sex: 91st Congress-117th Congress based on information from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.”

Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>

Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The mere 25 African American women who served in the 116th Congress represented 42.37% of the total number of the African Americans who served in that Congress. In the 117th Congress, black women managed to increase their representation among their male counterparts and won 45.45% of the African American seats in that Congress. They were not able to be equals to their compeers, but they are on their way to be so.

Regarding Asian American female members in US Congress, the following chart demonstrates their congressional participation history:

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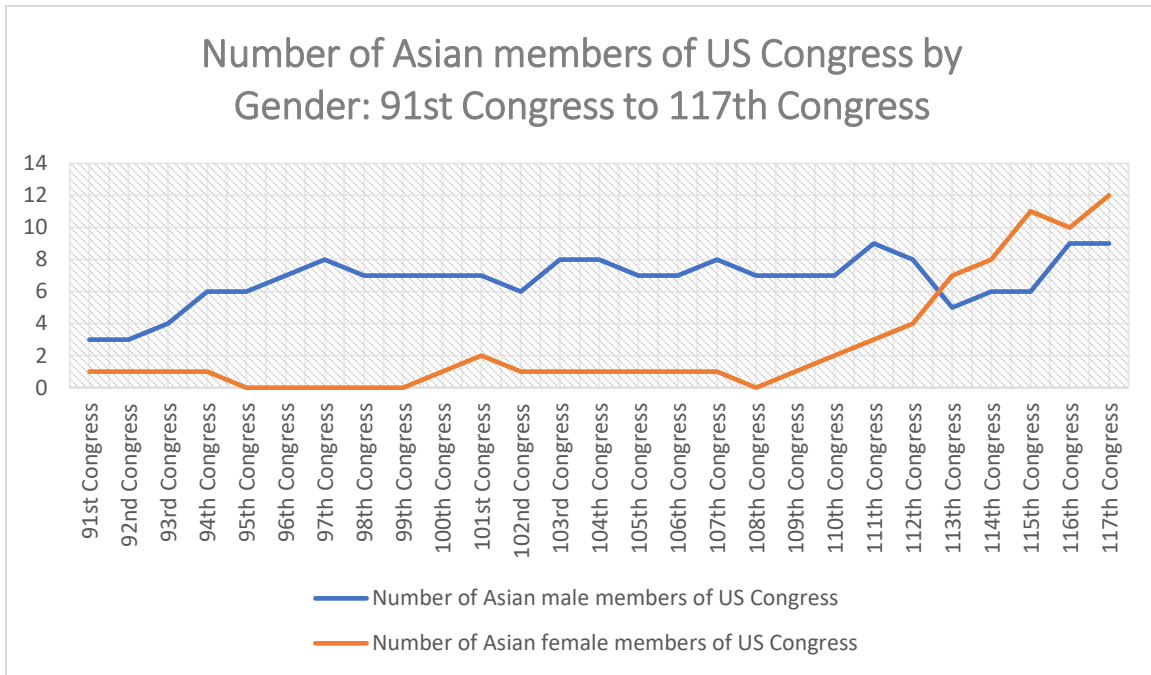


Chart 3.4: Asian American Members of the US Congress, by Gender: 91st Congress-117th Congress

Source: A designed chart by the author that shows the number of the Asian members of the US Congress by Gender from the 91st Congress up to the current 117th Congress based on information from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian, Asian and Pacific Islander Americans in Congress, 1900–2017*. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Publishing Office, 2018. “Asian and Pacific Islander American Representatives, Senators, Delegates, and Resident Commissioners by Congress.”

Available at: <https://history.house.gov/Exhibitions-and-Publications/APA/Historical-Data/By-Congress/>

Accessed 4 Aug. 2022.

Asian American women have always shown a low-profile, or including no profile at all in the US Congress since the 91st Congress until the 109th Congress. Then, they started to have a slight improvement in their numbers in Congress starting the 110th Congress

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onwards until they reached 12 Asian female members in the 117th Congress, as it was introduced in the chart 3.4.

Concerning the representation of Hispanic American women in the US Congress, the following chart serves as a record of their minimised participation:

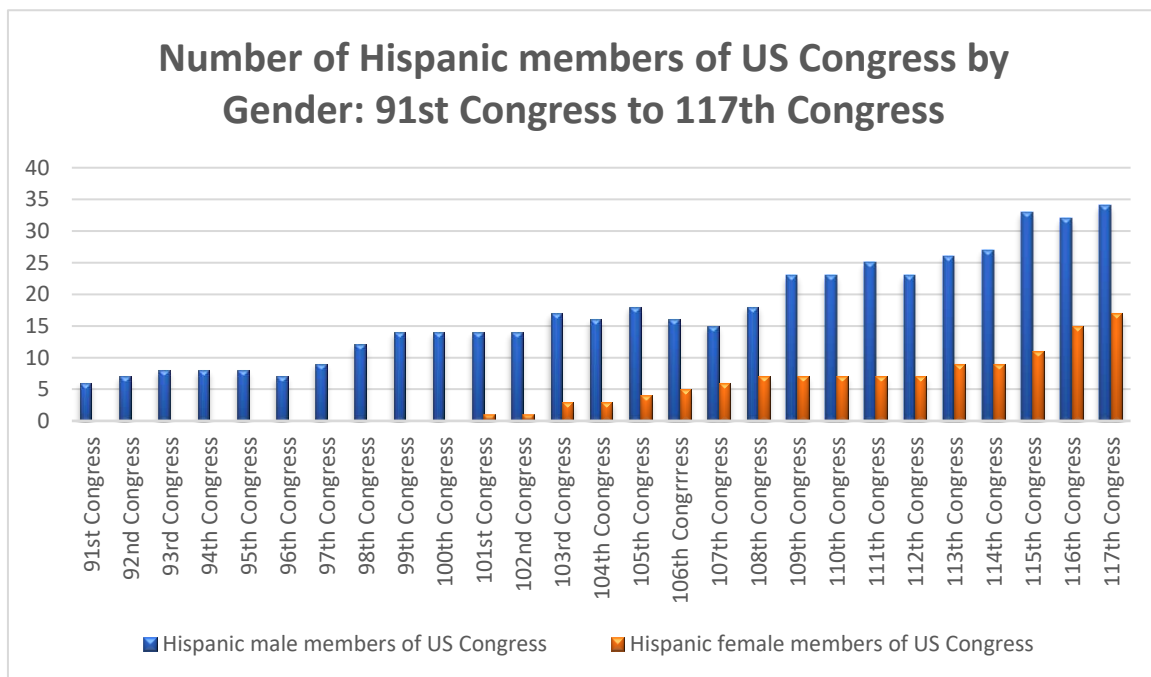


Chart 3.5: Hispanic Members of US Congress, by Gender: 91st Congress-117th Congress

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the number of Hispanic members of US Congress by Gender: 91st Congress to 117th Congress based on data from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.”

Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>

Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

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There were no Hispanic women in the US Congress until the 101st Congress, when Hispanic American women started to appear with a very low representation in Congress, and their number was always reduced. Furthermore, in the 117th Congress, there were only 17 of them.

As for Congresswomen in general, they were limited to only 27% of the members of the Congress and they represented 24% of the senators. In other words, their decision-making force was not a dominant one (Biographical Directory of the United States Congress; U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian⁶⁵).

The previous data demonstrate that African American women had very little representation in the US Congress, as the discriminatory practices had kept them always in subordinated positions, ignoring any standards of fairness and well-deserving.

Concerning white women, they were a minority in Congress too, but they had greater chances than African American women, Asian American women, and Hispanic American women representatives from the 91st to the 117th Congress, as it is shown in the following table:

⁶⁵ For further information, see: Biographical Directory of the United States Congress; U.S. House of Representatives, Office of the Historian; *Women in the United States Congress, 1917-2014* (Congressional Research Service); CQ Roll Call; Associated Press, in Katherine Schaeffer. *The Changing Face of Congress in 7 Charts*. PEW RESEARCH CENTER 10 Mar. 2021. Accessed on 2 Nov. 2021. Available at: <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2021/03/10/the-changing-face-of-congress/>

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Congress	White women Representatives of Congress	Total Number of the Congress Representatives
91 st Congress	9	450
92 nd Congress	13	446
93 rd Congress	11	446
94 th Congress	14	447
95 th Congress	17	445
96 th Congress	16	444
97 th Congress	20	448
98 th Congress	22	446
99 th Congress	24	444
100 th Congress	24	448
101 st Congress	27	450
102 nd Congress	27	449
103 rd Congress	41	448
104 th Congress	43	447
105 th Congress	47	449
106 th Congress	47	442
107 th Congress	54	448
108 th Congress	57	444
109 th Congress	63	445
110 th Congress	69	453
111 th Congress	72	451
112 th Congress	70	450
113 th Congress	71	449
114 th Congress	72	446
115 th Congress	72	455
116 th Congress	82	447
117 th Congress	96	450

Table 3.2: Number of the white women representatives in Congress in comparison with the total number of representatives from the 91st Congress to the 117th Congress

Source: A prepared table by the author that shows the number of the White women representatives in Congress in comparison with the total number of representatives from the 91st Congress to the 117th Congress, based on information from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*, “People Search,” <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>

The previous table 3.2 shows that white women have beaten African American women, Hispanic American women, and Asian American women to the Congress.

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Comparing, table 3.1, chart 3.4, chart 3.5, and table 3.2, the following chart 3.6 of the percentage of white women representatives, African American women representatives, Asian American women representatives, and Hispanic American women representatives in Congress from 1969 to 2023 can be inferred as follows:

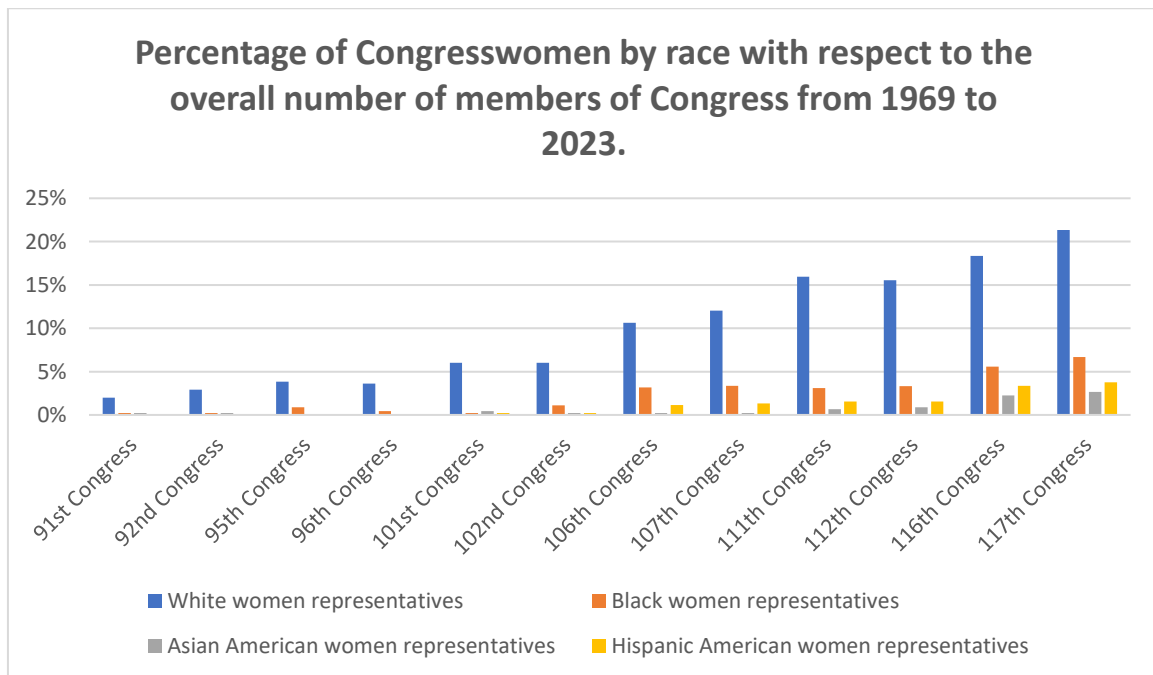


Chart 3.6: Percentage of Congresswomen by race with respect to the overall number of members of Congress from 1969 to 2023.

Source: A created chart by the author that shows percentage of Congresswomen by race with respect to the overall number of members of Congress from 1969 to 2023, based on information from *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*, “People Search,”

<https://history.house.gov/People/Search>

Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous chart shows that white American women have exceeded all the women from the other racial groups in their congressional representation rate since the 91st

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Congress to the 117th one. They were followed by African American women in that and lately by Hispanic American women. Finally, Asian American women followed them.

In 1970 white women counted for about 2% of the Congress representatives. In 1980 they increased their participation to 3.82%. In 1990, they were 6%. In 2000 they improved to represent 10.63%. In 2010 they escalated to 5.96%, and in 2020 they represented 18.34% of Congress.

As for African American women in 1970, they counted for about 0.22% of the Congress representatives. In 1980 they increased to about 0.89%. In 1990, they suffered reduction to 0.22%. In 2000 they escalated to 3.16%. In 2010 they were 3.10%, and in 2020 they represented 5.59% of Congress.

Concerning Asian American women in 1970, they counted for about 0.22% of the Congress representatives. In 1980 they decreased to 0%. In 1990, they were about 0.44%. In 2000 they decreased to 0.22%. In 2010 they escalated to 0.66%, and in 2020 they represented 2.23% of Congress.

Regarding Hispanic American women, they were absent in 1970 and in 1980, but in 1990, they were 0.22%. In 2000 they increased to 1.13%. In 2010 they moved to 1.55%, and in 2020 they represented 3.35% of Congress.

The record shows the progress of white woman and the deceleration of all the other races including African American woman. But it also stresses the fact that the percentage of

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African American women in Congress has increased significantly throughout the last two periods, and that their participation is better than other minorities.

CHAPTER FOUR

CORRELATION BETWEEN THE NUMBER OF AFRICAN AMERICAN CONGRESSWOMEN AND THEIR EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT

4.1 AFRICAN AMERICAN CONGRESSWOMEN

In order to understand the status of African American women in the US Congress, it was demanding to trace the history of black women there from the 41st Congress to the 118th Congress which is the current one.

Data have been collected to analyse the presence of African American women in Congress. The comparison of these data would lead us to draw the conclusions that are based on the obtained information.

We have focused on the records of African American Congresswomen along 54 years of the US Congress, that shed light on the bigotry that they suffered regarding their congressional participation, a matter that reflects their political effect along more than half a century.

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Congress	Total Number of the members of the US Congress	Number of African American women	Percentage of the African American Women
91 st Congress	450	1	0.22%
92 nd Congress	446	1	0.22%
93 rd Congress	446	4	0.89%
94 th Congress	447	4	0.89%
95 th Congress	445	4	0.89%
96 th Congress	444	2	0.45%
97 th Congress	448	3	0.66%
98 th Congress	446	2	0.44%
99 th Congress	444	1	0.22%
100 th Congress	448	1	0.22%
101 st Congress	450	1	0.22%
102 nd Congress	449	5	1.11%
103 rd Congress	448	10	2.23%
104 th Congress	447	12	2.68%
105 th Congress	449	14	3.11%
106 th Congress	442	14	3.16%
107 th Congress	448	15	3.34%
108 th Congress	444	13	2.92%
109 th Congress	445	14	3.14%
110 th Congress	453	17	3.75%
111 th Congress	451	14	3.10%
112 th Congress	450	15	3.33%
113 th Congress	449	17	3.78%
114 th Congress	446	20	4.48%
115 th Congress	455	22	4.83%
116 th Congress	447	25	5.59%
117 th Congress	450	30	6.66%
118 th Congress	441	30	6.80%

Table 4.1: Percentage of African American Women in the US Congress: 91st Congress- 118th Congress

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

Source: A prepared table by the author that shows the percentage of the African American women members of the US Congress Compared to the Total number of the Congress Members: 91st Congress-118th Congress, based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>
Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous Table 4.1 manifests the real political status of black women in the United States of America, as well as their impact on the decision-making process by displaying their percentage as Congress members in comparison to the rest of the members starting from the 91st Congress up to the 118th Congress. That comparison draws attention to the severe decrease of black Congresswomen in 1969. It also shows an improvement in the last decades.

The following chart 4.1 contrasts the black women’s congressional position in 1969-1971 with the total number of the Congress members, and that contrast highlights the fact that African American woman did not almost exist in the US Congress, as it can be seen in the following:

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

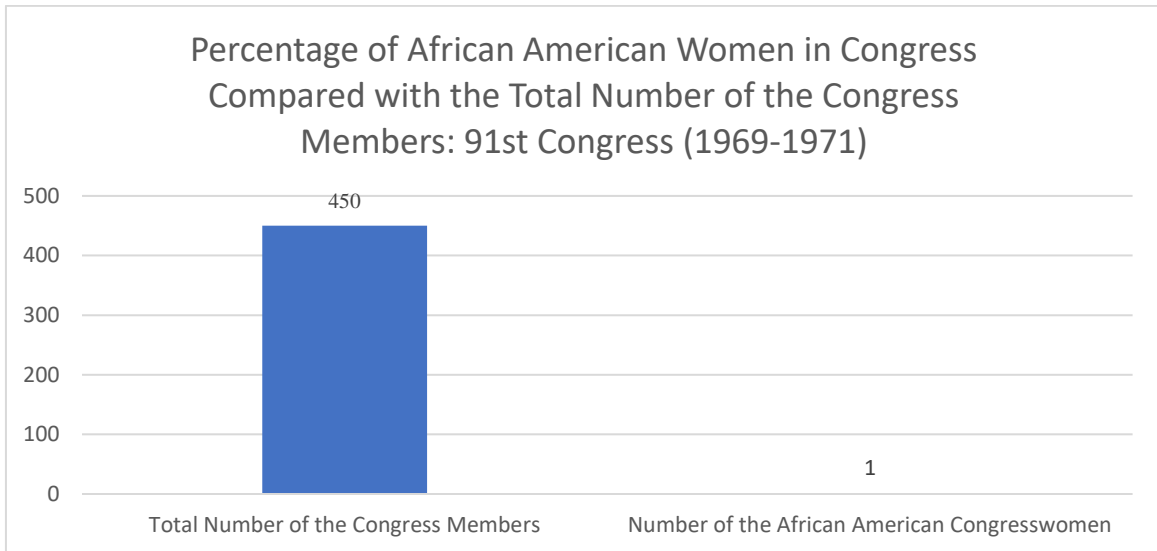


Chart 4.1: Percentage of African American Women in Congress Compared with the Total Number of the Congress Members: 91st Congress (1969-1971).

Source: A prepared statistical pie by the author that shows the percentage of the African American women in US Congress Compared with the Total numbers of the Members in 1969-1971, based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous chart 4.1 shows the percentage of African American Congresswomen compared with the total number of the members in the 91st Congress in 1969 and demonstrates that black Congresswomen had almost 0% weight in the American political world in 1969, as the first and only black Congresswoman in that year was Shirley Chisholm.

African American women represented an insignificant proportion of the US Congress in 1969-1971, which implies the segregation of African American women from

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

the decision-making process. A matter that threatened the interests of black women at that time.

Examining the political situation of African American women in the current Congress 2023-2025 after about more than half a century from the mentioned data in 1969, the following chart 4.2 reveals how black women’s position changed in the recent years as follows:

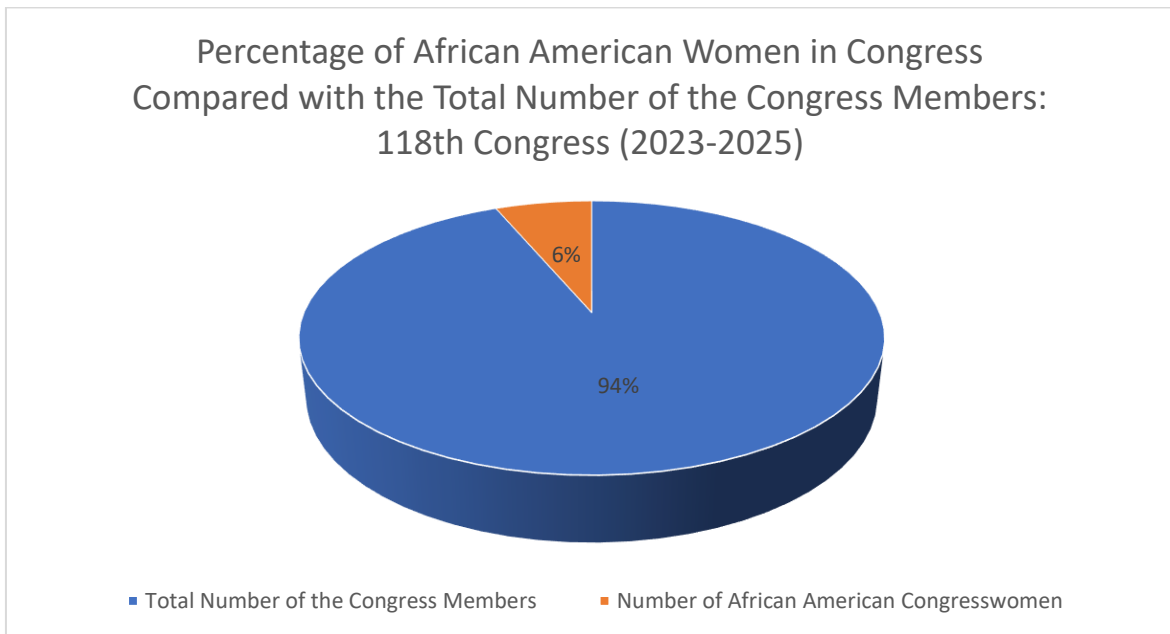


Chart 4.2: Percentage of African American Women in Congress Compared with the Total Number of the Congress Members: 118th Congress (2023-2025).

Source: A prepared statistical pie by the author that shows the percentage of the African American women in US Congress Compared with the Total numbers of the Members in 2021-2023, based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>
Accessed 23 Apr. 2023.

The previous chart 4.2 shows that the current African American women’s political situation in the US Congress did not have an important change as they represent only 6.80% of the total number of the Congress members in 2023-2025. Thus, it can be safely detected that their political participation has not improved considerably after 54 years since the election of Shirly Chisholm.

In order to accurately determine how the situation has changed, it was demanding to take into account the percentage of black women with respect to the total population in the United States of America, as it can be seen in the following chart:

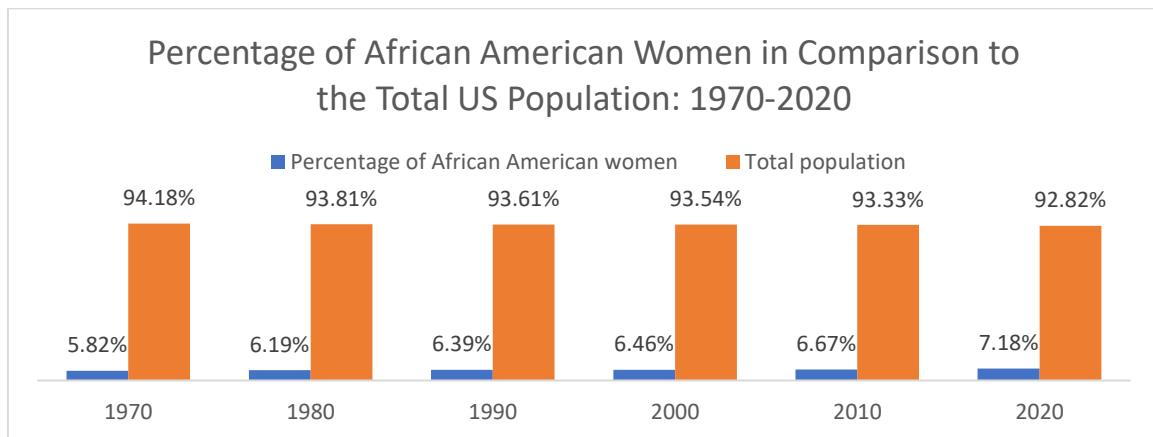


Chart 4.3: Percentage of African American Women in Comparison to the Total US Population: 1970-2020

Source: A designed chart by the author that shows the Percentage of African American Women in Comparison to the Total US Population: 1970-2020, based on information from 1970, 1980, 1990, 2000, 2010, and 2020 US Census⁶⁶. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. “Population by Age Groups, Race, and Sex for 1960-97.”⁶⁷. Accessed 9 Aug 2023.

⁶⁶ Available at: <https://www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/dec/popchange-data-text.html>
www.census.gov

⁶⁷ Available at: <https://www.cdc.gov/nchs/data/statab/pop6097.pdf>

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

According to the previous chart, black women represented 5.82% of the total US population in 1970 and they counted for 0.22% of the 91st Congress (1969-1971). Thus, their congressional participation was not matching their percentage in the US population in the 1970s.

As for the current situation, they represented 7.18% of the total population of the United States of America in 2020 and black Congresswomen represented 6.80% of the total number of the current US Congress. That consolidates our conclusion that African American women have a reduced presence in the political agenda as well as in the US population, but their situation became so much better in recent years than its previous one. In this respect, their congressional representation is now almost matching their percentage in the US total population.

Concerning the participation rate of black women in comparison with black men in the 41st -118th US Congress, African American women were absent from Congress from its beginning until 1969, as it can be inferred from the following:

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

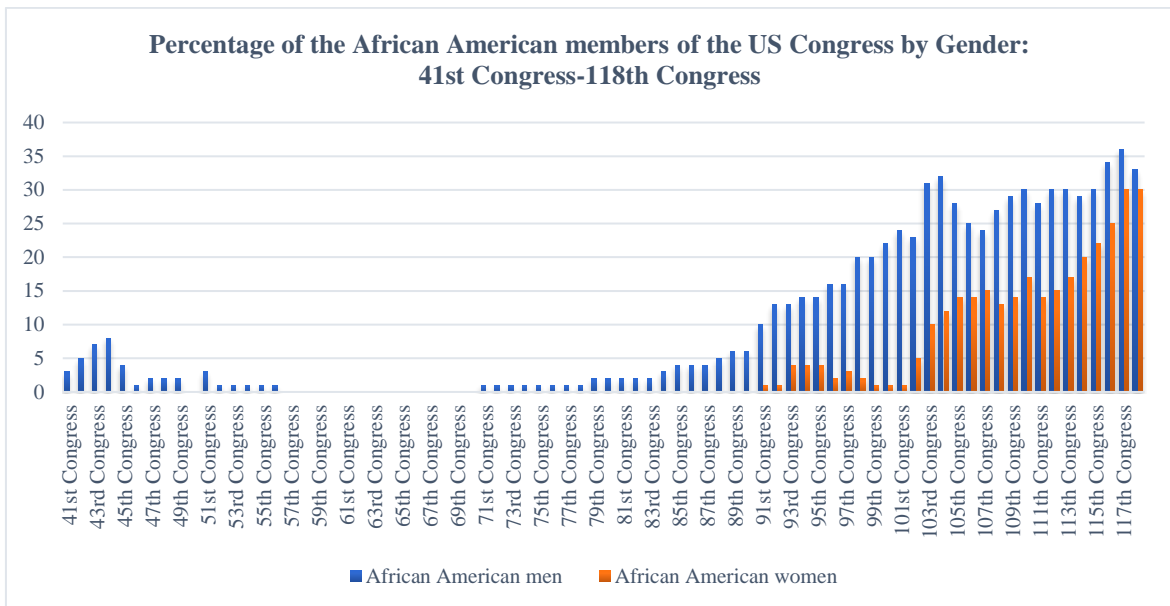


Chart 4.4: Percentage of African American Members of the US Congress by Gender: 41st Congress-118th Congress

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the percentage of the African American members of the US, Congress by Gender: 41st Congress-118th Congress based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.”

Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>

Accessed 23 Apr. 2023.

According to the previous chart 4.4, African American Congresswomen represented only 9.09% compared with their male counterparts in the 91st Congress (1969-1971).

As for the percentage of African American Congresswomen compared with their male counterparts in the 118th Congress (2023-2025), the chart reveals that they represent 47.61%. Almost half of the black members in the 118th US Congress are black women. Thus, an improvement in the number of black women exclusively within blacks in Congress cannot be denied.

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

Concerning the percentage of African American woman in comparison with the total number of Congresswomen: 91st Congress-118th Congress, the difference cannot be outlooked as shown in the following table:

Congress	Total Number of Congresswomen	Number of African American Congresswomen	Percentage of the African American Congresswomen
91 st Congress	11	1	9.09%
92 nd Congress	15	1	6.66%
93 rd Congress	16	4	25%
94 th Congress	19	4	21.05%
95 th Congress	21	4	19.04%
96 th Congress	18	2	11.11%
97 th Congress	23	3	13.04%
98 th Congress	24	2	8.33%
99 th Congress	25	1	4%
100 th Congress	26	1	3.84%
101 st Congress	31	1	3.22%
102 nd Congress	34	5	14.70%
103 rd Congress	55	10	18.18%
104 th Congress	59	12	20.33%
105 th Congress	66	14	21.21%
106 th Congress	67	14	20.89%
107 th Congress	76	15	19.73%
108 th Congress	77	13	16.88%
109 th Congress	85	14	16.47%
110 th Congress	95	17	17.89%
111 th Congress	96	14	14.58%
112 th Congress	96	15	15.62%
113 th Congress	104	17	16.34%
114 th Congress	109	20	18.34%
115 th Congress	116	22	18.96%
116 th Congress	132	25	18.93%
117 th Congress	155	30	19.35%

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

118 th Congress	154	30	19.48%
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Table 4.2: Percentage of the African American woman in comparison with the total number of Congresswomen: 91st Congress-118th Congress

Source: A prepared table by the author that shows the percentage of the African American Congresswomen in Comparison to the Total number of the Congresswomen: 91st Congress-118th Congress, based on data from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> Accessed 23 Apr. 2023.

The previous table 4.2 conveys the percentage of African American Congresswomen in comparison with the total number of Congresswomen: 91st Congress-118th Congress.

After more than 50 years since the election of Shirley Chisholm, the 30 African American women who serve in the 118th Congress represent 19.48% of the total number of women who serve in that Congress.

The following chart shows that African American women had the least representation in Congress in 1969-1971, as they had only one black Congresswoman (Shirley Chisholm) to represent them.

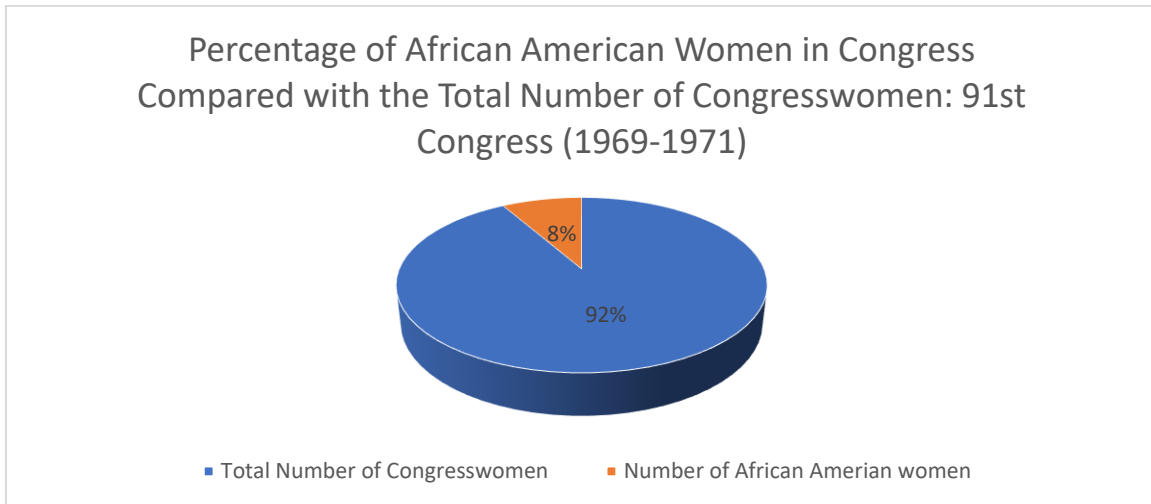


Chart 4.5: Percentage of African American Women in Congress Compared with the total number of Congresswomen: 91st Congress (1969-1971).

Source: A prepared statistical pie by the author that shows the percentage of the African American Congresswomen in Comparison to the Total number of the Congresswomen: 91st Congress, based on data from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search>
Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous chart 4.5 shows the percentage of African American Women in Congress compared with the total number of Congresswomen: 91st Congress (1969-1971), which discloses a drastic decrease in their number as the only black woman that was there at that time was Shirley Chisholm. That means that black women who represented 5.82% of the total US population in 1970 were represented by just one African American Congresswoman in the same year, according to chart 4.3 and chart 4.5.

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Regarding the current 118th Congress (2023-2025), the percentage of African American women in Congress compared with the total number of Congresswomen is still reduced, as shown in the following Chart:

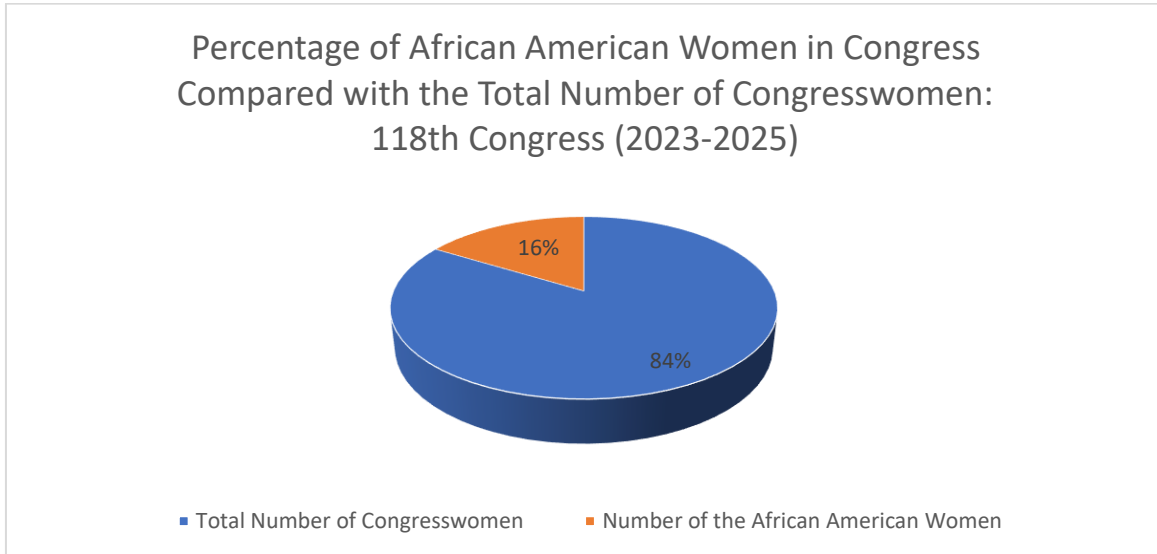


Chart 4.6: Percentage of African American Women in Congress Compared with the Total Number of Congresswomen: 118th Congress (2023-2025)

Source: A prepared statistical pie by the author that shows the percentage of the African American Congresswomen in Comparison with the Total number of the Congresswomen: 118th Congress, based on data from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.” Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> Accessed 23 Apr. 2023

The previous chart 4.6 shows the percentage of African American Congresswomen in comparison with the total number of Congresswomen: 118th Congress (2023-2025) and unveils the hypothesis that African American women continued the trend of being a minority.

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The data indicate that African American Congresswomen are still having a weakened position in the political sphere and it can be speculated that their decision-making power is countless within Congresswomen.

4.2. CORRELATION BETWEEN THE HIGHER EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF BLACK WOMEN AND THEIR PARTICIPATION IN THE US CONGRESS

According to the Congressional Research Service, the vast majority of the U.S. representatives and senators are college graduates and that tendency has been maintained during the last decade. Hence, there is a clear relationship between education and political participation in Congress⁶⁸.

As for the higher educational status of African American women in 1969-2020, the following chart 4.7 reveals that along the years African American women’s higher educational attainment rate has elevated in a positive way, as it can be observed:

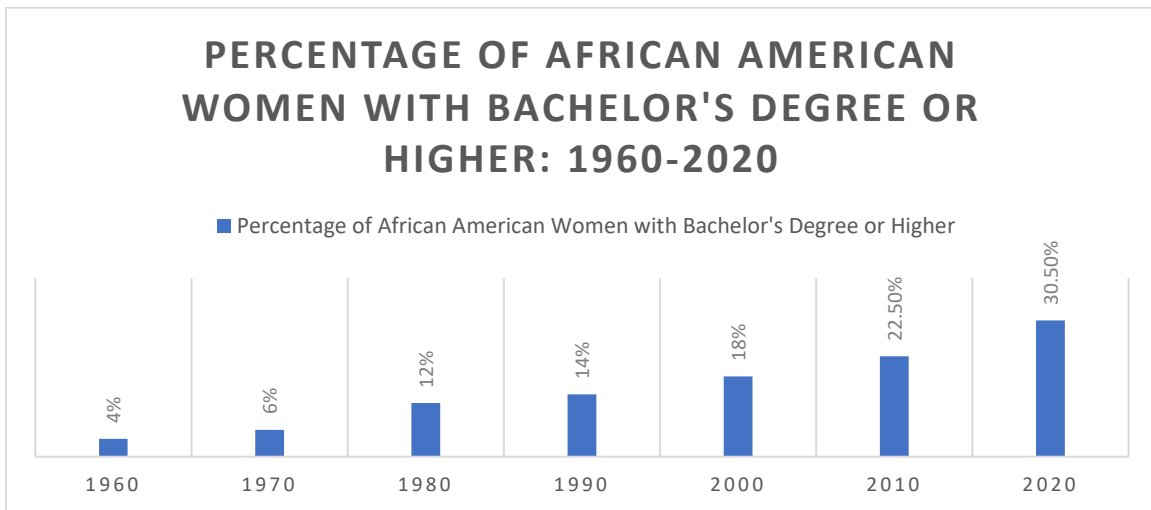


Chart 4.7: Percentage of African American women with bachelor’s degree or higher: 1960-2020

⁶⁸ For further information, see: Congressional Research Service. (2022). Congress A to Z. <https://doi.org/10.4135/9781071846735.n52>

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Percentage of African American Women with bachelor’s degree or higher: 1960-2020 that is based on information from BROOKINGS. Author’s tabulations of American Community Survey data (2001-2015) and decennial Census data (1940-2000) using IPUMS, and Current Population Survey, Selected Years 1940 to 2020; and Censuses of Population 1940 and 1950, Table A-2⁶⁹. Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous chart displays the percentage of African American women with bachelor’s degrees or higher in 1960-2020. It unearths the fact that 30.50% of black women obtained a bachelor’s degree or higher in 2020 compared with their situation in 1960 as only 4% of African American women won those degrees, and in 1970, only 6% of them obtained the same degrees.

Consequently, it can be inferred that the educational level of African American women has substantially improved if we compare it to their past levels in the 60’s and the 70’s.

Interpreting the previously introduced information in terms of congressional participation, the following data can be reached:

⁶⁹ Available at: <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/> and www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/educational-attainment/cps-historical-time-series.html

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

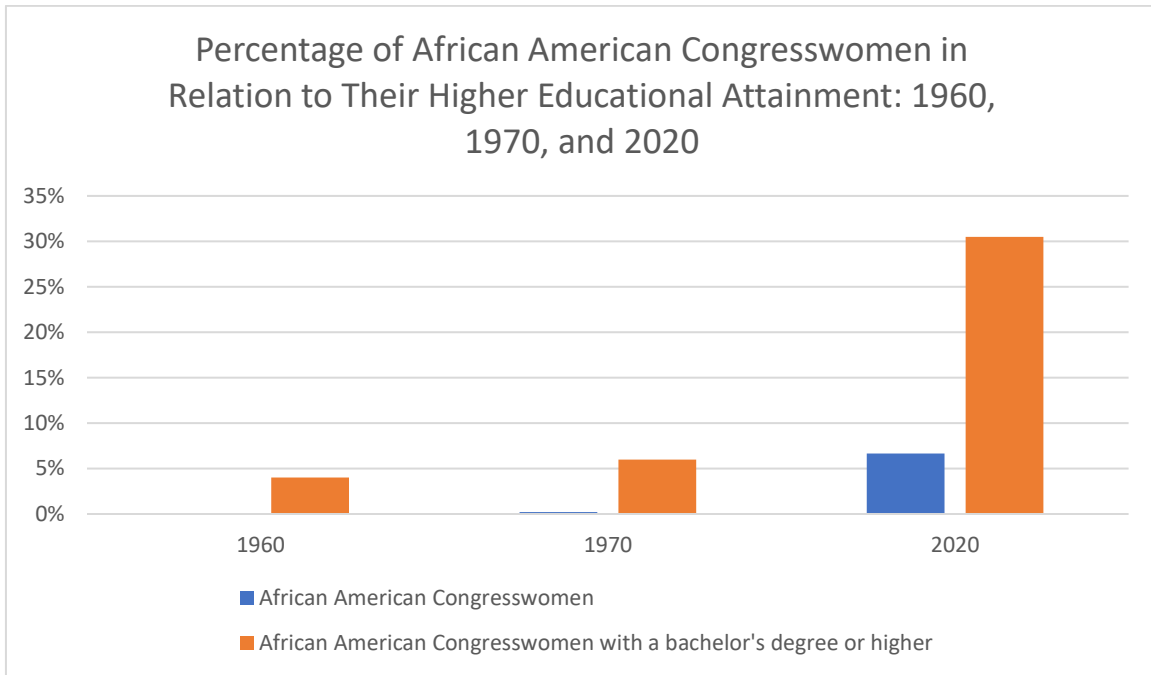


Chart 4.8: Percentage of African American congresswomen in relation to their higher educational attainment: 1960, 1970 and 2020.

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Percentage of African American Congresswomen in relation to their Higher Educational Attainment: 1960, 1970 and 2020, based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.”, information from BROOKINGS. Author’s tabulations of American Community Survey data (2001-2015) and decennial Census data (1940-2000) using IPUMS, and Current Population Survey, Selected Years 1940 to 2020; and Censuses of Population 1940 and 1950, Table A-2⁷⁰. Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

The previous chart demonstrates the percentage of African American Congresswomen in relation to their higher educational attainment in 1960, 1970 and 2020.

It consolidates the assumption that when the percentage of black women’s higher

⁷⁰ Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> and <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/> and www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/educational-attainment/cps-historical-time-series.html

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

educational attainment rate in 1960 was as low as 4%, their percentage of Congresswomen was null as well and they scored 0%.

As for the percentage of black Congresswomen in comparison with their higher educational achievement in 1970, no big change can be radared since the 1960s, as the only black Congresswoman who was there, continued to be Shirley Chisholm with no new addition.

It illustrates that when the percentage of black women’s higher educational accomplishment rate in 1970 was as minimised as 6%, their percentage of Congresswomen also dropped down as they scored only 0.22% in the same year.

Concerning the contemporary percentage of African American women in the US Congress in relation to their higher educational attainment, although they have experienced a notable improvement, it was not as compatible as expected.

What is more, the previous chart reveals the percentage of African American Congresswomen in relation to their higher educational achievement in 2020. It prevails that when the percentage of black women’s higher educational accomplishment in 2020 rose to 30.50%, their percentage of congressional participation has also elevated, but not at the same pace as they scored only 6.67%.

There was no corresponding increase in the ratio of higher educational attainment of African American women and their participation in the US Congress from 1960 to 2020. It

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is true that the higher educational level black women gain, the more Congress seats they win, but there is no suitable equivalence in the increase. The following chart shows that correlation:

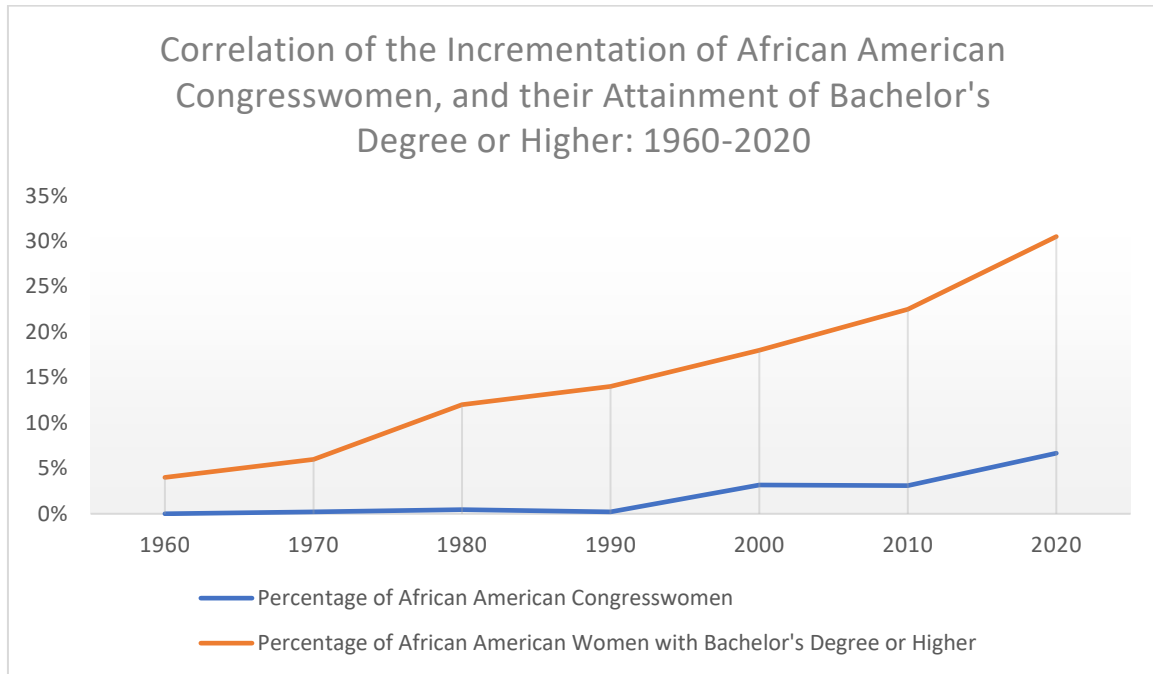


Chart 4.9: Correlation of the Incrementation of African American Congresswomen, and their Attainment of bachelor's degree or higher: 1960-2020

Source: A prepared chart by the author that shows the Correlation of the Incrementation of African American Congresswomen, and their Attainment of bachelor's degree or higher: 1960-2020, based on information from History, Art & Archives, *U.S. House of Representatives*. “People Search.”, information from Brookings. Author’s tabulations of American Community Survey data (2001-2015) and decennial Census data (1940-2000) using IPUMS, and Current Population Survey, Selected Years 1940 to 2020; and Censuses of Population 1940 and 1950, Table A-2⁷¹. Accessed 13 Aug. 2022.

⁷¹ Available at: <https://history.house.gov/People/Search> and

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As it can be understood from the above created chart, the correlation in question is proved, because when black women’s higher educational accomplishment elevates, their congressional participation does the same. It is true that the African American Congresswomen’s number increased in 2020, nevertheless that increase is not satisfactory as their higher educational achievement. That is no compatible speed to their higher educational attainment rate in the same year. Their higher educational completion increased 24.50% since the 70s, while their participation in the US Congress increased only about 6.44% and that happened over half a century.

Therefore, African American women’s higher educational accomplishment increased in the present by about 5 times more than it did in the 70s, and their current political participation in Congress is nearly 6 times more than their congressional representation in 1969.

Another noticeable phenomenon is that in about 50 years, the higher educational attainment of African American women increased by a ratio of 0.49% per year, and their congressional participation improved by 0.12% annually, which indicate the slowness of the improvement.

<https://www.brookings.edu/blog/social-mobility-memos/2017/12/04/black-women-are-earning-more-college-degrees-but-that-alone-wont-close-race-gaps/>
and www.census.gov/data/tables/time-series/demo/educational-attainment/cps-historical-time-series.html
<https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/visualizations/2022/comm/black-education.pdf>

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

CHAPTER FIVE

A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM

5.1. VITAL PATH

Chisholm was born on November 30th, 1924, in Brooklyn, to immigrant parents. Her father, Charles Christopher St. Hill, was born in British Guiana before he moved to Barbados. He came to New York City through Antilla, Cuba, in 1923 (Brooks-Bertram and Nevergold, 2009: 146).

Her mother, Ruby St. Hill, was born in Christ Church, Barbados, and arrived in New York City in 1921. She worked in a factory that manufactured burlap bags. She also worked as a baker’s helper, a tailoress, and a domestic worker. She could not maintain her work-family life balance. Thus, she sought the help of her mother in raising her children. And that is why Shirley and her sisters were sent to live with their grandmother, Emaline Seale in Barbados, in November, 1929, when Shirley was only five years old (Chisholm, 1970: 11-22; Brooks-Bertram and Nevergold, 2009: 146; Moran, 1972: 16A; Winslow, 2014: 7-8).

Therefore, Chisholm was a descendant of Guyanese and Bajan. She lived with her younger sisters on their grandmother’s farm in the Vauxhall village in Christ Church, where

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

she went to a one-room schoolhouse. She came back to the United States of America on May 19th, 1934 (Moran, 1972:16A; Winslow, 2014: 7-8).

Family help played a substantial role in the life and the shaping of Chisholm’s character. She learned from an early age the cruciality of the support that one should receive from his or her family regarding care and education. Without that aid she could not have reached any goal in her career. She mentioned that in her autobiography, *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), and wrote that:

Years later I would know what an important gift my parents had given me by seeing to it that I had my early education in the strict, traditional, British-style schools of Barbados. If I speak and write easily now, that early education is the main reason (Chisholm, 1970: 7-8).

Chisholm’s previous words send a message that interprets her belief in the importance of good education and its impact on the development and the improvement of one’s life.

In fact, Chisholm was educated in the beginning of 1939 in Girl’s High School, a prestigious school in the Bedford Stuyvesant neighbourhood of Brooklyn. In 1946, she obtained her bachelor’s degree of Art from Brooklyn College (Brazile, 2010: 34-35).

She captured her father’s stance towards the importance of education in the life of his children, when she quoted his words as follows:

You must make something of yourselves. You’ve got to go to school, and I’m not sending you to play either. Study and make something of yourselves. Remember, only the strong people survive in this world. God gave you a brain; use it (Chisholm, 1970: 27).

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Chisholm’s father used to ask her, as well as her sisters about their studies at school every night at dinner. He was mainly concerned about, and involved in, their education, not how they spent their day at school, as he specified in the previous quotation.

That gives an insight into the early life of Chisholm and how education was not optional for her. It was internalised in her young mind as well as her sisters’ that nothing can be reached or realised without obtaining a good education. It was her early path. It was her only path to fulfil herself.

That can also explain her insisting determination to facilitate good education for black youngsters and her non-stop fight in order to make that possible despite all the hardships that were in her way.

Speaking about her early College years, Chisholm went to Brooklyn College, where 98% of the students at the city colleges were white at that time. Chisholm gave the reader of her autobiography *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970) a sneak peek into her world as follows:

I had already decided to become a teacher. There was no other road open to a young black woman. Law, medicine, even nursing were too expensive, and few schools would admit black men, much less a woman. Social work was not yet open to blacks in the early 1940s. If I had other ideas about what I might do, I dismissed them. My youth may have been sheltered from boys and some other realities, but I was black, and nobody needed to draw me a diagram. No matter how I prepared myself, society wasn’t going to give me a chance to do much of anything else. (My sister Muriel, who entered Brooklyn College a few years later, majored in physics and graduated magna cum laude. She was unable to find a job, even as a laboratory technician.) I knew it would have to be teaching for me; but I took no education courses, for some reason. I majored in sociology and minored in Spanish (Chisholm, 1970, 35).

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In her own words, Chisholm gave us a tour inside her mind and the conversation that she was having with herself at that time. She was desperate, as she specified that her society closed all the doors in front of her face, and the face of any other black woman regardless of her sacrifices, and preparation. Chisholm mentioned that the only way that was open for her was becoming a teacher. She could not aspire to something higher than that.

Moreover, Chisholm mentioned her own sister Muriel, and how despite her excellence in education, as she graduated in physics with Magna Cum Laude, she was not able to find a job. That shows how African American women were jailed inside their own doubts and desperation in the 1940s.

Chisholm got married twice in her life. The first time she married Conrad Chisholm in 1949, and they were divorced in February 1977. Afterwards, she got married to Arthur Hardwick Jr., a former New York State Assemblyman. They got married in 1977 and stayed together until the death of Hardwick in 1986, as a result of his injuries in an automobile accident. Chisholm never had children⁷².

⁷² For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm, First Black Woman Elected to Congress, Dies." *USA Today*. Associated Press 2 Jan. 2005.

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After leaving Congress, Chisholm resided in suburban Williamsville, New York, and resumed her teaching career⁷³. She preferred to have a quiet and tranquil life rather than a fussy one. She longed for a fightless life and that was why she resorted to a suburban place and had chosen a required-less-struggling job as a teacher⁷⁴. Her last stop was Florida, where she retired in 1993 and stayed there until her death in 2005⁷⁵.

Chisholm died on January 1st, 2005, after suffering from a multitude of strokes that caused her death in Ormond Beach, which is close to Daytona Beach. “Unbought and Unbossed” were the words that were written on the arch of her cemetery (Barron, 2005: paragraph 1), perpetuating the legacy of an outstanding African American woman figure. The “Unbought and Unbossed” woman led a prosperous life. She flourished in a suffocating, gift-killing society at her time. Her main pillars were her education and her family, as she had acknowledged in her autobiography.

⁷³ For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm: Activist, Professor, and Congresswoman." *College Street Journal. Mount Holyoke College* 28 Jan. 2005. Haberman, Clyde and Laurie Johnston. "New York Day by Day: Shirley Chisholm's New Job." *New York Times* 3 Aug. 1982. Casselberry, Diane Manuel. "For Shirley Chisholm, life in Academia is Hardly Sedentary." *The Christian Science Monitor* 13 Dec. 1983.

⁷⁴ For further information, see: History, Art & Archives. *United States House of Representatives*. "Chisholm, Shirley Anita." n.d. Web. 1 Nov. 2021.

[https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-\(C000371\)/](https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-(C000371)/)

⁷⁵ For further information, see: "Statement on the Withdrawal of the Nomination of Shirley Chisholm to Be Ambassador to Jamaica." *The American Presidency Project* 13 Oct. 1993.

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-withdrawal-the-nomination-shirley-chisholm-be-ambassador-jamaica>

5.2. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM AS A BARRIER BREAKER

In 1964, Chisholm tried to run for the New York assembly seat, but the road was not paved for her, as she was confronted by discrimination on the basis of her gender because the UDC⁷⁶ was dubious and unwilling to endorse a female candidate, after Jones accepted a judicial nomination instead of running his re-election campaign for the previously mentioned seat. Seeing that there were nearly 5,000 more women than men registered to vote in the 17th Assembly District, Chisholm tended to focus mainly on women and their votes, as she addressed their interests and she was not wrong about it, because they responded positively, especially a local group called the "Key Women of America"⁷⁷, of which Chisholm was Brooklyn branch president. That justifies her inclination towards the female voters during her campaign (Gallagher, 2007: 398).

Chisholm was aware of the challenges that she was facing and that gender discrimination was an obstacle in her way to fulfil her feats. That was why she concentrated on women voters in her electoral campaign.

⁷⁶ Most of the members of the Unity Democratic Club (UDC) were middle class, racially integrated people as well as women in forefront positions (Gallagher, 2007: 392-416).

⁷⁷ This organisation was founded by Bertha Nelms Harris in 1954, principally to help in finding foster and adoptive homes for on the street children in New York City. Afterwards the organisation participated in many other community projects such as stopping drug addiction; hospital volunteer services; job expansion; jail visits; big sister prison release program; children uplift (program for pre-school children); awarding of scholarships, etc. After starting in New York, this organisation spread nationally and then internationally to include about forty-six branches in the U.S., Aruba, Liberia, Nigeria and Bermuda (<https://archives.nypl.org>).

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Chisholm won the Democratic primary in 1964, and then won the same position in December. She won with over 18,000 votes over Republican and Liberty party candidates, who did not receive more than 1,900 votes (Gallagher, 2007: 397- 398).

One of Chisholm's undertakings during her service as a member of the New York State Assembly from 1965 to 1968, was her argument against the state's literacy test, requiring the usage of English as a functional language. She declared that, if a person was more comfortable and operated in a better way in his or her own native language, it would not necessarily mean that the person was illiterate (Marble, 2011: 6- 12). Chisholm always advocated justice and equality in all aspects of life with an extra stress on the political one. She rejected the State's literacy test because it segregated all the population that did not speak English as a native language and excluded them from participating in the political life and the decision-making process, which affected their lives in a very drastic and direct way.

Explaining her efforts and hard work during her congressional campaign, Chisholm detailed the following:

So, I campaigned the hard way, in the streets. Indoors, with a selected audience, you have control. But out on the street corners with the people, in the housing projects, in parks, you are under fire constantly. If you are insincere or have something to hide, you will be found out (Chisholm, 1970: 82).

As we can see, Chisholm disclosed how she was campaigning everywhere, and she made sure that she would be able to get to any place and reach everyone. She also mentioned that

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being honest and true was the safest way to get around her campaign and reach the hearts of people.

In 1968, she was elected the first African American Congresswoman in the United States of America. She spent seven terms in that position, from 1969 to 1983, which was an unprecedented achievement for a black woman⁷⁸.

During her work as a Congresswoman, she became the first African American candidate for a major party’s nomination for President of the United States of America, and the first woman ever to run for the Democratic Party’s Presidential nomination in 1972 (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 1).

In her struggle to win the office as the first black Congresswoman, Chisholm ran for the United States House of Representatives from New York’s 12th congressional district and announced her candidacy around January 1968. She also set up some organisational backing. The slogan of her campaign was “Unbought and Unbossed” (Caldwell, 1968: 29; Madden, 1968: 1, 25).

On June 18th, 1968, Chisholm won over her opponents, State Senator William S. Thompson and Labour official Dollie Robertson. Then she faced James Farmer, a

⁷⁸ For further information, see: History, Art & Archives. *United States House of Representatives*. “Chisholm, Shirley Anita.” n.d. Web. 1 Nov. 2021.
[https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-\(C000371\)/](https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-(C000371)/)

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renowned civil rights’ leader, in the general Democratic Party primary election, and became the first black Congresswoman (Schanberg, 1968: 1, 31).

During her early term in Congress, Chisholm was assigned to the House Agriculture Committee and she worked to extend the food stamp program to the poor families. She used surplus food to feed them. Subsequently, she was crucial in the foundation of the Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children (WIC) program (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 4; Telushkin, 2014: 13-14).

Afterwards, Chisholm was designated to the Veterans Affairs Committee. Later she was appointed to the Education and Labour Committee, which was her favourite committee, given her experience as a teacher and educator⁷⁹ (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 4).

Chisholm did not really like her Agriculture Committee designation, as she voiced her disagreement when she said “All I’m asking for is something more relevant than Agriculture”. She was aware of the fact that the Agriculture Committee would not have any significant jurisdictional influence over the political interests of her Brooklyn electors⁸⁰.

Given her position as a pioneer in her field and acting against all the odds that met her, Chisholm went where no one else had gone before. She acted beyond any predictions

⁷⁹ For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm, First Black Woman Elected to Congress, Dies." *USA Today*. Associated Press 2 Jan. 2005.

⁸⁰ For further information, see: *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*, “Guts, Stamina, Audacity: Shirley Chisholm’s House Career,” Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.
<https://history.house.gov/Blog/2019/January/1-3-Chisholm/>

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or expectations. She neither settled nor compromised. She had always sought more than what her contemporary society was prepared to provide. She was a true barrier breaker.

5.3. PARTICIPATION AND FOUNDATION OF AFRICAN AMERICAN SOCIETIES AND ORGANISATIONS

While she was studying at Brooklyn College, she was also a member of Delta Sigma Theta Sorority⁸¹ and the Harriet Tubman Society⁸². During World War II, as she was a student at Brooklyn College, she urged the inclusion and the desegregation of black soldiers in the army. Moreover, she had taken African-American history courses, and insisted on the integration of more women in the student government⁸³.

All of that prepared Chisholm for her chosen career, where she flourished and prospered as a politician and a Civil Rights’ activist, defending African Americans’ rights of equality and desegregation in general, while spotting light on the Black woman and giving her and her needs extra attention and sponsorship.

Chisholm was not new to politics or activism. She worked in early childhood education, particularly in a childcare centre in Harlem. Meanwhile, she earned her MA in elementary education from Teachers College, Columbia University, in 1952 (Gallagher, 2007: 392- 416).

⁸¹ Delta Sigma Theta Sorority, Inc. is a historically African American Service Sorority. The organisation was founded in 1913 by 22 collegiate women dedicated to public service and specially assisting the African American community (www.deltasigmatheta.org).

⁸² The original Harriet Tubman House was established in Holyoke Street in the South End. It was a settlement house for African American women moving to Boston from the South looking for better opportunities for themselves and their families. Harriet Tubman was the Honorary President of the organisation, which secured a safe shelter for women and offered them skills training, and a supportive community as they were reshaping a new life for themselves (www.uses.org).

⁸³ For further information, see: “Shirley Chisholm” www.c-span.org

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From 1959 to 1964 she held the position of an educational consultant for the Division of Day Care. Chisholm was concerned about early education and child welfare matters⁸⁴.

The future of African-American women and their children was at the core of Chisholm’s considerations. She believed in the undeniable changing effect of education and its capacity to transform the living conditions of any person to better ones.

In the 1950s, she started to be more concerned about the politics of the local Democratic party. In 1953, she became part of Wesley “Mac” Holder’s effort to elect Lewis Flagg Jr. to the bench as the first Black judge in Brooklyn. The Flagg election effort became later known as the Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League (BSPL)⁸⁵, which was left by Chisholm in 1958 due to a discordance with Holder over Chisholm’s insistence on supporting the female members of the group by giving them more chances to contribute to the decision-making process (Gallagher, 2007: 392- 416).

She honoured her creed of the importance of helping out women in general and African American women in particular by providing them with all the available opportunities in order to guarantee their socio-economic upward mobility, even if the price was her job.

⁸⁴ For further information, see: McFadden, Robert D. “R. Sargent Shriver, Peace Corps Leader, Dies at 95.” *New York Times* 18 Jan. 2011.

⁸⁵ The BSPL’s main role was to endorse candidates to support civil rights in order to improve economic opportunities, facilities and services in Brooklyn (Gallagher, 2007: 392- 416).

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She also volunteered to work for white-dominated political clubs in Brooklyn, such as the Brooklyn Democratic Clubs and the League of Women Voters⁸⁶ (Moran, 1972: 16A).

During her work in the Political League, Chisholm was a part of the choosing committee of the recipients of its annual Brotherhood award. She represented the Brooklyn branch of the National Association of College Women⁸⁷ (Randolph, 1959: 10).

In the course of her membership of political organisations, Chisholm strove to put significant changes into effect in the structure of those organisations, especially the Brooklyn Democratic Clubs, as she enrolled more coloured people into the 17th District Club, and consequently into local politics⁸⁸.

Moreover, in 1960 she joined the Unity Democratic Club (UDC), which was led by Thomas R. Jones, a former Elect Flagg member, whose campaign was advocated by Chisholm. Later on, Jones lost the elections for an assembly seat in 1960, but won that seat in 1962 to become Brooklyn’s second black assemblyman after running again for that position (Gallagher, 2007: 392-416).

⁸⁶ It is a nonpartisan League that holds a neutral stance that neither backs, nor opposes candidates or political parties. It is rather dedicated to work on essential issues that are of interest to both the members and the public (www.lwv.org).

⁸⁷ The National Association of College Women (NACW), was established in 1923. The membership of that association is limited to accredited college or university graduate women. It was dedicated to improving higher educational opportunities for Black women, securing them positions of authority. It was also fixated on bettering the faculties and facilities of Black colleges (Perkins, 1990: 65-75).

⁸⁸ For further information, see: “Shirley Chisholm” www.c-span.org

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Chisholm was devoted to helping people in need and especially African-Americans. She used her political positions in various political clubs and organisations to defend their case and get them better jobs, nutritional or educational chances.

She was honoured in the "Salute to Women Doers" affair in New York by May 1965. In the beginning of 1966, she was positioned by the state as the head of Wide Council of Elected Negro Democrats for black representation on key committees in the Assembly⁸⁹ (Travia, 1966: 9).

Among her successful legislature projects were her ability to obtain unemployment benefits for domestic workers and sponsor the introduction of a program called Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge (SEEK) to the state. That program gave unfortunate students the opportunity to enter college by providing them with compensational education. She was also elected as the Democratic National Committee woman from New York⁹⁰ (Madden, 1968: 1, 25).

Moreover, Chisholm sponsored or cosponsored 508 legislation projects during the 93rd Congress (1973-1974), 403 others in the 94th Congress (1975-1976), as well as 286

⁸⁹ For further information, see: "Women 'Doers' in Government, Community Service Acclaimed at 'Salute' Luncheon." *Pittsburgh Courier*. NPI. 15 May 1965: 8. www.newspapers.com

⁹⁰ For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm to speak at Hunter." *The Afro-American*. Baltimore 5 Feb. 1971: 13.

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legislation projects during the 95th Congress (1977-1978), in addition to 276 in the 96th Congress (1979-1980), and 374 laws in the 97th Congress (1981-1982)⁹¹.

The legislation projects in the 93rd Congress (1973-1974), included the Home Purchase Assistance Act, a bill to terminate age discrimination in employment, the Equal Opportunity and Full Employment Act, the Child and Family Services Act, and the Juvenile Delinquency Prevention Act, just to mention a few of her efforts.

As for the 94th Congress (1975-1976), Chisholm sponsored or cosponsored laws, such as the Youth Opportunities Industrialization Centers Job Creation and Training Act, the Comprehensive Medical Practice Act, the Maternal and Child Health Care Act, the Medicare Long-Term Care Act, and the Minority Enterprise Act along with others.

In the 95th Congress (1977-1978), Chisholm’s backed statutes were the following: the Congressional Oversight Improvement Act, the Schools and Comprehensive Community Education Act, the Bilingual, Hearing and Speech Impaired Court Interpreter Act, and the Bilingual Education Act Amendments, amongst others.

Those acts and projects highlight Chisholm’s area of interest, which can be seen as diversity at the highest governmental ranks, good education, and equal rights, and

⁹¹ For further information, see: History, Art & Archives. *United States House of Representatives*. “Chisholm, Shirley Anita.” n.d. Web. 1 Nov. 2021.
[https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-\(C000371\)/](https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-(C000371)/)

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opportunities for everyone everywhere. In addition to that, she widened her area of interests in her next Congress.

In the 96th Congress (1979-1980), Chisholm supported the following acts: the Farm Labor Contractor Act of 1980, the Municipal Arts Program Act of 1980, the Short Time Unemployment Compensation Act of 1980, the Civil Rights Improvements Act of 1980, the School Lunch Study Act of 1980, etc...

In that Congress, Chisholm defended farm work, the right of the unemployed to be compensated during their short-time unemployment, improvement of Civil Rights and alimentation of school students.

Regarding the 97th Congress (1981-1982), Chisholm’s efforts resulted in the Space Commerce Act, the Older Americans’ Vocational Education Act, the National Nursing Home Standards Act of 1982, the Prohibition of Mandatory Retirement and the Employment Rights Act of 1982, among others⁹².

In addition to the Housing and Automobile Industries Recovery Act of 1982, the Voting Rights for the Handicapped and the Elderly Act, the Community Home Health Services Act of 1982, the Job Training Partnership Act, the Minority Cancer Control and

⁹² For further information, see: *History, Art & Archives, U.S. House of Representatives*, “Guts, Stamina, Audacity: Shirley Chisholm’s House Career,” Accessed 28 Feb. 2022.
<https://history.house.gov/Blog/2019/January/1-3-Chisholm/>

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Prevention Act of 1981, the National Commission on Down Syndrome Act, the Hunger Prevention and African Food Security Act, and the Farmworker Bill of Rights Act.

That shows her preoccupation with essential issues that affect the core existence of the poor, the elderly, the sick, and the handicapped, and how she was trying to make their lives easier in the best possible way.

Moreover, Chisholm introduced a bill to extend by five months (through September 1982) the period within which a child over age 18 must have been already enrolled at college level in order to qualify (after July 1982) for child's insurance benefits under title II of the Social Security Act as a postsecondary student, and also introduced another bill to amend title 5 of the United States Code to provide payments under Government health plans for services of nurse-midwives⁹³.

She did not forget the students in need and strove to endorse and sponsor them by introducing the above bill, which was intended to allow them to benefit from child's insurance. She was also worried about nurse-midwives' conditions and attempted to help them by introducing the previous bill.

Chisholm's area of concern included domestic workers. She spared no effort to improve their standard of living by securing them a beneficial payment if they were unemployed. However, her efforts did not stop at that point. She was also preoccupied

⁹³ For further information, see: History, Art & Archives. *United States House of Representatives*. “Chisholm, Shirley Anita.” n.d. Web. 1 Nov. 2021.
[https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-\(C000371\)/](https://history.house.gov/People/Listing/C/CHISHOLM,-Shirley-Anita-(C000371)/)

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about the wellbeing of the students who suffered from humble circumstances. That was why she launched the SEEK program in order to ensure that they received a good deal of education (Madden, 1968: 1, 25).

Chisholm favoured women and supported their liberation, especially that of the black ones, as she hired women for her office and half of them were black in addition to being anti-war. That was a stance that made her a sought-after speaker on college campuses (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 4).

She was an establishing member of the National Organization for Women⁹⁴ and the Black Congressional Caucus⁹⁵. In her essay “Women Must Rebel”, she urged women earnestly to question the status quo:

Women must rebel; they must react to the traditional stereotyped education mapped out for them by society. Their education and training is [sic] programmed and planned for them from the moment the doctor says, "Mr. Jones, it's a beautiful baby girl!" and Mr. Jones begins deleting mentally the things she might have been and adds the things that society says she must be (Chisholm, 1970: 207- 216).

As we can see, Chisholm was aware of the predetermined role that was planned by society and imposed on women in general. She was a rebellious woman, who encouraged other

⁹⁴ The National Organization for Women (NOW) is an American feminist organisation that was founded on June 30th, 1966 in Washington, D.C. The organisation consists of 550 chapters in all 50 U.S. states and in Washington, D.C. It focused mainly on women’s rights, feminism, equal rights amendment, civil rights, as well as reproductive rights. Among the founders were Shirley Chisholm, Betty Friedan, Pauli Murray, and Muriel Fox (www.now.org).

⁹⁵ The Congressional Black Caucus (CBC) is a caucus that was mostly made up of African-American members of the United States Congress. Representative Karen Bass from California was the chair of the caucus from 2019 to 2021. It was dedicated to fostering Non-Black candidates who will secure the needs and the interests of the Black community in addition to supporting the participation of African Americans in political life (www.cbc.house.gov).

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women to revolt against that prescribed role that moulded and suffocated them and limited their entire existence.

Furthermore, Chisholm introduced a bill to provide \$10 billion in federal funds for childcare services by 1975 with the help of her fellow New York Congresswoman Bella Abzug⁹⁶.

Chisholm was chosen as the first chair of The National Black Women's Political Caucus in 1984, where a few black women from different political backgrounds congregated to present a political agenda, stressing the needs of African American women (Curwood, 2015: 204-32).

The whole career, projects, pursuits, endeavours and even aspirations of Chisholm poured in the same cup. It was her dedication to improve the socio-economic life of African-Americans, and the African-American woman on the one hand, and the life of the poor or the less fortunate on the other.

⁹⁶ For further information, see: "Mrs. Chisholm, Mrs. Abzug Introduce Child Care Bill." *New York Times. Associated Press* 18 May 1971.

5.4. SHIRLEY CHISHOLM AS A RISK TAKER: HER PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDACY

After her service for years in the office, Chisholm announced on January 25th, 1972 in a Baptist church in her district in Brooklyn that:

I stand before you today as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency of the United States of America. I am not the candidate of black America, although I am black and proud. I am not the candidate of the women's movement of this country, although I am a woman, and I am equally proud of that. I am not the candidate of any political bosses or fat cats or special interests. I stand here now without endorsements from many big name politicians or celebrities or any other kind of prop. I do not intend to offer to you the tired and glib cliches, which for too long have been an accepted part of our political life. I am the candidate of the people of America. And my presence before you now symbolizes a new era in American political history⁹⁷.

Chisholm acknowledged her position as an African-American woman who faced many challenges, obstacles and numerous types of discrimination and threats. That can be considered "logos" according to Aristotle's rhetorical discourse. Yet she was not intimidated by all of that and dared to adopt a different stance that went against all the accepted misapprehensions of a white-male-dominated society. By mentioning that, she used "pathos" to add an emotional aspect to her argument.

The using of "ethos" appeared in her above speech when she announced that she was not bossed by any politicians or interests. She was simply an American candidate for the American Presidential elections that was exempted from all the political complications

⁹⁷ For further information, watch: "1972 Shirley Chisholm Presidential Campaign Announcement." *REEL AMERICA*. AMERICAN HISTORY TV C-SPAN3. 25 Jan. 1972. Television.
<https://www.c-span.org/video/?325324-2/1972-shirley-chisholm-presidential-campaign-announcement>

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and who did not have any secret agenda. That was how Chisholm crafted her speech to persuade her audience.

Shirley Chisholm became the first black major-party candidate to run for President of the United States in the 1972 United States presidential elections and she was the first woman to run for the Democratic Party’s presidential nomination (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 1).

Chisholm concentrated on two main targets during her presidential campaign: knocking down the existing President at that time, Richard Nixon and ending the dispute in Vietnam. She restlessly tried to receive as many votes as she could. But it was no easy task because she was faced with marginalisation, trivialization, and backlash as her candidacy was not treated with the due seriousness as it should have been. Her opponents were favoured by the media. Chisholm counter-fought that by defending her own right to run for President, emphasising that the other candidates represented only white males, which was a very small portion of the American population (Marble, 2011: 7).

What is more, Chisholm revealed that running for President was not her idea in the beginning, but it was the idea of some university students during her visits to universities and her speeches on their campuses (Chisholm, 1973: 13).

The discriminatory treatment that Chisholm suffered during her presidential campaign can also be seen in the underfunding of her campaign, which did not exceed

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\$300,000. Her bid was to be taken seriously as an established candidate and to be regarded as an emblematic political figure. A big number of Democratic Political establishments overlooked Chisholm and she lacked support from her black male colleagues (Freeman, 2005: paragraph 6-18).

As a result of the inadequate financing of Chisholm's campaign, she had to depend on volunteers to organise it. Those volunteers were from various minorities: blacks, white women, and university students. That diversity created a power conflict among them. Black men and white women were rivals during the organising of the campaign. They were honest to their duties, but each group had a different mentality, prospects and way of working (Chisholm, 1973: 102-105).

Thus, the consequences were anarchy, delay, cancelling, mistakes, discrepancies, and forgetting of important issues during the campaign, all of which can be considered as the main reason for the defeat of Chisholm in her campaign. In this connection, Chisholm wrote in her autobiography *The Good Fight* (1973) that:

All the odds had been against it, right up to the end. I never blamed anyone for doubting. The Presidency is for white males. No one was ready to take a black woman seriously as a candidate. It was not time for a black to run, let alone a woman, and certainly nor for someone who was both.... I ran because someone has to do it first. In this country everybody is supposed to be able to run for President, but that's never really been true. I ran because most people think that the country is not ready for a black candidate, not ready for a woman candidate. Someday... (Chisholm, 1973: 2).

In her autobiography Chisholm detailed the fights that she went through during her running for Presidency and for the Congress. She mentioned that the discrimination that she

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suffered on the basis of her colour and gender did not come as a shock for her. She was aware of what she was getting herself into, yet she did not back down. On the contrary, she became fortified and faced all of that with courage and faith. Her hope was that someday a black woman will be able to break that glass ceiling.

Furthermore, Chisholm expressed her political ordeal and described the bigotry that she encountered mentioning that: “When I ran for the Congress, when I ran for President, I met more discrimination as a woman than for being black. Men are men.”⁹⁸.

In this regard, she mentioned the situation of women in general. Then she moved to discuss the situation of black women in particular through the eyes of men, as follows:

Men always underestimate women. They underestimated me, and they underestimated the women like me. If they had thought about it, they would have realized that many of the homes in black neighborhoods are headed by women. They stay put, raise their families-and register to vote in greater numbers (Chisholm, 1970: 88).

Chisholm explained that women were underrated by men, regardless of their sacrifices, and the amount of responsibility that they have, as many black homes were headed by black women, who were the breadwinners of their families. In addition to that, men had overlooked the fact that women outnumbered men when it came to voting. Chisholm was smart enough to notice that and used it for her own advantage. The same idea was disclosed when she implied the following:

⁹⁸ For further information, listen to: “Shirley Chisholm on Why She Should be President.” *BBC NEWS*. 26 Jan. 2016. Radio. Accessed 4 July 2023. <https://www.bbc.com/news/av/magazine-35376524>

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Of my two "handicaps," being female put many more obstacles in my path than being black. Sometimes I have trouble myself, believing that I made it this far against the odds. No one, not even my father, whose hopes for me were extravagant, would ever have dared to predict it (Chisholm, 1970; 12).

Chisholm called being a woman and being black "handicaps". That can be understood in terms of the amount of discrimination that she suffered throughout her life, not to mention when she stepped out of the prescribed role of a black woman and challenged her world back then in the late sixties and early seventies when she ran for Congress and the Presidency.

In doing that she crossed some sort of an invisible line that limited her role. That brought her the unpleasant consequences that she mentioned.

She even complained that black men were threatened by her candidacy and that they felt that their hegemony was going to be menaced by her presence in the political field. As we pointed out, she added that being a female was a bigger obstacle in the way of her political career than being black (Moran, 1972: 15).

Chisholm specified that, against all the odds, she was even discriminated against by black men. She mentioned that she was totally in favour of black men's advancement, desegregation, and equal rights with whites, but what she did not really expect was black men's attempts to sabotage and delay her political progress as she expressed in the aforementioned.

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In order to throw doubt into her heart, Chisholm was ridiculed, not taken seriously, as she was numerously queried about her belief in what she was doing, as it is implied in the following extract:

While repeatedly questioned for believing that she could be president, Chisholm commanded a certain following among women, college students and minorities. She had already made a name for herself in the American political scene⁹⁹.

Because of the challenges, and the disputes that she was subjected to frequently, Chisholm relied on women, university students, and minorities to be her support during her bid for a change that was going to benefit those groups particularly. She had gone very far with women’s help in organisations, projects, and legislating programs. College students, and other minorities also helped. She was well-known by them and that was why she expected their patronage.

Despite the uncertainty and suspicion that surrounded her presidential candidacy, she was the one for the job, as it can be seen in the following comment:

Although dismissed at the time, Shirley Chisholm was a presidential candidate of considerable substance and experience. She’d served for years in the New York State Assembly and had a strong, loyal base of support in Brooklyn. As a member of Congress, she fought for programs like Head Start, school lunches and food stamps. She was one of only 19 representatives willing to hold hearings on the Vietnam War¹⁰⁰.

⁹⁹ For further information, see: Kazmi, Laila, and Stephen Hegg, KCTS. “What Former Presidential Candidate Shirley Chisholm Said about Facing Gender Discrimination.” *PBS NEWS HOUR* 13 Sep. 2016. Accessed 4 July 2023. <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/politics/what-former-presidential-candidate-shirley-chisholm-said-about-facing-gender-discrimination>

¹⁰⁰ For further information, see: Landers, Jackson. “‘Unbought and Unbossed’: When a Black Woman Ran for the White House.” *Smithsonian Magazine*. 25 Apr. 2016. Accessed 4 July 2023. <https://www.smithsonianmag.com/smithsonian-institution/unbought-and-unbossed-when-black-woman-ran-for-the-white-house-180958699/>

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The previous extract reveals how Chisholm was suitable for the presidential elections. It was her right place, and she was not a misfit. She was a celebrity and people knew her thanks to the programs and the laws that she sponsored or cosponsored. She was a knowledgeable person in what she was doing, and she had a lot of potential.

Chisholm received three confirmed death threats during her campaign, a matter that drove her husband, Conrad Chisholm, to step forward as her bodyguard until the United States Secret Service protection was provided to her in May 1972 (Winslow, 2014: 124).

Despite what she had endured during her campaign, she visited her opponent, Governor George Wallace in the hospital after being shot during his presidential campaign in Michigan on May 15th, 1972. Chisholm said that:

Wallace was shocked when Chisholm arrived in his hospital room to express her sympathy and concern. "He said, 'What are your people going to say?' I said, 'I know what they are going to say. But I wouldn't want what happened to you to happen to anyone.' He cried and cried," she recalled¹⁰¹.

Wallace's words show that he did not expect a visit from his opponents in that difficult situation of his. Maybe he thought that what had happened to him would have benefited his rivals. That was why he was shocked to see Chisholm in his hospital room.

¹⁰¹ For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm Leaves a Legacy of Compassion and Commitment." *United University Professions*. Accessed on 11th Sept. 2011. Online: http://www.uupinfo.org/voice/mar/05/0305p_19.pdf

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In addition to that, Chisholm was always concerned about the younger generation: blacks and whites alike. She would fly from the House of Congress after having an exhausting day of fighting for a bill for the poor in order to speak to university students about different issues for hours. She even had to pass her sleeping hours to continue her conversation with them, which could sometimes happen in the lounge of their dormitory. She did not forget to acknowledge the efforts of two white university students who were among the organising team of her presidential campaign (Chisholm, 1973: 14-15, 58).

That encompasses Chisholm’s sense of responsibility towards young people, as she considered that briefing them about vital issues such as racism, housing, and educational conditions and listening to them was crucial if she was to hope for a better future for the country. She was also honest and she did not deny or underrate the role of the two white university students who worked hard in her campaign.

Regarding national security and foreign policy, Chisholm strove to cancel the Internal Security Act of 1950¹⁰². It is also known as the Subversive Activities Control, or the McCarran Act. It is an Act to protect the United States against un-American and agitational activities that are intended to provoke a strong public reaction in order to push for political actions. That was why the Act required the registration of Communist organisations with the federal government (Izumi, 2005: 165-166).

¹⁰² For further information, see: www.uscode.house.gov

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Additionally, Chisholm occupied the position of Secretary of the House Democratic Caucus from 1977 to 1981 during the 95th Congress and the 96th Congress¹⁰³.

During her service, her main job was to improve the conditions of inner-city citizens as well as endorsing the incrementation of education spending, social services, and healthcare, while calling for the reduction of military expenses.

That can simply be proved by looking into the acts and legislations that she championed, starting from the 93rd Congress until the 97th Congress during her active years as a Congresswoman from 1973 until 1982. As she was always faithful to her own cause, Chisholm fought for her beliefs. She devoted herself to the service of the needy in all aspects of life. Helping them to move upward by giving them all the support that she could provide was amoral duty for her.

Even the slogan of her campaign for the Democratic Party elections carried the name of her autobiography *Unbought and Unbossed*. That slogan actually encapsulates Chisholm’s way of being. She had never given in neither to temptations nor to threats and established misconceptions, as we can see in the following quotation:

When I wrote my campaign slogan, “Unbought and Unbossed,” is was [sic] an expression of what I believe I was and what I want to be-what I want all candidates for public office to be. We need men and women who have far greater abilities and far broader appeal than I will ever have, but who have my kind of independence-who will dare to declare that they

¹⁰³ For further information, see: History, Art & Archives. *United States House of Representatives*. “Women in Congress.” n.d. Web. 5 Nov. 2021.
<https://history.house.gov/Exhibition-and-Publications/WIC/Women-in-Congress/>

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

are free of the old ways that have led us wrong, and who owe nothing to the traditional concentrations of capital and power that have subverted this nation’s ideals (Chisholm, 1970: 190).

Chisholm made it clear that the slogan of her campaign was in fact who she was, and who she hoped all the other candidates in public office to be in order to end any corruption that might be foreseen if any public officer is lured into undeserved money or power.

She was the woman of her time who knew precisely who she was dealing with. She knew the dominant perceptions of the society that she was living in. She accepted that challenge and planned every course of her way from that rock bottom through hard work, the belief in what was right and persistence. Rather than just going with the flow and settling, she fought for her ideals. That was her true colour.

5.5. CHISHOLM’S LEGACY

Chisholm toured over 150 university campuses giving speeches after her national recognition (Manuel, 1983). In 1990, Chisholm formed the African-American Women for Reproductive Freedom¹⁰⁴ with 15 other black men and women (Cullen-DuPont, 1998:6).

As a result of her declined health, Chisholm could not accept President Bill Clinton’s nomination to become the United States Ambassador to Jamaica in 1993. During that same year, Chisholm was initiated into the National Women’s Hall of Fame¹⁰⁵.

Shirley Chisholm was a career-oriented woman. She had dedicated her life to her profession and remained faithful to helping people in need, especially black women and their children.

¹⁰⁴ The African-American Women for Reproductive Freedom was formed in 1990. It is an organisation that is meant to change the established conception that states that abortion is not a choice for African-American women. The organisation advocated that African-American women have always suffered from being dishonoured, in addition to encountering prejudice from society if they sought illegal abortion. The organization continued declaring that this situation is unjust for African-American women given the fact that they have suffered from rape, several types of abuse as well as torment (Cullen-DuPont, 1998: 6).

¹⁰⁵ National Women’s Hall of Fame is an American institution that was founded in 1969 in Seneca Falls, New York. Among the founders are Ann A. Bantuvanis, Helen Barben, Joseph Coffee, Mary Curry, Elizabeth Delavan, Joseph Doyle, Shirley Hartley, Patricia Jenks, Marilyn Marks, Elizabeth Mayer, Helen Miller, Louise Olmstead, Lillian Oliver, Shirley Patterson, Margaret Rapp, John Rosenkrans, Caroline Sanderson, and Meredith Steen. It is the nation’s first and oldest non-profit organisation and museum that is devoted to the recognition and the commemoration of the accomplishments of remarkable American women (www.womenofthehall.org).

For further information, see: “Statement on the Withdrawal of the Nomination of Shirley Chisholm to Be Ambassador to Jamaica.” *The American Presidency Project* 13 Oct. 1993.

<https://www.presidency.ucsb.edu/documents/statement-the-withdrawal-the-nomination-shirley-chisholm-be-ambassador-jamaica>

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Regarding her speeches, American Rhetoric’s Top 100 Speeches of the 20th century listed Chisholm’s speech “For the Equal Rights Amendments”, which she gave in 1970, as number 91¹⁰⁶.

Concerning what was said about Chisholm’s speeches, the following quote encapsulates it:

The issues are familiar, as is the broil of her audience and a citizenship that feels unheard. Chisholm, in 1972, is already a celebrity — simultaneously a voice of the people and a spokesperson for a lying, thieving political system manipulated by Ivy League elites¹⁰⁷.

Those words provide a clear panoramic vision of what Chisholm’s speeches were about. According to the quote, Chisholm’s speeches articulated and conveyed what citizens felt, suffered and dealt with in their everyday life. She did not fall for the political system’s manipulation, promises, and temptation, as she stayed true to her cause. She came from people and remained one of them.

Furthermore, there is the Shirley Chisholm Center for Research, which is now known as The Shirley Chisholm Project on Brooklyn Women’s Activism and it is situated at Brooklyn College. That project fostered research and programs on women¹⁰⁸.

¹⁰⁶ For further information, see: "Top 100 Speeches of the 20th Century by Rank." *American Rhetoric.com* 13 Feb. 2009. <https://www.americanrhetoric.com/top100speechesall.html>

¹⁰⁷ For further information, see: Cruz, Natalee, and John Reed. “Shirley Chisholm’s Newly Unearthed ‘Do Women Dare?’ Speech Is Just as Relevant Today.” *Rolling Stone* 3 Feb. 2022. Accessed 4 July 2023. <https://www.rollingstone.com/politics/politics-features/shirley-chisholm-first-black-woman-congress-presidential-candidate-speech-1294152/>

¹⁰⁸ For further information, see: Shirley Chisholm Project on Brooklyn Women’s Activism. n.d. Web. 25 Oct. 2021.

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Her efforts to help women did not stop at the point of providing them with shelter, education, and alimention. Chisholm tried to find the root of women’s suffering and that was why she initiated The Shirley Chisholm Project on Brooklyn Women’s Activism in order to analyse the causes of women’s hardships and try to stop them before they provoked any problems.

Chisholm’s legacy has inspired and motivated many black women to pursue a political career, and among them was the California Congresswoman Barbara Lee who declared in an interview in 2017 that Chisholm had a great influence on her political vocation¹⁰⁹.

In addition, Kamala Harris started her presidential campaign forty-eight years later after Chisholm’s. Harris acknowledged Shirley Chisholm’s presidential campaign by using a similar combination of colours and style in her own 2020 presidential campaign’s logo and publication material. She used the red and the yellow pattern in particular in a video that propagated her run for presidency¹¹⁰.

<https://www.brooklyn.cuny.edu/web/academics/schools/socialsciences/interdisciplinary/undergraduate/womens/chisholmproject.php>

¹⁰⁹ For further information, watch: "Street Heat w/ Congresswoman Barbara Lee & Linda Sarsour, episode #45 of Politically Re-Active with W. Kamau Bell and Hari Kondabolu." *EARWOLF* 13 July 2017.

<https://www.earwolf.com/episode/street-heat-w-congresswoman-barbara-lee-linda-sarsour/>

¹¹⁰ For further information, see: O’Kane, Caitlin. “Kamala Harris’ Campaign Launch Pays Tribute to Shirley Chisholm’s 1972 Run.” *CBS NEWS* 21 Jan. 2019.

<https://www.cbsnews.com/news/kamala-harris-2020-presidential-campaign-logo-pays-tribute-to-shirley-chisholm/>

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Chisholm’s effect on other black women was a positive one. She was their source of inspiration and pride at the same time. She influenced the lives of black women both directly through straightforward helping programs and support and indirectly through her forever-told legacy and accomplishment.

That was Chisholm’s unhidden intention from the beginning. In *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), she announced that:

I think one of my major uses is as an example to the women of our country, to show them that if a woman has ability, stamina, organizational skill, and a knowledge of the issues she can win public office. And if I can do it, how much more hope should that give to white women, who have only one handicap? (Chisholm, 1970: 182).

Shirley Chisholm saw that one of her main missions alongside improving the standard of living of minorities (black men and women, Hispanics, youngsters, and women in general), was to provide an example to women, who were underestimated in politics. She wanted them to see how far she went in her political career despite all the restrictions and societal rules.

She insisted on being a motivator of the change that should be happening in the lives of women and she wanted them to dare to dream of a political career and see with their own eyes where their dreams can take them. In her previous words, which are located in the last 10 pages of her book *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), Chisholm was encouraging all women to fight like she did and be surprised by the positive results as she was.

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It can safely be said that that mission has been accomplished in a way in terms of black women figures in politics, however, it had not been yet accomplished in the Presidential office.

In order to commemorate her legacy, a stamp carrying her name was issued on January 31st, 2014 for that purpose, and it was called The Shirley Chisholm’s Forever Stamp. That stamp is considered to be the 37th stamp in the United States series of Black Heritage stamps¹¹¹.

Chisholm was awarded the Presidential Medal of Freedom after her death by President Barack Obama at a ceremony in the White House in November 2015¹¹². Prior to the previously mentioned award, Chisholm received three Honorary Doctor of Law’s degrees, one by Aquinas College, where she was the opening speaker in 1974. The second one was given by Smith College in 1975. And the third one in 1996 by Stetson University, in Deland, Florida¹¹³.

On July 2nd, 2019, a state park that was dedicated to Shirley Chisholm opened to the public. That park was named the Shirley Chisholm State Park and it is a 407-acre park

¹¹¹ For further information, see: “U.S. Postal Service Honors Shirley Chisholm. First African-American Woman Elected to Congress Joins Popular Black Heritage Stamp Series.” United States Postal Service. *Postal News*, January 31, 2014. Accessed 10 Apr. 2023. https://about.usps.com/news/national-releases/2014/pr14_005.htm

¹¹² For further information, see: Helsel, Phil. “Obama Honoring Spielberg, Streisand and More with Medal of Freedom.” *NBC NEWS* 24 Nov. 2015. <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/obama-honoring-spielberg-streisand-more-medal-freedom-n469106>

¹¹³ For further information, see: “Heritage & Tradition at Aquinas College, 1970 to 1979.” *AQUINAS COLLEGE* n.d. Web. 10 Nov. 2021. <https://www.aquinas.edu/heritage-traditions/1970-1979>

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along 5.6 kilometres of the Jamaica Bay coastline that joins Pennsylvania Avenue and Fountain Avenue landfills south of Spring Creek's Park's Gateway Center section (Plitt, 2018: paragraph 1, 2, 6)¹¹⁴.

Shirley Chisholm documented her autobiography in two books, *Unbought and Unbossed* (1970), and *The Good Fight* (1973), where she honestly narrated her struggle to achieve socio-economic upward mobility, mentioning the obstacles that she confronted on the pursuit of her political career.

She saw herself as the catalyst of an important change that should have occurred in the United States of America a long time before her time, as she expressed in her own words, as follows:

My role, I think, is more that of a catalyst. By verbalizing what is wrong, by trying to strip off the masks that make people comfortable in the midst of chaos, perhaps I can help get things moving.

It may be that no one can have any effect on most adults in this society. It may be that the only hope is with the younger generation. If I can relate to them, give them some kind of focus, make them believe that this country can still become the America that it should have been, I could be content. The young may be slandered as "kooks" and "societal misfits" by frightened demagogic old men, but that will not scare them. They are going to force change. For a while they may be beaten down, but time is on their side, and the spirit of this generation will not be killed. That's why I prefer to go around to campuses and talk with the kids rather than attend political meetings (Chisholm, 1970: 184-185).

Chisholm expressed in her previous words the reason behind her fight. It was the future of the next generations that she was more concerned about. She did not care about anything

¹¹⁴ For further information, see: "Shirley Chisholm State Park in Brooklyn to Be City's Largest State Park." *News 12 Brooklyn* 5 Sept. 2018.

"The City's Largest State Park Opens in East New York." *Brooklyn Eagle* 2 July 2019.

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else. Neither fame nor political power lured her, but the change that the next generations would bring to the country. She was aware of her role as a catalyst of that change, as she mentioned that she wanted to get closer to the young at university campuses in order to open their eyes to the realities of the life that they were living in. She wanted to lend a hand by clearing the coast and showing them that everything was possible. That should empower them regardless of the challenges that they were going to encounter.

In this regard, Chisholm was a maverick that defied all the existing long-established rules of her society. She managed to claw her way up against all the opposites that intended to slow or even stop her. Those opposites went to the extent of life threats, as was mentioned previously.

She challenged a political status quo that moulded African American women and restricted their political-career freedom. She swam against the tide, reached the opposite shore, and opened the door for the next generations to dare to dream and come closer to what she once fancied. That was how other women, not just black women, can run for presidency nowadays without having to stumble on the same rough circumstances that Chisholm put up with.

Her pioneering example cannot be denied or forgotten. She will always be remembered as the bullet that penetrated the barrier and allowed the rest of the African

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American women to follow her. She was the one who took the heat for the others to triumph in much better conditions.

Chisholm is the epitome of hope of a better political future for African American women, and that was what she intended to do. That can be explained in terms of the time, and the society that she was raised in, where her efforts, and skills were underestimated. That was why she could not aspire to a further career than being a teacher in her youth. But after what she had done, and the political career that she achieved, the way seems to be paved for black women to pursue high-profile professions. It does not appear to be a myth anymore, as it used to be during Chisholm's journey of moving up politically.

In addition to that, her speeches were so motivational and encouraging for black women to move on and claim what they aspire to without fear or intimidation. Chisholm was the motor for that to happen.

She possessed an enormous amount of patience, flexibility, durability and power, as well as resilience. She was versatile enough to adapt to different and irritating circumstances. She was the shatterer of misogynoir, because everything that was accomplished by her was an utter defiance of sexism and racism or the components of misogynoir.

That can be the example of character that black women can think about when they attempt to reach a high goal. They can say to themselves that if Chisholm was able to make

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it when women were intensely discriminated against during her time, then it should be easier now than before.

That was the real worth of Chisholm. Being an inspiration and having a positive impact on others. That would motivate them to follow her way as it proved its success during harder times than the present.

CONCLUSIONS

Racial exclusion, gender discrimination, and class oppression inside and outside the black community continue to restrict African American women, ignoring their outstanding efforts to steer away from that situation as if their high educational attainment, social, and financial success were not enough to buffer that destructive impact.

The college gap between African American women, on the one hand and white women on the other, remained in the 21st century. Black women only topped black men, but they never surpassed neither white men nor white women.

According to the 2018 Census, African American women did better than African American men in education. They are high achievers who managed to overshadow their male counterparts, even though they were faced with bigger challenges. However, that does not mean equality, because they did not match the educational attainment of white women despite the enormous sacrifices that they endured to obtain a degree, as white women are above them in that domain. Consequently, black women are only able to excel within their own race. They cannot do that out of the black community.

Furthermore, the college graduation rates of African American women in the academic year 2017-2018 were passed down just as they were to the next academic year 2018-2019 with no change whatsoever.

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In addition, black women kept the tendency to have only less than 30% of them within the age range of 25- 44-year-olds who were college graduates. That tendency was maintained from 2017 to 2019, just on the verge of the strike of the Covid-19 pandemic.

Comparing the higher educational attainment rate of African American women to other minorities, it was inferred that in 2017, African American women who obtained a bachelor’s degree or a higher one represented 23.8% of their total number. White women had 33.7% of them with the same educational attainment in the same year. It seems that Asian women were the highest educational-level-accomplished women in the same year with 51.8% of them who held a bachelor’s degree or a higher one, whereas Hispanic women represented the lowest candidates in that domain with a mere 17.6% of them who reached the same educational level in the same year.

The unemployment rates of black women in February 2021 were the highest among all the races in the United States of America. The percentage of 8.9% of unemployed black women is the worst unemployment rate for women in the whole country in 2021, right in the eye of a lethal pandemic that devoured the lives of millions in the United States of America. The data give an insight into the lives of the black women, who were jobless and at the same time fighting a deadly virus for their own lives.

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The gradual process of the political desegregation of African Americans started slowly and the black population was obstructed from participating in Congress from the 57th Congress until the 70th Congress. Then it was resumed in the 71st Congress.

African Americans were absent from the US Congress for more than the first quarter of the 20th century from 1901 until 1929. That situation retarded African Americans’ advancement in every aspect of life until almost the second half of the 20th century due to their lack of representation in the United States Congress. That information reflects the actual dominance, political weight, and effect of African Americans in Congress, which directly means their decreased impact on the decision-making process of society. That scarce political power can be regarded as a result of several historical discriminatory procedures that caused that situation.

African American women were cast out of the American Congress for several decades longer than African American men, until 1969 to be precise, when Shirley Chisholm became the first African American Congresswoman and she continued to be the only black woman in Congress until 1972. The total number of the Congress members was 450 in 1969, so black women’s participation represented 0.22%. That ratio is almost 0% of the African American women who served in Congress from 1969 to 1973¹¹⁵.

This research shows that when the higher educational attainment rate of African American women was 4.0% during the period of the 60s, and 6.0% in the 70s or, in other

¹¹⁵ For further information about the Congress members, see: <https://www.congress.gov/members>

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words, during Shirley Chisholm’s early Congress years, the result was almost 0% of African American women in Congress, as Shirley Chisholm was the first and the only one at that place during that time.

It was observed that the percentage of black women who secured a bachelor’s degree or a higher one was 30.50% in 2020, and their political participation in Congress was 25 black women members in the 116th Congress, counting for 5.59% of that Congress, which meant that the higher educational rise of black women does not match their congressional representation.

All the introduced data that come from our correlational analysis have allowed us to confirm our hypothesis that there is a correlation between the higher educational accomplishment of African American women and their political participation in the U.S. Congress from 1969 to the present.

Comparing the congressional participation rates of American women, it can be seen that in 1970, white women counted for about 2% of the Congress representatives. In 1980, they were about 3.82%. In 1990, they increased to 6%. In 2000, they formed 10.63%. In 2010, they escalated to 15.96% and in 2020 they represented 18.34% of Congress.

As for African American women in 1970, they counted for about 0.22% of the Congress representatives. In 1980, they were about 0.89%. In 1990, they decreased to

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0.22%. In 2000, they increased to 3.16%. In 2010, they formed 3.10% and in 2020 they represented 5.59% of Congress.

Concerning Asian American women in 1970, they counted for about 0.22% of the Congress representatives. In 1980, they shrank to about 0%. In 1990, they were 0.44%. In 2000 they decreased one more time to 0.22%. In 2010, they formed 0.66% and in 2020 they represented 2.23% of Congress.

Regarding Hispanic American women, they were absent from Congress in 1970 and in 1980, but in 1990, they were 0.22%. In 2000, they increased to 1.13%. In 2010, they moved to 1.55% and in 2020 they represented 3.35% of Congress. As a result of that, the record shows the progress of white women, followed by African American women, and the deceleration of Asian and Hispanic women.

As far as the percentage of black women members within the total number of Congresswomen of the 116th Congress is concerned, those 25 African American Congresswomen represented 18.93% of that total number of Congresswomen of that Congress. Thus, even within Congresswomen, African American women are a minority.

That leads to the conclusion that education is correlated to the political segregation that African American women suffered in the second half of the past 20th century as well as in the 21st century. Unfortunately, although black women's higher educational attainment rate has improved in recent years, that correlation did not provide a satisfying optimal

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result. Black women tend to have more presence in the U.S. Congress, but it is still very low.

African American women's higher educational accomplishment increased in the present by about 5 times more than it did in the 70s and their current political participation in Congress is nearly 6 times more than their congressional representation in 1969.

Even though the outcome of education is less than the sacrifices that are made to obtain it, education, and politics have a cause-effect relationship. Therefore, the idea that educational segregation of African American women was intended to orchestrate their political exclusion cannot be easily discarded.

That can be virtually seen as a systematic disempowering of black women by using educational discrimination as a tool to effectuate it. The goal was to deprive them of the legislative competence that comes with the political participation in Congress which rules their lives, their future and that of their successive generations.

Another noticeable phenomenon is that in about 50 years, the higher educational attainment of African American women increased by a ratio of 0.49% per year, and their congressional representation improved by 0.12% annually.

Their higher educational accomplishment increased 24.50% since the 70s, while their participation in the U.S. Congress increased only about 6.44% and that happened along half a century. Thus, change is slow and not massive.

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The obtained percentages express the political weight of African American women in the United States of America and explain their lack of influence on the decision-making agenda from the past to the present.

Those numbers also justify the inability of Shirley Chisholm to win the presidency elections and her perception in her autobiography *The Good Fight* (1973) that she would not be able to win it. The numbers fulfil Chisholm’s statement that the idea that everyone in the United States should be able to run for presidency is not true. Even after about half a century of that prediction, women have not managed to become Presidents of the United States of America.

This thesis managed to link the higher educational achievements of black women in 1969 with their contemporary ones, as well as to connect their congressional participation rates from 1969 to the present and pooling all the results. This is an original study and its obtained data, percentages, and numbers were not published before the dissertation.

The quantitative correlational work that measured the percentage of African American women with a bachelor’s degree or a higher one and their representation in the U.S. Congress (1969-2020) did not exist before this research and it helped to determine the extent to which that correlation exists in that period of time. This is an innovative and valuable contribution to the political and educational studies of African American women, thanks to the measurement of the mentioned variables and discovering the introduced

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results that lead to complete knowledge of the situation that is being studied in that field and the aspiration to further research that can be built upon this thesis.

Many studies have discussed the African American Women’s political, educational, and economic conditions such as *Black Women in The U.S. 2021: Priorities, Policy and Power* (2021), but they did not present our results and were not focused on the exact two aspects that the dissertation is focused on.

On top of that, our approach to Chisholm as a case study was enhanced in this work regarding her being an inspiration to other black women such as Kamala Harris to pursue political careers regardless of their skin colour, using her life experience and political struggles to show that. In addition to her speeches that were so motivational, well-crafted, and encouraging for black women to move on and claim what they deserve without fear or intimidation. Chisholm was the motor for that to happen.

This thesis encountered troubles and difficulties in its way, as the questionnaire that was prepared in order to collect data from African American women was not answered, as well as its covering letter, maybe due to the strike of COVID-19 pandemic, which distracted people and made them mainly concentrate on their health rather than anything else. This can be understandable, as it was an unprecedented situation. This led me to rely on online sources such as documents and data from the Library of Congress, the U.S. Census Bureau, etc.

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Concerning future lines of research, the work could be widened to study the correlation between black women’s educational status and their white-collar job access in the 21st century. Moreover, their salaries in relation to their educational level from 2020 onwards should be researched.

Furthermore, black women’ capacity to buy houses in high-quality neighbourhoods should be surveyed in relation to the quality of their schools. That would be important to determine the correlation between their poverty and the inferiority of their schools, which is fundamental in political decisions regarding funding the reformation of their schools.

What is more, the same correlation between Asian American women’s educational attainment and their congressional representation in the United States of America could be researched for the purpose of finding out the reason that retarded their participation in the US Congress, despite their high educational accomplishments as they tend to be high achievers.

Additionally, research is needed to study Asian and Latin Americans’ economic, legal, and health care bias and their connection to their upward socio-economic mobility or the rate of their life expectancy, for instance.

More research is also required to investigate the numbers of the victims of the COVID-19 pandemic in order to find out whether the majority of them were African Americans or not and the reasons for the results that are going to be obtained.

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Stemming from that, attention should be drawn to the locations where African American women live. In this connection, black women should be granted loans with easy conditions, crafted according to their financial capacity to be able to live in safe, crime-free, low-violence, high-quality districts. Moreover, social housing must be increased to end homelessness for them. Furthermore, housing regulations regarding the inhabitation of minorities should be revised and corrected, prohibiting the behaviours and the exclusive conditions that prevent African American women from living in upgraded neighbourhoods.

The reasons for their poverty should be analysed by researching the income per capita and employment situation of African American women. Thus, job access should be facilitated to them and the quality of their jobs and incomes should depend only on their educational level and specialty in the correspondent field, providing them with equal work opportunities, according to their qualifications and expertise. That should be supervised by the government.

The tendency to have black majority schools can be regulated by providing competitive education in those schools, promoting their excellency in order to encourage integration and inclusion. Moreover, there should be an obligatory percentage of African American women in all American schools to end school segregation.

These solutions should help them to move upward economically, which will be interpreted in better residential environments, high-quality education, as well as improved

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health outcomes for black women and their children, which will eventually lead to higher socio-economic position (SEP).

This way, black women would not be predetermined to make less money than their equals by doing the same work in spite of having the same studies. They would not be kept in a constant financial need and dependency regardless of their efforts in education and work.

In conclusion, political liberty, education, and inclusion can be seen as the principal motors to carry out significant reforms that can benefit African American women. In fact, if they could choose and be elected without any restrictions in every field, the entire discrimination problem would disappear gradually. In this regard, fair congressional representation is key for that to happen.

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ACRONYMS

ACS American Community Survey

AJS American Journal of Sociology

BLM Black Lives Matter

BPP Black Panther Party for Self-Defense

BSPL Bedford-Stuyvesant Political League. The BSPL’s main role was to endorse candidates to support civil rights in order to better economic opportunities, facilities and services in Brooklyn.

CAWP Center for American Women and Politics

CBC The Congressional Black Caucus. It is a caucus that was formed mostly of African-American members of the United States Congress. Representative Karen Bass from California was the chair of the caucus from 2019 to 2021. It was dedicated to foster Non-Black candidates who will secure the needs and the interests of the Black community in addition to supporting the participation of the African Americans in the political life.

CDC Centers for Disease Control and Prevention. The Centers for Disease Control and Prevention is the national public health agency of the United States. It is a United States federal agency, under the Department of Health and Human Services.

CORE Congress of Racial Equality

DC District of Columbia

ED Trust The Educational Trust Analysis of the United States Census Bureau.

FBI Federal Bureau of Investigation

FHA Federal Housing Administration

GI Bill Galvanized Iron the primary material used to make military items. The GI

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Bill provides educational assistance to servicemembers, veterans, and their dependents. At the end of War II, the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944, commonly known as the G.I. Bill, a law that provided a range of benefits for returning World War II veterans.

- INC. Incorporation
- IPEDS Integrated Postsecondary Education Data System
- IPUMS Integrated Public Use Microdata Series. *IPUMS* provides census and survey data from around the world integrated across time and space.
- IQ Intelligence quotient
- LCFO Lowndes County Freedom Organization
- LWV League of Women Voters. It is a nonpartisan League that holds a neutral stance that neither backs, nor opposes candidates or political parties. It is rather dedicated to work on essential issues that are of interest to both the members and the public.
- MA An MA is a master's degree in an arts or social science subject.
- NAACP National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
- NACW The National Association of College Women was established in 1923. The membership of that association is limited to accredited colleges or universities graduate women. It was dedicated to improve higher educational opportunities for Black women securing them authoritarian positions. It was also fixated on bettering the faculties, facilities of Black colleges.
- NAWSA National American Woman Suffrage Association
- NEET Not in education, employment or training
- NJ New Jersey, a state in the United States of America
- NOW The National Organization for Women. It is an American feminist organization

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that was founded on June 30th, 1966 in Washington, D.C. The organization consists of 550 chapters in all 50 U.S. states and in Washington, D.C. It focused mainly on women’s rights, feminism, equal rights amendment, civil rights, as well as reproductive rights. Among the founders were Shirley Chisholm, Betty Friedan, Pauli Murray, and Muriel Fox.

- NRA National Recovery Administration
- SEEK Search for Education, Elevation and Knowledge program. That program gave unfortunate students the opportunity to enter college by providing them with compensational education.
- SCLC Southern Christian Leadership Conference
- SEP social and economic position of an individual
- Series P- Publication series
- SGA small for gestational age birth
- SNCC Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee
- UDC Unity Democratic Club. Most of the members of the Unity Democratic Club were middle class, racially integrated people as well as women in forefront positions.
- UNCF United Negro College Fund, also known as the United Fund
- US United States of America
- WAC Women’s Army Corps
- WIC Special Supplemental Nutrition Program for Women, Infants and Children.
- WPA projects in 1938. Works Progress Administration. One of President Roosevelt's New Deal programs that employed more than 8.5 million people.

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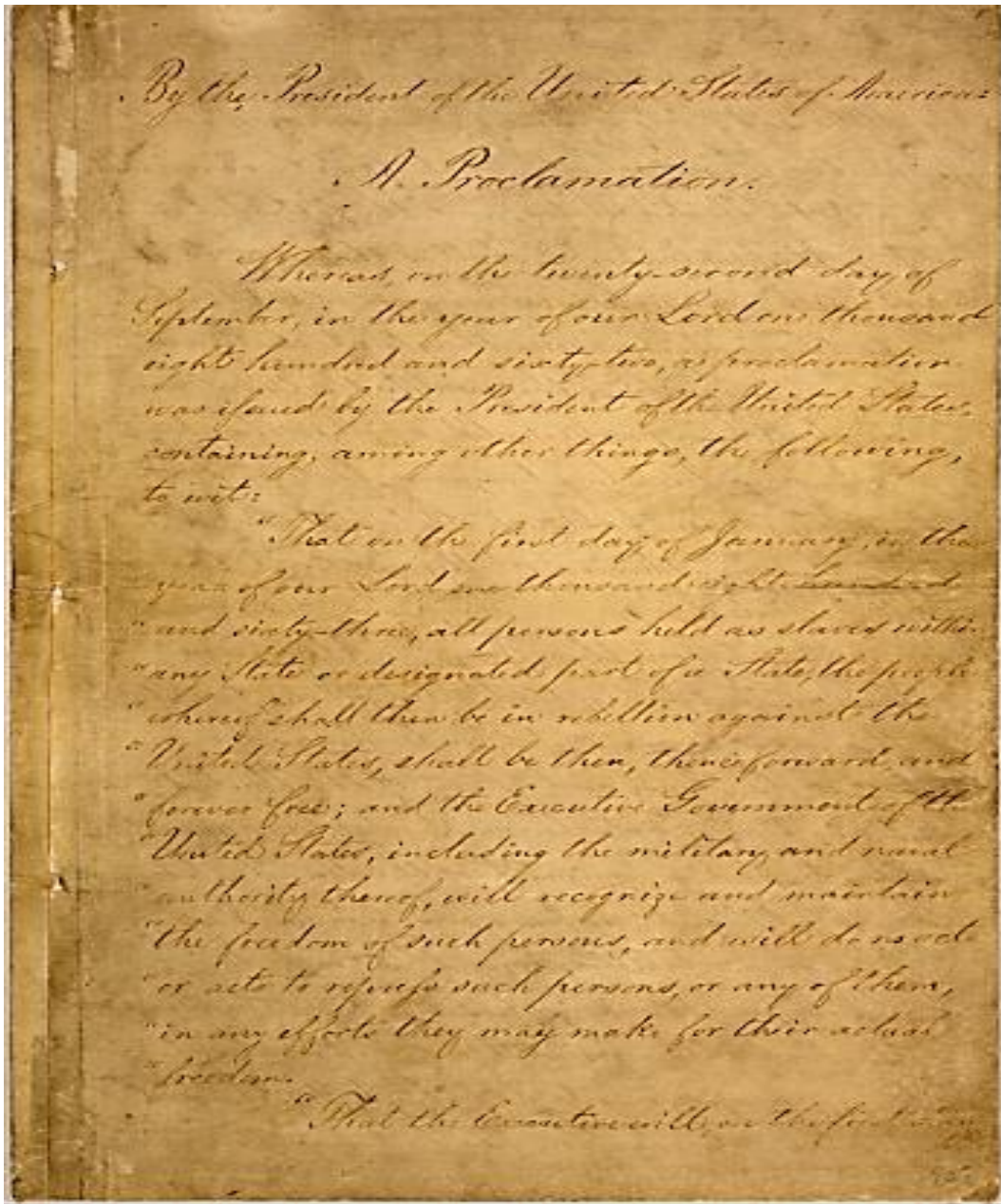
APPENDICES

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

A) GOVERNMENTAL DOCUMENTS, AND LAW CASES

APPENDIX A.1. THE EMANCIPATION PROCLAMATION



THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

"of January aforesaid, by proclamation, designate
"the States and parts of States, if any, in which the
"people thereof, respectively, shall then be in rebellion
"against the United States; and the fact that any
"State, or the people thereof, shall on that day be, in
"good faith, represented in the Congress of the United
"States by members chosen thereto at elections
"wherein a majority of the qualified voters of such
"State shall have participated, shall, in the absence
"of strong countervailing testimony, be deemed con-
"clusive evidence that such State, and the people
"thereof, are not then in rebellion against the
"United States."

Now, therefore I, Abraham
Lincoln, President of the United States, by virtue
of the power in me vested as Commander-in-
Chief, of the Army and Navy of the United
States in time of actual armed rebellion against the
authority and government of the United States,
and as a fit and necessary war measure for sup-
pressing said rebellion, do, on this first day of
January, in the year of our Lord one thousand
eight hundred and sixty three, and in accordance
with my purpose so to do publicly proclaimed
for the full period of one hundred days, from the

day first above mentioned, order and designate as the States and parts of States wherein the people thereof respectively, are this day in rebellion against the United States, the following, to wit:

Arkansas, Texas, Louisiana, (except the Parishes of St. Bernard, Plaquemines, Jefferson, St. John, St. Charles, St. James Ascension, Assumption, Terrebonne, Lafourche, St. Mary, St. Martin, and Orleans, including the City of New Orleans), Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, and Virginia, (except the forty-eight counties designated as West Virginia, and also the counties of Berkeley, Accomac, Northampton, Elizabeth City, York, Times and No. 10, including the cities of Norfolk and Portsmouth, and which excepted parts are, for the present, left precisely as if this proclamation were not issued).

And by virtue of the power, and for the purposes aforesaid, I do order and declare that all persons held as slaves within said designated States, and parts of States, are, and henceforward shall be free, and that the Executive

government of the United States, including
the military and naval authorities thereof,
will recognize and maintain the freedom of such
persons.

And I hereby enjoin upon the people so
declared to be free to abstain from all violence,
unless in necessary self-defence; and I recom-
mend to them that, in all cases when allowed,
they labor faithfully for reasonable wages.

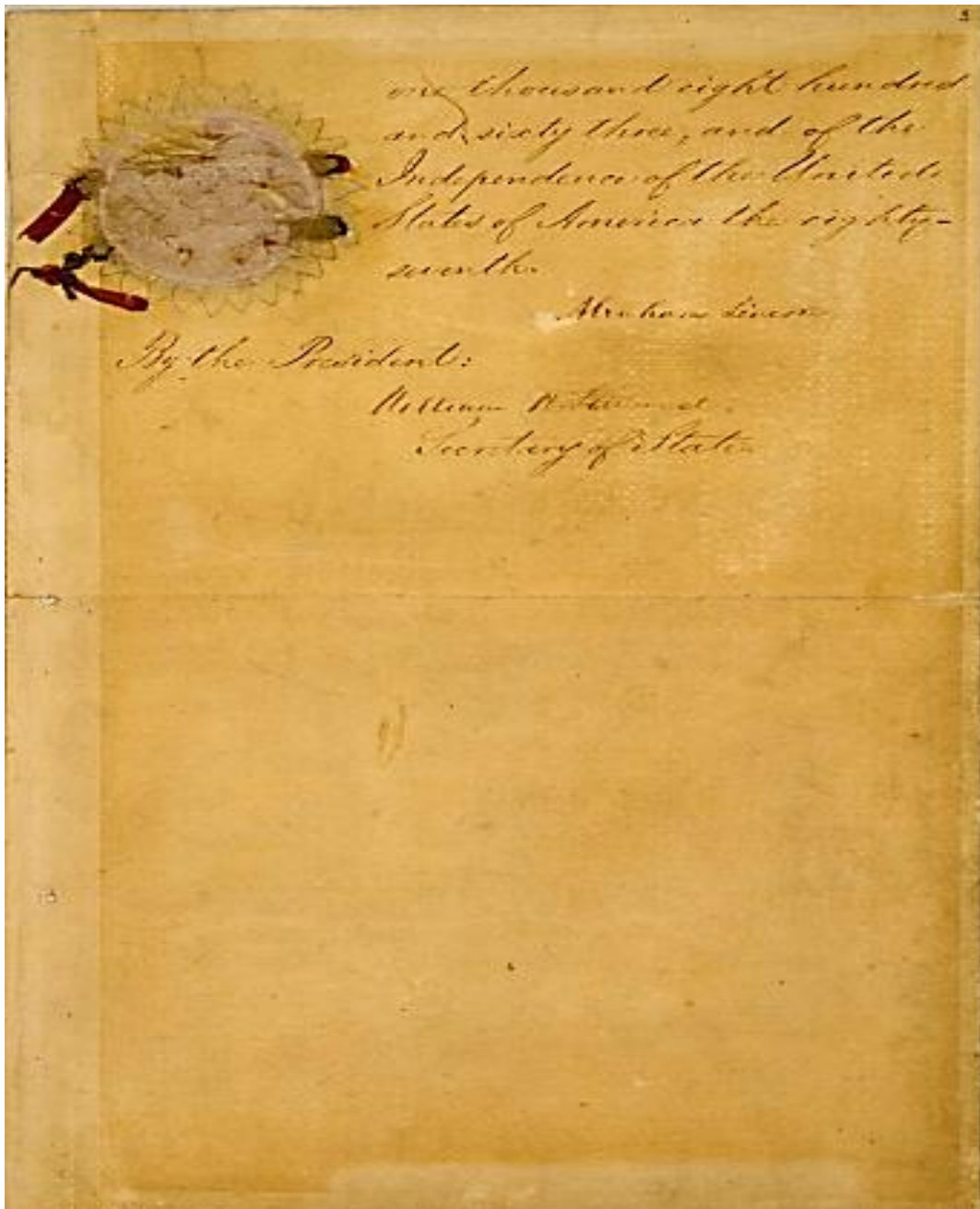
And I further declare and make known,
that such persons of suitable condition, will
be received into the armed service of the United
States to garrison forts, positions, stations, and
other places, and to man vessels of all sorts in
said service.

And upon this act, sincerely believed to be
an act of justice, warranted by the Constitution,
upon military necessity, I invoke the consider-
ate judgment of mankind, and the gracious
favor of Almighty God.

In witness whereof, I have hereunto set
my hand and caused the seal of the United
States to be affixed.

Done at the city of Washington, this first
day of January, in the year of our Lord

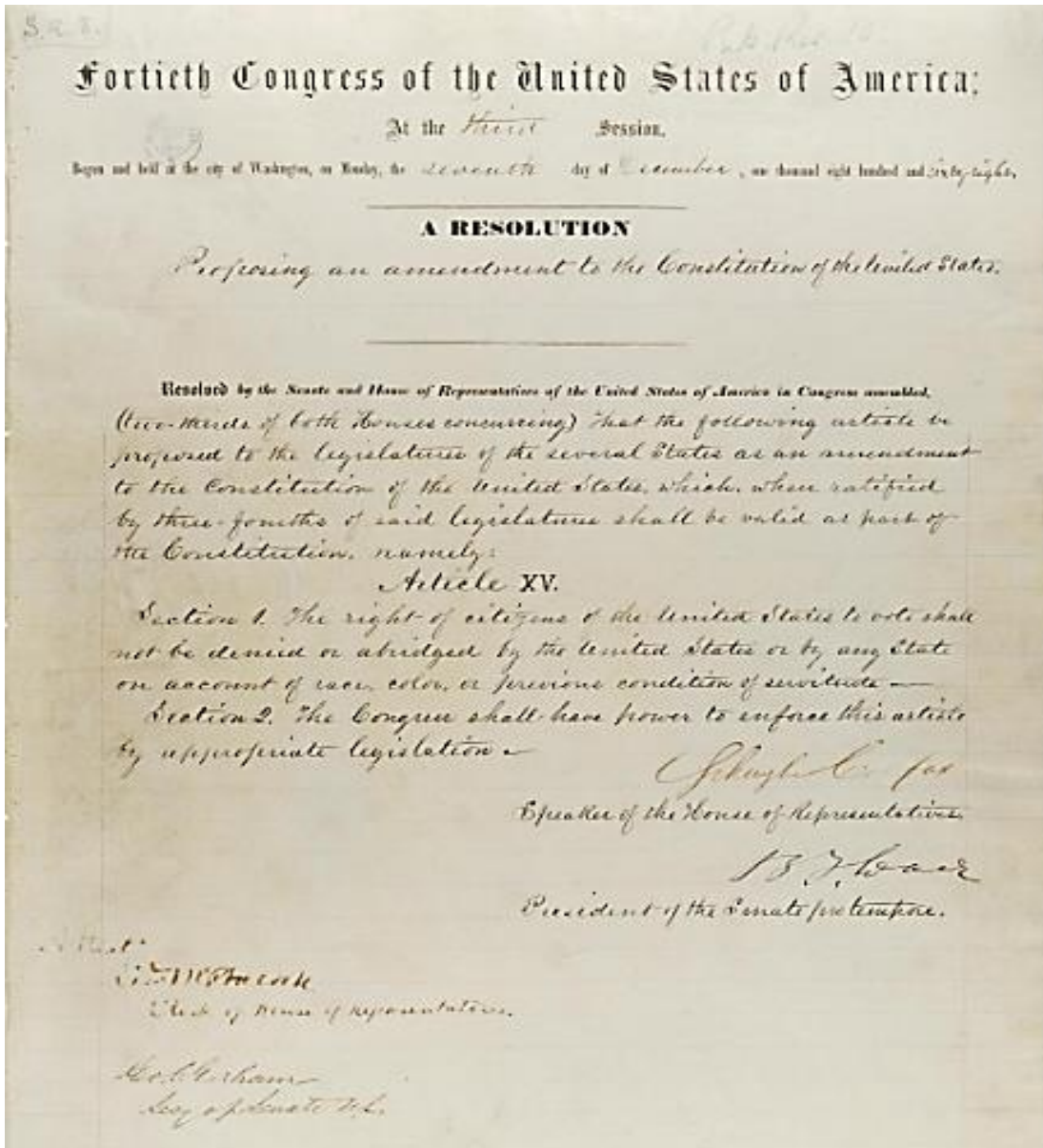
THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"



Source: US Library of Congress. Available at:
https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/gdc/gdcwdl/wd/1_02/71/4/wdl_02714/wdl_02714.pdf

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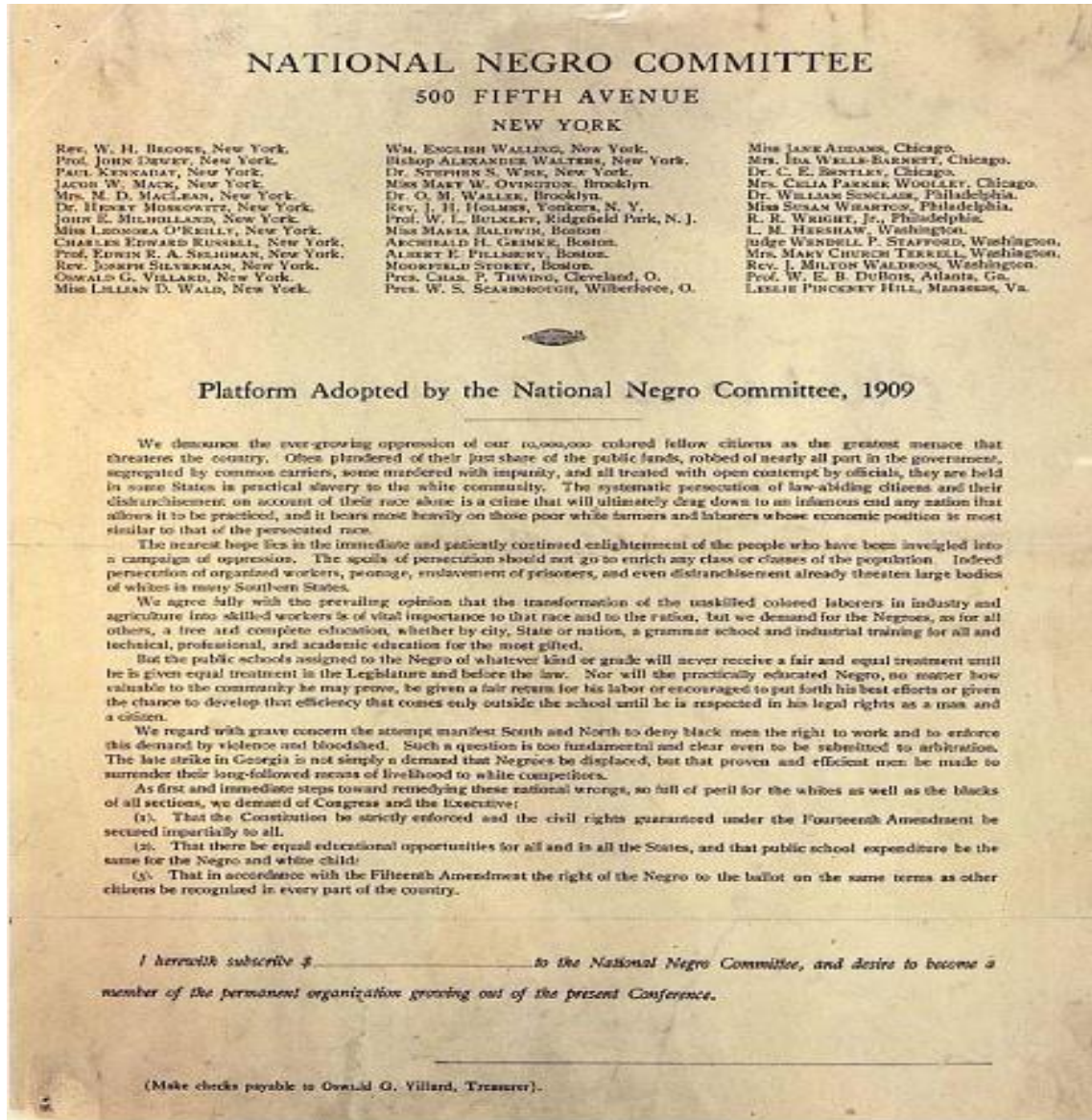
APPENDIX A.2. THE FIFTEENTH AMENDMENT



Source: *The Fifteenth Amendment: A Transcription*. National Archives, U.S. National Archives and Records Administration. Office of the Federal. 4/1/1985-Department of State. 9/1789, 25 Jan. 2022, <https://catalog.archives.gov/id/299797>.

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APPENDIX A.3. PLATFORM ADAPTED BY NATIONAL NEGRO COMMITTEE, 1909



Source: "Platform Adopted by the National Negro Committee," 1909. Courtesy of Library of Congress. Accessed 1 Nov. 2021. <https://iowaculture.gov/history/education/educator-resources/primary-source-sets/reconstruction-and-its-impact/platform>

APPENDIX A.4. *PLESSY VERSUS FERGURSON*

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boundary line as described in said report and as delineated on said map, and now marked by cedar posts, be permanently marked as recommended in said report, with all convenient speed, and that said commission be continued for that purpose, and make report thereon to this court, and that this cause be retained until such report is made.

It is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the compensation and expenses of the commissioners and the expenses attendant on the discharge of their duties, up to this time, be, and they are hereby, allowed at the sum of two thousand two hundred and thirty-six dollars and sixty cents in accordance with their report, and that said charges and expenses and the costs of this suit to be taxed be equally divided between the parties hereto.

And it is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed that this decree is without prejudice to further proceedings as either of the parties may be advised for the determination of such part of the boundary line between said States as may not have been settled by this decree under the pleadings in this case.

And it is further ordered, adjudged, and decreed that the clerk of this court do forthwith transmit to the chief magistrates of the States of Kentucky and Indiana copies of this decree duly authenticated under the seal of this court.

per Mr. CHIEF JUSTICE FULLER.

May 18, 1896.

PLESSY v. FERGUSON.

ERROR TO THE SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF LOUISIANA.

No. 219. Argued April 23, 1894. — Decided May 18, 1896.

The statute of Louisiana, acts of 1890, No. 111, requiring railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in that State, to provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations; and providing that no person shall be permitted to occupy seats in coaches other than the ones assigned to them, on account

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of the race they belong to; and requiring the officers of the passenger trains to assign each passenger to the coach or compartment assigned for the race to which he or she belongs; and imposing fines or imprisonment upon passengers insisting on going into a coach or compartment other than the one set aside for the race to which he or she belongs; and conferring upon officers of the trains power to refuse to carry on the train passengers refusing to occupy the coach or compartment assigned to them, and exempting the railway company from liability for such refusal, are not in conflict with the provisions either of the Thirteenth Amendment or of the Fourteenth Amendment to the Constitution of the United States.

This was a petition for writs of prohibition and certiorari, originally filed in the Supreme Court of the State by Plessy, the plaintiff in error, against the Hon. John H. Ferguson, judge of the criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans, and setting forth in substance the following facts:

That petitioner was a citizen of the United States and a resident of the State of Louisiana, of mixed descent, in the proportion of seven eighths Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every recognition, right, privilege and immunity secured to the citizens of the United States of the white race by its Constitution and laws; that on June 7, 1892, he engaged and paid for a first class passage on the East Louisiana Railway from New Orleans to Covington, in the same State, and thereupon entered a passenger train, and took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated; that such railroad company was incorporated by the laws of Louisiana as a common carrier, and was not authorized to distinguish between citizens according to their race. But, notwithstanding this, petitioner was required by the conductor, under penalty of ejection from said train and imprisonment, to vacate said coach and occupy another seat in a coach assigned by said company for persons not of the white race, and for no other reason than that petitioner was of the colored race; that upon petitioner's refusal to comply with such order, he was, with the aid of a police officer, forcibly ejected from said coach and hurried off to and imprisoned in the parish jail of

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New Orleans, and there held to answer a charge made by such officer to the effect that he was guilty of having criminally violated an act of the General Assembly of the State, approved July 10, 1890, in such case made and provided.

That petitioner was subsequently brought before the recorder of the city for preliminary examination and committed for trial to the criminal District Court for the parish of Orleans, where an information was filed against him in the matter above set forth, for a violation of the above act, which act the petitioner affirmed to be null and void, because in conflict with the Constitution of the United States; that petitioner interposed a plea to such information, based upon the unconstitutionality of the act of the General Assembly, to which the district attorney, on behalf of the State, filed a demurrer; that, upon issue being joined upon such demurrer and plea, the court sustained the demurrer, overruled the plea, and ordered petitioner to plead over to the facts set forth in the information, and that, unless the judge of the said court be enjoined by a writ of prohibition from further proceeding in such case, the court will proceed to fine and sentence petitioner to imprisonment, and thus deprive him of his constitutional rights set forth in his said plea, notwithstanding the unconstitutionality of the act under which he was being prosecuted; that no appeal lay from such sentence, and petitioner was without relief or remedy except by writs of prohibition and certiorari. Copies of the information and other proceedings in the criminal District Court were annexed to the petition as an exhibit.

Upon the filing of this petition, an order was issued upon the respondent to show cause why a writ of prohibition should not issue and be made perpetual, and a further order that the record of the proceedings had in the criminal cause be certified and transmitted to the Supreme Court.

To this order the respondent made answer, transmitting a certified copy of the proceedings, asserting the constitutionality of the law, and averring that, instead of pleading or admitting that he belonged to the colored race, the said Plessy declined and refused, either by pleading or otherwise, to ad-

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mit that he was in any sense or in any proportion a colored man.

The case coming on for a hearing before the Supreme Court, that court was of opinion that the law under which the prosecution was had was constitutional, and denied the relief prayed for by the petitioner. *Ex parte Plessy*, 45 La. Ann. 80. Whereupon petitioner prayed for a writ of error from this court which was allowed by the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Louisiana.

Mr. A. W. Tourgee and *Mr. S. F. Phillips* for plaintiff in error. *Mr. F. D. McKenney* was on *Mr. Phillips's* brief.

Mr. James C. Walker filed a brief for plaintiff in error.

Mr. Alexander Porter Morse for defendant in error. *Mr. M. J. Cunningham*, Attorney General of the State of Louisiana, and *Mr. Lionel Adams* were on his brief.

Mr. Justice Brown, after stating the case, delivered the opinion of the court.

This case turns upon the constitutionality of an act of the General Assembly of the State of Louisiana, passed in 1890, providing for separate railway carriages for the white and colored races. Acts 1890, No. 111, p. 152.

The first section of the statute enacts "that all railway companies carrying passengers in their coaches in this State, shall provide equal but separate accommodations for the white, and colored races, by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a partition so as to secure separate accommodations: *Provided*, That this section shall not be construed to apply to street railroads. No person or persons, shall be admitted to occupy seats in coaches, other than, the ones, assigned, to them on account of the race they belong to."

By the second section it was enacted "that the officers of such passenger trains shall have power and are hereby required

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to assign each passenger to the coach or compartment used for the race to which such passenger belongs; any passenger insisting on going into a coach or compartment to which by race he does not belong, shall be liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars, or in lieu thereof to imprisonment for a period of not more than twenty days in the parish prison, and any officer of any railroad insisting on assigning a passenger to a coach or compartment other than the one set aside for the race to which said passenger belongs, shall be liable to a fine of twenty-five dollars, or in lieu thereof to imprisonment for a period of not more than twenty days in the parish prison; and should any passenger refuse to occupy the coach or compartment to which he or she is assigned by the officer of such railway, said officer shall have power to refuse to carry such passenger on his train, and for such refusal neither he nor the railway company which he represents shall be liable for damages in any of the courts of this State."

The third section provides penalties for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors and employes of railway companies to comply with the act, with a proviso that "nothing in this act shall be construed as applying to nurses attending children of the other race." The fourth section is immaterial.

The information filed in the criminal District Court charged in substance that Plessy, being a passenger between two stations within the State of Louisiana, was assigned by officers of the company to the coach used for the race to which he belonged, but he insisted upon going into a coach used by the race to which he did not belong. Neither in the information nor plea was his particular race or color averred.

The petition for the writ of prohibition averred that petitioner was seven eighths Caucasian and one eighth African blood; that the mixture of colored blood was not discernible in him, and that he was entitled to every right, privilege and immunity secured to citizens of the United States of the white race; and that, upon such theory, he took possession of a vacant seat in a coach where passengers of the white race were accommodated, and was ordered by the conductor to vacate

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said coach and take a seat in another assigned to persons of the colored race, and having refused to comply with such demand he was forcibly ejected with the aid of a police officer, and imprisoned in the parish jail to answer a charge of having violated the above act.

The constitutionality of this act is attacked upon the ground that it conflicts both with the Thirteenth Amendment of the Constitution, abolishing slavery, and the Fourteenth Amendment, which prohibits certain restrictive legislation on the part of the States.

1. That it does not conflict with the Thirteenth Amendment, which abolished slavery and involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime, is too clear for argument. Slavery implies involuntary servitude—a state of bondage; the ownership of mankind as a chattel, or at least the control of the labor and services of one man for the benefit of another, and the absence of a legal right to the disposal of his own person, property and services. This amendment was said in the *Slaughter-house cases*, 16 Wall. 36, to have been intended primarily to abolish slavery, as it had been previously known in this country, and that it equally forbade Mexican peonage or the Chinese coolie trade, when they amounted to slavery or involuntary servitude, and that the use of the word "servitude" was intended to prohibit the use of all forms of involuntary slavery, of whatever class or name. It was intimated, however, in that case that this amendment was regarded by the statesmen of that day as insufficient to protect the colored race from certain laws which had been enacted in the Southern States, imposing upon the colored race onerous disabilities and burdens, and curtailing their rights in the pursuit of life, liberty and property to such an extent that their freedom was of little value; and that the Fourteenth Amendment was devised to meet this exigency.

So, too, in the *Civil Rights cases*, 109 U. S. 3, 24, it was said that the act of a mere individual, the owner of an inn, a public conveyance or place of amusement, refusing accommodations to colored people, cannot be justly regarded as imposing any badge of slavery or servitude upon the applicant, but

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only as involving an ordinary civil injury, properly cognizable by the laws of the State, and presumably subject to redress by those laws until the contrary appears. "It would be running the slavery argument into the ground," said Mr. Justice Bradley, "to make it apply to every act of discrimination which a person may see fit to make as to the guests he will entertain, or as to the people he will take into his coach or cab or car, or admit to his concert or theatre, or deal with in other matters of intercourse or business."

A statute which implies merely a legal distinction between the white and colored races—a distinction which is founded in the color of the two races, and which must always exist so long as white men are distinguished from the other race by color—has no tendency to destroy the legal equality of the two races, or reestablish a state of involuntary servitude. Indeed, we do not understand that the Thirteenth Amendment is strenuously relied upon by the plaintiff in error in this connection.

2. By the Fourteenth Amendment, all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are made citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside; and the States are forbidden from making or enforcing any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States, or shall deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, or deny to any person within their jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

The proper construction of this amendment was first called to the attention of this court in the *Slaughter-house cases*, 16 Wall 36, which involved, however, not a question of race, but one of exclusive privileges. The case did not call for any expression of opinion as to the exact rights it was intended to secure to the colored race, but it was said generally that its main purpose was to establish the citizenship of the negro; to give definitions of citizenship of the United States and of the States, and to protect from the hostile legislation of the States the privileges and immunities of citizens of the United States, as distinguished from those of citizens of the States.

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The object of the amendment was undoubtedly to enforce the absolute equality of the two races before the law, but in the nature of things it could not have been intended to abolish distinctions based upon color, or to enforce social, as distinguished from political equality, or a commingling of the two races upon terms unsatisfactory to either. Laws permitting, and even requiring, their separation in places where they are liable to be brought into contact do not necessarily imply the inferiority of either race to the other, and have been generally, if not universally, recognized as within the competency of the state legislatures in the exercise of their police power. The most common instance of this is connected with the establishment of separate schools for white and colored children, which has been held to be a valid exercise of the legislative power even by courts of States where the political rights of the colored race have been longest and most earnestly enforced.

One of the earliest of these cases is that of *Roberts v. City of Boston*, 5 Cush. 198, in which the Supreme Judicial Court of Massachusetts held that the general school committee of Boston had power to make provision for the instruction of colored children in separate schools established exclusively for them, and to prohibit their attendance upon the other schools. "The great principle," said Chief Justice Shaw, p. 208, "advanced by the learned and eloquent advocate for the plaintiff," (Mr. Charles Sumner,) "is, that by the constitution and laws of Massachusetts, all persons without distinction of age or sex, birth or color, origin or condition, are equal before the law. . . . But, when this great principle comes to be applied to the actual and various conditions of persons in society, it will not warrant the assertion, that men and women are legally clothed with the same civil and political powers, and that children and adults are legally to have the same functions and be subject to the same treatment; but only that the rights of all, as they are settled and regulated by law, are equally entitled to the paternal consideration and protection of the law for their maintenance and security." It was held that the powers of the committee extended to the establish-

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ment of separate schools for children of different ages, sexes and colors, and that they might also establish special schools for poor and neglected children, who have become too old to attend the primary school, and yet have not acquired the rudiments of learning, to enable them to enter the ordinary schools. Similar laws have been enacted by Congress under its general power of legislation over the District of Columbia, Rev. Stat. D. C. §§ 281, 282, 283, 310, 319, as well as by the legislatures of many of the States, and have been generally, if not uniformly, sustained by the courts. *State v. McCann*, 21 Ohio St. 198; *Lehew v. Brummell*, 15 S. W. Rep. 765; *Ward v. Flood*, 48 California, 36; *Bertonneau v. School Directors*, 3 Woods, 177; *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438; *Cory v. Carter*, 48 Indiana, 327; *Dawson v. Lee*, 83 Kentucky, 49.

Laws forbidding the intermarriage of the two races may be said in a technical sense to interfere with the freedom of contract, and yet have been universally recognized as within the police power of the State. *State v. Gibson*, 36 Indiana, 389.

The distinction between laws interfering with the political equality of the negro and those requiring the separation of the two races in schools, theatres and railway carriages has been frequently drawn by this court. Thus in *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, it was held that a law of West Virginia limiting to white male persons, 21 years of age and citizens of the State, the right to sit upon juries, was a discrimination which implied a legal inferiority in civil society, which lessened the security of the right of the colored race, and was a step toward reducing them to a condition of servility. Indeed, the right of a colored man that, in the selection of jurors to pass upon his life, liberty and property, there shall be no exclusion of his race, and no discrimination against them because of color, has been asserted in a number of cases. *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U. S. 370; *Bush v. Kentucky*, 107 U. S. 110; *Gibson v. Mississippi*, 169 U. S. 565. So, where the laws of a particular locality or the charter of a particular railway corporation has provided that no person shall be excluded from the cars on account of

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color, we have held that this meant that persons of color should travel in the same car as white ones, and that the enactment was not satisfied by the company's providing cars assigned exclusively to people of color, though they were as good as those which they assigned exclusively to white persons. *Railroad Company v. Brown*, 17 Wall. 445.

Upon the other hand, where a statute of Louisiana required those engaged in the transportation of passengers among the States to give to all persons travelling within that State, upon vessels employed in that business, equal rights and privileges in all parts of the vessel, without distinction on account of race or color, and subjected to an action for damages the owner of such a vessel, who excluded colored passengers on account of their color from the cabin set aside by him for the use of whites, it was held to be so far as it applied to interstate commerce, unconstitutional and void. *Hall v. De Cuir*, 95 U. S. 485. The court in this case, however, expressly disclaimed that it had anything whatever to do with the statute as a regulation of internal commerce, or affecting anything else than commerce among the States.

In the *Civil Rights case*, 109 U. S. 3, it was held that an act of Congress, entitling all persons within the jurisdiction of the United States to the full and equal enjoyment of the accommodations, advantages, facilities and privileges of inns, public conveyances, on land or water, theatres and other places of public amusement, and made applicable to citizens of every race and color, regardless of any previous condition of servitude, was unconstitutional and void, upon the ground that the Fourteenth Amendment was prohibitory upon the States only, and the legislation authorized to be adopted by Congress for enforcing it was not direct legislation on matters respecting which the States were prohibited from making or enforcing certain laws, or doing certain acts, but was corrective legislation, such as might be necessary or proper for counteracting and redressing the effect of such laws or acts. In delivering the opinion of the court Mr. Justice Bradley observed that the Fourteenth Amendment "does not invest Congress with power to legislate upon subjects that are within the

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domain of state legislation; but to provide modes of relief against state legislation, or state action, of the kind referred to. It does not authorize Congress to create a code of municipal law for the regulation of private rights; but to provide modes of redress against the operation of state laws, and the action of state officers, executive or judicial, when these are subversive of the fundamental rights specified in the amendment. Positive rights and privileges are undoubtedly secured by the Fourteenth Amendment; but they are secured by way of prohibition against state laws and state proceedings affecting those rights and privileges, and by power given to Congress to legislate for the purpose of carrying such prohibition into effect; and such legislation must necessarily be predicated upon such supposed state laws or state proceedings, and be directed to the correction of their operation and effect."

Much nearer, and, indeed, almost directly in point, is the case of the *Louisville, New Orleans & Railway v. Mississippi*, 133 U. S. 587, wherein the railway company was indicted for a violation of a statute of Mississippi, enacting that all railroads carrying passengers should provide equal, but separate, accommodations for the white and colored races, by providing two or more passenger cars for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger cars by a partition, so as to secure separate accommodations. The case was presented in a different aspect from the one under consideration, inasmuch as it was an indictment against the railway company for failing to provide the separate accommodations, but the question considered was the constitutionality of the law. In that case, the Supreme Court of Mississippi, 66 Mississippi. 662, had held that the statute applied solely to commerce within the State, and, that being the construction of the state statute by its highest court, was accepted as conclusive. "If it be a matter," said the court, p. 591, "respecting commerce wholly within a State, and not interfering with commerce between the States, then, obviously, there is no violation of the commerce clause of the Federal Constitution. . . . No question arises under this section, as to the power of the State to separate in different compartments interstate pas-

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sengers, or affect, in any manner, the privileges and rights of such passengers. All that we can consider is, whether the State has the power to require that railroad trains within her limits shall have separate accommodations for the two races; that affecting only commerce within the State is no invasion of the power given to Congress by the commerce clause."

A like course of reasoning applies to the case under consideration, since the Supreme Court of Louisiana in the case of the *State ex rel. Abbott v. Hicks, Judge, et al.*, 44 La. Ann. 770, held that the statute in question did not apply to interstate passengers, but was confined in its application to passengers travelling exclusively within the borders of the State. The case was decided largely upon the authority of *Railway Co. v. State*, 66 Mississippi, 662, and affirmed by this court in 133 U. S. 587. In the present case no question of interference with interstate commerce can possibly arise, since the East Louisiana Railway appears to have been purely a local line, with both its termini within the State of Louisiana. Similar statutes for the separation of the two races upon public conveyances were held to be constitutional in *West Chester & Railroad v. Miles*, 55 Penn. St. 209; *Day v. Owen*, 5 Michigan, 520; *Chicago & Railway v. Williams*, 55 Illinois, 185; *Chesapeake & Railroad v. Wells*, 85 Tennessee, 613; *Memphis & Railroad v. Benson*, 85 Tennessee, 627; *The Sue*, 22 Fed. Rep. 843; *Logwood v. Memphis & Railroad*, 23 Fed. Rep. 318; *McGuinn v. Forbes*, 37 Fed. Rep. 639; *People v. King*, 18 N. E. Rep. 245; *Houak v. South Pac. Railway*, 38 Fed. Rep. 226; *Heard v. Georgia Railroad Co.*, 3 Int. Com. Com'n, 111; *S. C.*, 1 Ibid. 428.

While we think the enforced separation of the races, as applied to the internal commerce of the State, neither abridges the privileges or immunities of the colored man, deprives him of his property without due process of law, nor denies him the equal protection of the laws, within the meaning of the Fourteenth Amendment, we are not prepared to say that the conductor, in assigning passengers to the coaches according to their race, does not act at his peril, or that the provision of the second section of the act, that denies to the passenger compensa-

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tion in damages for a refusal to receive him into the coach in which he properly belongs, is a valid exercise of the legislative power. Indeed, we understand it to be conceded by the State's attorney, that such part of the act as exempts from liability the railway company and its officers is unconstitutional. The power to assign to a particular coach obviously implies the power to determine to which race the passenger belongs, as well as the power to determine who, under the laws of the particular State, is to be deemed a white, and who a colored person. This question, though indicated in the brief of the plaintiff in error, does not properly arise upon the record in this case, since the only issue made is as to the unconstitutionality of the act, so far as it requires the railway to provide separate accommodations, and the conductor to assign passengers according to their race.

It is claimed by the plaintiff in error that, in any mixed community, the reputation of belonging to the dominant race, in this instance the white race, is *property*, in the same sense that a right of action, or of inheritance, is property. Conceding this to be so, for the purposes of this case, we are unable to see how this statute deprives him of, or in any way affects his right to, such property. If he be a white man and assigned to a colored coach, he may have his action for damages against the company for being deprived of his so called property. Upon the other hand, if he be a colored man and be so assigned, he has been deprived of no property, since he is not lawfully entitled to the reputation of being a white man.

In this connection, it is also suggested by the learned counsel for the plaintiff in error that the same argument that will justify the state legislature in requiring railways to provide separate accommodations for the two races will also authorize them to require separate cars to be provided for people whose hair is of a certain color, or who are aliens, or who belong to certain nationalities, or to enact laws requiring colored people to walk upon one side of the street, and white people upon the other, or requiring white men's houses to be painted white, and colored men's black, or their vehicles or business signs to be of different colors, upon the theory that one side

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of the street is as good as the other, or that a house or vehicle of one color is as good as one of another color. The reply to all this is that every exercise of the police power must be reasonable, and extend only to such laws as are enacted in good faith for the promotion for the public good, and not for the annoyance or oppression of a particular class. Thus in *Fick Wo v. Hopkins*, 118 U. S. 356, it was held by this court that a municipal ordinance of the city of San Francisco, to regulate the carrying on of public laundries within the limits of the municipality, violated the provisions of the Constitution of the United States, if it conferred upon the municipal authorities arbitrary power, at their own will, and without regard to discretion, in the legal sense of the term, to give or withhold consent as to persons or places, without regard to the competency of the persons applying, or the propriety of the places selected for the carrying on of the business. It was held to be a covert attempt on the part of the municipality to make an arbitrary and unjust discrimination against the Chinese race. While this was the case of a municipal ordinance, a like principle has been held to apply to acts of a state legislature passed in the exercise of the police power. *Railroad Company v. Husen*, 95 U. S. 465; *Louisville & Nashville Railroad v. Kentucky*, 161 U. S. 677, and cases cited on p. 700; *Daggett v. Hudson*, 43 Ohio St. 548; *Copen v. Foster*, 12 Pick. 485; *State ex rel. Wood v. Baker*, 38 Wisconsin, 71; *Monroe v. Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 665; *Hulseman v. Rems*, 41 Penn. St. 396; *Orman v. Riley*, 15 California, 48.

So far, then, as a conflict with the Fourteenth Amendment is concerned, the case reduces itself to the question whether the statute of Louisiana is a reasonable regulation, and with respect to this there must necessarily be a large discretion on the part of the legislature. In determining the question of reasonableness it is at liberty to act with reference to the established usages, customs and traditions of the people, and with a view to the promotion of their comfort, and the preservation of the public peace and good order. Gauged by this standard, we cannot say that a law which authorizes or even requires the separation of the two races in public conveyances

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is unreasonable, or more obnoxious to the Fourteenth Amendment than the acts of Congress requiring separate schools for colored children in the District of Columbia, the constitutionality of which does not seem to have been questioned, or the corresponding acts of state legislatures.

We consider the underlying fallacy of the plaintiff's argument to consist in the assumption that the enforced separation of the two races stamps the colored race with a badge of inferiority. If this be so, it is not by reason of anything found in the act, but solely because the colored race chooses to put that construction upon it. The argument necessarily assumes that if, as has been more than once the case, and is not unlikely to be so again, the colored race should become the dominant power in the state legislature, and should enact a law in precisely similar terms, it would thereby relegate the white race to an inferior position. We imagine that the white race, at least, would not acquiesce in this assumption. The argument also assumes that social prejudices may be overcome by legislation, and that equal rights cannot be secured to the negro except by an enforced commingling of the two races. We cannot accept this proposition. If the two races are to meet upon terms of social equality, it must be the result of natural affinities, a mutual appreciation of each other's merits and a voluntary consent of individuals. As was said by the Court of Appeals of New York in *People v. Gallagher*, 93 N. Y. 438, 448, "this end can neither be accomplished nor promoted by laws which conflict with the general sentiment of the community upon whom they are designed to operate. When the government, therefore, has secured to each of its citizens equal rights before the law and equal opportunities for improvement and progress, it has accomplished the end for which it was organized and performed all of the functions respecting social advantages with which it is endowed." Legislation is powerless to eradicate racial instincts or to abolish distinctions based upon physical differences, and the attempt to do so can only result in accentuating the difficulties of the present situation. If the civil and political rights of both races be equal one cannot be inferior to the other civilly

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or politically. If one race be inferior to the other socially, the Constitution of the United States cannot put them upon the same plane.

It is true that the question of the proportion of colored blood necessary to constitute a colored person, as distinguished from a white person, is one upon which there is a difference of opinion in the different States, some holding that any visible admixture of black blood stamps the person as belonging to the colored race, (*State v. Chavers*, 5 Jones, [N. C.] 1, p. 11); others that it depends upon the preponderance of blood, (*Gray v. State*, 4 Ohio, 354; *Monros v. Collins*, 17 Ohio St. 665); and still others that the predominance of white blood must only be in the proportion of three fourths. (*People v. Dean*, 14 Michigan, 406; *Jones v. Commonwealth*, 80 Virginia, 538.) But these are questions to be determined under the laws of each State and are not properly put in issue in this case. Under the allegations of his petition it may undoubtedly become a question of importance whether, under the laws of Louisiana, the petitioner belongs to the white or colored race.

The judgment of the court below is, therefore,

Affirmed.

MR. JUSTICE HARLAN dissenting.

By the Louisiana statute, the validity of which is here involved, all railway companies (other than street railroad companies) carrying passengers in that State are required to have separate but equal accommodations for white and colored persons, "by providing two or more passenger coaches for each passenger train, or by dividing the passenger coaches by a *partition* so as to secure separate accommodations." Under this statute, no colored person is permitted to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to white persons; nor any white person, to occupy a seat in a coach assigned to colored persons. The managers of the railroad are not allowed to exercise any discretion in the premises, but are required to assign each passenger to some coach or compartment set apart for the exclusive use of his race. If a passenger insists upon going into a coach or compartment not set apart for persons of his race,

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he is subject to be fined, or to be imprisoned in the parish jail. Penalties are prescribed for the refusal or neglect of the officers, directors, conductors and employès of railroad companies to comply with the provisions of the act.

Only "nurses attending children of the other race" are excepted from the operation of the statute. No exception is made of colored attendants travelling with adults. A white man is not permitted to have his colored servant with him in the same coach, even if his condition of health requires the constant, personal assistance of such servant. If a colored maid insists upon riding in the same coach with a white woman whom she has been employed to serve, and who may need her personal attention while travelling, she is subject to be fined or imprisoned for such an exhibition of zeal in the discharge of duty.

While there may be in Louisiana persons of different races who are not citizens of the United States, the words in the act, "white and colored races," necessarily include all citizens of the United States of both races residing in that State. So that we have before us a state enactment that compels, under penalties, the separation of the two races in railroad passenger coaches, and makes it a crime for a citizen of either race to enter a coach that has been assigned to citizens of the other race.

Thus the State regulates the use of a public highway by citizens of the United States solely upon the basis of race.

However apparent the injustice of such legislation may be, we have only to consider whether it is consistent with the Constitution of the United States.

That a railroad is a public highway, and that the corporation which owns or operates it is in the exercise of public functions, is not, at this day, to be disputed. Mr. Justice Nelson, speaking for this court in *New Jersey Steam Navigation Co. v. Merchants' Bank*, 6 How. 344, 382, said that a common carrier was in the exercise "of a sort of public office, and has public duties to perform, from which he should not be permitted to exonerate himself without the assent of the parties concerned." Mr. Justice Strong, delivering the judgment of

this court in *Olcott v. The Supervisors*, 16 Wall. 678, 694, said: "That railroads, though constructed by private corporations and owned by them, are public highways, has been the doctrine of nearly all the courts ever since such conveniences for passage and transportation have had any existence. Very early the question arose whether a State's right of eminent domain could be exercised by a private corporation created for the purpose of constructing a railroad. Clearly it could not, unless taking land for such a purpose by such an agency is taking land for public use. The right of eminent domain nowhere justifies taking property for a private use. Yet it is a doctrine universally accepted that a state legislature may authorize a private corporation to take land for the construction of such a road, making compensation to the owner. What else does this doctrine mean if not that building a railroad, though it be built by a private corporation, is an act done for a public use?" So, in *Township of Pine Grove v. Talcott*, 19 Wall. 666, 676: "Though the corporation [a railroad company] was private, its work was public, as much so as if it were to be constructed by the State." So, in *Inhabitants of Worcester v. Western Railroad Corporation*, 4 Met. 564: "The establishment of that great thoroughfare is regarded as a public work, established by public authority, intended for the public use and benefit, the use of which is secured to the whole community, and constitutes, therefore, like a canal, turnpike or highway, a public easement." It is true that the real and personal property, necessary to the establishment and management of the railroad, is vested in the corporation; but it is in trust for the public."

In respect of civil rights, common to all citizens, the Constitution of the United States does not, I think, permit any public authority to know the race of those entitled to be protected in the enjoyment of such rights. Every true man has pride of race, and under appropriate circumstances when the rights of others, his equals before the law, are not to be affected, it is his privilege to express such pride and to take such action based upon it as to him seems proper. But I deny that any legislative body or judicial tribunal may have regard to the

race of citizens when the civil rights of those citizens are involved. Indeed, such legislation, as that here in question, is inconsistent not only with that equality of rights which pertains to citizenship, National and State, but with the personal liberty enjoyed by every one within the United States.

The Thirteenth Amendment does not permit the withholding or the deprivation of any right necessarily inhering in freedom. It not only struck down the institution of slavery as previously existing in the United States, but it prevents the imposition of any burdens or disabilities that constitute badges of slavery or servitude. It decreed universal civil freedom in this country. This court has so adjudged. But that amendment having been found inadequate to the protection of the rights of those who had been in slavery, it was followed by the Fourteenth Amendment, which added greatly to the dignity and glory of American citizenship, and to the security of personal liberty, by declaring that "all persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside," and that "no State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty or property without due process of law, nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws." These two amendments, if enforced according to their true intent and meaning, will protect all the civil rights that pertain to freedom and citizenship. Finally, and to the end that no citizen should be denied, on account of his race, the privilege of participating in the political control of his country, it was declared by the Fifteenth Amendment that "the right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color or previous condition of servitude."

These notable additions to the fundamental law were welcomed by the friends of liberty throughout the world. They removed the race line from our governmental systems. They had, as this court has said, a common purpose, namely, to secure "to a race recently emancipated, a race that through

many generations have been held in slavery, all the civil rights that the superior race enjoy." They declared, in legal effect, this court has further said, "that the law in the States shall be the same for the black as for the white; that all persons, whether colored or white, shall stand equal before the laws of the States, and, in regard to the colored race, for whose protection the amendment was primarily designed, that no discrimination shall be made against them by law because of their color." We also said: "The words of the amendment, it is true, are prohibitory, but they contain a necessary implication of a positive immunity, or right, most valuable to the colored race—the right to exemption from unfriendly legislation against them distinctively as colored—exemption from legal discriminations, implying inferiority in civil society, lessening the security of their enjoyment of the rights which others enjoy, and discriminations which are steps towards reducing them to the condition of a subject race." It was, consequently, adjudged that a state law that excluded citizens of the colored race from juries, because of their race and however well qualified in other respects to discharge the duties of jurymen, was repugnant to the Fourteenth Amendment. *Strauder v. West Virginia*, 100 U. S. 303, 306, 307; *Virginia v. Rives*, 100 U. S. 313; *Ex parte Virginia*, 100 U. S. 339; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U. S. 370, 386; *Bush v. Kentucky*, 107 U. S. 110, 116. At the present term, referring to the previous adjudications, this court declared that "underlying all of those decisions is the principle that the Constitution of the United States, in its present form, forbids, so far as civil and political rights are concerned, discrimination by the General Government or the States against any citizen because of his race. All citizens are equal before the law." *Gibson v. Mississippi*, 162 U. S. 565.

The decisions referred to show the scope of the recent amendments of the Constitution. They also show that it is not within the power of a State to prohibit colored citizens, because of their race, from participating as jurors in the administration of justice.

It was said in argument that the statute of Louisiana does

not discriminate against either race, but prescribes a rule applicable alike to white and colored citizens. But this argument does not meet the difficulty. Every one knows that the statute in question had its origin in the purpose, not so much to exclude white persons from railroad cars occupied by blacks, as to exclude colored people from coaches occupied by or assigned to white persons. Railroad corporations of Louisiana did not make discrimination among whites in the matter of accommodation for travellers. The thing to accomplish was, under the guise of giving equal accommodation for whites and blacks, to compel the latter to keep to themselves while travelling in railroad passenger coaches. No one would be so wanting in candor as to assert the contrary. The fundamental objection, therefore, to the statute is that it interferes with the personal freedom of citizens. "Personal liberty," it has been well said, "consists in the power of locomotion, of changing situation, or removing one's person to whatsoever places one's own inclination may direct, without imprisonment or restraint, unless by due course of law." 1 Bl. Com. *134. If a white man and a black man choose to occupy the same public conveyance on a public highway, it is their right to do so, and no government, proceeding alone on grounds of race, can prevent it without infringing the personal liberty of each.

It is one thing for railroad carriers to furnish, or to be required by law to furnish, equal accommodations for all whom they are under a legal duty to carry. It is quite another thing for government to forbid citizens of the white and black races from travelling in the same public conveyance, and to punish officers of railroad companies for permitting persons of the two races to occupy the same passenger coach. If a State can prescribe, as a rule of civil conduct, that whites and blacks shall not travel as passengers in the same railroad coach, why may it not so regulate the use of the streets of its cities and towns as to compel white citizens to keep on one side of a street and black citizens to keep on the other? Why may it not, upon like grounds, punish whites and blacks who ride together in street cars or in open vehicles on a public road

or street? Why may it not require sheriffs to assign whites to one side of a court-room and blacks to the other? And why may it not also prohibit the commingling of the two races in the galleries of legislative halls or in public assemblages convened for the consideration of the political questions of the day? Further, if this statute of Louisiana is consistent with the personal liberty of citizens, why may not the State require the separation in railroad coaches of native and naturalized citizens of the United States, or of Protestants and Roman Catholics?

The answer given at the argument to these questions was that regulations of the kind they suggest would be unreasonable, and could not, therefore, stand before the law. Is it meant that the determination of questions of legislative power depends upon the inquiry whether the statute whose validity is questioned is, in the judgment of the courts, a reasonable one, taking all the circumstances into consideration? A statute may be unreasonable merely because a sound public policy forbade its enactment. But I do not understand that the courts have anything to do with the policy or expediency of legislation. A statute may be valid, and yet, upon grounds of public policy, may well be characterized as unreasonable. Mr. Sedgwick correctly states the rule when he says that the legislative intention being clearly ascertained, "the courts have no other duty to perform than to execute the legislative will, without any regard to their views as to the wisdom or justice of the particular enactment." Stat. & Const. Constr. 324. There is a dangerous tendency in these latter days to enlarge the functions of the courts, by means of judicial interference with the will of the people as expressed by the legislature. Our institutions have the distinguishing characteristic that the three departments of government are coördinate and separate. Each must keep within the limits defined by the Constitution. And the courts best discharge their duty by executing the will of the law-making power, constitutionally expressed, leaving the results of legislation to be dealt with by the people through their representatives. Statutes must always have a reasonable construction. Sometimes they are to be construed strictly; sometimes, liberally, in order to carry out the legisla-

tive will. But however construed, the intent of the legislature is to be respected, if the particular statute in question is valid, although the courts, looking at the public interests, may conceive the statute to be both unreasonable and impolitic. If the power exists to enact a statute, that ends the matter so far as the courts are concerned. The adjudged cases in which statutes have been held to be void, because unreasonable, are those in which the means employed by the legislature were not at all germane to the end to which the legislature was competent.

The white race deems itself to be the dominant race in this country. And so it is, in prestige, in achievements, in education, in wealth and in power. So, I doubt not, it will continue to be for all time, if it remains true to its great heritage and holds fast to the principles of constitutional liberty. But in view of the Constitution, in the eye of the law, there is in this country no superior, dominant, ruling class of citizens. There is no caste here. Our Constitution is color-blind, and neither knows nor tolerates classes among citizens. In respect of civil rights, all citizens are equal before the law. The humblest is the peer of the most powerful. The law regards man as man, and takes no account of his surroundings or of his color when his civil rights as guaranteed by the supreme law of the land are involved. It is, therefore, to be regretted that this high tribunal, the final expositor of the fundamental law of the land, has reached the conclusion that it is competent for a State to regulate the enjoyment by citizens of their civil rights solely upon the basis of race.

In my opinion, the judgment this day rendered will, in time, prove to be quite as pernicious as the decision made by this tribunal in the *Dred Scott* case. It was adjudged in that case that the descendants of Africans who were imported into this country and sold as slaves were not included nor intended to be included under the word "citizens" in the Constitution, and could not claim any of the rights and privileges which that instrument provided for and secured to citizens of the United States; that at the time of the adoption of the Constitution they were "considered as a subordinate and inferior class of beings, who had been subjugated by the dominant

race, and, whether emancipated or not, yet remained subject to their authority, and had no rights or privileges but such as those who held the power and the government might choose to grant them." 19 How. 393, 404. The recent amendments of the Constitution, it was supposed, had eradicated these principles from our institutions. But it seems that we have yet, in some of the States, a dominant race—a superior class of citizens, which assumes to regulate the enjoyment of civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race. The present decision, it may well be apprehended, will not only stimulate aggressions, more or less brutal and irritating, upon the admitted rights of colored citizens, but will encourage the belief that it is possible, by means of state enactments, to defeat the beneficent purposes which the people of the United States had in view when they adopted the recent amendments of the Constitution, by one of which the blacks of this country were made citizens of the United States and of the States in which they respectively reside, and whose privileges and immunities, as citizens, the States are forbidden to abridge. Sixty millions of whites are in no danger from the presence here of eight millions of blacks. The destinies of the two races, in this country, are indissolubly linked together, and the interests of both require that the common government of all shall not permit the seeds of race hate to be planted under the sanction of law. What can more certainly arouse race hate, what more certainly create and perpetuate a feeling of distrust between these races, than state enactments, which, in fact, proceed on the ground that colored citizens are so inferior and degraded that they cannot be allowed to sit in public coaches occupied by white citizens? That, as all will admit, is the real meaning of such legislation as was enacted in Louisiana.

The sure guarantee of the peace and security of each race is the clear, distinct, unconditional recognition by our governments, National and State, of every right that inheres in civil freedom, and of the equality before the law of all citizens of the United States without regard to race. State enactments, regulating the enjoyment of civil rights, upon the basis of race, and cunningly devised to defeat legitimate results of the

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war, under the pretence of recognizing equality of rights, can have no other result than to render permanent peace impossible, and to keep alive a conflict of races, the continuance of which must do harm to all concerned. This question is not met by the suggestion that social equality cannot exist between the white and black races in this country. That argument, if it can be properly regarded as one, is scarcely worthy of consideration; for social equality no more exists between two races when travelling in a passenger coach or a public highway than when members of the same races sit by each other in a street car or in the jury box, or stand or sit with each other in a political assembly, or when they use in common the streets of a city or town, or when they are in the same room for the purpose of having their names placed on the registry of voters, or when they approach the ballot-box in order to exercise the high privilege of voting.

There is a race so different from our own that we do not permit those belonging to it to become citizens of the United States. Persons belonging to it are, with few exceptions, absolutely excluded from our country. I allude to the Chinese race. But by the statute in question, a Chinaman can ride in the same passenger coach with white citizens of the United States, while citizens of the black race in Louisiana, many of whom, perhaps, risked their lives for the preservation of the Union, who are entitled, by law, to participate in the political control of the State and nation, who are not excluded, by law or by reason of their race, from public stations of any kind, and who have all the legal rights that belong to white citizens, are yet declared to be criminals, liable to imprisonment, if they ride in a public coach occupied by citizens of the white race. It is scarcely just to say that a colored citizen should not object to occupying a public coach assigned to his own race. He does not object, nor, perhaps, would he object to separate coaches for his race, if his rights under the law were recognized. But he objects, and ought never to cease objecting to the proposition, that citizens of the white and black races can be adjudged criminals because they sit, or claim the right to sit, in the same public coach on a public highway.

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The arbitrary separation of citizens, on the basis of race, while they are on a public highway, is a badge of servitude wholly inconsistent with the civil freedom and the equality before the law established by the Constitution. It cannot be justified upon any legal grounds.

If evils will result from the commingling of the two races upon public highways established for the benefit of all, they will be infinitely less than those that will surely come from state legislation regulating the enjoyment of civil rights upon the basis of race. We boast of the freedom enjoyed by our people above all other peoples. But it is difficult to reconcile that boast with a state of the law which, practically, puts the brand of servitude and degradation upon a large class of our fellow-citizens, our equals before the law. The thin disguise of "equal" accommodations for passengers in railroad coaches will not mislead any one, nor atone for the wrong this day done.

The result of the whole matter is, that while this court has frequently adjudged, and at the present term has recognized the doctrine, that a State cannot, consistently with the Constitution of the United States, prevent white and black citizens, having the required qualifications for jury service, from sitting in the same jury box, it is now solemnly held that a State may prohibit white and black citizens from sitting in the same passenger coach on a public highway, or may require that they be separated by a "partition," when in the same passenger coach. May it not now be reasonably expected that astute men of the dominant race, who affect to be disturbed at the possibility that the integrity of the white race may be corrupted, or that its supremacy will be imperilled, by contact on public highways with black people, will endeavor to procure statutes requiring white and black jurors to be separated in the jury box by a "partition," and that, upon retiring from the court room to consult as to their verdict, such partition, if it be a moveable one, shall be taken to their consultation room, and set up in such way as to prevent black jurors from coming too close to their brother jurors of the white race. If the "partition" used in the court room happens to be stationary, provision could be made for screens with openings through

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which jurors of the two races could confer as to their verdict without coming into personal contact with each other. I cannot see but that, according to the principles this day announced, such state legislation, although conceived in hostility to, and enacted for the purpose of humiliating citizens of the United States of a particular race, would be held to be consistent with the Constitution.

I do not deem it necessary to review the decisions of state courts to which reference was made in argument. Some, and the most important, of them are wholly inapplicable, because rendered prior to the adoption of the last amendments of the Constitution, when colored people had very few rights which the dominant race felt obliged to respect. Others were made at a time when public opinion, in many localities, was dominated by the institution of slavery; when it would not have been safe to do justice to the black man; and when, so far as the rights of blacks were concerned, race prejudice was, practically, the supreme law of the land. Those decisions cannot be guides in the era introduced by the recent amendments of the supreme law, which established universal civil freedom, gave citizenship to all born or naturalized in the United States and residing here, obliterated the race line from our systems of governments, National and State, and placed our free institutions upon the broad and sure foundation of the equality of all men before the law.

I am of opinion that the statute of Louisiana is inconsistent with the personal liberty of citizens, white and black, in that State, and hostile to both the spirit and letter of the Constitution of the United States. If laws of like character should be enacted in the several States of the Union, the effect would be in the highest degree mischievous. Slavery, as an institution tolerated by law would, it is true, have disappeared from our country, but there would remain a power in the States, by sinister legislation, to interfere with the full enjoyment of the blessings of freedom; to regulate civil rights, common to all citizens, upon the basis of race; and to place in a condition of legal inferiority a large body of American citizens, now constituting a part of the political community called the

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People of the United States, for whom, and by whom through representatives, our government is administered. Such a system is inconsistent with the guarantee given by the Constitution to each State of a republican form of government, and may be stricken down by Congressional action, or by the courts in the discharge of their solemn duty to maintain the supreme law of the land, anything in the constitution or laws of any State to the contrary notwithstanding.

For the reasons stated, I am constrained to withhold my assent from the opinion and judgment of the majority.

Mr. Justice Brewer did not hear the argument or participate in the decision of this case.

UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY *et al.*¹ v.
CHICAGO, ROCK ISLAND AND PACIFIC RAIL-
WAY COMPANY.

UNION PACIFIC RAILWAY COMPANY v. CHI-
CAGO, MILWAUKEE AND ST. PAUL RAIL-
WAY COMPANY.

APPEALS FROM THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE EIGHTH
CIRCUIT.

No. 151, 152. Argued April 21, 22, 1896. — Decided May 25, 1896.

Railroad corporations possess the powers which are expressly conferred by their charters, together with such powers as are fairly incidental thereto; and they cannot, except with the consent of the State, disable themselves from the discharge of the functions, duties and obligations which they have assumed.

The general rule is that a contract by which a railroad company renders itself incapable of performing its duties to the public or attempts to absolve itself from those obligations without the consent of the State,

¹ The other party was *The Omaha and Republican Valley Railway Company*.

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certainly more consonant with judicial tradition and more conducive to legislative responsibility for courts to act on that belief.

I am therefore compelled to conclude that the Commission was not given power to regulate transportation by Cornell from one port in New York to another port in the same State.

MR. JUSTICE ROBERTS joins in this dissent.

SMITH *v.* ALLWRIGHT, ELECTION JUDGE, ET AL.
CERTIORARI TO THE CIRCUIT COURT OF APPEALS FOR THE
FIFTH CIRCUIT.

No. 51. Argued November 10, 12, 1943. Reargued January 12, 1944.—Decided April 3, 1944.

1. The right of a citizen of the United States to vote for the nomination of candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives in a primary which is an integral part of the elective process is a right secured by the Federal Constitution; and this right of the citizen may not be abridged by the State on account of his race or color. P. 661.
2. Whether the exclusion of citizens from voting on account of their race or color has been effected by action of the State—rather than of individuals or of a political party—is a question upon which the decision of the courts of the State is not binding on the federal courts, but which the latter must determine for themselves P. 662.
3. Upon examination of the statutes of Texas regulating primaries, *held* that the exclusion of Negroes from voting in a Democratic primary to select nominees for a general election—although by resolution of a state convention of the party its membership was limited to white citizens—was State action in violation of the Fifteenth Amendment. *Grovey v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45, overruled. Pp. 663, 666.

When, as here, primaries become a part of the machinery for choosing officials, state and federal, the same tests to determine

the character of discrimination or abridgment should be applied to the primary as are applied to the general election. P. 684.

4. While not unmindful of the desirability of its adhering to former decisions of constitutional questions, this Court is not constrained to follow a previous decision which upon reexamination is believed erroneous, particularly one which involves the application of a constitutional principle rather than an interpretation of the Constitution to evolve the principle itself. P. 665.

131 F. 2d 593, reversed.

CERTIORARI, 319 U. S. 738, to review the affirmance of a judgment for the defendants in a suit for damages under § U. S. C. § 43.

Messrs. Thurgood Marshall and William H. Hastie, with whom Messrs. Leon A. Ransom, Carter Wesley, W. J. Durham, W. Robert Ming, Jr., and George M. Johnson were on the brief, for petitioner.

No appearance for respondents.

By special leave of Court, *Mr. George W. Barcus*, Assistant Attorney General of Texas, with whom *Mr. Gerald C. Mann*, Attorney General, was on the brief for the Attorney General of Texas, as *amicus curiae*, urging affirmance. Briefs of *amici curiae* were filed by *Mr. Wright Morrow* on behalf of Mr. George A. Butler, Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas, urging affirmance; and by *Mr. Whitney North Seymour* on behalf of the American Civil Liberties Union, by *Mr. Osmond K. Fraenkel* on behalf of the Committee on Constitutional Liberties, National Lawyers Guild, and by *Mr. John F. Finerty* on behalf of the Workers Defense League,—urging reversal.

MR. JUSTICE REED delivered the opinion of the Court.

This writ of certiorari brings here for review a claim for damages in the sum of \$5,000 on the part of petitioner, a Negro citizen of the 48th precinct of Harris County, Texas,

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for the refusal of respondents, election and associate election judges respectively of that precinct, to give petitioner a ballot or to permit him to cast a ballot in the primary election of July 27, 1940, for the nomination of Democratic candidates for the United States Senate and House of Representatives, and Governor and other state officers. The refusal is alleged to have been solely because of the race and color of the proposed voter.

The actions of respondents are said to violate §§ 31 and 43 of Title 8¹ of the United States Code in that petitioner was deprived of rights secured by §§ 2 and 4 of Article I² and the Fourteenth, Fifteenth and Seventeenth Amend-

¹ 8 U. S. C. § 31:

"All citizens of the United States who are otherwise qualified by law to vote at any election by the people in any State, Territory, district, county, city, parish, township, school district, municipality, or other territorial subdivision, shall be entitled and allowed to vote at all such elections, without distinction of race, color, or previous condition of servitude; any constitution, law, custom, usage, or regulation of any State or Territory, or by or under its authority, to the contrary notwithstanding."

§ 43: "Every person who, under color of any statute, ordinance, regulation, custom, or usage, of any State or Territory, subjects, or causes to be subjected, any citizen of the United States or other person within the jurisdiction thereof to the deprivation of any rights, privileges, or immunities secured by the Constitution and laws, shall be liable to the party injured in an action at law, suit in equity, or other proper proceeding for redress."

² Constitution, Art. I:

"Section 2. The House of Representatives shall be composed of Members chosen every second Year by the People of the several States, and the Electors in each State shall have the Qualifications requisite for Electors of the most numerous Branch of the State Legislature."

"Section 4. The Times, Places and Manner of holding Elections for Senators and Representatives, shall be prescribed in each State by the Legislature thereof; but the Congress may at any time by Law make or alter such Regulations, except as to the Places of chusing Senators."

ments to the United States Constitution.³ The suit was filed in the District Court of the United States for the Southern District of Texas, which had jurisdiction under Judicial Code § 24, subsection 14.⁴

The District Court denied the relief sought and the Circuit Court of Appeals quite properly affirmed its action on the authority of *Grove v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45.⁵ We granted the petition for certiorari to resolve a claimed inconsistency between the decision in the *Grove* case and that of *United States v. Classic*, 313 U. S. 299. 319 U. S. 738.

The State of Texas by its Constitution and statutes provides that every person, if certain other requirements are met which are not here in issue, qualified by residence

³ Constitution:

Article XIV. "Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws."

Article XV. "Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

"Section 2. The Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation."

Article XVII. "The Senate of the United States shall be composed of two Senators from each State, elected by the people thereof, for six years; and each Senator shall have one vote. The electors in each State shall have the qualifications requisite for electors of the most numerous branch of the State legislatures."

⁴ A declaratory judgment also was sought as to the constitutionality of the denial of the ballot. The judgment entered declared the denial was constitutional. This phase of the case is not considered further as the decision on the merits determines the legality of the action of the respondents.

⁵ *Smith v. Allwright*, 131 F. 2d 593.

in the district or county "shall be deemed a qualified elector." Constitution of Texas, Article VI, § 2; Vernon's Civil Statutes (1939 ed.), Article 2955. Primary elections for United States Senators, Congressmen and state officers are provided for by Chapters Twelve and Thirteen of the statutes. Under these chapters, the Democratic party was required to hold the primary which was the occasion of the alleged wrong to petitioner. A summary of the state statutes regulating primaries appears in the footnote.* These nominations are to be made by the qualified voters of the party. Art. 3101.

* The extent to which the State controls the primary election machinery appears from the Texas statutes, as follows: Art. 3118, Vernon's Texas Statutes, provides for the election of a county chairman for each party holding a primary by the "qualified voters of the whole county," and of one member of the party's county executive committee by the "qualified voters of their respective election precincts." These officers have direct charge of the primary. There is in addition statutory provision for a party convention: the voters in each precinct choose delegates to a county convention, and the latter chooses delegates to a state convention. Art. 3134. The state convention has authority to choose the state executive committee and its chairman. Art. 3139, 1939 Supp. Candidates for offices to be filled by election are required to be nominated at a primary election if the nominating party cast over 100,000 votes at the preceding general election. Art. 3101. The date of the primary is fixed at the fourth Saturday in July; a majority is required for nomination, and if no candidate receives a majority, a run-off primary between the two highest standing candidates is held on the fourth Saturday in August. Art. 3102. Polling places may not be within a hundred yards of those used by the opposite party. Art. 3103. Each precinct primary is to be conducted by a presiding judge and the assistants he names. These officials are selected by the county executive committee. Art. 3104. Absentee voting machinery provided by the State for general elections is also used in primaries. Art. 2956. The presiding judges are given legal authority similar to that of judges at general elections. Compare Art. 3105 with Art. 3002. The county executive committee may decide whether county officers are to be nominated by majority or plurality vote. Art. 3106. The state

The Democratic party of Texas is held by the Supreme Court of that State to be a "voluntary association," *Bell v. Hill*, 123 Tex. 531, 534, protected by § 27 of the Bill of Rights, Art. 1, Constitution of Texas, from interference by the State except that:

"In the interest of fair methods and a fair expression by their members of their preferences in the selection of their

executive committee is given power to fix qualifications of party membership, Art. 3107; Art. 2955, 1942 Supp., requires payment of a poll tax by voters in primary elections, and Art. 3093 (3) deals with political qualifications of candidates for nomination for United States Senator. But cf. *Bell v. Hill*, 123 Tex. 531, 74 S. W. 2d 113. Art. 3108 empowers the county committee to prepare a budget covering the cost of the primary and to require each candidate to pay a fair share. The form of the ballot is prescribed by Art. 3109. Art. 3101 provides that the nominations be made by the qualified voters of the party. Cf. Art. 3091. Art. 3110 prescribes a test for voters who take part in the primary. It reads as follows:

"No official ballot for primary election shall have on it any symbol or device or any printed matter, except a uniform primary test, reading as follows: 'I am a . . . (inserting name of political party or organization of which the voter is a member) and pledge myself to support the nominee of this primary;' and any ballot which shall not contain such printed test above the names of the candidates thereon, shall be void and shall not be counted." This appears, however, to be a morally rather than a legally enforceable pledge. See *Love v. Wilcox*, 119 Tex. 256, 28 S. W. 2d 515.

Arts. 3092 and 3111 to 3114 deal with the mechanics of procuring a place on the primary ballot for federal, state, district, or county office. The request for a place on the ballot may be made to the state, district or county party chairman, either by the person desiring nomination or by twenty-five qualified voters. The ballot is prepared by a subcommittee of the county executive committee. Art. 3115. A candidate must pay his share of the expenses of the election before his name is placed on the ballot. Art. 3116. Art. 3116, however, limits the sum that may be charged candidates for certain posts, such as the offices of district judge, judge of the Court of Civil Appeals, and senator and representative in the state and federal legislatures, and for some counties fees are fixed by Arts. 3116 a-d, 1939 Supp., and 3116 e-f, 1942 Supp. Supplies for the election are dis-

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nominees, the State may regulate such elections by proper laws." p. 545.

That court stated further:

"Since the right to organize and maintain a political party is one guaranteed by the Bill of Rights of this State, it necessarily follows that every privilege essential or reasonably appropriate to the exercise of that right is likewise

tributed by the county committee, Art. 3119, and Art. 3120 authorizes the use of voting booths, ballot boxes and guard rails, prepared for the general election, "for the organized political party nominating by primary election that cast over one hundred thousand votes at the preceding general election." The county tax collector must supply lists of qualified voters by precincts; and these lists must be used at the primary. Art. 3121. The same precautions as to secrecy and the care of the ballots must be observed in primary as in general elections. Art. 3122. Arts. 3123-25 cover the making of returns to the county and state chairmen and canvases of the result by the county committee. By Art. 3127, a statewide canvass is required of the state executive committee for state and district officers and a similar canvass by the state convention, with respect to state officers, is provided by Art. 3138. The nominations for district offices are certified to the county clerks, and for state officers to the Secretary of State. Arts. 3127, 3137, 3138. Ballot boxes and ballots are to be returned to the county clerk, Art. 3128, 1942 Supp., and upon certification by the county committee, the county clerk must publish the result. Art. 3129, 1942 Supp. If no objection is made within five days, the name of the nominee is then to be placed on the official ballot by the county clerk. Art. 3131, 1942 Supp. Cf. Arts. 2978, 2984, 2992, 2996. Arts. 3146-53, 1942 Supp., provide for election contests. The state district courts have exclusive original jurisdiction, and the Court of Civil Appeals has appellate jurisdiction. The state courts are also authorized to issue writs of mandamus to require executive committees, committeemen, and primary officers to discharge the duties imposed by the statute. Art. 3142; cf. Art. 3124.

The official ballot is required to contain parallel columns for the nominees of the respective parties, a column for independent candidates, and a blank column for such names as the voters care to write in. Arts. 2978, 2980. The names of nominees of a party casting more than 100,000 votes at the last preceding general election may not be printed on the ballot unless they were chosen at a primary

guaranteed,—including, of course, the privilege of determining the policies of the party and its membership. Without the privilege of determining the policy of a political association and its membership, the right to organize such an association would be a mere mockery. We think these rights,—that is, the right to determine the membership of a political party and to determine its policies, of necessity are to be exercised by the state convention of such party, and cannot, under any circumstances, be conferred upon a state or governmental agency." p. 546. Cf. *Waples v. Marrast*, 108 Tex. 5, 184 S. W. 180.

The Democratic party on May 24, 1932, in a state convention adopted the following resolution, which has not since been "amended, abrogated, annulled or avoided":

"Be it resolved that all white citizens of the State of Texas who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the State shall be eligible to membership in the

election. Art. 2978. Candidates who are not party nominees may have their names printed on the ballot by complying with Arts. 3159-62. These sections require applications to be filed with the Secretary of State, county judge, or mayor, for state and district, county, and city offices, respectively. The applications must be signed by qualified voters to the number of from one to five per cent of the ballots cast at the preceding election, depending on the office. Each signer must take an oath to the effect that he did not participate in a primary at which a candidate for the office in question was nominated. While this requirement has been held to preclude one who has voted in the party primary from appearing on the ballot as an independent, *Westerman v. Mims*, 111 Tex. 29, 227 S. W. 178; see *Cunningham v. McDermott*, 277 S. W. 218 (Civ. App.), one who lost at the primary may still be elected at the general election by a write-in vote. *Cunningham v. McDermott*, *supra*.

The operations of the party are restricted by the State in one other important respect. By Art. 3139, 1939 Supp., the state convention can announce a platform of principles, but its submission at the primary is a prerequisite to party advocacy of specific legislation. Art. 3133.

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Democratic party and, as such, entitled to participate in its deliberations."

It was by virtue of this resolution that the respondents refused to permit the petitioner to vote.

Texas is free to conduct her elections and limit her electorate as she may deem wise, save only as her action may be affected by the prohibitions of the United States Constitution or in conflict with powers delegated to and exercised by the National Government.⁷ The Fourteenth Amendment forbids a State from making or enforcing any law which abridges the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States and the Fifteenth Amendment specifically interdicts any denial or abridgement by a State of the right of citizens to vote on account of color. Respondents appeared in the District Court and the Circuit Court of Appeals and defended on the ground that the Democratic party of Texas is a voluntary organization with members banded together for the purpose of selecting individuals of the group representing the common political beliefs as candidates in the general election. As such a voluntary organization, it was claimed, the Democratic party is free to select its own membership and limit to whites participation in the party primary. Such action, the answer asserted, does not violate the Fourteenth, Fifteenth or Seventeenth Amendment as officers of government cannot be chosen at primaries and the Amendments are applicable only to general elections where governmental officers are actually elected. Primaries, it is said, are political party affairs, handled by party, not governmental, officers. No appearance for respondents is made in this Court. Arguments presented here by the Attorney General of Texas and the Chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee of Texas, as amici

⁷ Cf. *Parker v. Brown*, 317 U. S. 341, 359-60.

curiae, urged substantially the same grounds as those advanced by the respondents.

The right of a Negro to vote in the Texas primary has been considered heretofore by this Court. The first case was *Nixon v. Herndon*, 273 U. S. 536. At that time, 1924, the Texas statute, Art. 3093a, afterwards numbered Art. 3107 (Rev. Stat. 1925) declared "in no event shall a Negro be eligible to participate in a Democratic Party primary election in the State of Texas." Nixon was refused the right to vote in a Democratic primary and brought a suit for damages against the election officers under R. S. §§ 1979 and 2004, the present §§ 43 and 31 of Title 8, U. S. C., respectively. It was urged to this Court that the denial of the franchise to Nixon violated his Constitutional rights under the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments. Without consideration of the Fifteenth, this Court held that the action of Texas in denying the ballot to Negroes by statute was in violation of the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment and reversed the dismissal of the suit.

The legislature of Texas reenacted the article but gave the State Executive Committee of a party the power to prescribe the qualifications of its members for voting or other participation. This article remains in the statutes. The State Executive Committee of the Democratic party adopted a resolution that white Democrats and none other might participate in the primaries of that party. Nixon was refused again the privilege of voting in a primary and again brought suit for damages by virtue of § 31, Title 8, U. S. C. This Court again reversed the dismissal of the suit for the reason that the Committee action was deemed to be state action and invalid as discriminatory under the Fourteenth Amendment. The test was said to be whether the Committee operated as representative of the State in the discharge of the State's authority. *Nixon v. Condon*, 286 U. S. 73. The question of the inherent power

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of a political party in Texas "without restraint by any law to determine its own membership" was left open. *Id.*, 84-85.

In *Grove v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45, this Court had before it another suit for damages for the refusal in a primary of a county clerk, a Texas officer with only public functions to perform, to furnish petitioner, a Negro, an absentee ballot. The refusal was solely on the ground of race. This case differed from *Nixon v. Condon*, *supra*, in that a state convention of the Democratic party had passed the resolution of May 24, 1932, hereinbefore quoted. It was decided that the determination by the state convention of the membership of the Democratic party made a significant change from a determination by the Executive Committee. The former was party action, voluntary in character. The latter, as had been held in the *Condon* case, was action by authority of the State. The managers of the primary election were therefore declared not to be state officials in such sense that their action was state action. A state convention of a party was said not to be an organ of the State. This Court went on to announce that to deny a vote in a primary was a mere refusal of party membership with which "the State need have no concern," *loc. cit.* at 55, while for a State to deny a vote in a general election on the ground of race or color violated the Constitution. Consequently, there was found no ground for holding that the county clerk's refusal of a ballot because of racial ineligibility for party membership denied the petitioner any right under the Fourteenth or Fifteenth Amendment.

Since *Grove v. Townsend* and prior to the present suit, no case from Texas involving primary elections has been before this Court. We did decide, however, *United States v. Classic*, 313 U. S. 299. We there held that § 4 of Article I of the Constitution authorized Congress to regulate primary as well as general elections, 313 U. S. at 316, 317,

"where the primary is by law made an integral part of the election machinery." 313 U. S. at 318. Consequently, in the *Classic* case, we upheld the applicability to frauds in a Louisiana primary of §§ 19 and 20 of the Criminal Code. Thereby corrupt acts of election officers were subjected to Congressional sanctions because that body had power to protect rights of federal suffrage secured by the Constitution in primary as in general elections. 313 U. S. at 323. This decision depended, too, on the determination that under the Louisiana statutes the primary was a part of the procedure for choice of federal officials. By this decision the doubt as to whether or not such primaries were a part of "elections" subject to federal control, which had remained unanswered since *Newberry v. United States*, 256 U. S. 232, was erased. The *Nixon Cases* were decided under the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment without a determination of the status of the primary as a part of the electoral process. The exclusion of Negroes from the primaries by action of the State was held invalid under that Amendment. The fusing by the *Classic* case of the primary and general elections into a single instrumentality for choice of officers has a definite bearing on the permissibility under the Constitution of excluding Negroes from primaries. This is not to say that the *Classic* case cuts directly into the rationale of *Grove v. Townsend*. This latter case was not mentioned in the opinion. *Classic* bears upon *Grove v. Townsend* not because exclusion of Negroes from primaries is any more or less state action by reason of the unitary character of the electoral process but because the recognition of the place of the primary in the electoral scheme makes clear that state delegation to a party of the power to fix the qualifications of primary elections is delegation of a state function that may make the party's action the action of the State. When *Grove v. Townsend* was written, the Court looked upon the denial of a vote in a primary as a

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mere refusal by a party of party membership. 295 U. S. at 55. As the Louisiana statutes for holding primaries are similar to those of Texas, our ruling in *Classic* as to the unitary character of the electoral process calls for a reexamination as to whether or not the exclusion of Negroes from a Texas party primary was state action.

The statutes of Texas relating to primaries and the resolution of the Democratic party of Texas extending the privileges of membership to white citizens only are the same in substance and effect today as they were when *Grove v. Townsend* was decided by a unanimous Court. The question as to whether the exclusionary action of the party was the action of the State persists as the determinative factor. In again entering upon consideration of the inference to be drawn as to state action from a substantially similar factual situation, it should be noted that *Grove v. Townsend* upheld exclusion of Negroes from primaries through the denial of party membership by a party convention. A few years before, this Court refused approval of exclusion by the State Executive Committee of the party. A different result was reached on the theory that the Committee action was state authorized and the Convention action was unfettered by statutory control. Such a variation in the result from so slight a change in form influences us to consider anew the legal validity of the distinction which has resulted in barring Negroes from participating in the nominations of candidates of the Democratic party in Texas. Other precedents of this Court forbid the abridgement of the right to vote. *United States v. Reese*, 92 U. S. 214, 217; *Neal v. Delaware*, 103 U. S. 370, 388; *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U. S. 347, 361; *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 U. S. 368, 379; *Lane v. Wilson*, 307 U. S. 268.

It may now be taken as a postulate that the right to vote in such a primary for the nomination of candidates without discrimination by the State, like the right to vote

in a general election, is a right secured by the Constitution. *United States v. Classic*, 313 U. S. at 314; *Myers v. Anderson*, 238 U. S. 368; *Ex parte Yarbrough*, 110 U. S. 651, 663 *et seq.* By the terms of the Fifteenth Amendment that right may not be abridged by any State on account of race. Under our Constitution the great privilege of the ballot may not be denied a man by the State because of his color.

We are thus brought to an examination of the qualifications for Democratic primary electors in Texas, to determine whether state action or private action has excluded Negroes from participation. Despite Texas' decision that the exclusion is produced by private or party action, *Bell v. Hill*, *supra*, federal courts must for themselves appraise the facts leading to that conclusion. It is only by the performance of this obligation that a final and uniform interpretation can be given to the Constitution, the "supreme Law of the Land." *Nixon v. Condon*, 286 U. S. 73, 88; *Standard Oil Co. v. Johnson*, 316 U. S. 481, 483; *Bridges v. California*, 314 U. S. 252; *Lisenba v. California*, 314 U. S. 219, 238; *Union Pacific R. Co. v. United States*, 313 U. S. 450, 467; *Drivers Union v. Meadowmoor Co.*, 312 U. S. 287, 294; *Chambers v. Florida*, 309 U. S. 227, 228. Texas requires electors in a primary to pay a poll tax. Every person who does so pay and who has the qualifications of age and residence is an acceptable voter for the primary. Art. 2955. As appears above in the summary of the statutory provisions set out in note 6, Texas requires by the law the election of the county officers of a party. These compose the county executive committee. The county chairmen so selected are members of the district executive committee and choose the chairman for the district. Precinct primary election officers are named by the county executive committee. Statutes provide for the election by the voters of precinct

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delegates to the county convention of a party and the selection of delegates to the district and state conventions by the county convention. The state convention selects the state executive committee. No convention may place in platform or resolution any demand for specific legislation without endorsement of such legislation by the voters in a primary. Texas thus directs the selection of all party officers.

Primary elections are conducted by the party under state statutory authority. The county executive committee selects precinct election officials and the county, district or state executive committees, respectively, canvass the returns. These party committees or the state convention certify the party's candidates to the appropriate officers for inclusion on the official ballot for the general election. No name which has not been so certified may appear upon the ballot for the general election as a candidate of a political party. No other name may be printed on the ballot which has not been placed in nomination by qualified voters who must take oath that they did not participate in a primary for the selection of a candidate for the office for which the nomination is made.

The state courts are given exclusive original jurisdiction of contested elections and of mandamus proceedings to compel party officers to perform their statutory duties.

We think that this statutory system for the selection of party nominees for inclusion on the general election ballot makes the party which is required to follow these legislative directions an agency of the State in so far as it determines the participants in a primary election. The party takes its character as a state agency from the duties imposed upon it by state statutes; the duties do not become matters of private law because they are performed by a political party. The plan of the Texas primary follows substantially that of Louisiana, with the exception that in

Louisiana the State pays the cost of the primary while Texas assesses the cost against candidates. In numerous instances, the Texas statutes fix or limit the fees to be charged. Whether paid directly by the State or through state requirements, it is state action which compels. When primaries become a part of the machinery for choosing officials, state and national, as they have here, the same tests to determine the character of discrimination or abridgement should be applied to the primary as are applied to the general election. If the State requires a certain electoral procedure, prescribes a general election ballot made up of party nominees so chosen and limits the choice of the electorate in general elections for state offices, practically speaking, to those whose names appear on such a ballot, it endorses, adopts and enforces the discrimination against Negroes, practiced by a party entrusted by Texas law with the determination of the qualifications of participants in the primary. This is state action within the meaning of the Fifteenth Amendment. *Guinn v. United States*, 238 U. S. 347, 362.

The United States is a constitutional democracy. Its organic law grants to all citizens a right to participate in the choice of elected officials without restriction by any State because of race. This grant to the people of the opportunity for choice is not to be nullified by a State through casting its electoral process in a form which permits a private organization to practice racial discrimination in the election. Constitutional rights would be of little value if they could be thus indirectly denied. *Lane v. Wilson*, 307 U. S. 268, 275.

The privilege of membership in a party may be, as this Court said in *Grove v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45, 55, no concern of a State. But when, as here, that privilege is also the essential qualification for voting in a primary to select nominees for a general election, the State makes the action

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of the party the action of the State. In reaching this conclusion we are not unmindful of the desirability of continuity of decision in constitutional questions.* However, when convinced of former error, this Court has never felt constrained to follow precedent. In constitutional questions, where correction depends upon amendment and not upon legislative action this Court throughout its history has freely exercised its power to reexamine the basis of its constitutional decisions. This has long been accepted practice,⁹ and this practice has continued to this day.¹⁰ This is particularly true when the decision believed erroneous is the application of a constitutional principle rather

* Cf. *Pollock v. Farmers' Loan & Trust Co.*, 157 U. S. 429, 652.

⁹ See cases collected in the dissenting opinion in *Burnet v. Coronado Oil & Gas Co.*, 285 U. S. 393, 410.

¹⁰ See e. g., *United States v. Darby*, 312 U. S. 100, overruling *Hammer v. Dagenhart*, 247 U. S. 251; *California v. Thompson*, 313 U. S. 109, overruling *DiSanto v. Pennsylvania*, 273 U. S. 34; *West Coast Hotel Co. v. Parrish*, 300 U. S. 379, overruling *Adkins v. Children's Hospital*, 261 U. S. 525; *Helvering v. Mountain Producers Corp.*, 303 U. S. 376, overruling *Gillespie v. Oklahoma*, 257 U. S. 501 and *Burnet v. Coronado Oil & Gas Co.*, 285 U. S. 393; *Erie R. Co. v. Tompkins*, 304 U. S. 64, overruling *Swift v. Tyson*, 16 Pet. 1; *Graves v. New York ex rel. O'Keefe*, 306 U. S. 466, overruling *Collector v. Day*, 11 Wall. 113, and *New York ex rel. Rogers v. Graves*, 299 U. S. 401; *O'Malley v. Woodrough*, 307 U. S. 277, overruling *Miles v. Graham*, 268 U. S. 501; *Madden v. Kentucky*, 309 U. S. 83, overruling *Colgate v. Harvey*, 296 U. S. 404; *Helvering v. Hallock*, 309 U. S. 106, overruling *Helvering v. St. Louis Union Trust Co.*, 296 U. S. 39 and *Becker v. St. Louis Union Trust Co.*, 296 U. S. 48; *Nye v. United States*, 313 U. S. 33, overruling *Toledo Newspaper Co. v. United States*, 247 U. S. 402; *Alabama v. King & Boozer*, 314 U. S. 1, overruling *Panhandle Oil Co. v. Knox*, 277 U. S. 218 and *Graves v. Texas Co.*, 298 U. S. 393; *Williams v. North Carolina*, 317 U. S. 287, overruling *Haddock v. Haddock*, 201 U. S. 562; *State Tax Commission v. Aldrich*, 316 U. S. 174, overruling *First National Bank v. Maine*, 284 U. S. 312; *Board of Education v. Barnette*, 319 U. S. 624, overruling *Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U. S. 586.

than an interpretation of the Constitution to extract the principle itself.²¹ Here we are applying, contrary to the recent decision in *Grovey v. Townsend*, the well-established principle of the Fifteenth Amendment, forbidding the abridgement by a State of a citizen's right to vote. *Grovey v. Townsend* is overruled.

Judgment reversed.

MR. JUSTICE FRANKFURTER concurs in the result.

MR. JUSTICE ROBERTS:

In *Mahnich v. Southern Steamship Co.*, 321 U. S. 96, 105, I have expressed my views with respect to the present policy of the court freely to disregard and to overrule considered decisions and the rules of law announced in them. This tendency, it seems to me, indicates an intolerance for what those who have composed this court in the past have conscientiously and deliberately concluded, and involves an assumption that knowledge and wisdom reside in us which was denied to our predecessors. I shall not repeat what I there said for I consider it fully applicable to the instant decision, which but points the moral anew.

A word should be said with respect to the judicial history forming the background of *Grovey v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45, which is now overruled.

In 1923 Texas adopted a statute which declared that no negro should be eligible to participate in a Democratic primary election in that State. A negro, a citizen of the United States and of Texas, qualified to vote, except for the provisions of the statute, was denied the opportunity to vote in a primary election at which candidates were to be chosen for the offices of senator and representative in the Congress of the United States. He brought action against the judges of election in a United States court for

²¹ Cf. Dissent in *Burnet v. Coronado Oil & Gas Co.*, 285 U. S. 393 at 410.

damages for their refusal to accept his ballot. This court unanimously reversed a judgment dismissing the complaint and held that the judges acted pursuant to state law and that the State of Texas, by its statute, had denied the voter the equal protection secured by the Fourteenth Amendment. *Nixon v. Herndon*, 273 U. S. 536 (1927).

In 1927 the legislature of Texas repealed the provision condemned by this court and enacted that every political party in the State might, through its Executive Committee, prescribe the qualifications of its own members and determine in its own way who should be qualified to vote or participate in the party, except that no denial of participation could be decreed by reason of former political or other affiliation. Thereupon the State Executive Committee of the Democratic party in Texas adopted a resolution that white Democrats, and no other, should be allowed to participate in the party's primaries.

A negro, whose primary ballot was rejected pursuant to the resolution, sought to recover damages from the judges who had rejected it. The United States District Court dismissed his action, and the Circuit Court of Appeals affirmed; but this court reversed the judgment and sustained the right of action by a vote of 5 to 4. *Nixon v. Condon*, 286 U. S. 73 (1932).

The opinion was written with care. The court refused to decide whether a political party in Texas had inherent power to determine its membership. The court said, however: "Whatever inherent power a state political party has to determine the content of its membership resides in the state convention," and referred to the statutes of Texas to demonstrate that the State had left the Convention free to formulate the party faith. Attention was directed to the fact that the statute under attack did not leave to the party convention the definition of party membership but placed it in the party's State Executive Committee which could not, by any stretch of reasoning, be

held to constitute the party. The court held, therefore, that the State Executive Committee acted solely by virtue of the statutory mandate and as delegate of state power, and again struck down the discrimination against negro voters as deriving force and virtue from state action,—that is, from statute.

In 1932 the Democratic Convention of Texas adopted a resolution that "all white citizens of the State of Texas who are qualified to vote under the Constitution and laws of the State shall be eligible to membership in the Democratic party and as such entitled to participate in its deliberations."

A negro voter qualified to vote in a primary election, except for the exclusion worked by the resolution, demanded an absentee ballot which he was entitled to mail to the judges at a primary election except for the resolution. The county clerk refused to furnish him a ballot. He brought an action for damages against the clerk in a state court. That court, which was the tribunal having final jurisdiction under the laws of Texas, dismissed his complaint and he brought the case to this court for review. After the fullest consideration by the whole court¹ an opinion was written representing its unanimous views and affirming the judgment. *Grove v. Townsend*, 295 U. S. 45 (1935).

I believe it will not be gainsaid the case received the attention and consideration which the questions involved demanded and the opinion represented the views of all the justices. It appears that those views do not now commend themselves to the court. I shall not restate them. They are exposed in the opinion and must stand or fall on their merits. Their soundness, however, is not a matter which presently concerns me.

¹ The court was composed of Hughes, C. J., Van Devanter, McReynolds, Brandeis, Sutherland, Butler, Stone, Roberts and Cardozo, JJ.

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The reason for my concern is that the instant decision, overruling that announced about nine years ago, tends to bring adjudications of this tribunal into the same class as a restricted railroad ticket, good for this day and train only. I have no assurance, in view of current decisions, that the opinion announced today may not shortly be repudiated and overruled by justices who deem they have new light on the subject. In the present term the court has overruled three cases.

In the present case, as in *Mahnich v. Southern S. S. Co.*, *supra*, the court below relied, as it was bound to, upon our previous decision. As that court points out, the statutes of Texas have not been altered since *Grove v. Townsend* was decided. The same resolution is involved as was drawn in question in *Grove v. Townsend*. Not a fact differentiates that case from this except the names of the parties.

It is suggested that *Grove v. Townsend* was overruled *sub silentio* in *United States v. Classic*, 313 U. S. 299. If so, the situation is even worse than that exhibited by the outright repudiation of an earlier decision, for it is the fact that, in the *Classic* case, *Grove v. Townsend* was distinguished in brief and argument by the Government without suggestion that it was wrongly decided, and was relied on by the appellees, not as a controlling decision, but by way of analogy. The case is not mentioned in either of the opinions in the *Classic* case. Again and again it is said in the opinion of the court in that case that the voter who was denied the right to vote was a fully qualified voter. In other words, there was no question of his being a person entitled under state law to vote in the primary. The offense charged was the fraudulent denial of his conceded right by an election officer because of his race. Here the question is altogether different. It is whether, in a Democratic primary, he who tendered his vote was a member of the Democratic party.

I do not stop to call attention to the material differences between the primary election laws of Louisiana under consideration in the *Classic* case and those of Texas which are here drawn in question. These differences were spelled out in detail in the Government's brief in the *Classic* case and emphasized in its oral argument. It is enough to say that the Louisiana statutes required the primary to be conducted by state officials and made it a state election, whereas, under the Texas statute, the primary is a party election conducted at the expense of members of the party and by officials chosen by the party. If this court's opinion in the *Classic* case discloses its method of overruling earlier decisions, I can only protest that, in fairness, it should rather have adopted the open and frank way of saying what it was doing than, after the event, characterize its past action as overruling *Grove v. Townsend* though those less sapient never realized the fact.

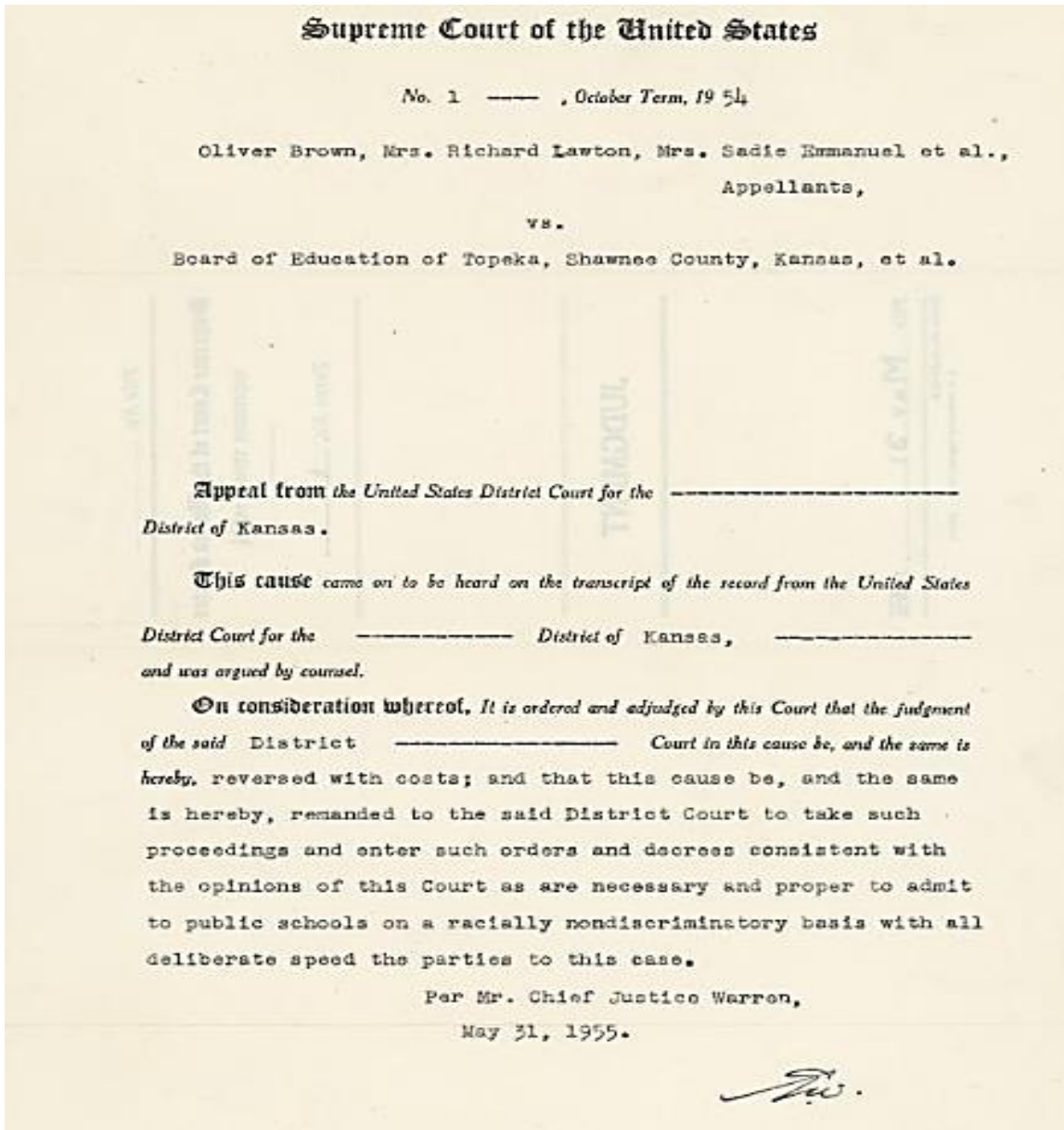
It is regrettable that in an era marked by doubt and confusion, an era whose greatest need is steadfastness of thought and purpose, this court, which has been looked to as exhibiting consistency in adjudication, and a steadiness which would hold the balance even in the face of temporary ebbs and flows of opinion, should now itself become the breeder of fresh doubt and confusion in the public mind as to the stability of our institutions.

Source: US Library of Congress

<https://tile.loc.gov/storage-services/service/l1/usrep/usrep321/usrep321649/usrep321649.pdf>

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

APPENDIX A.6. *BROWN VERSUS BOARD OF EDUCATION OF TOPEKA*



Source: National Archives. *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka*. n.d. Web. 25 Nov. 2021.
https://www.archives.gov/milestone-documents/brown-v-board-of-education?_ga=2.148838130.471812249.1689538390-1048894981.1642069203

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"

APPENDIX A.7. PUBLIC LAW-VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965- STATUE 79

79 STAT.] PUBLIC LAW 89-110--AUGUST 6, 1965 437

SPECIAL PROJECT GRANTS FOR COMMUNITY HEALTH SERVICES

Sec. 5. The first sentence of subsection (a) of section 316 of such Act is amended by striking out "first five fiscal years ending after June 30, 1961" and inserting in lieu thereof "first six fiscal years ending after June 30, 1961".

75 Stat. 324.
42 USC 247a.

Approved August 5, 1965.

Public Law 89-110

AN ACT

August 6, 1965
[S. 1564]

To enforce the fifteenth amendment to the Constitution of the United States, and for other purposes.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That this Act shall be known as the "Voting Rights Act of 1965".

Voting Rights
Act of 1965.

Sec. 2. No voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure shall be imposed or applied by any State or political subdivision to deny or abridge the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color.

Sec. 3. (a) Whenever the Attorney General institutes a proceeding under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court shall authorize the appointment of Federal examiners by the United States Civil Service Commission in accordance with section 6 to serve for such period of time and for such political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment (1) as part of any interlocutory order if the court determines that the appointment of such examiners is necessary to enforce such guarantees or (2) as part of any final judgment if the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred in such State or subdivision: *Provided*, That the court need not authorize the appointment of examiners if any incidents of denial or abridgement of the right to vote on account of race or color (1) have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

Judicial reme-
dies.

(b) If in a proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right of any citizen of the United States to vote on account of race or color, it shall suspend the use of tests and devices in such State or political subdivisions as the court shall determine is appropriate and for such period as it deems necessary.

(c) If in any proceeding instituted by the Attorney General under any statute to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment in any State or political subdivision the court finds that violations of the fifteenth amendment justifying equitable relief have occurred within the territory of such State or political subdivision, the court, in addition to such relief as it may grant, shall retain jurisdiction for such period as it may deem appropriate and during such period no voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect at the time the proceeding was commenced shall be enforced unless and until the court finds that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on

account of race or color: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the court's finding nor the Attorney General's failure to object shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure.

Use of tests or devices prohibited. Declaratory judgment proceedings.

Sec. 4. (a) To assure that the right of citizens of the United States to vote is not denied or abridged on account of race or color, no citizen shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his failure to comply with any test or device in any State with respect to which the determinations have been made under subsection (b) or in any political subdivision with respect to which such determinations have been made as a separate unit, unless the United States District Court for the District of Columbia in an action for a declaratory judgment brought by such State or subdivision against the United States has determined that no such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color: *Provided*, That no such declaratory judgment shall issue with respect to any plaintiff for a period of five years after the entry of a final judgment of any court of the United States, other than the denial of a declaratory judgment under this section, whether entered prior to or after the enactment of this Act, determining that denials or abridgments of the right to vote on account of race or color through the use of such tests or devices have occurred anywhere in the territory of such plaintiff.

62 Stat. 968.

An action pursuant to this subsection shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. The court shall retain jurisdiction of any action pursuant to this subsection for five years after judgment and shall reopen the action upon motion of the Attorney General alleging that a test or device has been used for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color.

If the Attorney General determines that he has no reason to believe that any such test or device has been used during the five years preceding the filing of the action for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, he shall consent to the entry of such judgment.

(b) The provisions of subsection (a) shall apply in any State or in any political subdivision of a state which (1) the Attorney General determines maintained on November 1, 1964, any test or device, and with respect to which (2) the Director of the Census determines that less than 50 per centum of the persons of voting age residing therein were registered on November 1, 1964, or that less than 50 per centum of such persons voted in the presidential election of November 1964.

Publication in Federal Register.

A determination or certification of the Attorney General or of the Director of the Census under this section or under section 6 or section 13 shall not be reviewable in any court and shall be effective upon publication in the Federal Register.

"Test or device."

(c) The phrase "test or device" shall mean any requirement that a person as a prerequisite for voting or registration for voting (1) demonstrate the ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter, (2) demonstrate any educational achievement or his knowl-

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edge of any particular subject, (3) possess good moral character, or (4) prove his qualifications by the voucher of registered voters or members of any other class.

(d) For purposes of this section no State or political subdivision shall be determined to have engaged in the use of tests or devices for the purpose or with the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color if (1) incidents of such use have been few in number and have been promptly and effectively corrected by State or local action, (2) the continuing effect of such incidents has been eliminated, and (3) there is no reasonable probability of their recurrence in the future.

(e) (1) Congress hereby declares that to secure the rights under the fourteenth amendment of persons educated in American-flag schools in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, it is necessary to prohibit the States from conditioning the right to vote of such persons on ability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language.

(2) No person who demonstrates that he has successfully completed the sixth primary grade in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English, shall be denied the right to vote in any Federal, State, or local election because of his inability to read, write, understand, or interpret any matter in the English language, except that in States in which State law provides that a different level of education is presumptive of literacy, he shall demonstrate that he has successfully completed an equivalent level of education in a public school in, or a private school accredited by, any State or territory, the District of Columbia, or the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico in which the predominant classroom language was other than English.

SEC. 5. Whenever a State or political subdivision with respect to which the prohibitions set forth in section 4(a) are in effect shall enact or seek to administer any voting qualification or prerequisite to voting, or standard, practice, or procedure with respect to voting different from that in force or effect on November 1, 1964, such State or subdivision may institute an action in the United States District Court for the District of Columbia for a declaratory judgment that such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure does not have the purpose and will not have the effect of denying or abridging the right to vote on account of race or color, and unless and until the court enters such judgment no person shall be denied the right to vote for failure to comply with such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure: *Provided*, That such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure may be enforced without such proceeding if the qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure has been submitted by the chief legal officer or other appropriate official of such State or subdivision to the Attorney General and the Attorney General has not interposed an objection within sixty days after such submission, except that neither the Attorney General's failure to object nor a declaratory judgment entered under this section shall bar a subsequent action to enjoin enforcement of such qualification, prerequisite, standard, practice, or procedure. Any action under this section shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court.

SEC. 6. Whenever (a) a court has authorized the appointment of examiners pursuant to the provisions of section 3(a), or (b) unless a declaratory judgment has been rendered under section 4(a), the

62 Stat. 968.
Appointment of
examiners.

Attorney General certifies with respect to any political subdivision named in, or included within the scope of, determinations made under section 4(b) that (1) he has received complaints in writing from twenty or more residents of such political subdivision alleging that they have been denied the right to vote under color of law on account of race or color, and that he believes such complaints to be meritorious, or (2) that in his judgment (considering, among other factors, whether the ratio of nonwhite persons to white persons registered to vote within such subdivision appears to him to be reasonably attributable to violations of the fifteenth amendment or whether substantial evidence exists that bona fide efforts are being made within such subdivision to comply with the fifteenth amendment), the appointment of examiners is otherwise necessary to enforce the guarantees of the fifteenth amendment, the Civil Service Commission shall appoint as many examiners for such subdivision as it may deem appropriate to prepare and maintain lists of persons eligible to vote in Federal, State, and local elections. Such examiners, hearing officers provided for in section 9(a), and other persons deemed necessary by the Commission to carry out the provisions and purposes of this Act shall be appointed, compensated, and separated without regard to the provisions of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, and service under this Act shall not be considered employment for the purposes of any statute administered by the Civil Service Commission, except the provisions of section 9 of the Act of August 2, 1939, as amended (5 U.S.C. 118i), prohibiting partisan political activity: *Provided*, That the Commission is authorized, after consulting the head of the appropriate department or agency, to designate suitable persons in the official service of the United States, with their consent, to serve in these positions. Examiners and hearing officers shall have the power to administer oaths.

53 Stat. 1143;
64 Stat. 473.

Duties of examiners.

Sec. 7. (a) The examiners for each political subdivision shall, at such places as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, examine applicants concerning their qualifications for voting. An application to an examiner shall be in such form as the Commission may require and shall contain allegations that the applicant is not otherwise registered to vote.

List of eligible voters.

(b) Any person whom the examiner finds, in accordance with instructions received under section 9(b), to have the qualifications prescribed by State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States shall promptly be placed on a list of eligible voters. A challenge to such listing may be made in accordance with section 9(a) and shall not be the basis for a prosecution under section 12 of this Act. The examiner shall certify and transmit such list, and any supplements as appropriate, at least once a month, to the offices of the appropriate election officials, with copies to the Attorney General and the attorney general of the State, and any such lists and supplements thereto transmitted during the month shall be available for public inspection on the last business day of the month and in any event not later than the forty-fifth day prior to any election. The appropriate State or local election official shall place such names on the official voting list. Any person whose name appears on the examiner's list shall be entitled and allowed to vote in the election district of his residence unless and until the appropriate election officials shall have been notified that such person has been removed from such list in accordance with subsection (d): *Provided*, That no person shall be entitled to vote in any election by virtue of this Act

unless his name shall have been certified and transmitted on such a list to the offices of the appropriate election officials at least forty-five days prior to such election.

(c) The examiner shall issue to each person whose name appears on such a list a certificate evidencing his eligibility to vote.

(d) A person whose name appears on such a list shall be removed therefrom by an examiner if (1) such person has been successfully challenged in accordance with the procedure prescribed in section 9, or (2) he has been determined by an examiner to have lost his eligibility to vote under State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and the laws of the United States.

SEC. 8. Whenever an examiner is serving under this Act in any political subdivision, the Civil Service Commission may assign, at the request of the Attorney General, one or more persons, who may be officers of the United States, (1) to enter and attend at any place for holding an election in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether persons who are entitled to vote are being permitted to vote, and (2) to enter and attend at any place for tabulating the votes cast at any election held in such subdivision for the purpose of observing whether votes cast by persons entitled to vote are being properly tabulated. Such persons so assigned shall report to an examiner appointed for such political subdivision, to the Attorney General, and if the appointment of examiners has been authorized pursuant to section 3(a), to the court.

Observers at elections.

SEC. 9. (a) Any challenge to a listing on an eligibility list prepared by an examiner shall be heard and determined by a hearing officer appointed by and responsible to the Civil Service Commission and under such rules as the Commission shall by regulation prescribe. Such challenge shall be entertained only if filed at such office within the State as the Civil Service Commission shall by regulation designate, and within ten days after the listing of the challenged person is made available for public inspection, and if supported by (1) the affidavits of at least two persons having personal knowledge of the facts constituting grounds for the challenge, and (2) a certification that a copy of the challenge and affidavits have been served by mail or in person upon the person challenged at his place of residence set out in the application. Such challenge shall be determined within fifteen days after it has been filed. A petition for review of the decision of the hearing officer may be filed in the United States court of appeals for the circuit in which the person challenged resides within fifteen days after service of such decision by mail on the person petitioning for review but no decision of a hearing officer shall be reversed unless clearly erroneous. Any person listed shall be entitled and allowed to vote pending final determination by the hearing officer and by the court.

Challenges to eligibility listings, hearings.

(b) The times, places, procedures, and form for application and listing pursuant to this Act and removals from the eligibility lists shall be prescribed by regulations promulgated by the Civil Service Commission and the Commission shall, after consultation with the Attorney General, instruct examiners concerning applicable State law not inconsistent with the Constitution and laws of the United States with respect to (1) the qualifications required for listing, and (2) loss of eligibility to vote.

Procedural regulations.

(c) Upon the request of the applicant or the challenger or on its own motion the Civil Service Commission shall have the power to require by subpoena the attendance and testimony of witnesses and the

Subpoena power.

production of documentary evidences relating to any matter pending before it under the authority of this section. In case of contumacy or refusal to obey a subpoena, any district court of the United States or the United States court of any territory or possession, or the District Court of the United States for the District of Columbia, within the jurisdiction of which said person guilty of contumacy or refusal to obey is found or resides or is domiciled or transacts business, or has appointed an agent for receipt of service of process, upon application by the Attorney General of the United States shall have jurisdiction to issue to such person an order requiring such person to appear before the Commission or a hearing officer, there to produce pertinent, relevant, and nonprivileged documentary evidence if so ordered, or there to give testimony touching the matter under investigation; and any failure to obey such order of the court may be punished by said court as a contempt thereof.

Poll tax.

SEC. 10. (a) The Congress finds that the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting (i) precludes persons of limited means from voting or imposes unreasonable financial hardship upon such persons as a precondition to their exercise of the franchise, (ii) does not bear a reasonable relationship to any legitimate State interest in the conduct of elections, and (iii) in some areas has the purpose or effect of denying persons the right to vote because of race or color. Upon the basis of these findings, Congress declares that the constitutional right of citizens to vote is denied or abridged in some areas by the requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting.

(b) In the exercise of the powers of Congress under section 5 of the fourteenth amendment and section 2 of the fifteenth amendment, the Attorney General is authorized and directed to institute forthwith in the name of the United States such actions, including actions against States or political subdivisions, for declaratory judgment or injunctive relief against the enforcement of any requirement of the payment of a poll tax as a precondition to voting, or substitute therefor enacted after November 1, 1964, as will be necessary to implement the declaration of subsection (a) and the purposes of this section.

62 Stat. 658.

(c) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of such actions which shall be heard and determined by a court of three judges in accordance with the provisions of section 2284 of title 28 of the United States Code and any appeal shall lie to the Supreme Court. It shall be the duty of the judges designated to hear the case to assign the case for hearing at the earliest practicable date, to participate in the hearing and determination thereof, and to cause the case to be in every way expedited.

(d) During the pendency of such actions, and thereafter if the courts, notwithstanding this action by the Congress, should declare the requirement of the payment of a poll tax to be constitutional, no citizen of the United States who is a resident of a State or political subdivision with respect to which determinations have been made under subsection 4(b) and a declaratory judgment has not been entered under subsection 4(a), during the first year he becomes otherwise entitled to vote by reason of registration by State or local officials or listing by an examiner, shall be denied the right to vote

for failure to pay a poll tax if he tenders payment of such tax for the current year to an examiner or to the appropriate State or local official at least forty-five days prior to election, whether or not such tender would be timely or adequate under State law. An examiner shall have authority to accept such payment from any person authorized by this Act to make an application for listing, and shall issue a receipt for such payment. The examiner shall transmit promptly any such poll tax payment to the office of the State or local official authorized to receive such payment under State law, together with the name and address of the applicant.

SEC. 11. (a) No person acting under color of law shall fail or refuse to permit any person to vote who is entitled to vote under any provision of this Act or is otherwise qualified to vote, or willfully fail or refuse to tabulate, count, and report such person's vote.

Prohibitions.

(b) No person, whether acting under color of law or otherwise, shall intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for voting or attempting to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce, or attempt to intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for urging or aiding any person to vote or attempt to vote, or intimidate, threaten, or coerce any person for exercising any powers or duties under section 3 (a), 6, 8, 9, 10, or 12 (e).

(c) Whoever knowingly or willfully gives false information as to his name, address, or period of residence in the voting district for the purpose of establishing his eligibility to register or vote, or conspires with another individual for the purpose of encouraging his false registration to vote or illegal voting, or pays or offers to pay or accepts payment either for registration to vote or for voting shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both: *Provided, however,* That this provision shall be applicable only to general, special, or primary elections held solely or in part for the purpose of selecting or electing any candidate for the office of President, Vice President, presidential elector, Member of the United States Senate, Member of the United States House of Representatives, or Delegates or Commissioners from the territories or possessions, or Resident Commissioner of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico.

Penalty.

Applicability.

(d) Whoever, in any matter within the jurisdiction of an examiner or hearing officer knowingly and willfully falsifies or conceals a material fact, or makes any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statements or representations, or makes or uses any false writing or document knowing the same to contain any false, fictitious, or fraudulent statement or entry, shall be fined not more than \$10,000 or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

SEC. 12. (a) Whoever shall deprive or attempt to deprive any person of any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, or 10 or shall violate section 11 (a) or (b), shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(b) Whoever, within a year following an election in a political subdivision in which an examiner has been appointed (1) destroys, defaces, mutilates, or otherwise alters the marking of a paper ballot which has been cast in such election, or (2) alters any official record of voting in such election tabulated from a voting machine or otherwise, shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

Injunctions, etc.

(c) Whoever conspires to violate the provisions of subsection (a) or (b) of this section, or interferes with any right secured by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, or 11 (a) or (b) shall be fined not more than \$5,000, or imprisoned not more than five years, or both.

(d) Whenever any person has engaged or there are reasonable grounds to believe that any person is about to engage in any act or practice prohibited by section 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, 10, 11, or subsection (b) of this section, the Attorney General may institute for the United States, or in the name of the United States, an action for preventive relief, including an application for a temporary or permanent injunction, restraining order, or other order, and including an order directed to the State and State or local election officials to require them (1) to permit persons listed under this Act to vote and (2) to count such votes.

(e) Whenever in any political subdivision in which there are examiners appointed pursuant to this Act any persons allege to such an examiner within forty-eight hours after the closing of the polls that notwithstanding (1) their listing under this Act or registration by an appropriate election official and (2) their eligibility to vote, they have not been permitted to vote in such election, the examiner shall forthwith notify the Attorney General if such allegations in his opinion appear to be well founded. Upon receipt of such notification, the Attorney General may forthwith file with the district court an application for an order providing for the marking, casting, and counting of the ballots of such persons and requiring the inclusion of their votes in the total vote before the results of such election shall be deemed final and any force or effect given thereto. The district court shall hear and determine such matters immediately after the filing of such application. The remedy provided in this subsection shall not preclude any remedy available under State or Federal law.

(f) The district courts of the United States shall have jurisdiction of proceedings instituted pursuant to this section and shall exercise the same without regard to whether a person asserting rights under the provisions of this Act shall have exhausted any administrative or other remedies that may be provided by law.

Listing procedures, termination.

Sec. 13. Listing procedures shall be terminated in any political subdivision of any State (a) with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to clause (b) of section 6 whenever the Attorney General notifies the Civil Service Commission, or whenever the District Court for the District of Columbia determines in an action for declaratory judgment brought by any political subdivision with respect to which the Director of the Census has determined that more than 50 per centum of the nonwhite persons of voting age residing therein are registered to vote, (1) that all persons listed by an examiner for such subdivision have been placed on the appropriate voting registration roll, and (2) that there is no longer reasonable cause to believe that persons will be deprived of or denied the right to vote on account of race or color in such subdivision, and (b), with respect to examiners appointed pursuant to section 3(a), upon order of the authorizing court. A political subdivision may petition the Attorney General for the termination of listing procedures under clause (a) of this section, and may petition the Attorney General to request the Director of the Census to take such survey or census as may be appropriate for the making of the determination provided for in this section. The District Court for the District of Columbia shall have jurisdiction to require such

survey or census to be made by the Director of the Census and it shall require him to do so if it deems the Attorney General's refusal to request such survey or census to be arbitrary or unreasonable.

SEC. 14. (a) All cases of criminal contempt arising under the provisions of this Act shall be governed by section 151 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (42 U.S.C. 1995).

Criminal contempt proceedings.
71 Stat. 638.

(b) No court other than the District Court for the District of Columbia or a court of appeals in any proceeding under section 9 shall have jurisdiction to issue any declaratory judgment pursuant to section 4 or section 5 or any restraining order or temporary or permanent injunction against the execution or enforcement of any provision of this Act or any action of any Federal officer or employee pursuant hereto.

(c) (1) The terms "vote" or "voting" shall include all action necessary to make a vote effective in any primary, special, or general election, including, but not limited to, registration, listing pursuant to this Act, or other action required by law prerequisite to voting, casting a ballot, and having such ballot counted properly and included in the appropriate totals of votes cast with respect to candidates for public or party office and propositions for which votes are received in an election.

"Vote" or "voting."

(2) The term "political subdivision" shall mean any county or parish, except that where registration for voting is not conducted under the supervision of a county or parish, the term shall include any other subdivision of a State which conducts registration for voting.

"Political subdivision."

(d) In any action for a declaratory judgment brought pursuant to section 4 or section 5 of this Act, subpoenas for witnesses who are required to attend the District Court for the District of Columbia may be served in any judicial district of the United States: *Provided*, That no writ of subpoena shall issue for witnesses without the District of Columbia at a greater distance than one hundred miles from the place of holding court without the permission of the District Court for the District of Columbia being first had upon proper application and cause shown.

Subpoenas.

SEC. 15. Section 2004 of the Revised Statutes (42 U.S.C. 1971), as amended by section 131 of the Civil Rights Act of 1957 (71 Stat. 637), and amended by section 601 of the Civil Rights Act of 1960 (74 Stat. 90), and as further amended by section 101 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 (78 Stat. 241), is further amended as follows:

(a) Delete the word "Federal" wherever it appears in subsections (a) and (c);

(b) Repeal subsection (f) and designate the present subsections (g) and (h) as (f) and (g), respectively.

Repeal.

SEC. 16. The Attorney General and the Secretary of Defense, jointly, shall make a full and complete study to determine whether, under the laws or practices of any State or States, there are preconditions to voting, which might tend to result in discrimination against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States seeking to vote. Such officials shall, jointly, make a report to the Congress not later than June 30, 1966, containing the results of such study, together with a list of any States in which such preconditions exist, and shall include in such report such recommendations for legislation as they deem advisable to prevent discrimination in voting against citizens serving in the Armed Forces of the United States.

Armed Forces, voting rights study.

Report to Congress.

THESIS: "AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)"



Source: Congress.gov

Available at: <https://www.congress.gov/89/statute/STATUTE-79/STATUTE-79-Pg435.pdf>

B) US CENSUS TABLES AND CHARTS
 APPENDIX B.1. US CENSUS, SCHOOL ENROLLMENT 1969 BY AGE, RACE, AND SEX

School Enrollment: October 1969

In October 1969, there were 59.9 million persons 3 to 34 years old enrolled in school at all levels. There were 4.1 million enrolled in nursery school and kindergarten, 33.8 million in elementary school, 14.6 million in high school, and 7.4 million in college. These figures are based on results of the Current Population Survey conducted in October 1969 by the Bureau of the Census.

to drop out of school. However, most 16-year-olds are still in school. In October 1969, only about 7 percent of all persons 16 years old were not enrolled in school. There is some evidence that the males were a little less likely to have dropped out of school by age 16 than were the females. A part of this difference is no doubt the result of the earlier age at first marriage for women.

Table A.—Fall School Enrollment of the Population 3 to 34 Years Old, by Age, Race, and Sex: October 1969
 (In thousands. Civilian noninstitutional population)

Age and sex	All races	White	Negro
Male, 3 to 34 years old...	31,168	28,955	3,827
3 years old.....	149	111	38
4 years old.....	438	346	84
5 years old.....	1,573	1,347	205
6 years old.....	2,050	1,731	294
7 to 13 years old.....	14,620	12,489	1,942
14 to 17 years old.....	7,373	6,396	903
18 to 24 years old.....	3,856	3,578	323
25 to 34 years old.....	1,011	957	33
Female, 3 to 34 years old...	28,743	24,510	3,853
3 years old.....	166	133	29
4 years old.....	444	345	91
5 years old.....	1,556	1,322	207
6 years old.....	1,976	1,657	295
7 to 13 years old.....	14,224	12,079	1,960
14 to 17 years old.....	7,078	6,094	910
18 to 24 years old.....	2,775	2,428	296
25 to 34 years old.....	526	451	64

Table B.—Percent of the Population 3 to 5 Years Old Enrolled in School, by Race and Age: October 1969 and 1964
 (Civilian noninstitutional population)

Year and age	All races	White	Negro
1969			
Total, 3 to 5 years old.....	37.9	37.8	37.9
3 years old.....	8.7	8.1	11.9
4 years old.....	23.1	21.8	30.4
5 years old.....	78.2	79.6	70.3
1964			
Total, 3 to 5 years old.....	29.2	29.5	¹ 27.2
3 years old.....	4.3	4.2	¹ 4.6
4 years old.....	14.9	14.6	¹ 16.8
5 years old.....	69.2	70.4	¹ 62.4

¹Negro and other races.

Table C.—Percent of the Population 16 Years Old Enrolled in School, by Race and Sex: October 1969, 1968, and 1967
 (Civilian noninstitutional population)

Year and sex	All races	White	Negro
1969			
Total.....	93.4	93.5	92.3
Male.....	94.4	94.4	93.6
Female.....	92.5	92.6	91.0
1968			
Total.....	94.4	94.9	91.3
Male.....	95.1	95.5	92.1
Female.....	93.7	94.2	90.5
1967			
Total.....	93.3	93.8	89.2
Male.....	94.3	94.8	89.8
Female.....	92.3	92.8	88.6

Enrollment of 3- to 5-year-olds--Between 1964 and 1969 the proportion of 3- to 5-year old children enrolled in school increased from 29 percent of this age group to 38 percent. Most of the increase in enrollment occurred among those children 3 and 4 years old. In 1964, 10 percent of these children were enrolled in school and in 1969, 16 percent were enrolled. Negro children who were 3 and 4 years old, were more likely to be enrolled in school than were white children of this same age-- 21 percent and 15 percent, respectively.

Enrollment of 16-year-olds--In most States, the maximum compulsory school attendance age is 16 years. At this age, students are usually permitted

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APPENDIX B.2. TABLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE POPULATION 18 YEARS AND OVER, BY AGE, SEX, RACE, AND HISPANIC ORIGIN: 2021.

Table 1. Educational Attainment of the Population 18 Years and Over, by Age, Sex, Race, and Hispanic Origin: 2021

(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutionalized population.¹)

All Races																
Characteristic	Educational attainment															
	Total	None	1st - 4th grade	5th - 6th grade	7th - 8th grade	9th grade	10th grade	11th grade ^a	High school graduate	Some college, no degree	Associate's degree, occupational	Associate's degree, academic	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctoral degree
Both Sexes																
18 years and over	253,418	777	1,364	2,848	3,252	3,063	3,489	9,541	71,742	43,324	10,490	14,784	56,258	24,292	3,453	4,740
18 to 24 years	28,838	45	23	61	177	236	491	3,249	9,194	9,869	601	1,186	3,452	232	10	10
25 years and over	224,580	732	1,341	2,787	3,076	2,827	2,998	6,293	62,547	33,455	9,889	13,598	52,805	24,059	3,443	4,730
25 to 29 years	22,592	25	24	92	127	187	176	640	6,305	3,891	903	1,405	6,669	1,752	200	186
30 to 34 years	22,691	24	52	162	193	265	231	634	5,627	3,438	973	1,392	6,389	2,556	312	454
35 to 39 years	21,607	48	99	277	280	311	292	571	5,002	3,083	877	1,383	5,746	2,715	379	545
40 to 44 years	20,397	24	113	308	299	315	270	566	5,039	2,744	915	1,237	5,037	2,658	394	468
45 to 49 years	19,406	71	103	302	265	236	254	460	4,910	2,618	927	1,263	4,735	2,427	343	491
50 to 54 years	20,273	80	125	244	293	269	223	491	5,509	2,772	888	1,253	4,987	2,349	284	488
55 to 59 years	20,682	56	168	280	269	260	329	601	6,147	2,978	1,084	1,365	4,485	1,978	280	403
60 to 64 years	21,094	96	160	291	263	242	275	637	6,581	3,197	1,023	1,313	4,384	1,975	257	400
65 to 69 years	18,162	67	121	228	229	170	229	495	5,415	3,017	852	1,151	3,639	1,864	306	380
70 to 74 years	14,878	82	118	189	250	198	254	375	4,205	2,464	698	866	2,890	1,646	275	367
75 years and over	22,796	130	259	412	610	355	465	823	7,807	3,254	750	968	3,865	2,140	412	547
Male																
18 years and over	122,870	377	734	1,405	1,645	1,558	1,865	4,986	36,939	21,008	4,929	6,164	26,287	10,350	1,976	2,596
18 to 24 years	14,543	12	14	28	98	112	263	1,760	5,134	4,709	287	511	1,514	84	8	7
25 years and over	108,327	365	720	1,377	1,548	1,446	1,602	3,226	31,855	16,299	4,643	5,653	24,773	10,265	1,968	2,589
25 to 29 years	11,485	22	18	58	52	106	109	364	3,720	2,042	422	617	3,107	674	99	65
30 to 34 years	11,252	10	35	92	129	132	127	376	3,217	1,811	482	651	2,945	999	141	205
35 to 39 years	10,742	24	59	157	146	175	152	312	2,876	1,578	459	594	2,665	1,058	200	289
40 to 44 years	10,072	20	65	154	135	189	128	310	2,873	1,349	452	518	2,386	1,067	185	240
45 to 49 years	9,522	43	61	176	137	120	156	260	2,748	1,280	415	553	2,144	1,029	164	234
50 to 54 years	9,902	39	82	128	186	137	137	245	2,949	1,256	434	519	2,420	969	150	252
55 to 59 years	9,928	22	90	136	132	119	199	316	3,093	1,492	514	560	1,971	867	174	245
60 to 64 years	10,105	51	98	116	125	138	145	337	3,305	1,538	489	488	1,999	924	147	203
65 to 69 years	8,562	37	64	112	113	69	132	231	2,473	1,448	385	445	1,764	852	205	232

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70 to 74 years	6,780	39	52	71	116	105	117	164	1,682	1,130	213	349	1,472	740	194	236
75 years and over	9,877	46	96	178	277	157	202	309	2,918	1,375	277	362	1,899	1,086	210	387
Female																
18 years and over	130,548	400	630	1,442	1,607	1,505	1,624	4,556	34,753	22,316	5,560	8,619	29,971	13,942	1,477	2,144
18 to 24 years	14,295	33	9	33	79	124	228	1,489	4,061	5,160	214	675	1,938	149	2	3
25 years and over	116,253	368	622	1,410	1,528	1,381	1,396	3,067	30,693	17,156	5,246	7,945	28,033	13,793	1,475	2,141
25 to 29 years	11,108	4	5	34	76	81	67	276	2,585	1,849	481	788	3,561	1,078	101	121
30 to 34 years	11,339	24	17	70	64	134	104	257	2,411	1,626	491	741	3,423	1,557	171	249
35 to 39 years	10,865	24	40	120	134	136	140	259	2,127	1,506	417	790	3,081	1,656	179	256
40 to 44 years	10,225	14	48	154	163	126	141	256	2,166	1,294	463	719	2,651	1,592	210	228
45 to 49 years	9,884	27	41	126	128	116	99	200	2,162	1,338	512	711	2,591	1,397	179	257
50 to 54 years	10,271	40	43	116	107	152	86	246	2,560	1,516	454	735	2,567	1,380	134	236
55 to 59 years	10,754	34	78	144	137	140	131	285	3,054	1,486	570	805	2,514	1,112	107	158
60 to 64 years	10,990	45	62	176	138	104	120	301	3,276	1,659	534	826	2,385	1,050	109	197
65 to 69 years	9,599	30	57	116	116	102	97	264	2,941	1,569	467	707	1,874	1,011	101	149
70 to 74 years	8,098	43	67	119	133	93	137	210	2,523	1,333	386	517	1,419	906	81	121
75 years and over	12,920	83	163	235	333	198	263	513	4,889	1,879	473	607	1,967	1,054	103	161

¹ Plus armed forces living off post or with their families on post.

² Respondents who have completed 12th grade but did not receive a diploma are included in this category.

Details may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2021 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC).

Information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions is available at <<https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps/techdocs/cpsmar21.pdf>>.

Source: US Census

<https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2021/demo/educational-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html>

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

APPENDIX B.3. TABLE OF THE EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF THE POPULATION 25 YEARS AND OVER, BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS: 2021.

Table 2. Educational Attainment of the Population 25 Years and Over, by Selected Characteristics: 2021
(Numbers in thousands. Civilian noninstitutionalized population. ³)

Characteristic	Educational attainment									
	Total	None - 8th grade	9th - 11th grade ^a	High school graduate	Some college, no degree	Associate's degree ^a	Bachelor's degree	Master's degree	Professional degree	Doctoral degree
Female										
Total	116,253	3,927	5,844	30,693	17,156	13,191	28,033	13,793	1,475	2,141
Marital Status										
Married, spouse present	62,854	1,887	2,386	15,196	8,291	7,258	16,924	8,568	944	1,400
Married, spouse absent, not separated	1,715	104	94	517	233	153	362	184	28	40
Separated	2,438	165	284	748	433	245	361	176	9	18
Widowed	11,601	763	934	4,447	1,813	1,073	1,619	793	68	91
Divorced	15,004	373	787	3,988	2,831	2,120	2,957	1,575	149	224
Never married	22,641	635	1,360	5,796	3,555	2,341	5,809	2,488	278	368
Household Relationship										
Family householder	39,613	1,073	2,112	9,788	6,730	4,849	9,231	4,629	483	718
Married, spouse present	25,137	572	968	5,581	3,827	3,037	6,719	3,514	345	574
Other family householder	14,477	501	1,144	4,207	2,903	1,812	2,512	1,116	139	144
Nonfamily householder	22,825	640	1,240	5,938	3,647	2,463	5,200	2,967	277	453
Living alone	19,679	591	1,094	5,348	3,209	2,121	4,209	2,476	235	395
Living with nonrelatives	3,146	49	146	590	438	341	991	490	42	57
Relative of householder	47,771	2,026	2,207	13,230	5,886	5,238	12,058	5,614	643	869
Spouse	35,439	1,015	1,252	8,842	4,182	4,030	9,773	4,948	583	814
Other	12,332	1,011	955	4,387	1,704	1,208	2,285	665	60	56
Nonrelative	6,044	188	285	1,737	893	641	1,544	584	72	100
Citizenship, Nativity, and Year of Entry										
Native born	95,526	1,245	4,101	25,318	15,375	11,573	23,501	11,596	1,187	1,629
Native parentage ^a	86,338	1,073	3,723	23,201	13,970	10,575	21,020	10,371	998	1,409
Foreign or mixed parentage ^b	9,188	172	379	2,117	1,406	998	2,482	1,225	189	220
Foreign born	20,727	2,683	1,742	5,375	1,781	1,617	4,531	2,198	288	512
Naturalized citizen	11,539	945	684	2,911	1,108	1,138	2,874	1,330	191	357

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Not a citizen	9,188	1,738	1,059	2,463	673	479	1,657	868	96	155
Year of entry										
2010 or later	4,838	506	314	1,110	373	272	1,343	733	88	100
2000-2009	5,172	658	553	1,403	419	370	1,049	534	60	124
1990-1999	4,428	670	408	1,156	263	337	950	376	43	125
1980-1989	3,226	418	250	814	295	321	662	313	59	102
1970-1979	1,734	294	134	425	176	198	310	148	22	27
Before 1970	1,319	137	84	466	154	118	217	94	14	34
Labor Force Status										
Employed	62,355	1,041	1,735	12,854	8,796	7,755	18,103	9,399	1,080	1,593
Unemployed	3,496	101	214	971	625	398	788	337	28	38
Not in civilian labor force	50,401	2,785	3,895	16,867	7,735	5,037	9,141	4,057	367	515
Occupation (Employed Civilians Only)										
Employed Civilians	62,355	1,041	1,735	12,854	8,796	7,755	18,103	9,399	1,080	1,593
Management, business, and financial occupations	11,912	52	91	1,394	1,352	1,157	5,057	2,445	142	222
Professional and related occupations	19,635	24	69	1,091	1,338	2,354	7,019	5,627	843	1,270
Service occupations	10,533	521	874	3,821	1,980	1,471	1,496	294	38	38
Sales and related occupations	5,402	56	165	1,602	987	643	1,522	385	14	27
Office and administrative occupations	10,166	50	166	2,975	2,320	1,617	2,475	508	29	26
Farming, forestry, and fishing occupations	192	55	20	54	30	11	22	0	0	0
Construction and extraction occupations	265	25	30	85	45	33	39	7	0	0
Installation, maintenance, and repair occupations	166	0	6	42	25	42	41	6	3	2
Production occupations	2,015	135	157	920	303	188	220	82	3	8
Transportation and material moving occupations	2,069	124	158	869	415	239	211	46	8	0
Industry (Employed Civilians Only)										
Employed Civilians	62,355	1,041	1,735	12,854	8,796	7,755	18,103	9,399	1,080	1,593
Agricultural, forestry, fishing, and hunting	537	66	48	138	82	47	126	19	8	4
Mining	95	0	1	25	6	2	49	9	0	3
Construction	1,075	38	48	283	201	145	301	46	1	11
Manufacturing	3,894	134	180	1,226	530	380	978	394	19	53
Wholesale and retail trade	6,946	127	265	2,327	1,322	815	1,639	344	22	74
Transportation and utilities	2,061	35	70	610	425	267	514	133	6	1

Information	1,041	4	0	109	134	115	455	194	9	20
Financial activities	5,436	9	52	998	940	693	1,992	672	52	29
Professional and business services	7,234	153	187	1,186	817	725	2,613	1,038	275	241
Educational and health services	23,798	167	451	3,386	2,633	3,284	6,838	5,492	547	1,001
Leisure and hospitality	3,717	184	272	1,230	639	373	799	192	14	14
Other services	3,106	101	119	843	497	460	748	292	27	20
Public administration	3,415	24	41	495	569	450	1,050	574	91	122

¹ Plus armed forces living off post or with their families on post.

² Respondents who have completed 12th grade but did not receive a diploma are included in this category.

³ Respondents who have completed either an academic or occupational degree are included in this category.

⁴ Native parentage: Both parents born in U.S.

⁵ Foreign or mixed parentage: One or both parents foreign born.

"Z" Represents rounds to zero. 0 represents true zero.

Details may not sum to totals due to rounding.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, Current Population Survey, 2021 Annual Social and Economic Supplement (CPS ASEC).

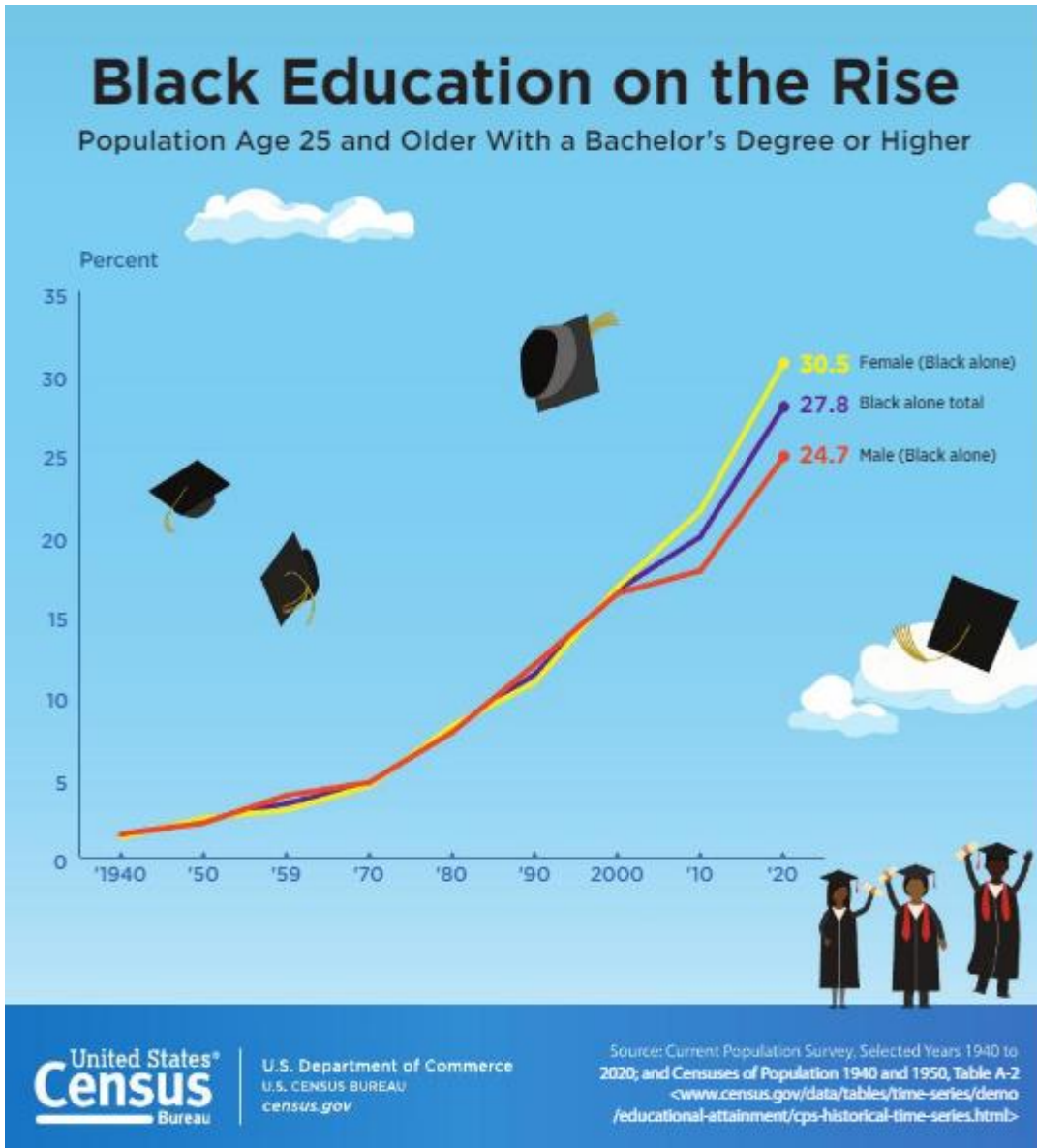
Information on confidentiality protection, sampling error, nonsampling error, and definitions is available at <<https://www2.census.gov/programs-surveys/cps/techdocs/cpsmar21.pdf>>.

Source: US CENSUS

<https://www.census.gov/data/tables/2021/demo/educational-attainment/cps-detailed-tables.html>

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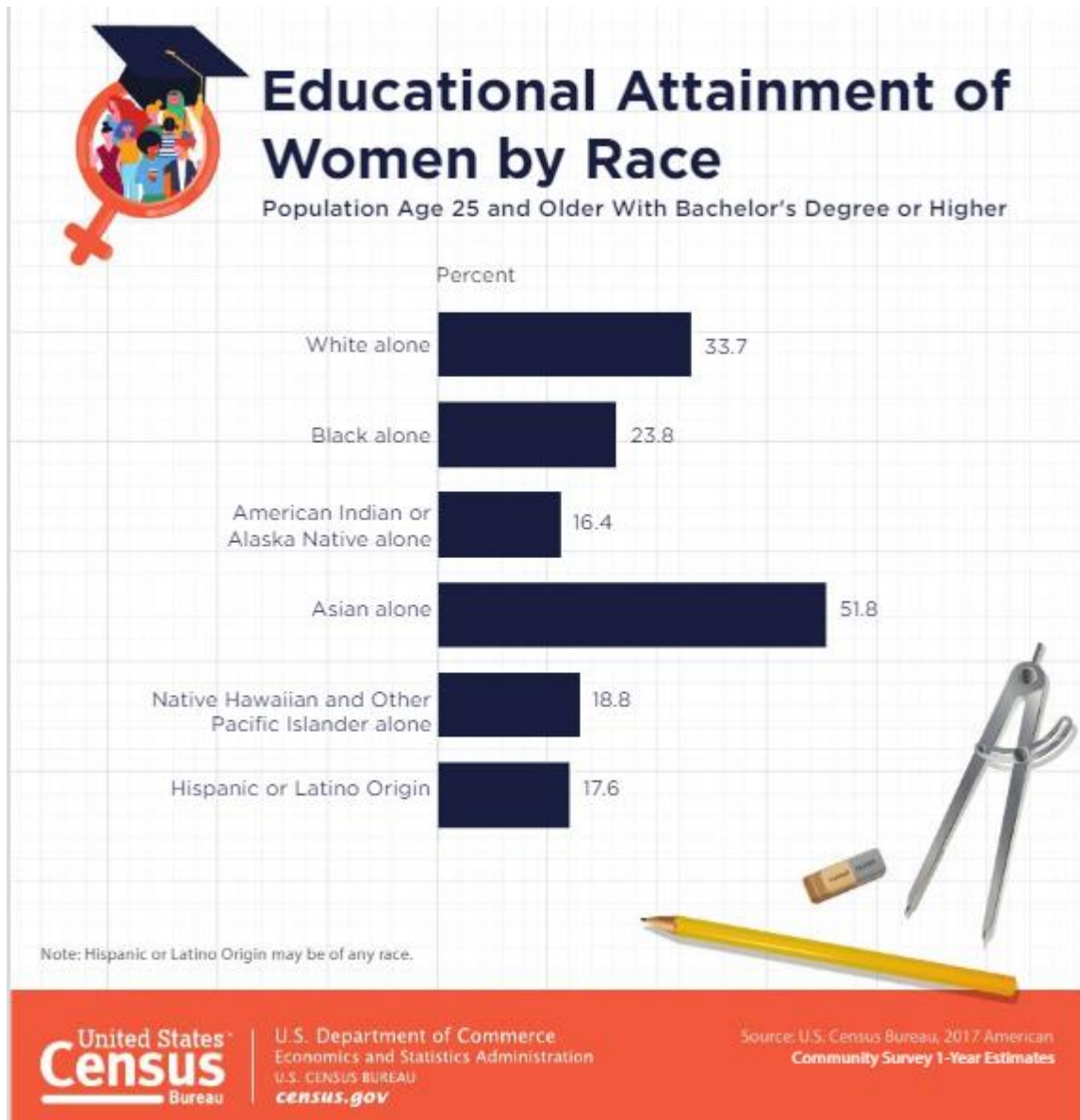
APPENDIX B.4. CHART OF BLACK EDUCATION ON THE RISE



Source: US Census

<https://www.census.gov/content/dam/Census/library/visualizations/2022/comm/black-education.pdf>

APPENDIX B.5. EDUCATIONAL ATTAINMENT OF WOMEN BY RACE



Source: US Census

<https://www.census.gov/library/visualizations/2019/comm/womens-history.html>

C) SHIRLEY CHISHOLM’S SPEECHES AND INTERVIEWS

APPENDIX C.1. Equal Rights Amendment Speech Transcript-Shirley Chisholm

Shirley Chisholm: (00:00)

Mr. Speaker, when a young woman graduates from college and starts looking for a job, she is likely to have a frustrating and even demeaning experience ahead of her. If she walks into an office for an interview, the first question she will be asked is, “Do you type?” There is a calculated system of prejudice that lies unspoken behind that question.

Shirley Chisholm: (00:24)

Why is it acceptable for women to be secretaries, librarians and teachers, but totally unacceptable for them to be managers, administrators, doctors, lawyers, and members of congress. The unspoken assumption is that women are different. They do not have executive ability, orderly minds, stability, leadership skills, and they are too emotional. It has been observed before that society for a long time discriminated against another minority, the blacks, on the same basis that there were different and inferior. The happy little homemaker and contented “Old Darkey” on the plantation were both produced by prejudice.

Shirley Chisholm: (01:08)

As a black person, I am no stranger to race prejudice. But the truth is that in the political world, I have been far often discriminated against because I am a woman than because I am black. Prejudice against blacks is becoming unacceptable, although it will take years to eliminate it. But it is doomed because slowly, white America is beginning to admit that it exists. Prejudice against women is still acceptable. There is very little understanding yet of the

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immorality involved in double pay scales and the classifications of most of the better jobs as for men only.

Shirley Chisholm: (01:50)

More than half of the United States is female, but women occupy only 2% of the managerial position. We have not even reached the level of tokenism yet. No women sit on the AFL-CLO Council or Supreme Court. There have been only two women who held cabinet rank and at the present, there are none. Only two women now hold an ambassadorial rank in diplomatic corps. In Congress, we are down to one Senate and 10 representatives.

Shirley Chisholm: (02:22)

Considering that there are about three and a half million more women in the United States than men, this situation is outrageous. It is true that part of the problem has been that women have not been aggressive in demanding for their rights. This was also true for the black population. For many years, they submitted to oppression and even cooperated with it. Women have done the same thing. But now there is an awareness of the situation, particularly among younger segments of the population. As in the field of equal rights for blacks, Spanish-Americans, the Indians and other groups, laws will not change such deep-seated problems overnight, but they tend to be used to provide protection for those who are most abused. And to begin the process of evolutionary change by compelling the insensitive majority to reexamine its unconscious attitudes.

Shirley Chisholm: (03:22)

It is for this reason that I wish to introduce today a proposal that has been before every Congress for the last 40 years and that sooner or later must become part of the basic law of the

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land, The Equal Rights Amendment. Let me not and try to refute two of the commonest arguments that are offered against this amendment. One is that women are already protected under the law and do not need legislation. Existing laws are not adequate to secure equal rights for women. Sufficient proof of this is the concentration of women in low paying jobs and they're incredible scarcity in the upper-level jobs. If women are already equal, why is it such an event whenever one happens to be elected to Congress. It is obvious that discrimination exists. Women do not have the opportunities that men do. And women that do not conform to the system, who tried to break with the accepted patterns are stigmatized as “odd” and “unfeminine.”

Shirley Chisholm: (04:39)

The fact is that a woman who aspires to be chairman of the board or a member of the house does so for exactly the same reasons as any man, basically, these are that she thinks she can do the job and she wants to try. A second argument often heard against the Equal Rights Amendment is that would eliminate legislation that many states and the federal government have enacted giving special protection to women and that it would throw the marriage and the divorce law into chaos. As for the marriage laws, they are due for a sweeping reform and an excellent beginning would be to wipe the existing ones off the books.

Shirley Chisholm: (05:30)

Regarding special protection for working women, I cannot understand why it should be needed. Women need no protection that men do not need. What we need are laws to protect working people, to guarantee them fair pay, safe working conditions, protection against sickness and layoffs, and provision for dignified, comfortable retirement. Men and women

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need these things equally. That one sex needs protection more than the other is a male supremacist myth, as ridiculous and unworthy of respect as the white supremacist myth that society is trying to cure itself of at this time.

Source: Equal Rights Amendment Speech Transcript-Shirley Chisholm. *rev.com*
<https://www.rev.com/blog/transcripts/equal-rights-amendment-speech-transcript-shirley-chisholm>

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APPENDIX C.2. "Shirley Chisholm declares presidential bid, January 25, 1972" Brooklyn, New York.

I stand before you today as a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency of the United States of America.

I am not the candidate of black America, although I am black and proud.

I am not the candidate of the women's movement of this country, although I am a woman and I'm equally proud of that.

I am not the candidate of any political bosses or fat cats or special interests.

I stand here now without endorsements from many big-name politicians or celebrities or any other kind of prop. I do not intend to offer to you the tired and glib clichés, which for too long have been [an] accepted part of our political life.

I am the candidate of the people of America. And my presence before you, now, symbolizes a new era in American political history. I have always earnestly believed in the great potential of America. Our constitutional democracy will soon celebrate its 200th anniversary, effective testimony to the longevity of our cherished Constitution, and its unique Bill of Rights, which continues to give to the world its inspirational message of freedom and liberty.

We Americans are a dynamic people because of our rugged individuality and our cherished diversity, because of our belief in human dignity, because of our generosity and good will to our fellow man -- and most importantly, because of our tradition of moving forward, forward to actively confront those problems which plague us in a world growing more complex each year.

Like all human beings, we have made mistakes. Our involvement in Vietnam was and remains at this very moment a terrible tragedy. To have intervened in the civil war in that country, and then later to have intervened in still two more countries, Laos and Cambodia, was an ill-conceived

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blunder whose consequences all of us have had to suffer. To leave our men there, or to increase massive bombing in the process of withdrawing them, is to compound the havoc and misery which we are inflicting on the peoples of Indochina; [on our] own young men who have been killed and mutilated and rendered drug addicts; and ourselves -- ourselves, whose hard-earned has, during a serious economic recession, made up the billions of dollars spent in Vietnam when we so urgently needed these resources at home.

During last year, 1971, more civilians were killed and wounded in Indochina, and many more made refugees, than at any time in our history. And Vietnam continues to cost us one million dollars a day -- this despite President Nixon's promise, four years ago, to end this nightmare.

Our unique economic system has made America the wealthiest nation in history. Yet, we have undergone another economic recession in which millions of Americans have lost their jobs and are unable to find work -- the highest number in ten years. And at the same time, prices have soared on even the essentials of life -- food, clothing, and medical care.

And beyond Vietnam and its horrors, which have dominated our newspapers and television[s] for eight long years; and beyond the economic recession, which has caused severe hardship [at] home to so many Americans, is the visible, ongoing destruction of our natural environment, and our loss of a sense of personal security in our own daily lives.

Perhaps even more fundamental is our loss of the feeling of community; shock at the continuing injustices and inequities in the land that we love; our suspicions of pervasive constitutional incompetence and corruption; our feeling that there's an absence of respectable authority in our nation; and our loss of confidence in ourselves, with apathy or despair arising from the conviction that we are powerless to make ourselves heard or felt in remedying our ills.

Fellow Americans, we have looked in vain to the Nixon Administration for the courage, the spirit, the character, and the words to lift us, to bring out the best in us, to rekindle in each of us our faith in the American Dream. Yet, all that we have received in return is just another smooth exercise in

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political manipulation, deceit and deception, callousness and indifference to our individual problems, and the disgusting playing of divisive politics -- pinning the young against the old, labor against management, North against South, black against white.

The abiding concern of this Administration has been one of political expediency rather than the needs of man's nature. The President has broken his promises to us, and has therefore lost his claim to our trust and confidence in him.

I cannot believe -- I cannot believe that this Administration would have ever been elected four years ago if we had known then what we know today -- that we are entering -- we are entering a new era in which we must, as Americans, demand stature and size in our national leadership -- leadership -- leadership which is fresh, leadership which is open, and leadership which is receptive to the problems of all Americans.

I have faith in the American people. I believe that we are smart enough to correct our mistakes. I believe we are intelligent enough to recognize the talent, energy, and dedication which all Americans, including women and minorities, have to offer.

I know from my travels to the cities and small towns of America that we have a vast potential which can and must be put to constructive use in getting this great nation together.

I know that millions of Americans from all walks of life agree with me that leadership does not mean putting the ear to the ground to follow public opinion, but to have the vision of what is necessary and the courage to make it possible -- not by force, violence, or intimidation, but by persuasion, example, and law.

We must turn away from the control of the prosaic -- the privilege[d], and the old-line, tired politicians -- to open our society to the energies and abilities of countless new kinds of groups of Americans -- women, blacks, browns, Indians, Orientals, and youth, so that they can develop their own full potential and thereby participate equally and enthusiastically in building a strong and just society, rich -- rich in its diversity and noble in its quality of life.

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I stand before you today to repudiate the ridiculous notion that the American people will not vote for a qualified -- qualified candidate simply because he is not white, or because she's not a male. I do not believe that in 1972 the great majority of Americans will continue to harbor such narrow and petty prejudices. I am convinced that the American people are in a mood to discard the politics and the political personalities of the past. I believe that they will show, in 1972 and thereafter, that they intend to make independent judgments on the merits of a particular candidate based on that candidate's intelligence, character, physical ability, competence, integrity, and honesty.

It is -- It is, I feel, the duty of responsibility leaders of this country to encourage and maximize -- not to dismiss or minimize -- such judgment. Americans all over are demanding a new sensibility, a new philosophy of government from Washington.

Instead of sending spies to snoop on participants at Earth Day, I would welcome the efforts of concerned citizens of all ages to stop the abuse of our environment.

Instead of watching a football game on television, while young people beg for the attention of their President concerning our actions abroad, I would encourage them to speak out, organize for peaceful change, and vote in November.

Instead of blocking efforts to control the huge amounts of money given political candidates by the rich and the powerful, I would provide certain limits on such amounts, and encourage all the people of this nation to contribute small sums to the candidates of their choice.

Instead of calculating the political costs of this or that policy, and of weighing favors of this or that group, depending on whether that group voted for me in 1968, I would remind all Americans at this hour of the words of Abraham Lincoln: "A house divided [against itself] cannot stand."³

We Americans -- We Americans are all fellow countrymen, one day confronting the judgment of history in our country. We are all God's children and the will of each of us is as precious as the will of the most powerful General or corporate millionaire.

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Our will -- our will can create a new American in 1972: one where there's freedom from violence and war at home and abroad; where there's freedom from poverty and discrimination; where there exists at least a feeling that we are making progress and assurance for everyone, medical care, employment, and decent housing; where we more decisively clean up our streets, our water, and our air; where we work together, black and white, to rebuild our neighborhoods, and to make our cities quiet, attractive, and efficient; and, fundamentally, where we live in the confidence that every man and every woman in America has at long last the opportunity to become all that he was created of being, such as his ability.

In conclusion, all of you who share this vision, from New York to California, from Wisconsin to Florida, are brothers and sisters on the road to national unity and a new America. Those of you -- Those of you who were locked outside of the convention hall in 1968, those of you who can now vote for the first time, those of you who agree with me that the institutions of this country belong to all of the people who inhabit it, those of you who have been neglected, left out, ignored, forgotten, or shunned aside for whatever reason: Give me your help at this hour! Join me in an effort to reshape our society and regain control of our destiny as we go down the Chisholm Trail for 1972.

Source: "Shirley Chisholm declares presidential bid, January 25, 1972" Brooklyn, New York.
<https://www.americanrhetoric.com/speeches/shirleychisholmpresidentialcandidacyannouncement.htm>

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APPENDIX C.3. "Shirley Chisholm Speech" 1983 on YouTube

Shirley Chisholm, the first black congresswoman and a 1971 candidate for nominee for Presidency of United States in a historical political moment speaks at the Greenfield High School Auditorium in 1983. Introduction by Risky Case.

Chisholm gave this speech at Greenfield High School.

Thank you very much. I am very glad to be here this evening. I think it is important that as we look around ourselves in the world today, there are so many complex complicated problems, and the time has come that somehow, we must be able to utilize our creative energies in a positive manner and work together for the amelioration of the human condition. It matters not whether you are white or black, whether you are male or female, but that if you have special talents and aptitudes and abilities, that these collective talents and abilities should be utilized by all of us in order to try and help make this world a better place in which to live. I am here tonight to speak specifically about women and blacks: a coalition.

I want to begin by reading to you the words of another famous woman of Massachusetts: Abigail Adams, the wife of the second president of the United States of America. In a letter to her husband at the Continental Congress back in the 18th century, she counseled the future president of the United States, and this is what she said thusly. She said:

"Remember the ladies and be more generous and favorable to them than your ancestors. Do not put such unlimited power into the hands of husbands. Remember that all men would be tyrants if they could."

Remember this is not a modern-day feminist talking, ladies and gentleman. This is dear old Abigail from the 18th century.

"If particular care and attention is not paid to the ladies, we are determined to foment a rebellion, and we will not hold ourselves bound by any laws in which we have no voice or representation."

More than 200 years after her quill pen scratched those words on the paper, this land, this society, and this economy are still dominated by husbands and by some tyrants who are determined to rule consistently and persistently.

And not only are women still struggling under the weight of some of this tyranny, but blacks and other minorities in this nation also still know that true equality only as an ideal and a concept, not as an everyday reality. We women, we blacks have rebelled. We have struggled and we have made progress towards realizing the egalitarian promises proclaimed in our country's founding documents, and even earlier than the Civil Rights movement and even before the feminist

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movement, blacks and women in this country had been marching and boycotting and lobbying and pamphleting for the basic rights of citizenship.

We must remember that when the Constitution was written, that women were regarded as property and that blacks were only regarded as 3/5 of a person. So, one could understand how it is that blacks and women are still struggling to gain equitability of opportunity across the board in jobs, in education, and in training. There is no particular test as yet that indicates that men has [sic] a superiority of grey cranial matter over women. There are stupid men and there are stupid women. There are brilliant men and there are brilliant women. And our country needs the collective talents of the genus Homo sapiens who have talent, of whom some are men and some are women, in order to be able to better the conditions for all of us.

We blacks and we women, we did, over time, bring some important concessions from the males in power. Through the years we have risen from the horizontal closer to the vertical, but we women and we blacks did it separately. We did it as blacks or we did it as women. We each fought our own battles because we did not see or we could not see or we would not see that it was all the same battle for freedom and equality of opportunities. We have been marching down different sides of the same street that are not to recognize it, but maybe finally we are coming together and we are marching down, hopefully, the middle of the street.

On Saturday August 27, we walked together down an important street. That street was Constitution Avenue in Washington D.C. We marched together as a new coalition of conscience not only to remember the historic gatherings of 20 years ago but also, and more importantly, to unite behind the causes key to our future as a nation and our future as a planet peopled in peace by a diversity of human beings.

The United States of America is a multifaceted, variegated nation. People, your ancestors, came to these shores from other countries across the Atlantic years ago fleeing from economic, political, and/or religious persecution because they heard of a place called America, the land of the free and the home of the brave. So they came because the words at the foot of the Statue of Liberty beckoned to them and gave them the feeling and idea that you have come to a haven.

But black people also came, but black people came for predestined roles in America. The words at the foot of the Statue of Liberty did not have the same meanings for black people because they came to perform certain backbreaking slave labor on the cotton fields, on the tobacco fields of Georgia, Alabama, South Carolina, Arkansas in order to help develop this country in such a way that their labor, their sweat, their blood helped to make this country the great mercantile and financial center that it is today.

So the blood and the sweat and the tears of black citizens also lie rooted deeply in the stream of America, but because of our high visibility, the amount of melanin in our skin, even though we are

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all alike beneath. You remove that outer covering, my friends, and do you know that we really have the same kind of blood coursing through our veins? The same pair of lungs. The same circulatory system. That if I could help you to live, my blood or something that belongs to me might help you to live, it would not be a question of race.

It is important for us to recognize in this country that we must move away from the phrase of, "What do you people want now?" Black people, my friends, want no more nor no less than every other group that has come to the shores of America hardly able to speak the English language but came in order to hopefully realize the fruition and the aspirations that they dreamt about as they were persecuted in Europe. The blood, sweat, and the tears of black Americans also lie rooted deeply in the soil of America.

And this past August 27, when we were in Washington and we saw, when we saw America marching together, when we recognized that, indeed, at that point in time America was not anybody's melting pot. America is a side bowl: different pieces, different persons making up this multifaceted nation. We better understand that although many of us may have come to this country or our ancestors may have come to this country in different ships, we better understand that we are all in the same boat right now.

Yes, my friends, this is called a coalition of conscience, but what it really is and what it really needs to be is a coalition of confrontation but we are not speaking about confrontation in the streets. Our confrontation is against the policies and the philosophies and the personalities of the Reagan Administration.

Persons in this audience might very well say, "What do you expect from Shirley Chisholm? She's a Democrat, so what do you expect?" I challenge you in terms of saying to you, I repeat the words of Al Smith regardless of your political persuasion: "Let the record speak for itself."

Not since 50 years ago in the United States of America have we found a situation in America in which so many segments simultaneously are suffering from the most deleterious impact on their quality of life. Senior citizens wondering whether or not the Social Security system is going to hold up, and yet, during their productive years they were told that if they paid into a system called the Social Security system then in the twilight of their lives they would not have to worry. They could be assured of food, shelter, and clothing. Look at what we did to so many elderly people in this country when we had begun to move in the direction of eliminating the \$122 a month minimum Social Security of which 81% collecting that minimum were females in America. The only reason that did not come about was because of the outcry in this nation. Even during that time doctors told me that the circulatory ailments and the heart conditions of so many senior citizens escalated because of the disquietude, the anxiety, the insecurity. These people who had been productive for years and had been on the tax rolls of America and had paid into a system and deserved this in return now wondering what was going to happen to them.

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Then the dutiful young people of this country, the young people who must get a technological, business, or academic education in order to have the requisite step necessary to compete in a very highly automated and technological society. Now they don't know for sure whether or not they will be able to complete their college educations.

I just came back from Dallas, Texas, and Kansas meeting and seeing hundreds of farmers who have lost their family farms—farms that have been in their families for generations—because they do not have the money to make the loans. They can't get the money to pay off some of the mortgages so they are in a certain kind of predicament.

The women and the blacks of this country—the women as the results of the women's rights movement and the blacks as a result of the civil rights movement—were the recent two segments in America who adhered to the adage that God helps those who help themselves. These groups went out for about 15 years dramatically bringing their problems to the attention of America as a whole and progress has been made, but during the past two to two and a half years the actions not the rhetoric is not consistent in terms of the gains that we have made. As Al Smith said, "The record speaks for itself." Farmers, women, blacks, youth—everybody is suffering in some way from something that is called Reaganomics.

Our confrontation must be against an all-time vision of America. Our confrontation must be against blacks in the cotton and tobacco fields. Our confrontation must be against women in the kitchen. Our confrontation must be against blacks at the back door and women at the bedroom door. Those bad, old days are dead.

But, my friends, the conservatives desire to pry the lid off the coffin and so our confrontation then must be against the grave robbers. Our coalition has got to keep the lid nailed down tight and the wheels of progress turning and rolling once again. Our coalition still has miles to go. The bad, old days may be dead, my friends, but there are still plenty of ghosts roaming around.

As I have said to you, true equality is still not an everyday reality for the blacks and for the women of America. To this slippery, uphill climb to equality many of us right now have lost our grip, and we are sliding back down. It is poor women; it is poor blacks who fill the tenements of this nation and the housing projects of urban poverty. It is poor women and poor blacks trying to get by in the old houses and the shacks and the trailers of rural poverty right across the Appalachian hinterlands. If you go to Appalachia, you wouldn't believe that you are in a place called the United States of America, the richest country on the face of this earth.

It is poor women and poor blacks and their families that are now reeling from two and a half years of President Reagan's regulatory and fiscal karate chops. The nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office—so that you understand this isn't Shirley Chisholm because she's a Democrat—the nonpartisan Congressional Budget Office has just completed a study of the impact of domestic

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spending cuts enacted since our president took office. In a close examination, this nonpartisan body looked at 26 human resource categories and they calculated that there will be a reduction of \$110 billion for the people's programs in the next year and a half. Of that alarming total, \$26 billion is in retirement programs. I hope many of you recognize that someday you are going to get old and where are you going to be? \$18.5 billion is in the health programs of this nation, and \$25 billion is in the employment and training programs.

Nobody is saying that we must continue to spend ad infinitum. You hear about inflation. You've got to do something to bring inflation down. You thought the Democrats were the big spenders. All of these shibboleths and all of these things you hear, there is no question about that the president of the United States has a responsibility to make sure that we don't constantly spend, spend, spend, spend so that our children's children's children will be bequeathed the legacy of having to pay off this fantastic debt. We recognize this, but we do not seem to realize that it doesn't make sense that in the period of nine weeks our beloved president can come across the television and say to us that we will have to spend approximately \$1 trillion by the end of 1985 for the military and the defense of this nation in a peacetime economy. God help us if we go to war next week or next month and we may be very well be going into war in Central America. Maybe in a sense the American people will begin to wake up because in this century Americans have not been able to know what it really means. The wars have been fought thousands of miles away from our shores.

The President said he is acting thusly because he has a mandate. What kind of mandate does one speak of when only 27% of the 52% of American people who went to polls in November of 1980 voted for our president?

I don't blame our president at all. I really don't. The reason I don't blame our president is because America has gone to sleep. We are a bunch of Rip Van Winkles, quiescent. Everybody is quiet, only wringing their hands and wondering what is going to happen to us in the future. Where is our energy? Where is our spirit? In the 60s and the 70s in this country, the people rallied, the people moved. This country is the only country on the face of the planet called Earth where people can redress their grievances without any real fear of repercussions. We have instrumentalities and mechanisms for us to act thusly. And when the people in Washington D.C. didn't seem to be able to put an end to the Vietnam War where we had already lost 55,000 of the cream of the crop of this nation. You marched. The people in this country came to Washington D.C. by the thousands. They said to us in Washington, enough is enough. Within a few weeks, we heard you. That war was brought to a close.

And the civil rights movement. If we did not have the marches and the sit-ins and the meetings, and people, just American people, moving together and marching, do you think we would have gotten the legislation pertaining to the Voting Rights Act and all of the civil rights legislation that has helped to give blacks the feeling and the idea that perhaps they, too, will be a part of this American Dream that everybody talks about trippingly off the tongue?

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People, we have it within our grasp. We have it within our grip. We have it. We can turn things around in this country, but we've got to get out of our quiescence. We've got to become reenergized, revitalized, rejuvenated. We've got to once again move in the direction of saying that this, indeed, is a government of the people, all of us in this room, and a government by the people, and a government for the people, but it is certainly not going to be a government of and by and for the people in reality unless we the citizens of this realm become angry enough to rise up enough in righteous indignation and say we have to move in another kind of direction. The millions of dollars that I have witnessed since I was in the Congress for 14 years spent on weaponry systems that were obsolescent before they came off the belt. Money that could be used for education of our children in this country. Money that can be used to give those poor white kids in the hinterlands at least two glasses of milk a day.

What madness are we on? Why are we so quiet? That is the rhetorical question that I leave with thee. Congressional Budget nonpartisan group also found that 3 million school children were dropped from the school lunch program. 700,000 fewer students obtained guaranteed student loans. Let the record speak for itself.

But also, at a time when conservative forces oppress us, with their outdated and their repressive views, women and blacks are becoming a political annex capable in 1984, if we desire to do so, of blasting the conservative minority back where they belong to the fringes of our political system. Women already outnumber men going to the polls by as many as 6 million voters. Blacks riding a crest of inspiring political muscle-flexing are registering to vote in record numbers, and they can begin to control the political balance of power in many states, cities, and within the Democratic Party.

We blacks and we women, we have the makings and even have the takings of a coalition of confrontation and a coalition of conscience. It makes no difference whether if you love me or I love you. That is not the issue at all because every one of us in this room, I dare say, have people that love us. You're not in this for love. We are in this in order to make sure that this society does not consider continuing to give us a lot of rhetoric that is meaningless. That this society recognizes that we as women have much to offer. There is no other society in this world that has as many college-educated or college-trained women as in the United States of America. When I go to the United Nations and see my beautiful sisters from Asia and Europe in high-level positions running things and they say, "Shirley, we don't understand. America women are ahead of us. Your country is more advanced and yet what do you all do? You all just—you don't do anything." That is the challenge.

Women have got to understand also that regardless of whether you are a Republican, a Democrat, or an Independent or whatever, that we as the natural instructors of the young have a legacy to bequeath to these beautiful children in this audience this evening.

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Traveling through this country and going to the black deltas of Mississippi and Georgia and seeing little black children with distended stomachs hardly able to stand up, dying from malnutrition. Then going through the hinterlands of West Virginia and Kentucky, white folk living in shacks and trailers, dirt floors, outhouses for bathroom. No modern plumbing facilities. If you see these tiny little white children running towards you hardly able to stand up on knobby knees, pale, sallow beyond their years. They don't even look as though they are human beings living on this planet called Earth, and they are talking about care packages? America look [sic] at our own children. Look and see what is happening. You could never be the same person you are if you travel this country with me and come back here and sit in this auditorium in Greenfield tonight and not feel a stirring of some kind in your soul.

These children are our future. It is important for women to move out in the political area of this country, on the city level, the statewide level, and on the national level not because we hate men, as people sometimes want to say. It's not a question of hating men at all. It is a question of recognizing them in a turn of human events in the course of circumstances in this nation. That unless the natural instructors of the young have the opportunity to sit in these legislative bodies and speak of the child care centers, speak of the importance of a child having three glasses of milk a day, speak about the fact that it is necessary for children in Appalachia in the south to get that hot lunch because it is perhaps the only meal that they can get. Speak of the fact that there is a need for daycare centers not because of some socialistic concept as some of these Neanderthal gentlemen talk about when they stand in the well of the House of Representatives. The fact that 60% of American women today are working, women who have children between the ages of 5 and 15, and they are not working in order to acquire some kind of luxuries. They are working because many of them are the sole parent in the household. They are working because in so many instances the husbands and the fathers are not earning enough money in order to take care of the basic necessities of life: food, shelter, and clothing. In order to do this, they need to have places where the children can be cared for intellectually, psychologically, physically, and educationally. That is what child care centers are about.

The gentlemen are fine, but you see advocates for children, advocates for the daycare centers, flexi-time. Thank God, we finally got that in: flexi-time. Now we can really get to the point where a woman can work for five hours a day if her husband has an evening job. The woman can go out in the morning and she can work for four hours because hubby will be there to take care of the kids, and by the time she gets back he can go to work and they can have more income and yet the kids can be cared for. You should have heard the debate on the floor when we talked about flexi-time. Some of these gentlemen—really, they are worse than Attila the Hun. It's amazing where they are coming from.

I believe that we are going to be able to get some basic changes in America. After 25 years in the political arena, I never thought I would say this but I am now convinced, nobody can change me, I'm convinced that we're not going to have some of the changes that are necessary in America, the changes that have to do with the conservation and preservation of the most important resources a

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nation ever has, and that is its children, that we are not going to be able to have that until women are in positions of decision-making and administering power in the political counsels of this great nation. I truly believe that. I don't want the gentlemen who are here this evening to feel uncomfortable. I think if you are broadminded enough you will understand where I'm coming from.

Finally, my friends, I do want to say to you: look—together, together we can march down the center of America's avenue. We don't have to have the blacks on that side and the women way on that side. We are walking down the different sides of the avenue, eyeing each other, suspicious, mistrustful, distrustful because there are some commonalities in spite of the fact that there are reasons why both groups distrust each other. There are some commonalities pertaining to these two segments as contrasted to white males. We have been the underdogs in a sense. We have never really gotten the full ability in terms of carrying out the espousal of equalitarian principles in this life. If we are mature enough, and I'm not talking about chronological age at all, but if we are mature enough psychologically and socially, we can form the most formidable coalition in this country, blacks and women. Believe me, we can. We will change things, believe me. I know it.

But because of the inherent racism in the bloodstream in America, that gets in the way so we will both have to continue to suffer. Blacks can't do it alone in this country. And women, believe it or not, can't do it alone in this country. The power structure knows it, but the power structure also knows that blacks and women probably will not get together for historical reasons, prejudicial reasons or what have you and so we are out there each doing our own little thing never realizing that the power structure is afraid of the day might come in America when these two segments get together. Once these segments ever get together in America, halleluiaah, a kind of freedom will be emanating in this country in a way that you wouldn't recognize it.

But that is the challenge to you, not to me. All I'm going to say in conclusion is this. Too late now for us to go back to the cotton fields and back to the kitchens. We've come too far. I remember when I got started about some 21 years ago in the women's movement, a lot of women in this country, black and white, thought I was crazy. Particularly a lot of black and minority women couldn't understand Shirley Chisholm linking up with white women for the women's movement. Change doesn't come about by masses. Change comes about by capitalists who dare. Change comes about by those who put their necks on the chopping block and hopefully are able to withstand the insults, the giggles, the snickers, the laughter.

I know I have met so many women, very conservative white women who do not understand me nor do I expect them to understand me, who can't understand, what are you bellyaching about in a sense. I've had to tell them in no uncertain terms, let me tell you something, you don't have to be a part of the women's movement or any movement. You're now making \$35,000 a year as a vice president of a corporation. I've seen some very conservative women executives in this country that I addressed recently. More of them in that room were making \$30,000 to \$80,000 a year, smug as they could be and just didn't understand what women are, you know, are fighting, what have you. I said to them, "You may not understand what some of us have been fighting about, but I want to tell

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you here and now, you would not be making that \$35,000 to \$80,000 a year if it wasn't for women like myself and others who dared to challenge the traditional system that kept you back and now, you're enjoying the fruits of what we did."

My sisters, black and white, I want to say this in conclusion. We have really come too far to, again, be danced backwards into what others consider to be our place. Our place here and now is in America's mainstream, and the upper swifter currents of the mainstream where we can assume greater responsibilities and collect the greater rewards that we are due. Don't let anybody tell you that you're out on a limb. The time has come in America when all of us can no longer be the passive, complacent armchair recipients of whatever the morals or the politics of our nation may bequeath for us. But if we have the courage of our convictions, we will stand up and be counted. Nobody talks about you if you are not doing anything so don't worry about anyone talking about you. Forget conventionalisms. Forget what the world will say, whether you're in your place or out of your place. You do your thing looking only to God, whoever your God is, and to your conscience for approval. Together we will march. And you know something? If we are able to do that together we will overcome.

Source: "Shirley Chisholm Speech" on YouTube

Video: <https://youtu.be/NrN8N0dHMsc>

Transcript: <https://awpc.cattcenter.iastate.edu/2017/03/09/a-coalition-of-conscience-oct-3-1983/>

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APPENDIX C.4. “Shirley Chisholm, MIT 1984 Commencement Address”

MIT 150 | Shirley Chisholm, MIT 1984 Commencement Address

[MUSIC PLAYING]

GRAY: Dr. Chisholm will now give the address. Dr. Chisholm.

[APPLAUSE]

President Gray, distinguished members of academia, citizens of the community, **CHISHOLM:** parents, and most important of all, the graduates, congratulations graduates, and congratulations also to your three Fs. I'm not referring to any failing grades. I am talking about the three Fs. Your family, your friends, and your faculty here at MIT, all of whom must share much of the credit for this great graduation day.

I am honored to have been chosen to speak here today. I must admit, however, I was a little bit puzzled by the invitation, because the range of my technological expertise extends about as far as turning on the radio. And even that venture into the world of high tech sometimes is an act of bravery on my part. I easily can imagine a sudden eruption of black smoke and flying sparks.

And I doubt also that my expertise in political science has much relevance. Some people go so far as to claim that combining the words political and science is ridiculous, an impossibility. They think that political science is one of those oxymorons, those combinations of contradictory words, such as cruel kindness or military intelligence.

But whether or not political science can be a science is beside the point. I am here, I've got the microphone, and I'm going to talk. And I will try not to worry that you thought you had invited some other Shirley Chisholm who may be a nuclear physicist somewhere. I would like today to speak about the kinds of things about which I am deeply concerned and hope that you will be concerned also. I talk about those things, because I believe that they are important to everyone. And I talk about them because they have been the focus of my life's work.

Don't worry. I will also say the usual and expected graduation day words about the importance of each of you on this great day and so on. But first, let me speak to

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you for just a few moments about my beliefs. Let me say why I have fought so hard for 24 years for equality of opportunity for people of all races and of all backgrounds, for the black women of Brooklyn and of Roxbury, for the white women of San Francisco and Cambridge, as well as for white men and black men and Spanish-speaking men from every corner of this country.

And I want to say too why I have fought so hard for effective, generous, and compassionate action by government. Yes, that emotional-charged word government that has been necessary and continues to be necessary to ensure that equality of opportunity, not rhetorically, but in actuality, truly exists in America.

I know that I do not have to give anyone here within range of my voice this morning a history lesson about inequality and discrimination in our nation. Everyone knows that it has not been possible for every American to have equal access to a decent job, a nice place to live, a voice in our political system, or a chance to attend a fine educational institution like this one. There has been inequality. There still is inequality. And we need generous public support for proven programs on affirmative action, housing, education, employment, legal services, and on whatever other problem areas that still continue to raise their ugly heads.

But let's talk about you as people-- not even graduates. Not people that are going to be acquiring some of the highest degrees that will be offered this year in the United States of America. Let's talk about you as citizens, and as spouses, and as parents and members of our global community. I am not suggesting that you drop everything to join in the fight for equality. Nor am I asking each of you to abandon all thoughts of your personal rewards or comforts or achievements in your chosen profession.

You do not need to march out barefooted into the snows of winter to combat all of the ills of this world. I am asking you to recognize and act upon basic humanitarian responsibilities. As a citizen, of course, you must be an active and informed and regular voter. In addition, I hope that you make all of your views known on public issues, not just in the voting booth, but more frequently in meetings and in letters and by telephone.

I even dare to hope that some of you will join with me in seeking to restore public leadership, leadership that exemplifies profiles in courage in this great nation,

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which is committed to helping the needy and the disadvantaged here in the United States of America. I must say to you that fewer events in my life have been more difficult for me to watch than the Reagan's administration's replacement of compassionate egalitarian government with government pledged to greed and selfishness and the ascendancy of the rich and the advantaged in this nation.

And that is all that I had better say on that subject, because once I get started, it might be time to order a pizza and settle in for a tirade. I will spare you, however. I am sure that my opposition to the president's policies is no secret to anyone here. Well, let's get back to you and finish with you.

Let me mention just a few of my hopes for each of you as husbands, as wives, as fathers, and as mothers. I have been reading that people today are beginning once again to turn away from the cult of narcissism, to turn away from the Me Too generation. And I'm so glad that it's beginning to happen.

I have been encouraged by reports of spouses who are more committed to enduring relationships. I have been happy to hear about young people caring just a bit more about family and community. It has been good news that many people are accepting more responsibility for others, a kind of responsibility which was needed to accompany the new personal freedoms that we gained during the past 20 years from the easing of rigid conformity and old stereotypes.

In our own homes, we are responsible for listening and for sharing and for caring. And if we have children, we have even more crucial responsibilities to give to them the time and attention and affection that they need. If you, if we together, are truly-- and that is the key word-- truly concerned about education and the well-being of the next generation, we are going to have to do better as parents.

The fact that schools provide only part of a child's education, the fact that schools alone cannot teach and nurture our youngsters is really a fact. It is not just any kind of easy excuse from the teacher or the principal of a school superintendent. The well-rounded education of our children is a responsibility that we cannot and we must not shirk.

I've talked about responsibility, and I hope that you, the graduates, understand that I'm not speaking about a depressing, heavy burden of unending obligations. I am speaking instead of the joy-producing, world-bettering kind of responsibility which

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lifts far more burdens than it imposes. I have been trying to talk to you about a vibrant democracy.

I've been trying to talk to you about more healthy marriages. I've been trying to talk to you about happy children. And I'm talking about making a kind of world where those children can sit at future graduations, their own and their children's, and look back at times of greater equality, greater prosperity, and unbroken years of world peace.

Finally, you who are graduating here today, you are the foot soldiers of the future. Your education has been a

complete failure if it has failed to open your hearts to enlightenment. Some of you even may become leaders in helping to create this better world that we all hope for, thus shining the searchlights of science into the secrets of the universe, and at the same time holding high the torch of freedom, equality, and peace. Each of you can help to build a paradise on this world.

The time has come when we who are skilled and have ability can no longer sit and be the complacent, passive recipients of whatever our education or the politics of a nation, a nation as great as the United States of America, may decree for us. But if we have live consciences, and many of you can become profiles in courage, you will stand up and be counted.

You will even have the audacity to forget conventionalisms and forget tradition when tradition is no longer an answer to the problems that we are groping with in this world. What we will do is to do our best deeds, think our best thoughts, looking only to God, whomever your God is, and to your consciences for approval. Congratulations. May God guide you and protect you. And I'm looking to you to be some of the future dynamic leaders of the greatest country in this world, the United States of America. I thank you.

[APPLAUSE]

Source: “Shirley Chisholm, MIT 1984 Commencement Address”

Video: <https://youtu.be/L6Lq0bmwDaA>

Transcript: <https://infinite.mit.edu/video/hon-shirley-chisholm-1984-mit-commencement-address-641984>

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APPENDIX C.5. "Shirley Chisholm Addresses the National Women's Political Caucus. Washington, DC, July 11, 1991"

[start of track]

[Sharon Rodine introduces Chisholm]

Shirley Chisholm

[*applause*]

[Shirley Chisholm speaking]

Thank you.

It is certainly a wonderful site to behold here this evening. But a few of us dared to have the audacity, and the nerve, and the determination, some 20 years ago, to come together and try to establish an organization in which women would take their own destinies in their own hands, because we were just plain sick and tired of waiting on the gentleman.

[*applause*]

And we believed in that beautiful old adage, that God helps those who help themselves.

[*applause*]

But you can imagine what happened to me. I suffered intensely, because not only am I a woman, but I was also Black. A bearer of a double jeopardy, if you will. And at times not recognizing or realizing whether you were being discriminated against because of the amount of pigmentation in your skin, or because of your gender. But nevertheless, I was determined that I wanted to be a part of this change that was just arriving on the American scene. Because there are individuals in our society who just watch what happens all the time, those who make things happen, and those who just wonder what happened.

[*audience laughter*]

And so, I became involved. But I want to tell you a story that happened when I went to the Congress, that I've only told on two occasions publicly, and this is the third time I am going to tell this story. Because for the beautiful young women who are carrying on the legacy from those of us who emerged in the late '60s and '70s, you will understand when the time in which we were living, when I first entered the Congress, recognizing that it was the first time that a Black female had been elected to the United States House of Representatives, it was quite difficult. But of course, within a rather short space of time, the gentleman realized that I was not a woman to be tampered with.

[*audience laughter*]

[*applause*]

But one day, about two weeks after I entered the Congress, I went downstairs to the member's dining room in order to have lunch. The members have a private dining room, and when we have a very long session. We don't have to go outside of the House itself. They have provided us with a dining room.

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So, I went downstairs to the dining room, and there were no reserved signs on the tables there. Bella, you remember that? You'll go down and you'll sit anyplace where there was a seat. So, I went downstairs, and the gentlemen were constantly looking at me and they were pulling back from me a bit, because I think in a sense my reputation had preceded me before I entered the sacrosanct halls of the United States House of Representatives.

And I had on the table, soup, main meal, dessert, what have you. And I took my *Times*, because I saw so many people pulling back and pulling away from me, that in order to make myself feel comfortable, I would always read my *Times*. And here I was reading my *Times* while I was eating. And I felt something hovering over me. You know, like sometimes you're deep into something, and you realize something's hovering over. And I looked up, and there was this congressman from Georgia.

And this congressman from Georgia said to me, you sitting at [unintelligible mumble] delegation table.

And I said, I don't understand what you're saying.

[audience laughter]

[cheering and applause]

He said again, you're sitting at the [unintelligible mumble] delegation table. I said, oh, I'm seated at the Georgian delegation table. Is that what you're saying? He said, yes. I said, well, I just got here a couple of weeks ago. And I don't know where the New Yorkers sit when they do come down to the dining room. But if you want to make it easy for everyone, why in heaven's name don't you put signs on the table as to where the delegations sit. He says—I couldn't believe this—he said, I want my lunch.

[laughter]

His problem was—to show you the era in which we were living—his problem was there was six seats at the table. But he could not bring himself to sit at a table where a black woman—a black person who had just entered the Congress was seated.

And he was determined to sit there, and I was determined not to move.

[cheering and applause]

And so, he said repeating that phrase over and over again. And then I said, you now, Shirley use your own homemade psychology on him. I looked up again, and he says, I told ya, you're at the Georgian delegation table. And I said to him, I'm telling you I know that I am at the Georgian delegation table. I'll find out where New York is seated, and I will not be here anymore. And then I've quieted down a little bit and I said, I know, you're hungry, aren't you?

[laughter]

And just like a baby, he really began to respond [laughter] to my gentleness. And I said, well, you know, your problem is that you can't bring yourself to sit at this table with me, although there are six seats at the table. But you know what I'm going to do? You see that table over there—There's a table diagonally across from this table where I was seated, and I didn't know to whom it belonged. But I

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said, to him, you know what you do? You go over—and he was so nice. He'd become so meek. I said, you go over to that table, and you sit down, have your lunch, and if anybody bothers you, you tell them to see Shirley Chisholm.

[audience laughter]

[cheering and applause]

[Shirley Chisholm laughs with the audience]

[end of track]

Source: "Shirley Chisholm Addresses the National Women's Political Caucus. Washington, DC, July 11, 1991"

Video: <https://vimeo.com/449039971>

Transcript of video recording: <https://www.radcliffe.harvard.edu/news-and-ideas/shirley-chisholm-addresses-the-national-women-s-political-caucus>

APPENDIX C.6. “Shirley Chisholm | Speech at Howard University”

Thank you very much for that wonderful introduction. Good afternoon, students, I usually speak extemporaneously because I like to see what is happening as I try to bring a message to you. But there's so many things that I have on my mind this afternoon and in the interest of time, as well as to give you the opportunity to ask me any kind of questions you desire, I'm going to read my speech today. At another time when I'm not so pressured, I will speak extemporaneously on many, many things that I want to bring to you from time to time.

While nothing is easy for the black man in America, neither is anything impossible. Like old man river, we are moving along and we will continue to move resolutely until our goal of unequivocal equality is attained. We must not be docile, we must not be resigned, nor must we be inwardly bitter. We must see ourselves in an entirely new perspective and we cannot sit in our homes waiting for someone to reach out and do things for us.

Every tomorrow has two handles; we can take hold of the handle of anxiety, or the handle of faith. And the first battle is won, my brothers and sisters, when we fight for belief in ourselves, and find that it has come to us while we are still battling. We must not allow petty things to color our lives and stimulate them into vast proportions of evil. To dwell on every slight and clutch it close to our breast and nourish it will corrode our thinking. We're on the move now, and as Frederick Dougless said, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle." It never has, and it never will.

The United States can no longer afford the luxury of costly morally, religiously, and ethically wrong racial discrimination. For America needs all of her citizens with their abilities developed to make a fuller contribution to the future. Many problems scream loudly in this country. The thousands of black citizens disenfranchised, living under degrading conditions. The millions of poor in this nation, white and black, who lack the bare rudiments for fruitful living. The rapidly growing numbers of children caught in a web of disillusionment which destroys their will to learn. The increasing numbers of aged who do not even look forward to rest or retirement.

And despite the historic legislation in our cities and our states, nearly eleven million black citizens today still live in basic ghetto communities of our cities. From decades of non-participation, or only

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modest participation, the black man has within the last two years shifted his goal to full political participation for full American citizenship. And while on the picket line at the lunch counter and on the bus and the store boycott the black man came face to face with the full breadth and weight of the power of influence exercised by local and state governments intertwining and often stifling the protests.

Indeed, a principal byproduct of the American Civil Rights Movement has been the awakening of the black citizen to his awesome political potential. And just as the picket line and the lunch counter demonstrations and the boycotts were dramatic and effective weapons of protest for the civil rights movement, the polling place is the new phase in the new thrust of the black man's bid for equality of opportunity. "Power concedes nothing." How else can any man rise to power and hold sway over millions or tens of thousands except by smothering dissenting voices?

Freedom is an endless horizon, and there are many roads that lead to it. We must walk arm in arm with other men, and we must struggle toward goals which are commonly desired and sound. We must give and lend to the youth for stronger voice and encourage their individuality. We must look to the schools and constantly work for their improvement because that is where the future leadership of the country will be coming from to a large extent, particularly in the black communities.

The leaders of today in the black communities must be able to place the goal of freedom ahead of personal ambition. The truly dedicated leader follows what his conscience tells him is best for his people. For whatever else the black man is, he is American. Or whatever he is to become integrated, unintegrated, or disintegrated he will become it in America. Only a minority of black people have ever succumbed to the temptation to seek greener pastures of another country or another ideology. You know, so often nowadays we hear people say that we should go back to Africa, we should establish ourselves in Africa, or we should do a lot of other things.

Well, if people want to go back to Africa or people want to go to Africa just like people want to go to Europe, that's their own personal business. And you do it voluntarily. I don't intend to go to Africa, I intend to stay here and fight because the blood, sweat, and tears of our forefathers are rooted in the soil of this country. And the reason that Wall Street is the great financial center that it is today is because of the blood sweat and tears of your forefathers who worked in the tobacco and the cotton fields.

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And now because this nation is a mercantile nation and is enjoying the efforts and the labor of many of our forefathers, many of us want to escape and many of us want to run away. We didn't ask to be brought here in the first place. We came here shackled in chains at our ankles and our wrists and we were a cheap supply of labor and we worked.

We did many, many things. And now that the problem is becoming a little bit too hot. Everybody has all kinds of solutions for us. If you want to go to Africa willingly, you can go, just like other people in this country go to Europe, willingly. Nobody has to tell you or create something special for you. Our roots are here and our blood and sweat and our tears are here. And we're going to stay here. And we're going to fight.

For years, thousands of people from the European shores have been coming to this land. They came here hardly able to speak the English language but they came here and acquired the technological knowhow and they acquired the necessary skills that enabled them to become assimilated in the American culture and to move out and up into the American middle class. Hardly speaking English.

But we who have been born here, we who have been citizens by birth have not been able to become fully assimilated in the American culture because of an unmistakable and almost insurmountable barrier that just will not disappear because color doesn't disappear. And so, it behoves us to stay here and to fight. We have made this land, even though we have not been given the recognition, and nobody has to create any little nation or any little group and send us scuttling off. We want to go, we go. Freedom of choice.

The black man's total commitment to America indicate that the prospect ahead does seem bright. It is true that we are angry about our present plight for we measure this country not by her achievements but by her potential. "Black power." Oh, how that phrase upsets so many people. Let me give you my definition of "Black power." Black power is no different from any other kind of power in this country.

Just as I told you a few moments ago, the people from European countries came here and found their way in the American scheme of things after they were able to get a certain kind of economic and financial security, the next thing that they became interested in was to achieve power to control their own destinies. And so, for example in New York City you had at one time the Germans of

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ascendency then you had the Italians then you had the Jewish people and the Irish. Every other group moving out to get power to control their destinies.

But nobody had to label that as "white power" because it was understood and assumed that it would always be white power. Now that we are beginning to do what they have been telling us to do for a long time, take ourselves up by our bootstraps and begin to consolidate our efforts and move out like every other group has moved out in America. Everybody is so hysterical and panic stricken because of the adjective that precedes the word power: "black." You know it would have been hoped in this country that we would never have to use the word "black" before the word "power" because America has been built on series of immigrants coming into this land rising up and moving out in terms of achieving power to control their lives.

But you see, they made one mistake. They thought that because we had been relegated for such a long time to a subservient position and that we had accepted rather docilely the position of second-class citizenship that we would never rise up that we would never speak out. And so, when we began to say to the world in our own way that we too know and understand what other groups have been doing for a long time in this country. Consolidating and using our power and our efforts to move up and we want the world to know that it is "black power" because we have learned what other groups have been learning and doing for a long time in this country and people just have to get used to that word "black power"

It is indeed a reality that is gaining in emotional intensity if not always rational clarity. The harnessing and the solidification of Afro-American power however, is constantly being dissipated with factionalism. Internal struggle for power by one group over another. This behavior is no different from that of the whites. But we as a people cannot afford the luxury of fighting among ourselves if we are going to make real progress.

And Black people will gain only as much as they can through their ability to organize independent bases of economic and political power. Through boycotts, electoral activity, rent strikes, etcetera. Black power is concerned with organizing the rage of black people. Organizing the rage. And is putting new hard questions and demands to white America. We will build a new sense of community among our people. We will foster a bond between those who have made it and those on the bottom.

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As Charles Hamilton says "Alienation will be overcome, and trust will be restored." And let us remember, that a great people are not affected by each puff of wind that blows ill. We must fight constantly for belief in ourselves and above all we must hearken back to the days of darkness when Frederick Douglass the great abolitionist, even in those times, echoed the famous phrase that has come realistically to haunt the black people today in America as they fight to enter the political, economic, and social mainstream of these United States, the land of their birth. And that phrase is "power concedes nothing"

Let me say to you, my brothers and sisters, that until we can organize to create black unity with an economic base. Until we can develop a plan for action to achieve the goals to make us totally independent and not have to look to the man in order to live, we are not liberated. We must become doers and producers in the system in order to be able to control our own destinies. We have the potential, but we must consolidate all of our strength for eventual liberation.

And the black man's responsibility today is to establish his own values and his own goals. In doing so he will be affecting the larger American society of which he is a part. The black man and the black woman cannot, however, act alone. They must act within a community or family, job, and neighborhood. Let us not kid ourselves into thinking that the white man is suddenly going to make the choice readily available. The new day will come with honest black pride, and unified black action and education, politics and economics. Why it has taken us so long to discover this simple approach is one of the mysteries of the twentieth century. The Jews, the Poles, and the Slovaks discovered this phenomenon years ago. Compassion and understanding may moralize the system periodically, but it will never make it honest, just, and decent for us.

Only the application of economic and political power can achieve that goal. "Black is beautiful." You hear that phrase a great deal. Black is beautiful in what you do to contribute to the building of a strong black community throughout this country. The time now is to counteract the poison that has inflicted ignorance and hatred in the American social and political body. In seeking your identity, you can explore your African heritage not simply by adopting the outward manifestations of African dress and appearance, but by going beyond the roots of that superficial type of thing that many of us might be doing to learn about contemporary Africa and its people.

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I talk with so many people who affect these manifestations and they don't know anything about Africa. Learn about contemporary Africa and its people. And to appreciate that you and they have tremendous historical and cultural links that there is much that we can offer to each other's growth. Nineteen sixty- eight has clearly and painfully demonstrated the degree of stress and alienation that afflicts all of our institutions. Our young people have questioned the validity of traditional university education. They and many of their elders have fought against the tragic depletion of human and material resources in a complex Asian conflict that seems only to attract simple answers. The fabric of our incomplete nationhood has been torn down. The seam of black/white confrontation in this country.

We need a liberated and developing black community in America that once it has fully discovered it's inherent worth and power, turns to the even greater task of protecting and enlarging upon it's triumphs by further enriching an American culture that already has drawn so much from the black life stream. We need black businessmen who can rise beyond the local tax and spend and make dollars as well as cents for a black community that plays a full part in all levels of government. And there can be no understanding of the recent rioting of northern black ghettos or any realistic analysis of its impact upon the civil rights movement in the nation, without the realization that black citizens have just pressing and long neglected grievances.

We do not erupt simply for exercise. We do not curse imaginary obstacles and procedures. Our resentments are not the product of a momentary flare-up, but of years of postponement, denial, insult, and abuse. The conscience of political democracy cries out for an end to false democracy. It has just been inevitable that black Americans are tired of being governed by laws they had no part in making. And by officials in who's choice they have no voice. It is idiotic to labor under the old the white supremacist supposition: that a white man knows what's good for the black man.

The non-white American is saying, "We no longer want tokens which will only take us on a subway ride. We want some bread, some meat, and a slice, not a sliver pie, the same way any other ethnic group receives under this system." In humanitarian terms, the war on poverty must be fought wherever it is found. Part of the battle must be fought with the establishment of the hundred dollars per week minimum for all Americans so that subsidation by welfare authorities is drastically reduced. And a man is paid a decent living wage in today's automated society. In today's most

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affluent society, if you please. The goal must be \$2.50 per hour. A national minimum for all Americans. This reduces poverty.

More crassly put, we will be able to get more people off welfare and relief roles, and on to tax roles. we can get them out of the alleys of society and into the mainstream of productive society and productive employment where they can support themselves and their dependants with dignity and pride. Where they can contribute to the growth and strength of the nation's economy.

Source: “Shirley Chisholm | Speech at Howard University”

<https://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/blackspeech/schisholm-2.html>

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APPENDIX C.7. "Shirley Chisholm: Advice to Young African Americans" on YouTube

Chisholm: Get a good education, follow your mind, follow the dictates of your conscience, do what you think, and feel has to be done in order for you to achieve, and you will be able to succeed, I really believe that.

Presenter: Do you think that young African Americans feel hopeful?

Chisholm: No.

Presenter: Do you think that is self-defeating if you are hopeless?

Chisholm; (She node) Yes. Yes.

Presenter: What can be done to make young people see that they can be hopeful?

Chisholm: All you can do is you can constantly lecture to them and constantly answer their queries and their questions about things but so much of it has to do with the kind of environment in which they reared.

Presenter: Yes. Then of course young people are bomb-boarded with negative images too.

Chisholm: (She node) Of course. Yes

Presenter: From different forms.

Chisholm: That's right.

Presenter: So those repetitive messages, perhaps are making them feel hopeless or defining them.

Chisholm: That's right.

Presenter: They believe these definitions.

Chisholm: Yes.

Presenter: What can be done, do you think?

What can be done to counter these repetitive negative messages and images?

Chisholm: I still say that basically you always have to go back to the environment of which they've been reared. You always have to go back to that.

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I know of young people I had to get a few of them straightened out a few weeks ago. Don't get me that. Don't tell me that. They don't want to get high marks in their class because it means that they're aa. They think they're it.

They just want to be mediocre individuals. And I told them so 'there's too much mediocracy in this country too much'

Presenter: Yes.

Chisholm: You've got to excel because excellence reeefs rewards.

Source: "Shirley Chisholm: Advice to Young African Americans" on YouTube
<https://youtu.be/kc1coVnxU9s>

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APPENDIX C.8. "Shirley Chisholm: Men in My Political Career" on YouTube

If anybody would ask me what was the greatest thing that stood in your way of trying to really move up politically, I would have to say men, white men, black men, Puerto Rican Men, that is all. They gave me a hard time because they said one thing about Shirley Chisholm, she's too darn outspoken, and she is always raising questions. She never keeps quiet.

Source: Equal Rights Amendment Speech Transcript-Shirley Chisholm
<https://youtu.be/Hubaho0vX2U>

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APPENDIX D.1. "Shirley Chisholm's 1972 Presidential Campaign."


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Shirley Chisholm's 1972 Presidential Campaign


by Jo Freeman
February 2005



In July of 1971 Shirley Chisholm, Member of Congress from New York's Twelfth District, began to explore the possibility of running for President. When she formally announced her candidacy the following January 25, she became the first woman and the first African-American to seek the nomination of the Democratic Party for the nation's highest office. A few other women and other blacks had run on minor party tickets, and Sen. Margaret Chase Smith (R. Me) had campaigned for the Republican Party's nomination in 1964, but Chisholm's candidacy was a double first for the Democrats.

As soon as I heard that she might run, I knew that I had found my candidate. I quickly learned that Chisholm was running a grass roots campaign, in which it was up to the grass roots to figure out what needed to be done and to do it. What was needed in Illinois, where I lived while attending grad school at the University of Chicago, was to get her name on the ballot for the March primary.

That was easier said than done. Not liking the Daley machine which ran the Democratic Party in Chicago, I had not been active in the local Democratic Party. I soon found out that Illinois would not have a Presidential preference primary in 1972; individuals would run for delegate to the Democratic Convention from each Congressional District, committed to a specific candidate or uncommitted. Only those Presidential candidates who had delegates running in a specific District committed to that candidate would appear on



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a District ballot. The Daley machine would run a complete slate of 59 in all of Chicago's Congressional Districts that was officially uncommitted. Unofficially, the Daley delegates would vote the way Mayor Daley wanted them to; controlling a bloc of votes gave him a lot of power at Democratic Conventions.



Shirley Chisholm had been breaking barriers and challenging conventions for many years. Born in Brooklyn, NY of West Indian parents, she was the first black woman to sit in Congress. Prior to her election in 1968 she had served in the New York Assembly for four years, following a professional career in child care and early childhood education. To be elected from her mostly black Brooklyn district, she had defied what was left of the Brooklyn Democratic machine. "Unbossed and unbought" was her slogan. On entering the House she had refused a place on the Forestry Subcommittee of the

Agriculture Committee because she thought it was irrelevant to someone with her background from a poor, urban district. She was reassigned to Veterans Affairs; eventually she added a seat on her Committee of choice, Education and Labor. She deliberately hired a staff of young women, half of whom were black, for all of her office positions, not just the lower level ones usually occupied by women. Her first term she sponsored a bill to finance day care facilities; it passed Congress only to be vetoed by President Nixon.

It's unusual for any Member of the House to run for President, especially after serving only three years, but Chisholm was used to doing the unusual. Of course, she didn't run with the expectation of being nominated, or to increase her clout in Congress. She ran "to give a voice to the people the major candidates were ignoring."

Although Chisholm made a point of saying that she was not the women's candidate, she had always been a strong supporter of women's rights. One of the four founders of the National Women's Political Caucus in 1971, she often said that during her twenty years in local politics "I had met far more discrimination because I am a woman than because I am black." Indeed Shirley Chisholm was so outspoken in favor of women's rights that she was often criticized for not paying enough attention to black issues.

I encountered this negative attitude toward Chisholm by black leaders when I went to Operation PUSH, headed by Rev. Jesse Jackson,



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for help getting on the ballot. Its headquarters was in the First Congressional District, on the other side of the University of Chicago from where I lived. I found no support, just mild disdain.

Relying largely on my fellow grad students for help in petitioning, I was one of four people in the state of Illinois to get enough signatures to appear on the primary ballot committed to Shirley Chisholm, and the only one from a majority black district. When our campaign wrote her that she would be on the ballot in the First District of Illinois, she sent us 100 buttons, 20 bumper stickers and nine position papers on foreign affairs. Everything else we created ourselves. We used an initial \$200 in contributions to buy 1,000 buttons, and the money from selling those to pay for ads and to print literature.

Florida was the first state where Chisholm actively campaigned, largely because it had "blacks, youth and a strong women's movement" and there were a lot of people in Florida eager to organize for her. However, she didn't have enough money to hire professionals and the volunteers often competed against each other rather than working together. Since she also had to attend to Congressional duties in Washington, Chisholm could only make two campaign tours in Florida before the March 14 primary. A Southern state, the big issue was busing "to correct racial imbalance" in the schools, an issue about which the candidate was ambivalent. Despite large and enthusiastic crowds wherever Chisholm spoke, she got only four percent of the vote.



Chisholm continued her campaign wherever she could get on the ballot and had enough volunteers to set up speaking events. She campaigned in New York, New Jersey, California, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Michigan and North Carolina. There were some states in which Chisholm was on the ballot but never had time to visit (e.g. Wisconsin). And others in which she won delegates despite a single appearance (Minnesota). And still more in which she received write-in votes, or votes via delegate candidates (e.g. Illinois). Overall, people in

fourteen states voted for Shirley Chisholm for President, in some fashion or other. After six months of campaigning in eleven primaries she had twenty-eight delegates committed to vote for her at the Democratic Convention.

California was a special case, because state law gave all of the delegates to the winner, despite national Democratic Party rules requiring that they be apportioned. McGovern won California; Chisholm came in third with a tenth of his votes— enough to entitle her to twelve of California's 271 delegates

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under the national rules. The primacy of state law would be challenged at the convention.

Chisholm made only one appearance in Chicago, where she spoke at Malcolm X Junior College on the west side of the city on March 6. Her two Chicago delegate candidates were running in districts on the north and south sides of the city, but no free venue could be found in either place. Jesse Jackson's Operation PUSH, which owned its own building (a former synagogue) on the South Side, had declined to invite her to speak there, even though it regularly had some of the best speakers of a liberal persuasion (black and white) in the country.



The Illinois primary was one week after Florida's. Of course I didn't win; the Daley machine's uncommitted candidates won all eight delegate slots in the First District. But in a field of 24 I came in ninth, beating people committed to Sens. George McGovern and Edward M. Kennedy. The next day I read about a challenge to the Daley delegation, which had made no attempt to comply with new Party guidelines requiring that delegations reflect the composition of their districts by race, sex and age. I immediately joined in.

Meeting in June, the Credentials Committee voted that national rules trumped state law in both California and Illinois; the challenge delegations would be seated. However, when the Committee report and recommendations went before the full convention on Monday night in July, the recommendation on California was reversed and all of the McGovern delegates were seated. That decision gave McGovern a lock on the nomination. All the candidate nominations and speeches after that were just window dressing.



I was not a delegate at this convention, but an alternate. Since the election could not be held over again, the decision about who the Chicago challenge delegates should be was made at meetings of the people who had run for delegate in each District. When I arrived prepared to argue that Chisholm was entitled to at least one delegate because she had received more votes in the First District than anyone else, I found that a pre-meeting had been held and the delegates already agreed upon. Under the affirmative action rules only one of the

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eight First District delegates could be white, and that slot had been given to the head of the McGovern slate. Six of the seven blacks chosen had run committed to different candidates. One, Jesse Jackson, had not run at all. However, the three alternates had not been pre-selected, so I became the first alternate from the First District.

At the convention I lobbied the eight First District delegates to give one vote to Chisholm, but without success. All eight wanted to feel like they were part of the winning team, and a token vote for a losing candidate was not the way to do that. When the role call was held on Wednesday, Shirley Chisholm received 151.95 votes, including 4.5 from Illinois. None came from Illinois' First District, even though she had received more votes in the primary from those voters than had McGovern, who got all eight delegate votes. Many of Chisholm's 151.95 votes came from people who had come to the Democratic convention committed to other candidates, and become disenchanted when the race for the nomination ended on Monday. Ohio delegates gave her 23 votes, even though the Ohio voters hadn't given her any.

In the primaries and at the convention Chisholm received stronger support from grassroots feminists and blacks than she did from those identified as leaders. Reps. Ron Dellums (CA) and Parren Mitchell (MD) supported her. Betty Friedan and Gloria Steinem ran as Chisholm delegates in New York, but lost. Other Members of Congress and prominent people, both blacks and feminists, ignored her candidacy or opposed it. When Chisholm spoke at a National Black Political Convention in Gary, Indiana in March, she felt like she was treated like an intruder. However, at the Democratic Convention in July, the Chisholm meetings were full of feminists and the final meeting of the caucus of black delegates voted to support her. Most of those attending and voting were not delegates; those who were, were not bound by a caucus decision.

After it was over Chisholm said that if she had to do it over again, she would, but not the same way. Her campaign was under-organized, under-financed and unprepared. She calculated that she raised and spent only \$300,000 between July 1971 when she first floated the idea of running, and July of 1972, when the last vote was counted at the Democratic Convention. That did not include the \$2,000 that my campaign raised and spent on her behalf, and a lot more by other local campaigns.

By the next Presidential election Congress had passed the campaign finance acts, which required careful record keeping, certification and



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reporting, among other things. This effectively ended grass roots Presidential campaigns like those in 1972.

Chisholm quotes from her book on the campaign *The Good Fight*, Harper and Row, 1973.

Please click on thumbnails to view the complete image



Shirley Chisholm speaks at Malcolm X Jr. College



Chisholm supporter at the Democratic Convention



Shirley Chisholm addresses the Democratic Convention



while her supporters cheer

Source: Freeman, Jo. "Shirley Chisholm's 1972 Presidential Campaign." *University of Illinois at Chicago Women's History Project*. February 2005. <https://www.jofreeman.com/polhistory/chisholm.htm>

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E) PREPARED TABLE, TIMELINE, QUESTIONNAIRE, AND COVER LETTER
BY THE AUTHOR

APPENDIX E.1. TABLE OF THE MEMBERS OF THE 91ST US CONGRESS

Members of 91st US Congress (1969-1970)

MEMBER	STATE	PARTY	SERVED
Senator Adams, Brock	Washington	Democratic	Senate: 1987-1993 House: 1965-1979
Representative Addabbo, Joseph P.	New York	Democratic	House: 1961-1987
Senator Aiken, George	Vermont	Republican	Senate: 1941-1975
Representative Albert, Carl	Oklahoma	Democratic	House: 1947-1977
Representative Alexander, Bill	Arkansas	Democratic	House: 1969-1993
Senator Allen, James B.	Alabama	Democratic	Senate: 1969-1979
Representative Anderson, Glenn M.	California	Democratic	House: 1969-1993
Representative Anderson, John B.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1961-1981
Senator Andrews, Mark	North Dakota	Republican	Senate: 1981-1987 House: 1963-1981
Representative Annunzio, Frank	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1965-1993
Representative Arends, Leslie C.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1935-1975
Representative Ashbrook, John M.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1961-1983
Representative Ashley, Thomas L.	Ohio	Democratic	House: 1955-1981
Senator Baker, Howard H., Jr.	Tennessee	Republican	Senate: 1967-1985
Representative Barrett, William A.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1945-1947, 1949-1977
Senator Bayh, Birch	Indiana	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1981

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Senator Beall, J. Glenn, Jr.	Maryland	Republican	Senate: 1973-1977 House: 1969-1971
Representative Bell, Alphonzo	California	Republican	House: 1961-1977
Senator Bellmon, Henry L.	Oklahoma	Republican	Senate: 1969-1981
Representative Bennett, Charles E.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1949-1993
Senator Bennett, Wallace F.	Utah	Republican	Senate: 1951-1975
Representative Bevill, Tom	Alabama	Democratic	House: 1967-1997
Representative Biaggi, Mario	New York	Democratic	House: 1969-1989
Senator Bible, Alan	Nevada	Democratic	Senate: 1953-1975
Representative Biester, Edward G., Jr.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Bingham, Jonathan B.	New York	Democratic	House: 1965-1983
Representative Blackburn, Ben	Georgia	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Blatnik, John Anton	Minnesota	Democratic	House: 1947-1975
Representative Boland, Edward P.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1953-1989
Representative Bolling, Richard	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1949-1983
Representative Brademas, John	Indiana	Democratic	House: 1959-1981
Representative Brasco, Frank	New York	Democratic	House: 1967-1975
Representative Bray, William G.	Indiana	Republican	House: 1951-1975
Representative Brinkley, Jack	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1967-1983
Senator Brock, Bill	Tennessee	Republican	Senate: 1971-1977 House: 1963-1971
Senator Brooke, Edward W.	Massachusetts	Republican	Senate: 1967-1979
Representative Brooks, Jack B.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1953-

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			1995
Representative Broomfield, William S.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1957-1993
Representative Brotzman, Donald G.	Colorado	Republican	House: 1963-1965, 1967-1975
Representative Brown, Clarence, Jr.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1965-1983
Representative Brown, Garry E.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1967-1979
Representative Brown, George E., Jr.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1971, 1973-2001
Senator Broyhill, James T.	North Carolina	Republican	Senate: 1986-1987 House: 1963-1986
Representative Broyhill, Joel T.	Virginia	Republican	House: 1953-1975
Representative Buchanan, John	Alabama	Republican	House: 1965-1981
Senator Burdick, Quentin N.	North Dakota	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1993
Representative Burke, J. Herbert	Florida	Republican	House: 1967-1979
Representative Burke, James A.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1959-1979
Representative Burleson, Omar	Texas	Democratic	House: 1947-1979
Representative Burlison, Bill D.	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1969-1981
Representative Burton, Phillip	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1985
Senator Byrd, Harry F., Jr.	Virginia	Independent	Senate: 1965-1983
Senator Byrd, Robert C.	West Virginia	Democratic	Senate: 1959-2010 House: 1953-1959
Representative Camp, John N. Happy	Oklahoma	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Senator Cannon, Howard W.	Nevada	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1983
Representative Carey, Hugh L.	New York	Democratic	House: 1961-1975
Representative Carney, Charles J.	Ohio	Democratic	House: 1969-

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			1979
Representative Carter, Tim Lee	Kentucky	Republican	House: 1965-1981
Senator Case, Clifford P.	New Jersey	Republican	Senate: 1955-1979 House: 1945-1955
Representative Casey, Bob	Texas	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Cederberg, Elford A.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1953-1979
Representative Chamberlain, Charles E.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1957-1975
Representative Chappell, Bill, Jr.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1969-1989
Representative Chisholm, Shirley	New York	Democratic	House: 1969-1983
Senator Church, Frank	Idaho	Democratic	Senate: 1957-1981
Representative Clancy, Donald D.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1961-1977
Representative Clark, Frank M.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1955-1975
Representative Clausen, Don H.	California	Republican	House: 1963-1983
Representative Clawson, Del	California	Republican	House: 1963-1979
Representative Clay, William (Bill)	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1969-2001
Representative Cleveland, James C.	New Hampshire	Republican	House: 1963-1981
Representative Collier, Harold R.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1957-1975
Representative Collins, James M.	Texas	Republican	House: 1967-1983
Representative Conable, Barber B., Jr.	New York	Republican	House: 1965-1985
Representative Conte, Silvio O.	Massachusetts	Republican	House: 1959-1993
Representative Conyers, John, Jr.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1965-2017
Senator Cook, Marlow W.	Kentucky	Republican	Senate: 1967-1975
Representative Corman, James C.	California	Democratic	House: 1961-

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			1981
Senator Cotton, Norris	New Hampshire	Republican	Senate: 1953-1977 House: 1947-1953
Representative Coughlin, Lawrence	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1969-1993
Representative Crane, Philip M.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1969-2005
Senator Cranston, Alan	California	Democratic	Senate: 1969-1993
Senator Culver, John C.	Iowa	Democratic	Senate: 1975-1981 House: 1965-1975
Senator Curtis, Carl T.	Nebraska	Republican	Senate: 1955-1979 House: 1939-1955
Representative Daniel, W. C. (Dan)	Virginia	Democratic	House: 1969-1989
Representative Daniels, Dominick V.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Davis, Glenn R.	Wisconsin	Republican	House: 1947-1957, 1965-1975
Representative Davis, John W.	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1961-1975
Representative de la Garza, E.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1965-1997
Representative Delaney, James J.	New York	Democratic	House: 1945-1979
Representative Dellenback, John	Oregon	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Dennis, David W.	Indiana	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Dent, John H.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1957-1979
Representative Derwinski, Edward J.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1959-1983
Representative Devine, Samuel L.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1959-1981
Representative Dickinson, William L.	Alabama	Republican	House: 1965-1993
Representative Diggs, Charles C., Jr.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1955-

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			1981
Representative Dingell, John D.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1955-2015
Senator Dole, Robert J.	Kansas	Republican	Senate: 1969-1997 House: 1961-1969
Representative Donohue, Harold D.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1947-1975
Representative Dorn, William Jennings Bryan	South Carolina	Democratic	House: 1947-1949, 1951-1975
Representative Downing, Thomas N.	Virginia	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Dulski, Thaddeus J.	New York	Democratic	House: 1959-1975
Representative Duncan, John J.	Tennessee	Republican	House: 1965-1989
Senator Eagleton, Thomas F.	Missouri	Democratic	Senate: 1967-1987
Senator Eastland, James O.	Mississippi	Democratic	Senate: 1941-1979
Representative Eckhardt, Bob	Texas	Democratic	House: 1967-1981
Representative Edwards, Don	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1995
Representative Edwards, Jack	Alabama	Republican	House: 1965-1985
Representative Eilberg, Joshua	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1967-1979
Representative Erlenborn, John N.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1965-1985
Representative Esch, Marvin L.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Eshleman, Edwin D.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Evans, Frank E.	Colorado	Democratic	House: 1965-1979
Representative Evins, Joe L.	Tennessee	Democratic	House: 1947-1977
Senator Fannin, Paul J.	Arizona	Republican	Senate: 1965-1977
Representative Fascell, Dante B.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1955-1993
Representative Findley, Paul	Illinois	Republican	House: 1961-1983

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Representative Fish, Hamilton, Jr.	New York	Republican	House: 1969-1995
Representative Fisher, O. C.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1943-1975
Representative Flood, Daniel J.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1945-1947, 1949-1953, 1955-1981
Representative Flowers, Walter	Alabama	Democratic	House: 1969-1979
Representative Flynt, John J., Jr.	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1953-1979
Representative Foley, Thomas S.	Washington	Democratic	House: 1965-1995
Senator Fong, Hiram L.	Hawaii	Republican	Senate: 1959-1977
Representative Ford, Gerald R., Jr.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1949-1975
Representative Ford, William D.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1965-1995
Representative Forsythe, Edwin B.	New Jersey	Republican	House: 1969-1985
Representative Fountain, L. H.	North Carolina	Democratic	House: 1953-1983
Representative Fraser, Donald M.	Minnesota	Democratic	House: 1963-1979
Representative Frelinghuysen, Peter H. B.	New Jersey	Republican	House: 1953-1975
Representative Frey, Lou, Jr.	Florida	Republican	House: 1969-1979
Representative Fulton, Richard	Tennessee	Democratic	House: 1963-1977
Representative Fuqua, Don	Florida	Democratic	House: 1963-1987
Representative Gaydos, Joseph M.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1967-1993
Representative Gettys, Tom S.	South Carolina	Democratic	House: 1963-1975
Representative Giaimo, Robert N.	Connecticut	Democratic	House: 1959-1981
Representative Gibbons, Sam	Florida	Democratic	House: 1963-1997
Senator Goldwater, Barry	Arizona	Republican	Senate: 1953-1965, 1969-1987
Representative Goldwater, Barry, Jr.	California	Republican	House: 1969-1983

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Representative Gonzalez, Henry B.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1961-1999
Representative Goodling, George A.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1961-1965, 1967-1975
Senator Gravel, Mike	Alaska	Democratic	Senate: 1969-1981
Representative Gray, Kenneth J.	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1955-1975, 1985-1989
Representative Green, Edith	Oregon	Democratic	House: 1955-1975
Representative Green, William J.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1963-1977
Representative Griffiths, Martha W.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1955-1975
Representative Gross, H. R.	Iowa	Republican	House: 1949-1975
Representative Grover, James R., Jr.	New York	Republican	House: 1963-1975
Representative Gubser, Charles S.	California	Republican	House: 1953-1975
Representative Gude, Gilbert	Maryland	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Haley, James A.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1953-1977
Representative Hamilton, Lee H.	Indiana	Democratic	House: 1965-1999
Representative Hammerschmidt, John P.	Arkansas	Republican	House: 1967-1993
Representative Hanley, James M.	New York	Democratic	House: 1965-1981
Representative Hanna, Richard T.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1975
Senator Hansen, Clifford P.	Wyoming	Republican	Senate: 1967-1979
Representative Hansen, Julia Butler	Washington	Democratic	House: 1959-1975
Representative Hansen, Orval	Idaho	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Harrington, Michael J.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1969-1979
Representative Harsha, William H.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1961-1981
Senator Hart, Philip A.	Michigan	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1977

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Senator Hartke, Vance	Indiana	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1977
Representative Harvey, James	Michigan	Republican	House: 1961-1975
Representative Hastings, James F.	New York	Republican	House: 1969-1977
Senator Hatfield, Mark O.	Oregon	Republican	Senate: 1967-1997
Senator Hathaway, William D.	Maine	Democratic	Senate: 1973-1979 House: 1965-1973
Representative Hawkins, Augustus F.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1991
Representative Hays, Wayne L.	Ohio	Democratic	House: 1949-1977
Representative Hebert, F. Edward	Louisiana	Democratic	House: 1941-1977
Representative Hechler, Ken	West Virginia	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Heckler, Margaret M.	Massachusetts	Republican	House: 1967-1983
Representative Helstoski, Henry	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1965-1977
Representative Henderson, David N.	North Carolina	Democratic	House: 1961-1977
Representative Hicks, Floyd V.	Washington	Democratic	House: 1965-1977
Representative Hogan, Lawrence J.	Maryland	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Senator Hollings, Ernest F.	South Carolina	Democratic	Senate: 1965-2005
Representative Horton, Frank J.	New York	Republican	House: 1963-1993
Representative Hosmer, Craig	California	Republican	House: 1953-1975
Representative Howard, James J.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1965-1989
Senator Hruska, Roman L.	Nebraska	Republican	Senate: 1953-1977
Senator Hughes, Harold E.	Iowa	Democratic	Senate: 1969-1975
Representative Hungate, William L.	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1963-

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			1977
Representative Hunt, John E.	New Jersey	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Hutchinson, Edward	Michigan	Republican	House: 1963-1977
Representative Ichord, Richard H.	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1961-1981
Senator Inouye, Daniel K.	Hawaii	Democratic	Senate: 1963-2012 House: 1959-1963
Senator Jackson, Henry M.	Washington	Democratic	Senate: 1953-1985 House: 1941-1953
Representative Jacobs, Andrew, Jr.	Indiana	Democratic	House: 1965-1973, 1975-1997
Representative Jarman, John	Oklahoma	Democratic	House: 1951-1977
Senator Javits, Jacob K.	New York	Republican	Senate: 1957-1981 House: 1947-1955
Representative Johnson, Albert W.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1963-1977
Representative Johnson, Harold T.	California	Democratic	House: 1959-1981
Representative Jones, Ed	Tennessee	Democratic	House: 1969-1989
Representative Jones, Robert E., Jr.	Alabama	Democratic	House: 1947-1977
Representative Jones, Walter B.	North Carolina	Democratic	House: 1965-1993
Representative Karth, Joseph E.	Minnesota	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Kastenmeier, Robert W.	Wisconsin	Democratic	House: 1959-1991
Representative Kazen, Abraham, Jr.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1967-1985
Senator Kennedy, Edward M.	Massachusetts	Democratic	Senate: 1961-2009
Representative King, Carleton J.	New York	Republican	House: 1961-1975

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Representative Kluczynski, John C.	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1951-1977
Representative Koch, Edward I.	New York	Democratic	House: 1969-1979
Representative Kuykendall, Dan H.	Tennessee	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Kyros, Peter N.	Maine	Democratic	House: 1967-1975
Representative Landgrebe, Earl F.	Indiana	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Landrum, Phil M.	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1953-1977
Representative Latta, Delbert L.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1959-1989
Representative Leggett, Robert L.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1979
Representative Long, Clarence D.	Maryland	Democratic	House: 1963-1985
Senator Long, Russell B.	Louisiana	Democratic	Senate: 1947-1987
Representative Lujan, Manuel, Jr.	New Mexico	Republican	House: 1969-1989
Representative Lukens, Donald E.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1967-1971, 1987-1991
Representative Macdonald, Torbert H.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1955-1977
Senator Magnuson, Warren G.	Washington	Democratic	Senate: 1945-1981 House: 1937-1943
Representative Mahon, George H.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1935-1979
Representative Mailliard, William S.	California	Republican	House: 1953-1975
Representative Mann, James R.	South Carolina	Democratic	House: 1969-1979
Senator Mansfield, Mike	Montana	Democratic	Senate: 1953-1977 House: 1943-1953
Representative Martin, David T.	Nebraska	Republican	House: 1961-1975
Representative Mathias, Robert B. (Bob)	California	Republican	House: 1967-

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			1975
Senator Matsunaga, Spark M.	Hawaii	Democratic	Senate: 1977-1991 House: 1963-1977
Representative Mayne, Wiley	Iowa	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative McClory, Robert	Illinois	Republican	House: 1963-1983
Representative McCloskey, Paul N., Jr.	California	Republican	House: 1967-1983
Senator McClure, James A.	Idaho	Republican	Senate: 1973-1991 House: 1967-1973
Representative McDade, Joseph M.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1963-1999
Representative McEwen, Robert C.	New York	Republican	House: 1965-1981
Representative McFall, John J.	California	Democratic	House: 1957-1979
Senator McGee, Gale W.	Wyoming	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1977
Senator McGovern, George	South Dakota	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1981 House: 1957-1961
Senator McIntyre, Thomas J.	New Hampshire	Democratic	Senate: 1961-1979
Representative Meeds, Lloyd	Washington	Democratic	House: 1965-1979
Senator Melcher, John	Montana	Democratic	Senate: 1977-1989 House: 1969-1977
Senator Metcalf, Lee	Montana	Democratic	Senate: 1961-1979 House: 1953-1961
Representative Michel, Robert H.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1957-1995
Representative Mikva, Abner J.	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1969-1973, 1975-1981

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Representative Miller, Clarence E.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1967-1993
Representative Mills, Wilbur D.	Arkansas	Democratic	House: 1939-1977
Representative Minish, Joseph G.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1963-1985
Representative Mink, Patsy T.	Hawaii	Democratic	House: 1965-1977, 1989-2002
Representative Minshall, William E.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1955-1975
Representative Mizell, Wilmer	North Carolina	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Mollohan, Robert H.	West Virginia	Democratic	House: 1953-1957, 1969-1983
Senator Mondale, Walter F.	Minnesota	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1977
Representative Montgomery, G. V. (Sonny)	Mississippi	Democratic	House: 1967-1997
Senator Montoya, Joseph M.	New Mexico	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1977 House: 1957-1963
Representative Moorhead, William S.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1959-1981
Representative Morgan, Thomas E.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1945-1959, 1963-1977
Representative Mosher, Charles A.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1961-1977
Senator Moss, Frank E.	Utah	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1977
Representative Moss, John E.	California	Democratic	House: 1953-1979
Representative Murphy, John M.	New York	Democratic	House: 1963-1981
Senator Muskie, Edmund S.	Maine	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1981
Representative Myers, John T.	Indiana	Republican	House: 1967-1997
Representative Natcher, William H.	Kentucky	Democratic	House: 1953-1995
Representative Nedzi, Lucien N.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1961-

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			1981
Representative Nelsen, Ancher	Minnesota	Republican	House: 1959-1975
Senator Nelson, Gaylord	Wisconsin	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1981
Representative Nichols, Bill	Alabama	Democratic	House: 1967-1989
Representative Nix, Robert N. C.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1957-1979
Representative O'Hara, James G.	Michigan	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative O'Neill, Thomas P., Jr.	Massachusetts	Democratic	House: 1953-1987
Representative Obey, David R.	Wisconsin	Democratic	House: 1969-2011
Representative Ottinger, Richard L.	New York	Democratic	House: 1965-1971, 1975-1985
Senator Packwood, Bob	Oregon	Republican	Senate: 1969-1997
Representative Passman, Otto E.	Louisiana	Democratic	House: 1947-1977
Senator Pastore, John O.	Rhode Island	Democratic	Senate: 1949-1977
Representative Patman, Wright	Texas	Democratic	House: 1929-1977
Representative Patten, Edward J.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1963-1981
Senator Pearson, James B.	Kansas	Republican	Senate: 1961-1979
Senator Pell, Claiborne	Rhode Island	Democratic	Senate: 1961-1997
Representative Pepper, Claude	Florida	Democratic	Senate: 1935-1951 House: 1963-1991
Senator Percy, Charles H.	Illinois	Republican	Senate: 1967-1985
Representative Perkins, Carl Dewey	Kentucky	Democratic	House: 1949-1985
Representative Pettis, Jerry L.	California	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Pickle, J. J.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1963-1995

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Representative Pike, Otis G.	New York	Democratic	House: 1961-1979
Representative Poage, W. R.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1937-1979
Representative Podell, Bertram L.	New York	Democratic	House: 1967-1975
Representative Preyer, Richardson	North Carolina	Democratic	House: 1969-1981
Representative Price, Melvin	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1945-1989
Representative Price, Robert D.	Texas	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Senator Proxmire, William	Wisconsin	Democratic	Senate: 1957-1989
Senator Pryor, David H.	Arkansas	Democratic	Senate: 1979-1997 House: 1965-1973
Representative Quie, Albert H.	Minnesota	Republican	House: 1957-1979
Representative Quillen, James H. (Jimmy)	Tennessee	Republican	House: 1963-1997
Representative Railsback, Thomas F.	Illinois	Republican	House: 1967-1983
Representative Randall, William J.	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Senator Randolph, Jennings	West Virginia	Democratic	Senate: 1957-1985 House: 1933-1947
Representative Rarick, John R.	Louisiana	Democratic	House: 1967-1975
Representative Rees, Thomas M.	California	Democratic	House: 1965-1977
Representative Reid, Ogden R.	New York	Democratic	House: 1963-1975
Representative Reuss, Henry S.	Wisconsin	Democratic	House: 1955-1983
Representative Rhodes, John J.	Arizona	Republican	House: 1953-1983
Senator Ribicoff, Abraham A.	Connecticut	Democratic	Senate: 1963-1981

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

			House: 1949-1953
Senator Riegle, Donald W., Jr.	Michigan	Democratic	Senate: 1977-1995 House: 1967-1977
Representative Roberts, Ray	Texas	Democratic	House: 1961-1981
Representative Robison, Howard W.	New York	Republican	House: 1957-1975
Representative Rodino, Peter W., Jr.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1949-1989
Representative Roe, Robert A.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1969-1993
Representative Rogers, Paul G.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1955-1979
Representative Rooney, Fred B.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1963-1979
Representative Rooney, John J.	New York	Democratic	House: 1943-1975
Representative Rosenthal, Benjamin S.	New York	Democratic	House: 1961-1983
Representative Rostenkowski, Dan	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1959-1995
Senator Roth Jr., William V.	Delaware	Republican	Senate: 1969-2001 House: 1967-1969
Representative Rousselot, John H.	California	Republican	House: 1961-1963, 1969-1983
Representative Roybal, Edward R.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1993
Representative Ruppe, Philip E.	Michigan	Republican	House: 1967-1979
Representative Ruth, Earl B.	North Carolina	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Sandman, Charles W., Jr.	New Jersey	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Satterfield, David E., III	Virginia	Democratic	House: 1965-1981
Senator Saxbe, William B.	Ohio	Republican	Senate: 1969-

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			1975
Representative Saylor, John P.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1949-1975
Representative Scherle, William J.	Iowa	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Scheuer, James H.	New York	Democratic	House: 1965-1973, 1975-1993
Representative Schneebeli, Herman T.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1959-1977
Senator Schweiker, Richard S.	Pennsylvania	Republican	Senate: 1969-1981 House: 1961-1969
Senator Scott, Hugh	Pennsylvania	Republican	Senate: 1959-1977 House: 1941-1945, 1947-1959
Senator Scott, William Lloyd	Virginia	Republican	Senate: 1973-1979 House: 1967-1973
Representative Sebelius, Keith G.	Kansas	Republican	House: 1969-1981
Representative Shipley, George E.	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1959-1979
Representative Shriver, Garner E.	Kansas	Republican	House: 1961-1977
Representative Sikes, Robert L. F.	Florida	Democratic	House: 1941-1979
Representative Sisk, B. F.	California	Democratic	House: 1955-1979
Representative Skubitz, Joe	Kansas	Republican	House: 1963-1979
Representative Slack, John	West Virginia	Democratic	House: 1959-1981
Representative Smith, Henry P., III	New York	Republican	House: 1965-1975
Representative Smith, Neal Edward	Iowa	Democratic	House: 1959-1995
Representative Snyder, M. G. (Gene)	Kentucky	Republican	House: 1963-

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

			1965, 1967-1987
Senator Sparkman, John J.	Alabama	Democratic	Senate: 1945-1979 House: 1937-1945
Representative St Germain, Fernand J.	Rhode Island	Democratic	House: 1961-1989
Senator Stafford, Robert T.	Vermont	Republican	Senate: 1971-1989 House: 1961-1971
Representative Staggers, Harley O.	West Virginia	Democratic	House: 1949-1981
Representative Stanton, J. William	Ohio	Republican	House: 1965-1983
Representative Steed, Tom	Oklahoma	Democratic	House: 1949-1981
Representative Steele, Robert H.	Connecticut	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Representative Steiger, Sam	Arizona	Republican	House: 1967-1977
Representative Steiger, William A.	Wisconsin	Republican	House: 1967-1981
Senator Stennis, John C.	Mississippi	Democratic	Senate: 1947-1989
Representative Stephens, Robert G., Jr.	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1961-1977
Senator Stevens, Ted	Alaska	Republican	Senate: 1967-2009
Senator Stevenson, Adlai E., III	Illinois	Democratic	Senate: 1969-1981
Representative Stokes, Louis	Ohio	Democratic	House: 1969-1999
Representative Stratton, Samuel S.	New York	Democratic	House: 1959-1989
Representative Stubblefield, Frank A.	Kentucky	Democratic	House: 1959-1975
Representative Stuckey, W. S. (Bill), Jr.	Georgia	Democratic	House: 1967-1977
Representative Sullivan, Leonor K. (Mrs. John B.)	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1953-1977
Representative Symington, James W.	Missouri	Democratic	House: 1969-

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			1977
Senator Symington, Stuart	Missouri	Democratic	Senate: 1953-1977
Senator Taft, Robert, Jr.	Ohio	Republican	Senate: 1971-1977 House: 1963-1965, 1967-1971
Representative Talcott, Burt L.	California	Republican	House: 1963-1977
Senator Talmadge, Herman E.	Georgia	Democratic	Senate: 1957-1981
Representative Taylor, Roy A.	North Carolina	Democratic	House: 1959-1977
Representative Teague, Charles M.	California	Republican	House: 1955-1975
Representative Teague, Olin E.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1945-1979
Representative Thompson, Frank, Jr.	New Jersey	Democratic	House: 1955-1981
Representative Thomson, Vernon W.	Wisconsin	Republican	House: 1961-1975
Senator Thurmond, Strom	South Carolina	Republican	Senate: 1953-2003
Representative Tiernan, Robert O.	Rhode Island	Democratic	House: 1967-1975
Senator Tower, John G.	Texas	Republican	Senate: 1961-1985
Senator Tunney, John V.	California	Democratic	Senate: 1973-1977 House: 1965-1973
Representative Udall, Morris K.	Arizona	Democratic	House: 1961-1993
Representative Ullman, Al	Oregon	Democratic	House: 1957-1981
Representative Van Deerlin, Lionel	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1981
Representative Vander Jagt, Guy	Michigan	Republican	House: 1965-1993
Representative Vanik, Charles A.	Ohio	Democratic	House: 1955-1981
Representative Vigorito, Joseph P.	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1965-

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			1977
Representative Waggoner, Joe D., Jr.	Louisiana	Democratic	House: 1961-1979
Representative Waldie, Jerome R.	California	Democratic	House: 1965-1975
Representative Wampler, William C.	Virginia	Republican	House: 1953-1955, 1967-1983
Representative Ware, John H.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1969-1975
Senator Weicker, Lowell P., Jr.	Connecticut	Republican	Senate: 1973-1989 House: 1969-1971
Representative Whalen, Charles W., Jr.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1967-1979
Representative White, Richard C.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1965-1983
Representative Whitehurst, G. William	Virginia	Republican	House: 1969-1987
Representative Widnall, William B.	New Jersey	Republican	House: 1949-1975
Representative Wiggins, Charles E.	California	Republican	House: 1967-1979
Senator Williams, Harrison A., Jr.	New Jersey	Democratic	Senate: 1959-1982 House: 1953-1957
Representative Williams, Lawrence G.	Pennsylvania	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Wilson, Charles H.	California	Democratic	House: 1963-1981
Representative Wilson, Robert C.	California	Republican	House: 1953-1981
Representative Winn, Larry, Jr.	Kansas	Republican	House: 1967-1985
Representative Wolff, Lester L.	New York	Democratic	House: 1965-1981
Representative Wright, James C., Jr.	Texas	Democratic	House: 1955-1991
Representative Wyatt, Wendell	Oregon	Republican	House: 1963-1975
Representative Wydler, John W.	New York	Republican	House: 1963-

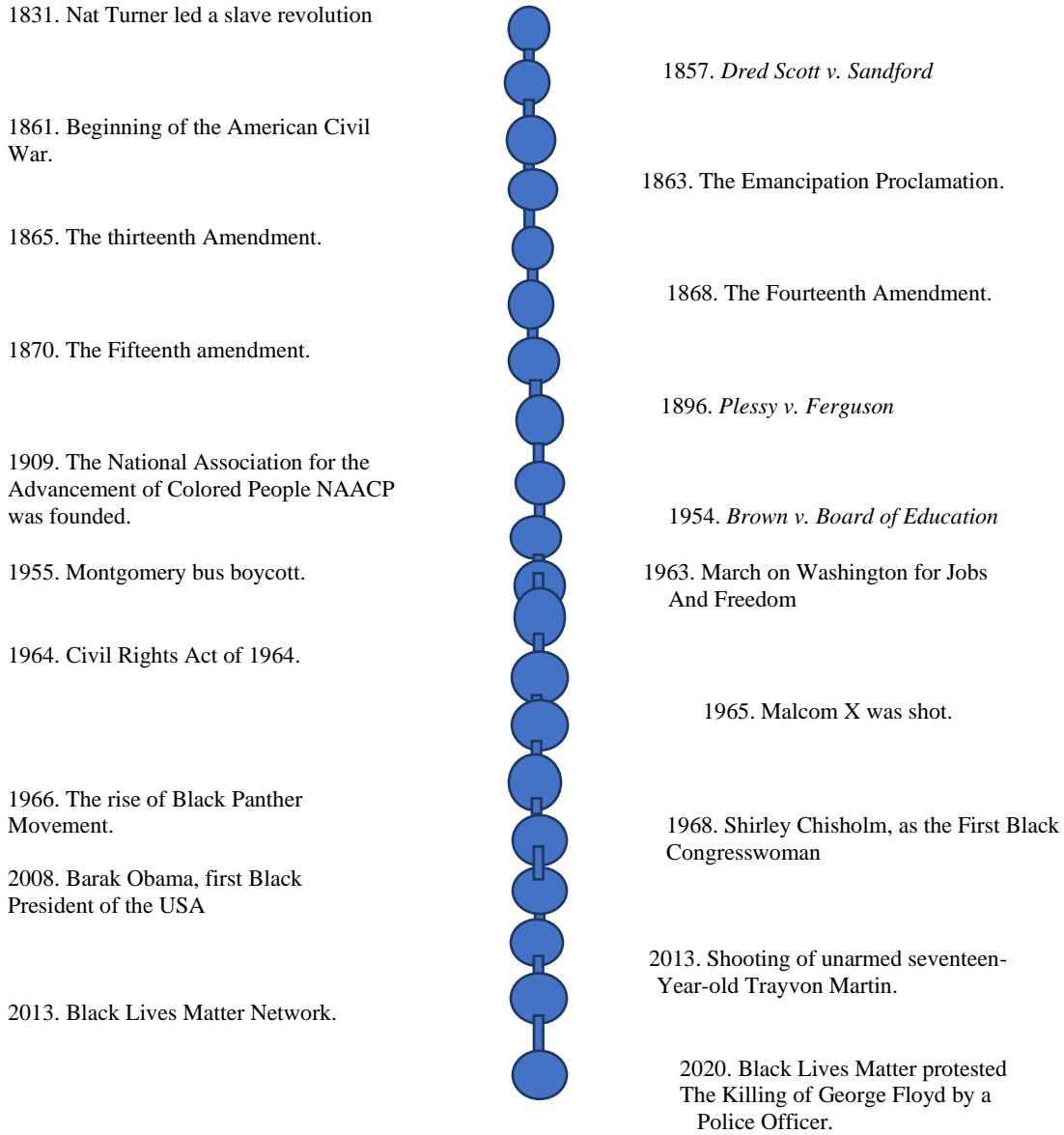
THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

			1981
Representative Wylie, Chalmers P.	Ohio	Republican	House: 1967-1993
Senator Wyman, Louis C.	New Hampshire	Republican	Senate: 1974-1975 House: 1963-1965, 1967-1974
Representative Yates, Sidney R.	Illinois	Democratic	House: 1949-1963, 1965-1999
Representative Yatron, Gus	Pennsylvania	Democratic	House: 1969-1993
Representative Young, John	Texas	Democratic	House: 1957-1979
Senator Young, Milton R.	North Dakota	Republican	Senate: 1945-1981
Representative Zablocki, Clement J.	Wisconsin	Democratic	House: 1949-1985
Representative Zion, Roger H.	Indiana	Republican	House: 1967-1975
Representative Zwach, John M.	Minnesota	Republican	House: 1967-1975

Source: Table of the members of 91st US Congress (1969-1970), designed by the author. Based on the gathered information about the members of 91st US Congress from CONGRESS.GOV. Available at: <https://www.congress.gov/members?q=%7B%22congress%22%3A91%7D>

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APPENDIX E.2. TIMELINE OF THE AFRICAN AMERICAN HISTORY



Source: A Timeline designed by the author showing the African American History. Based on information from <https://www.britannica.com/topic/African-American>

THESIS: “AFRICAN AMERICAN WOMEN IN THE U.S. CONGRESS FROM 1969 TO THE PRESENT. A CASE STUDY: SHIRLEY CHISHOLM (1924-2005)”

APPENDIX E.3. QUESTIONNAIRE

Questionnaire 2021

In this questionnaire, there are four options for each question. You must choose only one option, the one that suits you the most.

***Required**

Age Questions

1) How old are you? *

- a) 18-30 years old
- b) 30-45 years old
- c) 45-60 years old
- d) more than 60 years old

2) What are the ages of the adults that you live with? (Answer only if you live with others)

- a) 18-30 years old
- b) 30-45 years old
- c) 45-60 years old
- d) more than 60 years old

3) How old are your children? (If you have any)

- a) +18 years old
- b) 12- 18 years old
- c) 6- 12 years old
- d) 0- 6 years old

Social Status Questions

4) How many persons live with you? *

- a) I live alone
- b) two persons including me
- c) three persons including me
- d) more than three persons

5) With whom do you live? (Answer only if you live with others)

- a) Partner/Husband
- b) Partner/Husband and children
- c) Only children and/or parents
- d) Others

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6) How many children do you have? *

- a) None
- b) 1-2
- c) 3
- d) more than 3

7) If you don't plan to have any more children, or if you actually don't have children, explain why? *

- a) I am too young to have children now. Maybe in the future.
- b) Health problems.
- c) I already have enough children
- d) Financial reasons/others.

Level of Educational Attainment

8) What is the level of your educational attainment? *

- a) Master's Degree or superior
- b) Bachelor's Degree
- c) Non-compulsory Secondary Education (High School)
- d) Compulsory Secondary Education or less

9) Are you satisfied with your level of educational attainment? *

- a) Absolutely.
- b) To a good degree
- c) Not that much.
- d) It is not enough. I want to improve it.

10) What is the level of your mother's educational attainment? *

- a) Master's Degree or superior
- b) Bachelor's Degree
- c) Non-compulsory Secondary Education (High School)
- d) Compulsory Secondary Education or less

11) What is the level of the educational attainments of the people who live with you? (Answer only if you live with others)

- a) Master's Degree or superior
- b) Bachelor's Degree
- c) Non-compulsory Secondary Education (High School)

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d) Compulsory Secondary Education or less

12) What is the level of your children's educational attainment? (Answer only if you have children)

- a) Master's Degree or superior
- b) Bachelor's Degree
- c) Non-compulsory Secondary Education (High School)
- d) Compulsory Secondary Education or less

Financial Status and Job Ranking Questions

13) How do you earn your living? *

- a) Permanent work.
- b) Temporary work.
- c) Unemployment payments.
- d) Charity payments (including family help).

14) What is your job rank? (Answer only if you work)

- a) Political position/ entrepreneur/ employer.
- b) Managerial position.
- c) Employee.
- d) Simple worker/ domestic/ agriculture services.

15) How much do you earn annually? *

- a) +60000\$ per year
- b) 30000\$-60000\$ per year
- c) 15000\$-30000\$ per year
- d) 0-15000\$ per year

16) Are you satisfied with your work? *

- a) Absolutely.
- b) To a good degree.
- c) Not that much.
- d) I don't like it. I want to change my work.

17) Are you satisfied with the amount of money that you make? *

- a) Absolutely.

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- b) To a good degree
- c) Not that much
- d) I want/need to earn more money. It is not enough.

18) Does anyone of the people who live with you work? (Answer only if you live with others including your own children)

- a) Always
- b) Often
- c) Sometimes
- d) Never

19) If so, how do they earn their living? (Answer only if you live with others including your own children)

- a) Permanent work.
- b) Temporary work.
- c) Unemployment payments.
- d) Charity payments (including family help)

20) What is the job rank of your children? (Answer only if you have children who work)

- a) Political position/ entrepreneur/ employer.
- b) Managerial position.
- c) Employee.
- d) Simple worker/ domestic/ agriculture services.

21) How much do the people that you live with earn annually? (Answer only if you live with others including your own children)

- a) +60000\$ per year
- b) 30000\$-60000\$ per year
- c) 15000\$-30000\$ per year
- d) 0-15000\$ per year

22) How much do you pay for your landlord annually? *

- a) More than 30000\$/ I live in my own place.
- b) 15000\$-30000\$
- c) 1000\$-15000\$
- d) -1000\$/Nothing

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23) How much do you pay annually for your education? (Answer only if you are still receiving any kind of education)

- a) 40000\$- 60000\$
- b) 10000\$- 40000\$
- C) 1000\$- 10000\$
- d) -1000\$/Nothing. I go to public school/university/I have a scholarship.

24) How much do you pay annually for your children's education? (Answer only if you have any children)

- a) 40000\$- 60000\$.
- b) 10000\$- 40000\$.
- c) 1000\$- 10000\$.
- d) -1000\$/Nothing. They go to public schools/universities/They have scholarships.

25) How much do you spend annually on food, transport, and facilities in your household? (Answer whether you have children or not) *

- a) Less than the quarter of my salary.
- b) The quarter of my salary- half of my salary.
- c) More than the half of my salary.
- d) Nothing. It's a charity or family help.

Residential Questions

26) How safe is your neighbourhood? *

- a) Very safe.
- b) Safe.
- c) I can walk alone but during the day, otherwise in a group.
- d) Dangerous/No one can walk alone/crimes are usual in my neighbourhood.

27) Where do you live? *

- a) In my own house/apartment/flat.
- b) In a rented house/ flat/ apartment
- c) In a rented room.
- d) With family/ friends/ else.

28) How long have you been living there? *

- a) More than 15 years.
- b) 11- 15 years

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- c) 6- 10 years
- d) 0- 5 years

29) Are you satisfied with your neighbourhood? *

- a) Absolutely.
- b) To a good degree.
- c) Not that much.
- d) I don't like the place where I live. I want to leave.

30) How far is your house from your work place? (Answer only if you work)

- a) I live so close/ work online.
- b) 15 minutes- 30 minutes away.
- c) More than 30 minutes- one hour away.
- d) More than one hour.

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APPENDIX E.4. COVER LETTER ACCOMPANYING QUESTIONNAIRE ADMINISTERED AMONG THE TUSCALOOSA, ALABAMA AFRICAN-AMERICAN WOMEN POPULATION – ENGLISH VERSION

Dear Sir/Madam,

I work as an English teacher in English Connection Academy, Madrid, Spain. I am currently conducting a research project as a PhD candidate in English Language and Culture at Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia –UNED– (Spain), supervised by Professor Luz Arroyo Vázquez and Doctor Baltasar Lopez Ruiz. _

The goal of this study is to examine how the housing conditions as well as the level of the educational attainment impact the well-being of an African-American woman and the level of satisfaction.

We are looking for Tuscaloosa, Alabama African-American women citizens between older than 18. You can participate in our research study if you are an African-American woman who was born in Tuscaloosa, Alabama or if you are an African American woman who has lived in this city for the last ten years. We would be grateful if you could extend this information among other Tuscaloosa, Alabama African-American women citizens within your community.

It will take less than fifteen minutes to fill out the complete questionnaire and your responses will be kept confidential.

IF YOU DECIDE TO FILL IN THE QUESTIONNAIRE, PLEASE CLICK ON THE FOLLOWING LINK:

<https://docs.google.com/forms/d/e/1FAIpQLScSVgBi43lSn6QqROoiUuw3Jhyj5hHcFVNmvceVATOFdrjAUw/viewform>

If you have any questions or concerns regarding the study or about your participation, you may contact me via email: rdarrag1@alumno.uned.es. Further questions or concerns can also be directed to the director of my thesis, Dr. Luz Arroyo Vázquez (larroyo@flog.uned.es) and/or the co-director, Dr. Baltasar Lopez Ruiz (baltasarlopez@fundacionsafa.es). Your participation in this study is appreciated.

Sincerely,
Mrs. Rania Darrag
English Studies, MA
PhD Candidate

Dr. María Luz Arroyo Vázquez
Lecturer in English Studies
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(Madrid, Spain).