

- **Respectability Politics** is not always a way of looking outwardly, not always in deference to whiteness.
- Old civil rights activists question new tactics - Joshua
- Gladys Knight singer said that you have to rescue the anthem from police brutality
 - Some forms of protest are not respectable.
- Noah - politics of respectability is well-intentioned but works with the system rather than overthrows it
 - Does the politics of respectability accommodate Northern racial liberalism?
- Politics of respectability is conceptualized completely differently now from how it was back in the 1920s.
- The plight of the black poor could only be overcome through [total transformation].
- African-Americans realized that "dis-respectability" is not going to secure some of the goals that African-Americans have at the time.
- Only adequate welfare and good jobs would provide a step up.
- Hedgeman became increasingly concerned with the fact that that the majority of people wanted work but there was none.
- 70% of black women work in the service sector, the majority as domestics. Laundry workers, kitchen helpers, and cleaners - slavery is the only word that can describe what was going on.
- Black women were trapped in the jobs that their enslaved mothers had performed.
 - These agencies trained black workers in ironing clothes.
- Anna Arnold Hedgeman's journey to [legitimacy] was one of many.
- The secular and religious left forced Americans to confront the pressing question of race and racial inequality.
- 1940s - a shift in national politics and a simultaneous grassroots struggle from below.
- African-Americans are not going to win representation because they are loud or not engaged in behavior that is uncouth.
- Anna Hedgeman - working-class black women working in deplorable conditions who have all been educated and taught how to be respectable and maintain a good clean home. They possess all of those qualities and yet it did not change all of the economic realities they face.
- Discriminatory racial practices - despite all that respectability politics have achieved, it's not going away.
- Something else is needed, and that something else is economic.
- There were persons out there, old settlers who realized that the politics of respectability alone would not assure racial progress.
- The thing to keep in mind about respectability politics is that in essence, respectability politics at its core was about racial solidarity (even more-so than it was about integration).

- Old settlers are showing themselves to be compatible with white America.
 - Relying on their own mechanisms of self-help, relying on the church and creating their own agencies.
 - The National Urban League is deeply involved in spreading this gospel of respectability throughout the old North.
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- The Cold War destabilizes labor and civil rights unionism
 - Heavy influence from Communist subversives who come under attack first on campuses during the McCarthy era because there is an attack on the radical black left.
- Pan-Africanists come under attack.
- The reason why I say community rights
 - One of the things that are interesting is that we all agree community rights are not civil rights.
 - One of my feelings is that Shannon King is unwilling to grapple with the problems of race that is creating this supposed pursuit of community rights.
 - If you think about the readings and what he describes as community rights, certainly there are differences between rights that may be enumerated in the Constitution.
 - Nonetheless, what African-Americans are trying to achieve is predicated on race. They're not denied housing because of a community inequality, or an inequality that is based on this notion of community. They do not face racial restrictions when it comes to employment because of inequalities related to the community; these inequalities are driven by race.
 - Community rights are a localized way of understanding the freedom struggle as it exists in the North.
- There's an obscuring of black nationalism and those ideas that draw from outside of Harlem.
- Two key figures that King looks at
 - Marcus Garvey is born in Jamaica, Hubert Harrison is from the West Indies.
- When you use the framework of community rights it becomes the framework that demarcates the way in which African-Americans are engaged in a freedom struggle in Harlem from how they are engaged in a freedom struggle in the Midwest or globally.
- Struggles that people who are not of African descent.
- Lenin is connected with the struggle of black sharecroppers [as pertains to] Russian peasants.
 - Multi-faceted way in which African-Americans are envisioning themselves vis-a-vis the color line.

- The march on Washington in '63 was the march for opportunities and jobs. King is trying to organize sanitation workers.
- All African-Americans North and South begin to realize that civil rights is not enough.
- King's book
 - African-Americans are not fighting out of interest in their functional role in the community, they are fighting because despite [laws for equality] they are still bumping into discriminatory practices.
 - African-Americans are moving beyond just a pursuit of civil rights and are now beginning to promote what begins to look like an early stage of black power.
 - The way to target those individuals who are still trying to preserve de facto racial order.
 - One of the byproducts of the Great Migration is this sense of agency - respond to any ongoing inequality they face.
- King sees no doubt that African-Americans are pursuing rights because of the consequences of their racial treatment.
 - Part of a broader movement by African-Americans achieve rights in the North. They have political equality but that does not erase the fact that they are still forced to grapple with various forms of discrimination.
- Does everyone in a community buy into the means to achieve community rights?
 - Demarcation between old settlers and new settlers.
 - In King, you get certainly the contentions that exist between black tenants and black landowners, black proprietors and black patrons, but you don't seem to get the ideological pretensions that exist for community rights.
- Does King give us some sense that these different groups have different ideologies / different strategies for pursuing community rights?
 - Yes
 - Emerging out of the King text is a narrative about the way in which an emergent black middle class is being presented... as if it is the ideas of everyone with the community.
 - You see the black working class move in a totally different direction.
 - He mentions Marcus Garvey and his organization, the NUIA. Marcus Garvey made ways for African-Americans to go back to Liberia. The NUIA advocated the creation of a separate black [world] and was against integration.

- [I talk about the difference between community and civil rights because I am trying to illuminate] the ways in which African-Americans are responding to existing racial hierarchy.
- I don't want to wholesale dismiss what King is trying to articulate.
- How do you build that cross-racial alliance is going to be predicated on that reception that your specific strategy of racial reform receives not only within the context of race but outside of race.
- When black elites are advocating for the politics of respectability and racial uplift, they are doing so because they have established alliances with powerful white elites.
- The very fact is that black workers, white workers, see themselves as having similar struggles.
 - What you see occurring very early on is ways in which there is some intra-racial class politics that create deep divisions within the black community that allow one group to go in one direction and interact with white elites and then you have the black middle class who begins to interact with people who are similar to themselves.
- I say white Harlemites because
 - You obscure the way in which those black working-class Harlemites are building [alliances] that extend beyond race to class and labor.
- Why do you think Balwin uses Jack Johnson as a metaphor for the New Negro?
 - Jack Johnson is not a race representative, he's very much a reluctant hero.
 - Disobeys the politics of respectability and not liked by black elites but remains a champion for the black working class, namely those new settlers.
 - A person who responds violently to white racism in the ring
 - He's from Galveston, Texas.
 - Doesn't believe in racial solidarity
 - But he engages in red light districts, and is a prince among the black working class
 - Balwin wants us to see how that black working class becomes instrumental to what becomes the civil rights movement.
 - In the 1930s, it's the black working class that's forming those cross-racial alliances with black labor activists to form an industrial democracy, it is not the black elite.

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