

- Midterms: everyone improved by 6 points over the response paper on average.
 - The most commonly answered question was 3
 - The most well-done question was 2
- A number of African-Americans are laid off
- When you hear the words citizenship, what words come to mind?
 - Inclusion + Community, Agency, Government Resources, Voting Rights, Polity or Democracy, Genocide
- How did black women in Detroit become radicalized?
- We're pushing back against the idea that civil rights unionism starts in 1941 [and showing that it takes place in the 1930s]
- Population in Detroit 228,000 -> 1.6 million [1920 onward]
 - The population rises which suggests a set of different things.
 - Not only are African-Americans moving into Detroit in huge numbers but white Southerners are moving into Detroit as well. Those white Southerners are going to become the basis for many of the racial politics that are going to unfold inside of Detroit.
 - African-Americans are in different ideological camps in the North. What we have not discussed is the fact that black migrants in the South are by and large unified by the same interest in pursuing race reform.
 - In other words they're all responding to de jure racism.
- Because of the shape of the northern color line - the fact that it is informal - they move [into different camps], ... you get those who are more [in terms of respectability], you get those who are more militant.
- In the North you have black elites who begin to pursue their own interest relative to their own particular economic or class related beliefs in addition to their own pursuit of race progress. There's a conflict between African-Americans (those who [want to pursue more race equality and the others])
- Economics and housing become linked
 - We've talked about economic inequality, we've talked about housing inequality. We know that African-Americans have been prevented from [buying] property in white neighborhoods.

- o The competition over jobs directly influences whites' resistance to African-Americans moving into their neighborhood.
 - o That economic competition over jobs and opportunity directly impacts the way white Northerners [are inclined to allow African-Americans to become tenants or neighbors in their communities]
 - o While they cannot control hiring practices, they can affect what African-Americans are able to do after gaining or securing these opportunities.
- White Northerners can't dictate hiring practices
- African-Americans aren't solely working at the Ford Motor Company. The Ford Motor Company employs more than half of the African-Americans in Detroit. There are also aluminum and steel companies. You have African-Americans who long have been employed as postal workers.
- What white Northerners object to (I'm actually discussing the white working class), what white northerners are responding to is that African-Americans are gaining a sense of economic mobility. What the white working-class believe is that they have to maintain a sense of whiteness, they have to maintain a sense of what their white racial identification means.
- On one hand you can imagine that where you live is going to be directly tied to what kind of jobs you are going to be able to pursue.
- Most African-Americans live further away from opportunities so that African-Americans who are confined to black belt are not just suffering in terms of not being able to secure affordable quality housing. They're also being placed at a distance from certain economic opportunities - it becomes harder to pursue certain economic opportunities when you are forced away from those communities.
- You have the Ford Motor Company that is based in Dearborn.
 - o Most white Detroiters, white working-class Detroiters who are working at the Ford Motor Company, live close to Dearborn. So the opportunity to pursue jobs at the Ford Motor Company is a little easier than it is for those black Detroiters who are further away.
 - o Whites never lose sight of the fact that even if African-Americans are doing better than they are, they can still dictate black fate.

- They're trying to maintain a sense of what their whiteness means in terms of giving themselves power and domination over African-Americans as in the case of Ossian Sweet.
- You shoot a 15 year old boy outside your home, you're arrested
- The charges against Fletcher are immediately dropped because prominent African-Americans like Evan Bradvey, begin to lobby on Fletcher's behalf. Fletcher also has his own relations with members of the police commission
 - Out of those relationships they're able to see that these charges result simply from a man trying to defend his home.
 - Regardless Fletcher is thrown out of his home even though the charges against him are immediately dropped
 - We've dealt with the Ossian Sweet case which pertains to our discussion today because that newer dry vein, that sense of assertiveness that African-Americans begin to develop in the North
- African-Americans had already begun to form alliances with white Detroit liberals.
 - Certainly those advocates of respectability politics began to shape relationships with white liberals in the hopes that it would help African-Americans with political opportunities.
 - The Detroit Urban League began to build in the early 19-teens and 1920s.
 - There's a certain way that they begin to trust the relationship that they have with white race liberals in the North.
- And that relationship is exposed during the Sweet trial.
- You have John Smidt who is the mayor of Detroit and what he begins to do is call for peace and order
 - It's not as if Smidt is actually doing anything that runs counter to the kind of ways of thinking that northern racial liberals have at this moment
 - He travels well in the tradition of race liberals whose priority is not necessarily trying to hasten race equality, they're trying to prevent hell from breaking loose.
 - He begins to draw attention to the kinds of race riots that begin to break out in the North
 - Not only race riots but the kind of violent racial dramas that are pervading the North. And he begins to make an

argument that Detroit is on a similar road to perdition if it does not get a hold of itself and bring about peace and order.

- o The way that he goes about that argument is what can be characterized as a liberal retreat from race. That is he ignores the racial implications that each case has - he doesn't believe it should be central to the way that African-Americans are trying to pursue race advancement. So what he begins to claim or argue for is a way in which black elites or black Detroit in general will become more accepting of the color line.
 - o He certainly reasserts Detroit's commitment to equality. He certainly promotes at least rhetorically Detroit's commitment to inclusion but at the same time he admonishes black Detroit particularly his leadership and says that their pursuit of race advancement is responsible for the violence that is unfolding inside of Detroit. That in essence he argues that they should accept the color line as it exists to avoid any outbreak of violence that would disturb peace and order. Accept the color line not only economically but accept the color line as it pertains to housing for the sake of peace and order.
 - o So African-Americans are disillusioned especially those who came to support Smidt in his [election] as mayor but in his reelection bid as well.
 - o You have a [liberal] white who was backtracking in his commitment to racial progress. What he was arguing is that segregation can be a social good. That let's maintain segregation because there's a benefit that it provides. That Detroit is able to avoid the kind of racial violence that you see taking place in many major cities across the urban North.
- On the one hand it takes advantage of this language of inclusion. On the other hand it seeks to maintain the racial status quo. So what Smidt does is he attacks the KKK. And you'll see this become a prominent aspect of his reelection bid. That he considers the KKK to be a [prominent] part of this violence and portrays the KKK as something to be [completely] un-American.
 - Because nativist whites are opposed to anything that could be described as un-American.
 - You could be ethnic immigrants who are coming into the country and have to be assimilated as part of this Americanization plan.
 - It could also be any other group that subverts what white nativists see as their commitment to American democracy. What Smidt does is he plays along with this nativist [exclusion].

- We typically think of this nativism as being easily influenced by the kinds of ideas that are driving the KKK. ...They also want peace and order and don't want anything that will run contrary to those ideals.
- What we also see in that moment is the way in which black leaders across Detroit begin to see just how ineffectual respectability politics is.
- You've become so caught up in your pursuit of race pride that you've ignored the way in which that race pride has produced white resentment [between Detroiters]
- In order to put a lid on violence you essentially have to [put a lid] on race pride
- Insomuch as black leaders, those advocates of respectability are willing to criticize or willing to take displeasure with what Smidt is espousing,
 - They eventually have to come to his support because it's the lesser of two evils
 - Bradby and Dancy are very moderate
 - There are days in which Bradby seems like he is ready to champion Detroit's cause
 - His radicalization like the radicalization of black Detroit comes in fits and starts
- You get African-Americans who support Murphy.
 - The same kind of white racial liberal rhetorical support that had long been a bedrock of Northern racial liberalism
 - Frank Murphy is seen as taking that rhetorical support of inclusion and putting it into action
 - You also see the NAACP's growing prominence emerging out of that case as well.
 - The NAACP takes cases like Ossian Sweet and uses it as test cases to support racial equality throughout the country
- African-Americans are developing a new vision of citizenship rights. That what the case against Sweet or the case for Sweet, what the case for Bristol, what the case for Turner, what the case for Fletcher reflects... is precisely what you all outlined in the beginning which is this idea of inclusion, this idea of being full-fledged members of the community not just the black community but all of Detroit. There is this sense of agency that you see develop. This sense that African-Americans should be able to participate fully in society, in polity.

- What they understand about citizenship, what they see take place in the 1940s around black women's claims is that the freedom to live where you want and to pursue jobs that pay decent wages is not just a pursuit of political rights, it's a pursuit of citizenship rights... in particular, the 14th amendment.
 - The capacity the ability to live wherever you please while working wheresoever you choose
- And they do so without any inclination of mimicking whiteness. That is to say, African-Americans are not moving into white neighborhoods because they are [mimicking white flight].
- They want to move into a community that is commiserate with the economic mobility that they have achieved.
- African-Americans want to move into communities that have quality housing, that are safe and secure, that have access to employment opportunities for their children
 - The problem is that white Detroiters are unmoved. They don't care about African-American citizenship rights because those citizenship rights challenge their own sense of self. White Northerners are repeatedly told and reminded of this notion of racial superiority as they are reminded that they are above and beyond African-Americans no matter how much mobility African-Americans are able to gain.
- John Dancy states that black Detroiters were at a crossroads
 - The way in which African-Americans initially try to find themselves is through this pursuit of respectability
 - Those individuals are all married to respectability politics and uplift because they believe that respectability and uplift are going to provide a route to race advancement
- African-Americans began to take ownership of black precincts
- Empowered by confinement
 - Ownership of black precincts
 - Rhetoric versus reality
 - Hidden transcripts
 - Separatist Impulse
 - Self-determination
- Those places, the barber shops the beauty salons become key sites for African-Americans to become mobilized. That mobilization occurs in fits and starts. Because African-Americans understand

on one hand that their route to race progress is only going to come through agency and yet they're still going to recognize that black bottom and paradise valley does not provide to them the full picture of race progress looks like

- African-Americans realize that insomuch as they are willing to shape their own sense of assertiveness regarding their confinement, that they're not in black bottom by choice.
- What you begin to see develop in the 1920s is that more African-Americans are willing to invest into that black community to construct their own businesses alongside those white businesses
- What African-Americans are starting to do is turn their confinement into a sense of empowerment, it is a construction of a black metropolis
- To construct their own picture of what freedom and independence should look like.
- To draw on the theorist Henry Strauss, which means taking the sort of broken aspects of life and making something out of it.
- If you drive into a project and see Christmas lights hanging amid squalor and deplorable housing, making the best out of a bad situation. African-Americans in the 1920s and 1930s begin to do just that.
- Black workers are also using Henry Ford to maintain jobs so that they can eat and survive.
- The Ford Motor Company loses 125 million dollars before the Depression because the Model T is not selling the way it is used to sell.
- Chapter 7 - sketch out what you believe to be the 3 or 4 major ideas out of that chapters.
- Even though Sorenson says to them that the Ford Motor Company is not a political organization
- When they engage in the Ford hunger march, those African-Americans that are radicalized are kicked out of the Ford Motor Company
- The investment in Inkster is precisely because that becomes Henry Ford's new way of exploiting black loyalty
- Bale's use of the word convergences
 - Sometimes African-Americans in all groups, their interests are sometimes achieved when those interests converge with the interests of the country

- o America is opposed to anything that subverts its limited understanding of democracy
- o Or anything that pushes it toward a fuller understanding of democracy
- o Pushing democracy abroad is not for democracy's sake, it's to support imperialism in some moments, in some moments it is to suggest something about the countries we are dealing with.
- o If the United States wants to paint China, Russia as the enemy
 - We're going to promote capitalism, we're going to promote democracy because it aids us In those arguments, and it helps us to fund the different things that this country is pursuing.
 - Integrate ourselves into that image of democracy / inclusion, it forces America to
 - Limited group of individuals
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