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Governor Deval Patrick and the Representation of Massachusetts’ Black Interests

Ravi K. Perry¹

“In so much of the work I’ve done, I’ve found that you had to put people at ease on the question of race before you could even start to talk about what you were doing. I don’t fit a certain expectation that some people have about black men. And I don’t mean that as anything other than an observation about my life.”

—Deval Patrick²

Introduction

Review of Patrick’s Record with Bay State Blacks

As a candidate for governor, many observers have noted how Deval Patrick initially had little name recognition and credibility in the black communities throughout Massachusetts (Helman 2006). As Gwen Ifill recognizes, Patrick was “largely unknown” in the black community and his opponent’s racially-veiled campaign messages perhaps helped to introduce many in the black community to Patrick (2011: 188). As indicated in Table 1, despite his relatively unknown status in the black community as a candidate, Patrick ushered a grassroots campaign culminating in a significant victory in November 2006.³

Table 1: Deval Patrick's Road to Victory

Election Timeline	Significant Dates
Campaign Announcement	April 13, 2005
Primary Victory	September 19, 2006
First General Election Victory	November 7, 2006
Re-Election Victory	November 2, 2010

Invoking the specter of race, Patrick mentioned at his acceptance speech that: “You are every black man, woman and child in Massachusetts and America, and every other striver of every other race and kind who is reminded tonight that the American dream is for you too” (Patrick as quoted in Ifill 2009: 190). This type of rhetoric, scholars have noted, contemporary black politicians have utilized to universally represent black interests within majority white jurisdictions without alienating too much of their majority white constituencies (Perry 2009 a, b; Perry 2011). In this article, I expand on that view as I survey the governing components of Patrick’s tenure as governor of Massachusetts (2007-2011) respective to his active pursuit of policies and programs in the interests of black residents.

This article examines the rhetorical strategies and legislative initiatives of Patrick and his efforts to represent black interests in Massachusetts. Utilizing speech content analysis, census data, interview data, and archives of executive and legislative actions, the article identifies that Massachusetts’ only black governor has been able to advance policies and programs designed to represent black interests. The results indicate that when black interest policy actions are framed utilizing a targeted universalistic rhetorical strategy, Patrick advanced black interests as he detailed how his proposed initiatives benefited all citizens. At the state level, the finding exposes the limits of the deracialization perspective and indicates how the legislative, judicial, and executive advance of black interests can be achieved while maintaining significant white electoral and governing support.

Theoretical Foundation

A historical trend of high black expectations of black politicians and recent demographic changes frame the research question. First, as a racial minority that has long been socially, politically, and economically



Stimulating Mass Transit

Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick came to Dudley Station in Roxbury in 2009 to announce allocating more than \$100 million to improve bus service, including replacement of the entire fleet for Route 28 from Mattapan Square to Ruggles Station via Dudley. Federal stimulus money funded the project. Starting from second to left, joining Patrick were state Representative Gloria Fox, state Representative Byron Rushing, state Senator Sonia Chang-Díaz, Darnell Williams of the Urban League of Eastern Massachusetts, then-state Transportation Secretary James A. Aloisi Jr., and Boston Mayor Thomas Menino. Photo by Eugena Ossi/Massachusetts Governor's Office.

marginalized, blacks historically have experienced disproportionate disparities in housing, education, and income. As a result, the election of a black governor is viewed by black residents as an opportunity to see state government work in their interests and to address these inequities. Consequently, African Americans embrace the election of one of their own with high expectations.

Shared Racial Experience

The primary expectation guiding this research is that Patrick is involved in actively pursuing black interest issues. This expectation is founded in scholarship on black representation in other political contexts. In the congressional literature, several factors have been shown to influence members' personal policy interests (Hall 1996). Despite increased diversity in the black community, for example, black members of

Congress share the experience of being a member of a historically marginalized group (Williams 1998), and blacks generally have a shared memory of oppression (Williams 1998: 192). That shared history of racialized experiences should be manifested in Patrick's policy and programmatic efforts and should incline him to take a personal interest in actively pursuing policies and programs that are designed to improve the quality of life of black Massachusetts residents.

Additionally, supportive scholarship suggests that Patrick might actively pursue black interest policies in a state whose population is seven percent black because of his feeling of connectedness to other African Americans—a feeling termed “linked fate” by political scientist Michael Dawson in *Behind the Mule* (1994). The linked fate hypothesis is that social and economic factors influence whether or not black individuals have strong ties to African Americans as a group. Finding that some blacks use the group's interests as a proxy for their individual interests when making political choices, Dawson argues that individual blacks, including black governors, may associate their life chances with those of the group. Research has found that many blacks do so because of social, political, and economic differences between themselves and whites (Dawson 1994; Tate 1993: 21-29).

Finally, the congressional literature provides a clue as to why we should expect Patrick to actively pursue black interests. Gamble (2007) notes that many black members of Congress nationwide carry a heavy burden, as they are often expected to represent not only their districts but also “black America” (Clay 1992; Guinier 1994: 47). Additionally, Fenno (2003: 7) finds that African American members of Congress tend to perceive their black constituency as extending beyond their geographical districts to include blacks nationwide—what some label “surrogate representation.” The same may be true of Patrick. Hence, the confluence of life experience, the feeling of connectedness to African Americans as a group, and commitment to represent black interests even within patterns of surrogate representation makes Patrick more likely to commit personally to representing black interests. Thereby, it can reasonably be expected that he would make a more conscious effort to actively pursue policies and programs to improve the quality of life of black residents of Massachusetts.

Patrick and the Universalized Difference: Deracialization Revisited

Whereas in the past scholars tended to characterize black politicians' efforts to represent their black constituents' interests as either "deracialized" or "racialized"—that is, as either focusing on politics that transcend race or as making black issues central to their agenda—the changing demographic environment and the greater acceptance of African American politicians in high-profile positions of power has exhausted the utility of that polarization. Black politicians may no longer find explicit racial appeals effective ways of advancing their electoral ambitions. They also may increasingly find that a lack of attention to the racial disparities facing constituents does not effectively address why certain groups suffer disproportionately compared to others across a range of issues. Rather than continue to make efforts to represent black interests within the frames of racialized or deracialized politics, twenty-first-century African-American politicians such as Patrick may be increasingly adopting the governance strategy of universalizing black interests as interests that matter for the good of the whole. If found to accurately capture the rhetoric and policy actions of Patrick, the theory of universalizing the interests of blacks, though controversial, can allow Patrick to represent the interests of African Americans without alienating the majority of his constituents.

Universalizing the interests of blacks is not a "deracialized" approach, as some scholars have largely framed Patrick's campaign (Lewis 2010). McCormick and Jones define "deracialization" as "conducting a campaign in a stylistic fashion that defuses the polarizing effects of race by avoiding explicit reference to race-specific issues" (1993: 76). While this definition of deracialization is limited to electoral strategy, it need not be stretched far to apply as well to governance strategies. If this understanding is accepted, it becomes clear that many black politicians no longer "avoid explicit reference to race-specific issues." Rather, in their attempts to represent black interests, they increasingly note racial disparities where appropriate and craft their rhetoric in a fashion that encourages non-blacks not to feel threatened. McCormick and Jones also note that a deracialized approach "at the same time emphas[izes] those issues that are perceived as racial[ly] transcendent" (76).

While the McCormick and Jones definition emphasizes the avoidance of race-specific issues and the advocacy of issues that transcend

race, the underlying assumption of the definition is that black politicians who employ this approach do not discuss the topic of race. Rather, they strive to “enhance effectively the likelihood of white electoral support” so they may capture or maintain public office (72). The main difference in the approach of black politicians in the twenty-first century is often the reason behind it: they are making an effort not solely to win public office and gain the necessary white votes but also to represent black interests in the context of a majority-white constituency.

Some of the components of deracialization are undoubtedly present in the universalizing black interests approach, however. McCormick and Jones emphasize the need for black politicians to project a safe image to white voters—what scholar J. Q. Wilson calls a “nonthreatening image” (1980: 214-254)—in order to make white support more likely. The meaning of “nonthreatening image” has changed since McCormick and Jones were writing, however. Black politicians who in the twenty-first century make efforts to represent black interests and do not wish to lose the support of some whites often have the support of liberal whites for their efforts (Cunnigen 2006; Nelson 2006). Hence, their precise goal is no longer so much projecting a nonthreatening image as it is representing black interests and convincing whites that those interests are not represented at the expense of their interests. Patrick refers to this phenomenon at this article’s outset as an effort to make “people at ease on the question of race.” But that doesn’t mean he seeks to avoid it.

Patrick’s Relationship to the Black Community of Massachusetts Redefined

Most scholars generally describe Patrick as a deracial politician (Lewis 2010; Ifill 2009). Lewis indicates that “Patrick did not initiate discussions of race or racial issues” and that “because of Massachusetts’s relatively small black population, Patrick could more comfortably elude racial issues” (2010:182). However, while Lewis finds Patrick to have generally avoided race as a gubernatorial candidate, she also references a Patrick quote from Pierce (2006): “If all I was offering was to be the first black governor of Massachusetts, I wouldn’t have won.” While Pierce and Lewis seem to take the position that the quote is evidence of Patrick’s deracialized impulse, I view the “all” in his quote differently.



Recovering Health

Governor Deval Patrick visited the Mattapan Community Health Center in 2009 to celebrate the center's receipt of \$11.5 million in federal stimulus funding under the American Recovery and Reinvestment Act to help build a new, larger facility in Mattapan Square. He met with the center's president, Azzie Young (center), employees, and patients. The \$32 million expansion will enable the health center to add services, programs, and employees. The center was already Mattapan's largest employer. Photo by Eugena Ossi/Massachusetts Governor's Office.



Community Reading Assignment

Community activist Heywood Fennell (left) gives Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick two copies of his self-published book, one for Patrick and one for President Barack Obama, outside Freedom House in Dorchester in 2010. Photo by Massachusetts Governor's Office.

Despite Lewis' detailed analysis of Patrick's candidacy, which she concludes was deracialized, I have also indicated that by including the Pierce (2006) quote Lewis recognizes that Patrick did in fact support some issues relative to black interests (Perry 2011). By example, Lewis does find that Patrick "focused attention on his grass-roots campaign by holding town hall meetings" and that Patrick "supported the idea of local control of gun licenses" (2010: 186). Lewis also indicates that Patrick "opposed rolling back the state income tax, arguing that it would be fiscally irresponsible [and] would shift the burden to local communities (Howe 2006 as quoted in Lewis 2010). When the 7 percent black population in the state mostly lives in urban, local communities, such a proposal, in my view, cannot be viewed in absence of the racial implications. Thus, despite Lewis' characterization of Patrick as a deracialized candidate, I have concluded elsewhere that she in fact also indicates that Patrick has supported decisions in the interests of blacks (Perry 2011).

The Human Relations Approach to Governing

This study encourages readers to think beyond the black-white dichotomy and to instead envision the development of state-level policies that can both serve the constituencies with the greatest needs (including but not limited to blacks) and simultaneously serve the public. Adopting what scholar Cornel West suggests is a "human relations approach" to solving the pervasive problems that plague blacks in America is important for Patrick, presuming he wishes to implement policies and programs designed to improve the quality of life of black residents. The "human relations approach" is best understood as a form of governance that appeals directly to people's common humanity.

West asks, "How do we capture a new spirit and vision to meet the challenges of the post-industrial city, post-modern culture, and post-party politics?" (1993: 11). He prescribes "admit[ing] that the most valuable sources for help, hope, and power consist of ourselves and our common history . . . we must focus our attention on the public square – the common good . . . generate new leadership . . . a visionary leadership . . . grounded in grassroots organizing that highlights our democratic accountability" (pp. 11-13). In respect to addressing black issues, West attempts to cast aside the ideological divide that frames black issues from others. He ob-

serves that for liberals, blacks “are to be ‘included’ and ‘integrated’ into ‘our’ society and culture, while for conservatives they are to be ‘well behaved’ and worthy of acceptance’ by ‘our’ way of life” (p. 6). Finding this situation inadequate, West concludes that neither group understands that “the presence and predicaments of black people are neither additions to nor defections from American life, but rather [are] constitutive elements of that life” (p. 6). Hence, for West, a new framework is needed that views blacks and their presence in American life as American. He maintains that such a framework should “begin with a frank acknowledgment of the basic humanness and Americanness of each of us” (p. 8).⁴

Donald Cunnigen has similarly called for a full integration of black Americans’ social and economic problems into the patchwork of American society. He writes: “The failure of America, black and white, to recognize its commonality regarding racial matters lies at the heart of the problem. Whites should not be left off the hook in dealing with societal conditions that will eventually impact their lives. Not surprisingly, many of the problems faced by the black community, such as poor performance of young black males, relocation/outsourcing of jobs overseas, and the feminization of poverty, have become social issues within the white community” (2006: 28).

While West’s and Cunnigen’s observations, which I refer to as the “human relations approach,” are philosophical and conceptual in nature, they can be applied to Patrick’s representation of black interests in Massachusetts. The hypothesis this application generates is that in his efforts to represent blacks by universalizing their interests in the non-majority-black context of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts, Patrick may find success by appealing to the shared human condition. This approach may allow Patrick to actively pursue black interests without threatening his majority-white constituency or making them feel that their interests are taking a back seat. If embraced by Patrick, the human relations approach could have a direct racial benefit without raising the specter of preferential treatment.

The human relations approach stands in contrast to other suggested means of helping the disadvantaged. Sociologist William Julius Wilson, for example, argues that “an emphasis on coalition politics that features progressive, race-neutral policies” is the “best way” to address pervasive

problems facing blacks and other disadvantaged groups (Wilson 1990).⁵ This method relies, arguably, on a trickle-down effect, an indirect process of distributing resources, and Wilson does not comprehensively examine how the disadvantaged would be helped through its implementation. The human relations approach, on the other hand, has the potential to help improve the quality of life of black Americans in the twenty-first century. If we find that Patrick is adopting the human relations perspective, this may suggest what Hajnal (2007) hopes for: that whites support policies that work to improve the quality of life of blacks without harboring the fear that their well-being will suffer as a result.

Methodology

Gubernatorial Speech Coding

In the speech analysis that follows, “race”-coded sentences were determined to be those that explicitly referenced race-specific programming or a particular racial group. “Universalize Black Interests” (UBI) coded sentences were determined to be those that mentioned policies and programs that were intended to target the black community or that were largely black issues introduced in a way to achieve broad appeal. Programs on community policing, housing, and economic development in black neighborhoods were among those included. “Other” comprised the remaining sentences in the text. At times, numerical coding of racial references in speeches is employed to efficiently capture the data; however, this procedure is utilized with caution, as it does not capture the substantive quality of the sentences’ content.

The Official Website of the Office of the Governor maintains a speech archive. For this analysis, utilizing content analysis methodology, I rely entirely on the governor’s office speech archive as of August 2011. The website regularly updates the speech archive to ensure a complete list of Patrick’s corpus of major speeches. In determining the number of references to race-specific programming or a particular racial group and references to policies and programs that were intended to target the black community or that were largely black issues introduced in a way to achieve broad appeal, I counted the number of references to black interests given the text as printed at the speech archive.

Policy and Program Outputs

Though the quantitative coding is not ideal, the number of policy-based outputs that developed out of the governor's rhetoric, executive orders, and legislative introductions is identified in Table 7. While the number of policies and programs may be significant, the substantive impact of the policies and programs is of more value, such as executive orders, particularly numbers 526, 524, 519, 478, and others. These data are useful in that they indicate the number of policy and programmatic efforts pursued by the governor. Moreover, these data are instructive as they provide cues concerning the time the governor spent actively pursuing black interests. Table 7 data analysis for Governor Deval Patrick concludes on August 1, 2011, during his second term.⁶

In Table 7, introduced or implemented policies are coded as "policy actions." Introduced or developed state programs are coded as "program development." Policy actions and program developments were determined using various sources of data, including executive orders, legislative introductions, administration press releases, major speeches, and newspaper articles.

Executive Orders/Legislative Policy Introductions

Utilizing the archive of online executive orders and legislative introductions available at the Official Website of the Office of the Governor as of August 2011, I quantify the total in each category and code the overall content of the legislative introductions similarly as to the gubernatorial speech coding methodology.

"Race"-coded legislative introductions were determined to be those that explicitly referenced race-specific programming or a particular racial group. "Universalize Black Interests" coded legislative introductions were determined to be those that sought to advance policies and programs that were intended to target the black community or that were largely black issues addressed in a way to achieve broad appeal. For executive orders, I utilized purposive sampling methodology to identify those that could reasonably be coded as in the interest of black residents.

Appointments

Utilizing interview data supplied by the Governor's Senior Advisor for Community Affairs and the online archive available at the Official

Website of the Office of the Governor as of August 2011, including press releases, speeches, and newspaper articles, I identify the number of major appointments of African Americans to key state positions and categorize them by the type of appointment. I contextualize the significance of the appointments by considering the appointment itself, the timing of the appointment, the corresponding press release (if any), and speeches by the governor announcing the appointment.

Universalizing the Interests of Blacks

Governor Patrick Rhetorical Analysis

To the extent that Patrick has been able to introduce policies and programs designed to improve the quality of life of black residents, he found the most success when he rhetorically framed his initiatives as affecting the lived condition of, and common humanity shared among, all state residents. Embracing a targeted universalistic rhetorical strategy, some of his speeches directly noted the race variable, yet he framed his black-interest policy actions and/or program developments as initiatives that benefited all citizens.

Analysis of Patrick's major addresses reveals his rhetorical efforts on behalf of black Massachusetts residents that were designed to impact their quality of life. For example, Patrick commented in his inaugural speech: "You are every black man, woman and child in Massachusetts and America, and every other striver of every race and kind, who is reminded tonight that the American Dream is for you, too," directly addressing the black community, while making a more general reference to the majority, emphasizing his intent to recognize and engage the black community, an otherwise historically marginalized demographic group.

Table 2a and Table 2b illustrate that Patrick used more race-based rhetoric toward the beginning of his administration. Between 2006 and 2008 he delivered three addresses that contained race-based rhetoric, including his "Acceptance Speech," "State of the Commonwealth Address," and "Legislative Black Caucus Address," respectively. Over this period, race-based language was more frequently observed in each speech; however, the progressive inclusion of race-based rhetoric ended in 2009. Tables 2a and 2b also demonstrate how in Patrick's major speeches throughout his terms, 19 percent of such speeches included sentence content

coded as universalizing black interests. Significantly, 8 percent of sentence content can be coded as universalizing black interests in Patrick's black interest speeches. Noticeably, the statistical analysis only captures the frequency of inclusive references. The substantive significance of the sentences is unexamined.

Table 2a: Major and Purposive Sampling of Gubernatorial Addresses and Black Interests

Major Speeches	Year	No. of Sentences	Race (%)	Universalize Black Interests (%)	Other
Massachusetts Municipal Association Annual Meeting	2011	59	0 (0)	3 (5)	56
Second Inaugural Address	2011	129	0 (0)	5 (3)	124
State of the Commonwealth Address	2010	153	0 (0)	1 (00.6)	152
State of the Commonwealth Address	2009	124	1 (00.8)	2 (01.6)	121
Town Hall Tour Speech	2008	675	7 (1)	2 (00.2)	666
Commonwealth Compact Launched	2008	43	0 (0)	11 (25)	32
State of the Commonwealth Address	2008	164	1 (00.6)	3 (1)	160
Acceptance Address	2006	104	1 (00.9)	2 (1.9)	101
Total		1451	10 (00.6)	29 (1.9)	1412

In Patrick's inaugural State of the Commonwealth Address, he shared an anecdote about his trip to an urban elementary school that further made transparent his commitment to central issues that affect black children and families. In his address, Patrick said, "You know how you sometimes realize you're being watched? When I looked up, there outside the window were a dozen or more little black boys and girls, about this size, backpacks on, beaming, waving, all excited. When I look into their eyes, the excitement I see is not for the history we made last year, but for the history they have yet to make; not my chance, but theirs." His musing made clear he understood the challenges facing black youth and his sense of connection and commitment to the community. Patrick has further demonstrated his legislative focus by discussing his agenda as it relates to issues in the black communities.

Table 2b: Major and Purposive Sampling of Gubernatorial Addresses and Black Interests

Black Interest Speeches	Year	No. of Sentences	Race (%)	Universalize Black Interests (%)	Other
Safe and Successful Youth Initiative	2011	50	0 (0)	7 (13)	43
State of Black Boston	2011	47	3 (6)	2 (4)	42
Legislative Black Caucus Black History Celebration	2008	35	4 (11)	0 (0)	31
First Statewide Youth Council	2008	7	0 (0)	0 (0)	7
Neighborhood Stabilization Loan Fund	2008	15	0 (0)	1 (6)	14
1.3 Billion Affordable Housing Investment	2008	13	0 (0)	4 (3)	9
Supporting Youth Works Summer Job	2008	28	0 (0)	5 (17)	23
Northampton Workforce Training Fund Grant	2008	51	0 (0)	1 (1)	50
Youth Violence Prevention Week	2008	54	0 (0)	5 (9)	49
First Statewide Hunger Summit	2008	22	0 (0)	3 (13)	19
15 Million to Heat Low Income Households	2007	17	0 (0)	3 (11)	14
Anti-Crime Council Meeting	2007	25	0 (0)	1 (4)	24
Foreclosure Prevention Plan Unveiled	2007	0	0 (0)	0 (0)	0
Total		365	7 (1.9)	32 (8)	352
Table 2a/2b Overall Total		1816	17 (00.9)	61 (3)	1764

During Black History Month, he spoke to the Massachusetts Black and Latino Legislative Caucus, stating, “And it is worth using the occasion of Black History Month to strike that vital balance between understanding how far we have come and how much work remains to be done.” Throughout that address, the governor further focused on specific black issues and prevailing inequalities, such as “an achievement gap that’s

growing,” “the massive re-segregation of public education,” and the concern that “black babies die before their first birthday 2½ times the rate of white babies...” Outside of forums established to deliberately address black issues, the governor used less racially focused language.

Analysis of Patrick’s addresses aimed at a broader audience emphasizes how he rhetorically advanced black interests in major addresses that required a broader appeal. Sentence content analysis of Patrick’s major addresses finds that the number of sentences that focused on universalizing the interests of blacks increased with the approach of his reelection campaign season.

For example, Table 2a/b shows that Patrick engaged black stakeholders by speaking to issues that resonate with their interests without specifically designating their community as a focus through race-based rhetoric. During Patrick’s “Town Hall Tour” he said, “Race is hard in this country. It’s hard. It’s hard for everybody, by the way. And I’ll tell you, in my experience in this job, or growing up in the South Side of Chicago, or everything in between, I don’t meet people, even in the bleakest circumstances, who think that everything wrong in their life is explained by race. But, at the same time, we know race is with us,” so he acknowledges the role of race and how it can adversely affect one’s quality of life, but he doesn’t speak specifically to blacks.

Though Patrick has made efforts to engage blacks through race-based rhetoric, he has more consistently used a targeted universal message that would appeal to a broader audience rather than race-specific language. In his “Commonwealth Compact Launch” speech he said,

It’s about demonstrating in practical terms that diversity is not just about our idealism; it directly benefits our social and economic interests. Better access and more inclusion in health-care, education, the job market and so many other places, help drive innovation and cut cost in things like human services. So we put forward efforts like Commonwealth Compact. Not because we are sentimental about diversity, but because we know the best way to a prosperous community and future is through broad opportunity, equality and fair play.

The analysis of his speeches reveals that Patrick noted the significance of race more often earlier in his term than he did as he approached reelection. Similar language has been used throughout most of Patrick's speeches. In his final years of his first term (2009-2010), Patrick spoke less directly on black interests than in previous years. This perhaps confirms Foss (1982), where the more experienced a politician becomes, the more compromised their personal worldview is evident. On average for eight major speeches, inclusive of his entire first term, of 1,451 sentences, .7 percent (or 10) focused directly on race and 1.9 percent (or 28) on issues that could be coded as universalizing black interests. During the final two years of his first term, Patrick only referenced black interests in two speeches included in this analysis. With a total of 277 sentences between the two State of the Commonwealth Addresses, only 1 percent (or four sentences) can be coded as either race or universalizing black interests. The analysis finds that Patrick's direct references to race were fairly limited. In the context of his state's growing black minority, and his effort to balance competing constituent interests, however, his mention of race at all is considered significant. Given that black leaders are expected to represent black issues (Howell and Perry 2004), Patrick's willingness to indulge the expectation in a state with limited black population indicates his insistence on addressing these concerns. Given the expectation, his limited number of directly racial references may also indicate a desire to make strategic, economical use of the references so as not to exhaust his political capital in advancing black interests.

Governor Patrick Legislative Introductions Analysis

Since taking office in January 2007, Patrick has introduced eighty-two bills to the Massachusetts General Court (House of Representatives and State Senate). Of the twelve legislative introductions submitted by Patrick in his second term, three have been identified as relevant to black interests. Of the seventy legislative introductions submitted by Patrick in his first term, fifteen have been identified as relevant to black

interests. Table 3 indicates that the number of legislative introductions by Patrick has varied significantly during his five years in office. Accordingly, Patrick has introduced an average of sixteen bills per year. This level of frequency is considered high, particularly considering the Massachusetts General Court is responsible for the making of laws that govern the Commonwealth:

Table 3: Frequency of Legislative Introductions

Year	Number Introduced
2007	28
2008	16
2009	19
2010	7
2011	12

Table 4 summarizes the legislative introductions identified as bills that, if passed, would universalize black interests. The title indicates what the proposed bill was/is designed to accomplish, whereas the date indicates when the governor submitted the legislation to the General Court for consideration. The table demonstrates how Patrick has had little success in ushering most of his introductions through the General Court. According to the Official Website of the Office of the Governor, which maintains an accurate record of the progress of the governor’s bill introductions, only three have been successfully passed. Despite Patrick introducing bills since his first month in office until the time of this writing, the legislative public policy impact of the governor seems limited. While each of the bills has a potential impact on African Americans throughout Massachusetts, only one directly mentions African Americans. Moreover, over the eighteen bill introductions coded of interest to African Americans, most were introduced earlier in his first term between 2007 and 2009. In 2010, while Patrick was seeking reelection, few bills were introduced:

Table 4: Black Interest Legislative Introductions

Title	Date	Passage	Race	UBI
An Act Reorganizing the Governor's Cabinet and Certain Agencies of the Executive Department	2/9/07	Yes 11/28/07	No	Yes
An Act Enhancing Information Sharing Concerning At-Risk Juveniles	4/12/07	No	No	Yes
An Act Further Regulating Post-Release Supervision	4/12/07	No	No	Yes
An Act to Reduce Gun Violence	4/30/07	No	No	Yes
An Act Implementing the Division of Banks Mortgage Summit Recommendations	6/11/07	Yes 11/29/07	No	Yes
An Act Financing the Production and Preservation of Housing for Low and Moderate Income Residents	11/16/07	Yes 5/29/08	No	Yes
An Act to Reduce Recidivism by Increasing Employment Opportunities	1/11/08	No	No	Yes
An Act Reorganizing Certain Agencies of the Executive Department (Article 87)	1/28/09	No	No	Yes
An Act Mobilizing Economic Recovery in Massachusetts	3/20/09	No	No	Yes
An Act to Reduce Firearm Violence	5/6/09	No	No	Yes
An Act to Prevent Crime and Reduce Recidivism by Increasing Supervision and Training Opportunities for Inmates	5/7/09	No	No	Yes
An Act to Enhance Public Safety and Reduce Recidivism by Increasing Employment Opportunities	5/7/09	No	No	Yes
An Act to Protect and Enhance the Rights of Victims and Witnesses of Crime	6/4/09	No	No	Yes
An Act Reorganizing Certain Agencies of the Executive Department (Article 87)	1/27/10	No	Yes	Yes
An Act Reforming Community Supervision of Criminal Defendants and Offenders by Establishing the Department of Community Supervision Within the Executive Office of Public Safety and Security	1/27/10	No	No	Yes
An Act to Enhance Public Safety	1/14/11	No	No	Yes
An Act Relative to Criminal Sentencing	1/26/11	No	No	Yes
An Act Reforming Re-entry and Community Supervision of Criminal Defendants and Offenders to Strengthen Public Safety	2/3/11	No	No	Yes

Governor Patrick Appointments and Staff Analysis

Patrick has made some high-profile appointments of African Americans throughout his administration. While it is estimated he has appointed more than 200 blacks to varying roles throughout state government, including boards and commissions, and various staff positions, the table below lists the most significant appointments to date.⁷

Table 5: Patrick Administration Significant African-American Staff

Name	Position
Joan Wallace-Benjamin	Chief of Staff
Arthur Bernard	Chief of Staff
William “Mo” Cowan	Chief of Staff
Reginald A. Nunnally	Executive Director Massachusetts Supplier Diversity
JudyAnn Bigby	Secretary of Health and Human Services
Ron Bell	Senior Advisor for Community Affairs
Justice Roderick L. Ireland	Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court
E. Macey Russell	Chair of the Judicial Nominating Commission
Mark Conrad	Chairman, State Parole Board
Dr. Susan Windham-Bannister	Director of the Mass. Life Sciences Center
Ronald Marlow	Assistant Secretary for Access & Opportunity

Given the significance of the roles, the most important position to which Patrick has appointed an African American is arguably the chief of staff. After Joan Wallace-Benjamin, his first chief of staff, left state government, Patrick appointed two subsequent black chiefs of staff, Arthur Bernard and later William “Mo” Cowan. The only black member of Patrick’s cabinet is Dr. JudyAnn Bigby, the secretary of health and human services. Given the role of courts, it is perhaps most significant that Patrick nominated Associate Justice Roderick L. Ireland as the chief justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Court, the first black jurist to serve in this role in the state’s history.⁸ As Table 5 and Appendix A indicate, Patrick has made significant black appointments in health, business, administration, public safety, and public affairs. Patrick has made 198 black appointments to state boards, councils, and commissions. According to Ronald Marlow, assistant secretary for access and opportunity, at the time of this

writing, the administration's minority senior managers comprise 14.5 percent of all senior managers, 63 percent of the minority senior managers are black and 9 percent of all senior managers are black. While the total number of administrative appointments is not available, these significant high-profile black appointees are one indicator of Patrick's representation of black interests.

Governor Patrick Executive Orders Analysis

What follows is an examination of executive orders coded to be in the interests of blacks, those that executed policies and programs that were intended to target the black community or that largely addressed black issues in a way to achieve broad appeal.

Table 6: Black Interest Executive Orders

Executive Order	Date Issued	Summary
478	1/30/07	Order regarding non-discrimination, diversity, equal opportunity, and affirmative action
482	4/10/07	Creating the Governor's Anti-Crime Council
489	8/6/07	Establishing the Readiness Project
495	1/11/08	Regarding the Use and Dissemination of Criminal Offender Record Information by the Executive Department
497	2/11/08	Establishing the Massachusetts Abraham Lincoln Bicentennial Commission
517	1/27/10	Enhancing the Efficiency and Effectiveness of the Executive Departments
519	1/28/10	Establishing the Office of Access and Opportunity Within the Executive Office of Administration and Finance
522	4/2/10	Reestablishing a Juvenile Justice Plan for Massachusetts
524	9/15/10	Establishing the Massachusetts Supplier Diversity Program
526	2/17/11	Regarding Non-discrimination, Diversity, Equal Opportunity and Affirmative Action
527	2/17/11	Establishing the Office of Access and Opportunity Within the Executive Office of Administration and Finance
529	4/4/11	Establishing the Massachusetts Civil War Sesquicentennial Commission
533	5/9/11	Enhancing the Efficiency and Effectiveness of the Executive Department Procurement and Establishing a Municipal Procurement Program

Patrick implemented thirteen (out of a total of sixty) black interest executive orders since taking office in 2007, the first of which restored affirmative action policies within state government previously removed under former governor Mitt Romney. While each of the orders is classified as universalizing black interests, not all of them demonstrate the same frequency of racially coded language and as such were not coded, as were the speeches. The executive orders are classified as black interest given that they concern administrative changes, program developments, and policy introductions in the interests of the black communities of Massachusetts.

Policy Actions and Program Development Analysis

Efforts by Patrick to improve black quality of life in Massachusetts were coded as policy actions and program developments. The summarized data indicate that in his first term Patrick annually introduced and/or implemented an average of six such policy actions and program developments—or roughly one initiative every two months—that impacted the quality of life of blacks in Massachusetts. These results are compelling given the 7 percent black population in the state:

Table 7: Efforts by Patrick to Improve Black Quality of Life

	Governor Patrick Term 1	Governor Patrick Term 2
Terms	2007-2010	2010-present
Number of Policy Actions	12	4
Number of Program Developments	13	3
Total Number Policies and Programs	25	7
Annual Average of Policies and Programs	6	1.75

These data are encouraging. Patrick was initially elected and continues to govern during challenging economic times when the basic delivery of state services is threatened. Thus, the effort to introduce programs and policies in the interests of African Americans, such as his announcement of a \$1 million grant to revive Freedom House, is considered significant (Irons 2010).

Conclusion: Patrick in His Own Words

While this article is principally concerned with what Governor Patrick has done respective to black interests since he has been elected governor, it is also important to contextualize Deval Patrick, the man, in terms of his values and connect that to how he views his job as governor. Deval Patrick has been described as “a well-connected corporate attorney.” A former acting head of the Justice Department’s Civil Rights Division under President Bill Clinton, Patrick has also worked for the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund. These roles prior to his gubernatorial bid shed light on his views toward race. Significantly, though, his own words help to best contextualize how Patrick views race in the contemporary era. In an essay entitled “Standing in the Right Place,” Patrick once clearly stated his beliefs on race: “It is undoubtedly true that legions of African-Americans and members of other minorities feel less of a sense of opportunity, less assured equality, and less confident of fair treatment today than they have in many, many years” (Patrick 1997: 138). Patrick also notes how,

I do not accept that every condition that afflicts minority communities today is explained by race. But I do not believe either that we as a society are free of acts and sometimes patterns of racially motivated unfairness. And I am skeptical that declaring ourselves color-blind in law will make our society color-blind in fact. I’m not talking about any so-called culture of victimization. I’m talking facts. This country will be a truly color-blind nation one day; but we are not there yet. And our economy—to say nothing of the fabric of our civic society—cannot survive without the contributions of all of us. Until that day arrives, we must continue to support efforts to open up our society and ensure that all Americans have an equal opportunity to participate in it (Patrick 1997: 144).

Patrick is a clear example—not of a deracialized politician who ignores race because it is politically expedient, but of a politician whose governing regime is characterized by rhetorical and programmatic advances that universalize the interests of blacks as interests that benefit all citi-

zens. The conclusion to his “Standing” essay provides evidence for this philosophy of Patrick’s:

Civil rights is, as it has always been, a struggle for the American conscience. And we all have a stake in that struggle. So, when an African-American stands up for a high-quality, integrated education, he stands up for all of us. When a Latina stands up for the chance to elect a candidate of her choice, she stands up for all of us . . . Because civil rights is still about affirming our basic values and aspirations as a nation. It’s still about the perennial American challenge that we reach out to one another . . . to seize our common humanity and see our stake in it (Patrick 1997: 145).

Clearly Patrick’s views on civil rights mirror how, as governor, he sees his role—in part, to advance the opportunities and interests of black state residents. As he states in his memoir *A Reason to Believe*, the governor’s office is about creating opportunities for those who don’t have them. In describing his visit to a Boston public school recently beset by violence, Patrick identifies how, as he was preparing his remarks in the principal’s office, he viewed his role:

After a minute or two, I realized I was being watched. When I looked up, outside the window were a dozen or more little black boys and girls wearing backpacks and waving excitedly. It was a touching scene, a reminder on one level, of how far I’ve come in my own journey and of how far our nation has come. At their age, growing up in Chicago, I’m not sure I would have recognized the governor of my state, beyond perhaps knowing that he did not have my skin color. But those children, with all their joyful energy and unbridled dreams, reminded me that my work today must be about them, not me. Not the history I am making, but the history they have yet to make (Patrick 2011: 222-223).

This complicated story identifies that Patrick recognizes the history-making election as the nation’s only elected black governor of the

twenty-first century. But his statement also describes how he views his job as less of an opportunity to champion causes and initiatives about his unique position in history, than an opportunity to use that history-making powerful position to create policies and programs for the next generation. Yes, for all residents, but seemingly particularly for black children, whose excited waves reminded him of his improbable journey to Beacon Hill and how he is now in the position to help change the life chances of kids like him.

The above analysis indicates that Patrick has actively represented black interests. While he may have campaigned as a deracialized candidate (Lewis 2010), he has governed not exclusively, but in episodes of significance, in the interests of blacks. From his symbolic oath of office on the famous Mendi Bible to his appointment of the state's first black chief justice of the Supreme Judicial Court, to his many executive orders and legislative introductions that benefited black interests; Patrick, the nation's only reelected black governor, is an example of a black politician who governs utilizing a targeted universalistic strategy that frames black interests as interests that matter to all citizens.

Further Research

A significant shortcoming in this article is the lack of substantive analysis of the annual budget recommendations that Patrick has made. Budget analysis is a key policy area through which social scientists and the general public can capture the governor's priorities. I hope state-level analysts will build upon the research herein and analyze his annual budget recommendations and the governor's role throughout the annual legislative process to identify markers of commonality and departures from the finding that Patrick has in fact represented black interests in the state of Massachusetts.

Additionally, limited resources made it difficult to analyze in depth the categorical content of the governor's executive orders to quantify and analyze the number and purpose of the orders' actionable tasks. It is the hope of this author that future research will be able to examine these components in more detail. The implementation of the above-referenced two research shortcomings of this article would significantly contribute to the findings and potentially shed new direction on the substantive analysis of Patrick's terms in office.

Appendix A: Patrick Administration African-American Appointees

Cooper, Ralph Governor's Advisory Council on Veterans' Services
Plant, Clarence Governor's Advisory Council on Veterans' Services
Vanderhoef, Sheila Advisory Commission on Local Government
Jones, Angela Asset Development Commission
Carter, Richard Board of Certification of Wastewater Treatment Facilities
Bonds, James Board of Directors for the Commonwealth Corporation
Long, Bridget Board of Directors for the Commonwealth Corporation
McClain, Wanda Board of Directors for the Commonwealth Corporation
Alexander, Sophia Board of Directors for the Commonwealth Corporation
Motley, J. Keith Board of Directors for the Commonwealth Corporation
Jackson, Tito Board of Directors of Commonwealth Zoological Corporation
Pinado, Jeanne Board of Directors of Commonwealth Zoological Corporation
Burke, Brian Board of Directors of the Massachusetts Broadband Institute
Scott-Chandler, Sharon Board of Early Education and Care
Mohler-Faria, Dana Board of Education
Howard, Jeffrey Board of Education
Holmes, Beverly Board of Elementary and Secondary Education
Fulp, Cyrus Board of Higher Education
Stoute, Gregory Board of Registration in Dentistry
Stevens, Cynthia Board of Registration in Dentistry
Minter-Jordan, Myechia Board of Registration in Medicine
Hankins, Melissa Board of Registration in Medicine
James, Thea Board of Registration in Medicine
Weekes-Cabey, Cilorene Board of Registration in Nursing
DuBose, Jennifer Board of Registration in Nursing
Rodriguez-Louis, Jacqueline Board of Registration of Genetic Counselors
Jenkins, Yvonne Board of Registration of Psychologists
Cheeseman, Michelle Board of Registration of Social Workers
Wynn, Michael Board of Trustees of Berkshire Community College
Bedward, Dane Board of Trustees of Bridgewater State College
Vanessa, Britto Board of Trustees of Bridgewater State College
Rose, Cynthia Board of Trustees of Bristol Community College
Andrade, Patricia Board of Trustees of Bristol Community College
Melay, Antoine Board of Trustees of Bunker Hill Community College
Walker III, Richard Board of Trustees of Bunker Hill Community College
Powell, Colleen Board of Trustees of Bunker Hill Community College
Vanderhoef, Sheila Board of Trustees of Cape Cod Community College
Stevens, Cynthia Board of Trustees of Fitchburg State College
Caulton-Harris, Helen Board of Trustees of Holyoke Community College
Lee, M. David Board of Trustees of Massachusetts College of Art and Design

Jennings, James Board of Trustees of Massachusetts Bay Community College
 Warrick-Brooks, Cheryl Board of Trustees of Massachusetts College of Arts
 Jearld, Jr., Ambrose Board of Trustees of Massachusetts Maritime Academy
 Fields, Jacqueline Board of Trustees of Massachusetts Maritime Academy
 Maria, Martins Board of Trustees of Massasoit Community College
 Ifill, Pamerson Board of Trustees of Massasoit Community College
 Mack, Royall Board of Trustees of Middlesex Community College
 Hicks, James Board of Trustees of Middlesex Community College
 Luster, Stacey Board of Trustees of Quinsigamond Community College
 Jones, Michael Board of Trustees of Quinsigamond Community College
 Jenkins, John Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Brown, Michele Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Crawford, Anita Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Palmer-Owens, Janet Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Cruz, John Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Phillips, Colette Board of Trustees of Roxbury Community College
 Cost, Monica Board of Trustees of Salem State College
 Scott, Pamela Board of Trustees of Salem State College
 Robinson, Dora Board of Trustees of Springfield Technical Community College
 Patterson, Malcolm Board of Trustees of the Essex Agricultural and and Technical Institute
 Thomas, Henry Board of Trustees of the University of Massachusetts
 King-Shaw, Ruben Board of Trustees of University of Massachusetts
 Lee, Alyce Board of Trustees of University of Massachusetts
 Berry, Christel Board of Trustees of Westfield State College
 Bostic, Stephen Board of Trustees of Worcester State College
 Steele, Shirley Board of Trustees of Worcester State College
 Thomas, Robert Board of Trustees of Worcester State College
 Pruce, Edna Brain Injury Commission
 Ewing, Albert Chelsea Soldiers' Home Board of Trustees
 Levarity, Valdace Child Advocate Advisory Board
 Carter, Joseph Children's Trust Fund
 McDowell, Ellaina Civil Service Commission
 Kelly-Croswell, Lisa Commonwealth Corporation Board of Directors
 Ancrum, Ron Commonwealth Corps
 Brooks, Tina Community Economic Development Assistance Corporation
 Marlow, Ronald Community Economic Development Assistance Corporation
 Warrick-Brooks, Cheryl Creative Economy Council
 Lee, Jay Designer Selection Board
 Ariguzo, Godwin Economic Assistance Coordinating Council
 Killins, Sherri Education Commission of the States
 Poindexter, Jeffrey Finance Advisory Board
 White, Charmaine Finance Advisory Board

Swan, Edward Finance Advisory Board

Caulton-Harris, Helen Food Policy Council (local health department to address food safety and nutrition seat)

Chandler, Sharon Freedom's Way Heritage Area Commission

Alleyne, Sonia Gov. Advisory Committee for the Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention Program

Bethune, Leon Gov. Advisory Committee for the Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention Program

Sandel, Megan Gov. Advisory Committee for the Childhood Lead Poisoning Prevention Program

Magee, Keith Governor's Advisory Council on Chaplains in State Institutions

Bigby, JudyAnn Governor's Anti-Crime Council

Wesley, Howard-John Governor's Anti-Crime Council

Cousins, Frank Governor's Anti-Crime Council

Hills, James Governor's Anti-Crime Council

Milorin, Evelyne Governor's Commission on Mental Retardation

Smith, Craig Governor's Commission on Mental Retardation

Cabral, Andrea Governor's Council on Domestic and Sexual Violence

Desire, Carline Governor's Council on Domestic and Sexual Violence

Rwaramba-Baez, Margaret Governor's Council on Domestic and Sexual Violence

Gaskins, Louise Governor's Non-discrimination Diversity and Equal Opportunity Advisory Council

Borders, Sandra Governor's Non-discrimination Diversity and Equal Opportunity Advisory Council

Cooper, Ralph Governor's Non-discrimination Diversity and Equal Opportunity Advisory Council

Marlow, Ronald Governor's Non-discrimination Diversity and Equal Opportunity Advisory Council

Basden, Dalene Health Care Quality and Cost Council Advisory Committee

King, Roderick Health Care Quality and Cost Council Advisory Committee

Johnson, Tarma J. Health Care Workforce Advisory Council

Thea, James Health Care Workforce Advisory Council

Jones, Bernard Holyoke Soldiers' Home Board of Trustees

Oglesby, Margaret Holyoke Soldiers' Home Board of Trustees

Tolson-Pierce, Faith Framingham Housing Authority

Haywood, Howard Newton Housing Authority

Poindexter, Jeffrey Industrial Accident Nominating Panel

Vanderhoef, Sheila Joint Labor Management Committee

Swagerty, Evelynne Judicial Nominating Commission

Russell, E. Macey Judicial Nominating Commission

Natalie, Petit Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee (Youth Seat 1)

Dottin-Dixon, Rita Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Adams, Tina Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Nolan, Kevin Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Gittens, Robert Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Smith, Monalisa Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Milton, Roland Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Harris, Catherine Juvenile Justice Advisory Committee

Benjamin, William Massachusetts Aeronautics Commission

Blue, Celia Massachusetts Aeronautics Commission
 Davis, Willie Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority Board of Directors
 Williams, Darnell Massachusetts Bay Transportation Authority Board of Directors
 Medley, Malcolm Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination
 Toney, Albert Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination Advisory Board
 Davis, Remona Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination Advisory Board
 Fields, Jacqueline Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination Advisory Board
 Jones, Kimberly Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination Advisory Board
 Moran III, William Massachusetts Commission Against Discrimination Advisory Board
 Correia, Tamika Massachusetts Commission for the Blind Rehabilitation Council
 King, Betty Massachusetts Commission for the Blind Rehabilitation Council
 Settles, Darryl Massachusetts Convention Center Authority
 Cowan, William Massachusetts Convention Center Authority
 Shell, Michelle Massachusetts Convention Center Authority
 Pinado, Jeanne Massachusetts Cultural Council
 Thomas, Zakiya Massachusetts Cultural Council
 Jenkins, John Massachusetts Department of Transportation Board of Directors
 Johnson, Willie Estella Massachusetts Development Finance Agency
 Bailey, Gary Massachusetts Educational Financing Authority
 Osborne, Mervan Massachusetts Foundation for the Humanities and Public Policy
 Thornton, Elizabeth Massachusetts Growth Capital Corporation
 Byers, Darrell Massachusetts Health and Educational Facilities Authority
 Hatfield, Michael Massachusetts Home Mortgage Finance Agency Advisory Committee
 Shelton, Yvonne Massachusetts Hospital School Board of Trustees
 Homer, Ronald Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency
 Lee, David Massachusetts Housing Finance Agency Advisory Committee
 Clay, Phillip Massachusetts Technology Collaborative
 Mohler-Faria, Dana Massachusetts Technology Collaborative
 Stephens, Thomas Massachusetts Turnpike Authority
 Jenkins, John Massachusetts Turnpike Authority
 Thorton, Elizabeth Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Guscott, Lisa Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Lloyd, Glynn Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Brooks, Heidi Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Mayers, Juliette Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Nosike, Chizoma Massachusetts Workforce Investment Board
 Haywood, Howard Metropolitan Area Planning Council
 Pilgrim, Hugh Metropolitan Area Planning Council
 Conrad, Mark Parole Board
 Howard-Hogan, Ina Parole Board
 Brantley, C. LaRoy Pension Reserves Investment Management Board
 Snowden, Gail Policyholders Protective Board

Wright, Steven Policyholders Protective Board - SBLI
 Long, Bridget Public Education Nominating Council
 Harleston, Bernard Public Education Nominating Council
 David, Michele Public Health Council
 Caulton-Harris, Helen Public Health Council
 Cox, Harold Public Health Council
 Owens, Janet Readiness Project
 Dugger, Ed Readiness Project
 Thomas, Henry Readiness Project
 Pires-Hester, Laura Schooner Ernestina Commission
 Enos, Deborah Special Commission on the Health Care Payment System
 Coombs, Alice Special Commission on the Health Care Payment System
 Milorin, Evelyne Special Commission Relative to Autism
 Brooks, Tina Special Commission Relative to Ending Homelessness in the Commonwealth
 Edwards, Mark Special Commission Relative to Ending Homelessness in the Commonwealth
 McCroom, Sandra Special Commission Relative to the Reorganization or Consolidation of the
 Sheriffs' Office
 Adams, LaTeisha State Athletic Commission
 Davis, Derek State Lottery Commission
 Gentle, Alan Statewide Advisory Council on Mental Retardation
 Clark, Reginald Statewide Advisory Council on Mental Retardation
 Coleman, Rashad Statewide Youth Council
 Narcisse, Stanley Statewide Youth Council
 Busby, Brianna Statewide Youth Council
 Johnson, Andrew Statewide Youth Council
 Pingue, Danielle Statewide Youth Council
 Jones, Grant Statewide Youth Council
 Masaye, Fratkin Statewide Youth Council
 Devery, Bowers Statewide Youth Council
 Boone, Melinda STEM Advisory Council
 Spicer, Yvonne STEM Advisory Council
 Hoagland, John Underwater Archaeological Resources
 Thomas, Henry University of Massachusetts Building Authority
 Williams, Frederica Workforce Training Fund Advisory Board

Source: Office of the Governor

Notes

¹The author acknowledges Ranard Caldwell for his research assistance.

²Chaz Firestone, "Deval Patrick on the Jena Six and Gay Marriage," *Brown Daily Herald*, October 3, 2007.

³Patrick met with state black pastors in 2008: <http://www.baystatebanner.com/Local14-2008-06-26>

⁴Perhaps most interesting is how the state's oldest black newspaper captured the humanity of Patrick's agenda in its editorial endorsing Patrick for re-election: <http://www.baystatebanner.com/Editorial51-2010-10-21>. Thus, it appears apt to apply West's approach to Patrick's administration.

⁵William Julius Wilson, "Race-Neutral Policies and the Democratic Coalition," *American Prospect*, Mar. 21, 1990, http://www.prospect.org/cs/articles?article=raceneutral_policies_and_the_democratic_coalition.

⁶Governor Patrick successfully became the first black governor in the history of the country to be reelected in 2010, however, as his term continues at the time of this writing, a complete analysis of both of his gubernatorial terms is not yet available.

⁷*The Bay State Banner* includes a photograph of many of the black appointees: <http://www.baystatebanner.com/BostonScenes61-2010-03-11>. See Appendix A for data provided courtesy of the Office of the Governor, and particularly by staff members Alec Loftus, Kendra Foley, Ronald Marlow, and Ron Bell. The appendix identifies the name and title of the respective black appointees in the Patrick Administration as identified by the Office of the Governor.

⁸For more information on the historic nomination, visit: <http://www.baystatebanner.com/local11-2010-11-11> and <http://www.baystatebanner.com/local13-2010-12-16>

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History Makers

President Barack Obama drew 15,000 people to Hynes Auditorium in Boston to hear him support the reelection campaign of Massachusetts Governor Deval Patrick on October 16, 2010. Three weeks later, Patrick became the first black governor in the country to be reelected. In 2006, Obama, then a US senator from Illinois, had come to Massachusetts to campaign for Patrick, who succeeded in his first run for public office. © Don West. Reprinted by permission.