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IN-DEPTH
STUDY
GUIDE

WHITE RAGE

CAROL ANDERSON

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PLOT OVERVIEW

Carol Anderson's 2016 nonfiction book, *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide*, looks at the way African-American progress has been halted and repressed, again and again, by a powerful cocktail of economic self-interest, fear, and hatred on the part of America's white elites, a philosophy she calls "white rage." The book's five chapters examine five crucial turning points in the African-American struggle for freedom and equality: Reconstruction and the abolition of slavery, the Great Migration, desegregation, the Civil Rights Movement, and the election of Barack Obama.

Anderson's historiography is both unusual and rigorous and has a somewhat contrarian approach. Instead of retelling the familiar stories of these flashpoints in American history, Anderson looks into the white backlash *against* these marks of progress, and the way aggrieved whites have tried, and continue to try, to stop the arc of history from bending towards justice. She draws on both national sources and local ones, from Supreme Court decisions to regional newspapers and city by-laws. The stories that Anderson highlights are not necessarily the most familiar or headline-grabbing ones, but this approach suits her argument about the missed opportunities and roads not taken by American society: that every step towards racial equality in the U.S. has been resisted, compromised, and clawed back by white rage.

The book begins with the Reconstruction Era. Instead of focusing on Lincoln, the Civil War, and the Emancipation Proclamation, Anderson focuses on Lincoln's successor, Andrew Johnson, and the enormous compromises he made, supposedly to keep the newly re-formed Union together. The Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, passed in the aftermath of the Civil War, offer powerful guarantees of freedom, voting rights, and equal protection from discrimination under the law. Yet again and again, Johnson allowed the former slave states to ignore or undermine these protections with Jim Crow laws and the notoriously inhumane "Black Codes," criminal statutes that outlined certain crimes and punishments only for black people. Johnson's own freely-admitted racism, Anderson shows, and the anxiety and rage of a region economically dependent upon unpaid labor, allowed the promise of the Reconstruction Amendments to be set aside for a system of "slavery in all but name."

Next, Anderson discusses the Great Migration of African Americans from the agricultural South to the industrial North, away from Jim Crow laws and the sharecropping system that had kept many blacks in conditions functionally equivalent to slavery. In a time when the nation's industry and economy were growing at a huge rate, Anderson shows how Southern whites, in blatant defiance of capitalist principles, fought tooth-and-nail against the right of these laborers to seek a fair wage from the free market. Southern cities stopped the publication of papers advertising jobs in the north, levied huge penalties on any worker who dared to quit his job, and even stopped trains that might be carrying African Americans heading north. The second half of the chapter focuses at length on the white rage that awaited black workers who made it to the North, particularly the restrictive housing policies that confined them to ghettos and the mob violence that erupted when they dared move into white neighborhoods.

The third chapter of *White Rage* treats the backlash to the landmark Supreme Court decision in the *Brown vs. Board of Education* case (1954), which made segregated schools illegal. Anderson details the extraordinary lengths that some states and counties went to in order to keep white and black students separate, such as abolishing public schools altogether, or fighting the implementation of the law in the courts for decades. The resistance to integrated education, Anderson claims, is another great missed opportunity of American society: instead of recognizing education as a basic right, or even recognizing advantages to a nation comprised of an educated populace, white rage poisoned its own well by handicapping the public-school system for an entire generation.

Chapter 4 deals with the Civil Rights Era, but in keeping with Anderson's focus on reactionary measures rather than great victories, the stories of Rosa Parks or the Selma-Montgomery march are passed over in favor of the attempts by national and state legislators to dismantle the newly-passed Civil Rights and Voting Rights Acts, and to find ways to enact racist policies in a society that no longer condoned open racism. To this end, Anderson discusses not only gerrymandering and voter-suppression tactics that made it harder for African Americans to vote, but also more insidious measures, like criminal-justice reform and the War on Drugs, which worked together not only to destabilize the black community and incarcerate huge numbers of African Americans but also to associate blackness with crime in the media and the popular imagination. Anderson shows how ostensibly race-neutral political or economic issues like crime and welfare became coded or "dog-whistle" topics that masked racist intentions and attitudes.

Finally, Anderson discusses the story of the Obama presidency: not of his inspirational election, but of the oppositional rage that his election created. In the determination of Congress to obstruct and stymie the president's every move, Anderson sees the forces of white rage, and in the renewed efforts to suppress the minority vote and dismantle the Voting Rights Act, she discerns a movement, newly energized by the election of a black president, to once again stop black advancement and achievement from taking hold in American society.

CHAPTER SUMMARIES AND ANALYSES

Prologue-Chapter 3

Prologue Summary: "Kindling"

Anderson explains how the concept of "white rage" began to take shape in her mind around two instances of police violence: the killing of Amadou Diallo, in 1999, and the killing of Michael Brown, in 2014. In both cases, the same narrative of misplaced black rage drove the media coverage: why should African Americans be outraged over police violence, when the real problems are within their own communities? This led Anderson to realize that "what was really at work here was *white* rage" (2). "White rage" describes a systemic, virulent, and ultimately self-destructive opposition to black advancement and progress that has operated in the United States government, courts, and businesses for centuries. It provides a genteel cover for racism at every level of society, and it surfaces whenever significant steps are made by African Americans seeking equality and full citizenship.

Chapter 1 Summary: "Reconstructing Reconstruction"

Carol Anderson's *White Rage: The Unspoken Truth of Our Racial Divide* begins at the end of the Civil War. For Anderson, the Reconstruction Era was a time of great promise and possibility: with slavery, our nation's "original sin" (1), finally abolished, the country could have taken a great step towards the fair, democratic state imagined in the Declaration of Independence. But it didn't. The Reconstruction Amendments, the Civil Rights Act of 1866, and the formation of the Freedmen's Bureau took concrete steps to ensure citizenship and access to land, education, and the courts for newly-freed slaves. But these steps were blocked by state governments who wanted to keep black people as "slaves in everything but name" (18), a Federal Government more concerned with preserving the Union than protecting the rights of black Americans, and a Supreme Court who permitted discrimination against blacks in decision after landmark decision. Most notably, the Court, in the infamous *Dred Scott* case, ruled that "black people have no rights [that] the white man is bound to respect" (17), a precedent that state governments all over the South took to heart in

devising criminal statutes and civil legislation with expressly white-supremacist aims.

When President Johnson provided amnesty to former Confederate leaders, it empowered them to pursue policies and traditions of extreme violence against black people. Anderson shows how these traitors to the Union, once forgiven by the President, felt free to act upon their hatred of the newly-freed slaves: "As [Johnson] welcomed one 'niggers will catch hell' state after the next back into the union with no mention whatsoever of black voting rights and, thus, no political protection, he effectively laid the groundwork for mass murder" (16).

Lynchings, beatings, rapes, and false imprisonment of black people were carried out with impunity across the former slave states, and the Johnson government looked the other way in the name of preserving the Union. The state of Mississippi, for instance, passed a series of "Black Codes"—laws meant to apply only to black people—which made it legal to auction off black laborers and publicly whip black people for crimes of "defiance" and "inappropriate behavior" (19). Other former slave states soon copied these laws, which, in the name of preserving white supremacy, ensured that African Americans would be economically and politically powerless:

Blacks were denied access to land, banned from hunting and fishing, and forbidden to work independently using skills honed and developed while enslaved, such as blacksmithing. Under such conditions, self-sufficiency could never have been achieved. The bottom line was that economic independence was anathema to a power structure that depended on cheap, exploitable, rightless labor and required black subordination (21).

White rage needed African Americans to be subordinate and oppressed, but it equally judged and chastised them as lazy and weak.

Every new freedom granted to African Americans was met with backlash from whites, which could reach extremes of violence and brutality. Anderson describes massacres that were committed in the South over nothing more than a group of African Americans meeting to discuss the vote. But more important, and more insidious, were the legal edifices constructed to shelter white supremacy and white hatred for blacks. The Jim Crow laws and the notorious Black Codes adopted in many former slave states made it legal to keep blacks from voting, gaining an education, changing jobs, moving to another residence, or seeking

redress from the courts. The laws written and enacted during this era did not bring the country closer to a just, democratic ideal; instead, they brought it as close to re-establishing slavery as they could.

Chapter 2 Summary: "Derailing the Great Migration"

Chapter 2 begins in 1918, as huge numbers of black Americans begin to move north for industrial jobs, with 500,000 blacks leaving the South in 1918 alone. Anderson describes the combination of wildly unfair labor practices and the terror of lynchings and violence that led African Americans to flee the agricultural South, along with the white rage this exodus engendered. Southern cities and states enacted a battery of laws and policies to prevent the migration of black workers which, effectively, criminalized the basic capitalist act of seeking a market for one's labor. The First Amendment was violated as newspapers with employment advertisements were seized, and even the war effort, which drove the need for industrial workers, was sabotaged in the attempt to keep blacks in the South and subject to Jim Crow laws. According to Anderson, white Southern elites went to such lengths to prevent the Great Migration because it threatened not only their economy but their racial beliefs and self-justifications: "The whole culture of the white South was erected on the presumption of black inability. And the Great Migration directly challenged that foundation. Black success was the white South's bogeyman" (54). Because the Great Migration signaled African Americans taking control of their own destinies, white Southerners took extreme measures to stop it.

The so-called "anti-enticement" statutes were one such measure: these laws criminalized the recruitment of black laborers, making it a felony in several states to attempt to hire workers for an out-of-state job, punishable by steep fines and even jail sentences:

The legalistic language about fines and prison sentences masked a barely contained fury at the dawning realization that blacks believed they could leave the South or the rural areas for decent wages, functioning schools, and more freedom. African Americans simply did not have that right. That was the message (48).

In addition to these restrictions, white authorities attempted to crack down on the free press, blaming newspapers for making black workers aware of better opportunities outside of the South. Anderson uses the *Chicago Defender* as a case

study in how white rage curtailed and sabotaged the First Amendment. The *Chicago Defender* was the most influential African-American paper of the early 20th century; it had circulation in black communities far outside Chicago, and its pro-black message had made the paper “a symbol of African American pride and defiance” (48). Because the paper openly urged African Americans to flee the South, police chiefs in Southern towns ordered officers to seize the paper from newsstands and pursued criminal charges against vendors who sold it. It was banned outright in certain counties, in a clearly unconstitutional limit on the freedom of the press. White elites had no problem trespassing on the most hallowed of American freedoms in order to maintain their supremacy.

The chapter ends with the story of Dr. Ossian Sweet, which serves as a reminder that the cities that African Americans escaped to in the Great Migration were not panaceas of racial equality. The influx of black people caused racial panic amongst Northern whites, who responded with redlining, housing covenants, and mob violence to keep blacks out of white neighborhoods. In 1925, Dr. Sweet and his family moved into a white neighborhood in Detroit. Although it was not an upscale neighborhood—none of the white residents had Dr. Sweet’s level of educational or professional attainment—the residents were enraged at the idea of a black family living amongst them, and they immediately formed a homeowner’s association with the express purpose of preventing an African-American family from moving in. When an angry mob then gathered around the Sweet home, throwing rocks, breaking windows and doors, and shouting racial epithets, Dr. Sweet’s brother, Henry, attempted to fend off the rioters with a gun, and a man was killed.

Despite the obvious evidence of self-defense, a prosecutor named Robert Toms decided to try the Sweets for conspiracy and premeditated murder, telling the all-white jury that “it wasn’t unreasonable for the community association to want to maintain the racial purity of their neighborhood” and that the man had been killed because “the Sweets and their friends were uppity [and] didn’t propose to be driven out” (65). Sweet was defended by the renowned lawyer Clarence Darrow, who argued that the right of self-defense was sacred, and that if the situation were reversed, and white men had shot and killed a black man in defense of their home, “nobody would have dreamed of having them indicted [...] [t]hey would have been given medals instead” (64). After an initial mistrial, the Sweets were acquitted, but the trial had come at great cost. Sweet’s wife and baby daughter contracted tuberculosis in an unsanitary jail awaiting trial, and Dr. Ossian Sweet eventually committed suicide. The Great Migration saw African Americans move

north in huge numbers to escape the Jim Crow South and earn a better living for themselves and their families, and it is exactly that betterment, Anderson argues, that causes outbursts of white rage.

Chapter 3 Summary: "Burning *Brown* to the Ground"

This chapter explores the context and aftermath of the landmark Supreme Court decision in the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education* (1954). After decades of court battles waged by the NAACP and the black community, the court had ruled that segregation was inherently unequal and thus unconstitutional, but governors and legislators across the South fought hard to resist integrating black and white schools. As in previous instances Anderson has documented, it didn't take much for the white rage against integration to erupt into senseless violence against black people. But this fight also turned against schools themselves. Southern states ignored federal education funding and fought to abolish public education, and the local property taxes that funded it, entirely, rather than send black and white children to school together. The organized, intentional, and systematic fight against integration by legislators and public officials was given the name "Massive Resistance," and in 1956, an extraordinary declaration called the Southern Manifesto was signed by no fewer than 101 members of Congress.

The Southern Manifesto declared that:

the Supreme Court had violated states' rights, abused judicial authority, and undercut the separation of powers, [giving] sanction from the highest levels to use the levers of government to defy the U.S. Supreme Court until, with the federal judiciary and African Americans tiring of the fight, *Brown* simply collapsed (79).

This meant that Congress and state governments of Southern states had openly declared war on the Supreme Court because of its decision to integrate schools, casting their refusal to obey the law of the land as a principled stand in defense of the Constitution. Numerous school segregation laws were passed under Massive Resistance that the legislatures *knew* were unconstitutional, simply because the court battles required to repeal them would be long and costly, thus preserving segregated schools for a bit longer.

One case study that is given particularly close attention is the school system of Prince Edward County in Virginia. In 1955, the state of Virginia, under Governor James Lindsey Almond, refused federal-court orders to admit black students to schools in white areas by closing the white, well-funded schools. The Gray Commission (led by State Senator Garland Gray) abolished the property tax that funded public schools; since private schools could still refuse to admit black students, the money cut from public schools was used instead for tuition grants to send white students to the private, all-white Prince Edward Academy. The public-school system of Prince Edward County remained closed for five years, during which African-American children had no place to go to school, causing serious learning deficits and psychological damage to the locked-out kids. One student, Henry Cabarrus, testified that:

[W]hen you have such strong white resistance against you as a person such that they can take away the most fundamental thing—education—if someone can take that away from you, your esteem is so small that [...] you're always looking over your shoulder for who is going to attack or criticize (85).

These effects were especially crippling as the nature of the American economy changed in the late 60s and 70s; by the time Prince Edward County finally began to comply with the *Brown v. Board of Education* decision and integrate public schools well into the 1970s, industrial and unskilled labor jobs that required no college degree were disappearing:

the economy was primed for those who had the benefit of years of good schools and, in particular, for whites who had a well-funded public school system that went all the way through the twelfth grade and graduated the lion's share of them as college-ready (86).

The transition to a knowledge-based economy made African Americans who were denied the right to an education more disadvantaged than ever on the job market.

The effects of an unequal and underfunded education system continue to be felt to this day, Anderson claims, as "the states of the Deep South, which fought *Brown* tooth and nail, today all fall in the bottom quartile of state rankings for educational attainment, per capita income, and quality of health" (96).

Prologue-Chapter 3 Analysis

Anderson's first three chapters focus on three moments of change and conflict in African-American history, beginning with the end of the Civil War and the Reconstruction Era (1865-1877), then covering the Great Migration (1918-1970) and finally the segregation battles surrounding the *Brown vs. Board of Education* Supreme Court ruling in 1954.

Each of these conflicts precipitated numerous hate crimes, but throughout the book, Anderson is more interested in the legal and political manifestations of white rage than in sheer anti-black violence; as she says in the Prologue, "it's not the Klan," but something that takes place "in the halls of power" (3). Even so, what distinguishes the forms of white rage in these early chapters is their openly, avowedly racist nature: from the President of the United States declaring "this is a country for white men" (18) in the 1860s, to George Wallace, a candidate for President, declaring of the American electorate, "They all hate black people, all of them," in the 1960s (101).

Thus, the legal and political strategies that were developed to stifle black advancement in these eras tend to have an explicitly white-supremacist or racially-discriminatory purpose. Anderson describes many of these: there are the Black Codes of former slave states like Mississippi and Florida, enacted just after the Civil War, which created a new set of criminal laws just for black people; the vagrancy laws of the 1920s, designed to imprison African Americans migrating to the North to seek employment; and the Southern Manifesto of 1956, signed by 101 U.S. congressmen, which declared that they would fight the racial integration of schools with "massive resistance." Each of these movements and acts of legislation is premised upon the notion that black people cannot and should not ever be equal to whites.

Chapter 4-Afterword

Chapter 4 Summary: "Rolling Back Civil Rights"

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s won many local victories as well as two great, nationwide achievements: the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, which outlawed racial discrimination in employment, housing, public services, and voting. These landmark acts of legislation provoked excesses of white rage that are detailed in this chapter. Anderson focuses on the

way that, in the decades after the iconic successes of the Civil Rights Movement, the Nixon and Reagan administrations dismantled those successes by initiating widespread voter suppression measures and discriminatory school funding and districting policies, in addition to the War on Drugs (with the mass incarceration of African Americans as its unspoken goal).

This chapter focuses more on media narratives and campaign strategies than the previous chapters, as Anderson is describing how the public face of racism changed in the 1970s and 1980s. In this era, the blatant racism of the Reconstruction and Great Migration periods was made into something more palatable and acceptable for the mass public. Nixon's campaign strategist, Lee Atwater, provided a startlingly transparent explanation of this policy of "racism with plausible deniability" (119), which Anderson quotes: "'You start out in 1954 by saying 'nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968, you can't say 'nigger.' That hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights, and all that stuff'" (119).

This tactic allowed the feeling of white rage to fester and flourish under the cover of "economic" concerns and fears about crime. Examples of Atwater's "Southern Strategy" in practice include a Nixon campaign ad that featured images of riots, protests, and civic disorder with the tag line, "Vote like your whole world depended on it: Nixon." The purpose of the ad, according to Nixon aide John Ehrlichman, "was to present a position on crime, education, or public housing in such a way that a voter could 'avoid admitting to himself that he was attracted by a racist appeal'" (104).

These appeals to white rage formed the foundation of George Wallace's 1968 campaign for President, as well as Nixon and, later, Ronald Reagan's campaign platforms, each of which Anderson discusses in this chapter. These campaigns worked on "working-class whites whose hold on some semblance of the American dream was becoming tenuous as the economy buckled under pressure from financing both the Great Society and the Vietnam War" (102). African Americans became a convenient scapegoat for these financial pressures, as the progress made by the Civil Rights Movement created a backlash of white rage. As Anderson points out, "Black gains, it was assumed, could only come at the expense of whites" (102).

Once elected to office, those who campaigned on strategies appealing to white rage set about rolling back the gains of the Civil Rights Era through legislative

means aimed at the Voting Rights Act and Civil Rights Act. One of the most important court decisions of this campaign was *San Antonio Independent School District v. Rodriguez* (1973), a case which originated in a disadvantaged, racial-minority Texas school district. Parents from the district sued to challenge the system of school funding via property taxes, which gave an unfair advantage to schools and children from richer areas. The Edgewood neighborhood of San Antonio was 96 percent Mexican and black, and the lower property values meant that local schools were deeply underfunded, compared to richer areas with equivalent or lower tax rates.

The Texas district court agreed, ruling that “education is a fundamental right,” and “Texas’s funding scheme was irrational and violated the equal protection clause of the Fourteenth Amendment” (112). But upon appeal, the Supreme Court, with four of Nixon’s appointees, ruled in favor of the school district, declaring that the discriminatory system could not violate the Fourteenth Amendment because “there is no fundamental right to education in the Constitution” (112). Because public schools are funded by property taxes across the country, the Court argued, this funding system could not be regarded as innately unjust, despite the manifest disparity between the tax dollars spent on educating the average white student compared to the average black student. The effects of this decision, Anderson argues, were wide-ranging and are still being felt in the “neo-segregation” of our present education system.

Under President Reagan, cuts to federal programs and federal jobs, coupled with the weakening of civil rights protections in the workplace, had a profound effect on the economic and social well-being of African Americans. During Reagan’s presidency, the median income for African-American families fell, while it grew for white families:

[Reagan’s] job cuts, retooling of student financial aid to eliminate those most in need, and decimation of antipoverty and social welfare programs virtually ensured that the goal of the African American community for economic stability and progress would crumble and fade” (123).

The crack epidemic then engulfed these already-troubled communities. Anderson traces how the Reagan Administration allowed and even promulgated that drug epidemic by funding right-wing movements, or “contras,” in Latin America, which were largely funded by the drug cartels who brought crack cocaine to American inner cities. The War on Drugs proved an effective method of stripping black

Americans of their civil rights: mass incarceration due to drug convictions has resulted in huge numbers of African Americans losing the right to vote and the ability to earn a decent living, and has eroded the safety and stability of their communities. Together with the media campaigns to associate “crime” and “blackness” in the popular imagination, the drug war and conservative opposition to welfare and social programs have proved enormously effective outlets for white rage.

Chapter 5 Summary: "How to Unelect a Black President"

In the final chapter, Anderson examines the reaction to Barack Obama's election from the perspective of white rage. Paradoxically, Obama's victory provided both ammunition and camouflage to reactionary whites, because the election of a black President enraged white racists while allowing them to deny the continued existence of systemic racism in American society; after all, if the United States were a racist society, how could a black man have been elected?

Republican strategists and activists, having seen the enormous voter turnout that Obama's campaign produced, created new measures to suppress minority votes across the country: "I don't want everybody to vote," one conservative activist said, because "[Republican] leverage in elections quite candidly goes up as the voting populace goes down" (140). Strategies to prevent minorities from voting, spearheaded by Republican organizations like True the Vote, have flourished since Obama was elected, with the purpose of preventing a candidate like Obama from ever being elected again. These vote-suppression efforts have raised the specter of widespread “voter fraud” as a pretext for making it harder for people to register to vote, make it to the polls, and participate in the democratic process, despite the fact that no solid evidence of widespread fraud has ever been produced. Anderson describes numerous voter-suppression measures enacted in the wake of Obama's election, such as voter ID laws, restrictions on early voting and polling place hours, and deregistration initiatives that remove names from the rolls of registered voters for supposed address errors.

The most important tool in the arsenal of Republican strategists aiming to suppress minority votes came with the Supreme Court decision in the *Shelby County v. Holder* case (2013). Anderson refers to this decision as a “gutting of the Voting Rights Act” (148).

Under the Voting Rights Act, counties with a history of voting rights violations were required to receive approval from the Department of Justice before making changes to election districts or voting procedures. Shelby County, Alabama, was one such county, but the local election supervisors defied the law to redraw district boundaries, unseating the county's only African-American councilman. When the NAACP sued, the county officials claimed that federal oversight of their electoral process was no longer needed, and they shouldn't have to account to the Department of Justice. The case made it to the Supreme Court and was decided 5-4 in favor of the Shelby County commissioners in 2013, effectively striking down the provision of the Voting Rights Act that allows for federal oversight of elections in areas with a proven track record of discrimination.

Chief Justice John Roberts, writing for the majority, argued that this protection was obsolete because, essentially, racism was over now. The narrow majority "conceded the past terror and pernicious laws that had resulted in millions of African Americans being disfranchised. But it was a new day in the South, Roberts wrote confidently" (149). In fact, Roberts argued, since racial discrimination was a thing of the past, the protections and oversight enshrined in the Voting Rights Act were, in fact, unfairly discriminatory *towards the South*.

The effects of the *Shelby County v. Holder* decision were widespread and devastating: immediately after the ruling, nine of the twelve former Confederate states passed laws making it more difficult to vote. By 2014, thirteen more states passed voter restriction statutes, all "under the guise of protecting the 'integrity' of the ballot box, but all had the intent of limiting and frustrating voting by African Americans and, now, Latinos too" (151).

Texas, for instance, enacted a draconian voter-ID law which effectively purged 600,000 black and Latino voters who faced bureaucratic and financial obstacles to obtaining the required IDs. A district court judge ruled that, since it cost money to obtain an ID, the ID requirement was tantamount to "an unconstitutional poll tax" on citizens (152). But the Supreme Court also upheld the Texas law. Without the protections of the Voting Rights Act in place, these states are free to enact discriminatory voting regulations and the effect on elections has been measurable.

Anderson also considers the white rage inspired by Obama in the domain of media and popular culture. Despite Obama's enduring popularity with Americans

and the range of challenges he faced as President, including an economic crisis and two unpopular wars, he faced an unprecedented amount of vitriol from, especially, the right-wing media.

The right-wing media's animosity towards Obama cannot be explained by his policies, which were moderate: "Obama's centrist solutions and utter lack of radicalism in the face of a recalcitrant and obstructionist Congress should have made him a hero to traditional Republicans. But just the opposite happened" (155).

The vitriol, Anderson argues, can only really be explained by his race. Media criticism of Obama, Anderson points out, has often participated in anti-black stereotypes and occasionally veered into downright bigotry, with former New York City mayor Rudy Giuliani claiming, "I do not believe the president loves America... He wasn't brought up the way you were brought up and I was brought up" (157). Further, a New Hampshire police commissioner was observed yelling "fucking nigger" at the TV, when Obama was shown (157). High-profile, racially-motivated attacks like the killing of Trayvon Martin, and Dylann Roof's murder of nine black churchgoers in South Carolina, are the extremes of a racist outlook that is still deeply embedded in mainstream American society.

Afterword Summary: "After the Election: Imagining"

The Afterword to the most recent edition of *White Rage* was written after Donald Trump's election to the presidency in 2016, and it focuses sharply on the voter suppression efforts described in Chapter 5 of the book. Trump was elected by a margin of fewer than 80,000 votes, Anderson points out, and numerous initiatives to suppress minority votes, passed after the election of Obama, effectively prevented far more than 80,000 people from voting. Anderson's Afterword is both a reasoned and passionate call to action, which urges Americans to recognize minority voters as the "firewall between a democracy continuing to evolve and one threatened by the corrosion of a Trump presidency" (162), and to restore the Voting Rights Act where it has been undermined. Trump catered to the explicitly-racist elements of American society, Anderson argues; his election should serve as a reminder to all of us that white rage is still a powerful and destructive force to be reckoned with.

Chapter 4-Afterword Analysis

The latter chapters of *White Rage* follow more subtle manifestations of the same notion—that blacks and whites should never be equal—without the same level of transparency as in past eras. At some point after the Civil Rights Era of the 1960s, it became improper in mainstream society to openly espouse racist views; as the segregationist governor George Wallace himself noted, with apparent sadness, after 1968, "the days of respectable racism were over" (101). As a result, in order to remain respectable, the racism had to become covert or disguised, and Anderson devotes the final two chapters of her book to the policies and movements that grew out of what one commentator called "racism with plausible deniability" (119).

This means that the actions and movements that Anderson traces in these two chapters, including like voter suppression, the War on Drugs, mass incarceration, and the 2013 government shutdown (orchestrated by the Republican-led Congress), are more tenuous and complicated in their racist motives and underpinnings.

Republican presidents like Nixon and Reagan railed against welfare and drug abuse, not against black people. But the laws and regulations that they enacted to reform welfare and fight the War on Drugs target the African-American population disproportionately. As Lee Atwater, architect of Nixon's dog-whistle "Southern Strategy," explained, the point was that "blacks get hurt worse than whites" (119). In part because the events she is discussing are more recent, Anderson relies more on sources from journalism and the media in these chapters, and less on archives of court and congressional records. It can seem that the discussion has veered more towards general politics than African-American history, as in the discussion of the Iran-Contra scandal, where Reagan's CIA funded anti-communist rebel groups in South America profited from illegal drug trafficking: it can be hard to see where African Americans fit into all of that. But it is also important to recognize that this level of abstraction is a large part of Anderson's point: the concrete bigotry of a President saying "this is a country for white men" has diffused into politics in general, like welfare reform and the 2013 government shutdown. This is because white rage has taken hold in a depersonalized and covert fashion. The result is that what appear to be ordinary functions of government are built upon a foundation of white rage.

CHARACTER ANALYSIS

Carol Anderson

Anderson is a Professor of African American Studies at Emory University, where her research and teaching focus on public policy and the politics of race, justice, and equality in the United States. Her previous books include *Eyes Off the Prize: The United Nations and the African-American Struggle for Human Rights, 1944-1955*, and *Bourgeois Radicals: The NAACP and the Struggle for Colonial Liberation, 1941-1960*. She has served on working groups at the United Nations and the Aspen Institute, and as a member of the Historical Advisory Committee for the U.S. State Department.

Andrew Johnson

Johnson became President in 1865, upon the assassination of Abraham Lincoln, and he served until 1869. His Reconstruction policies prioritized keeping the former slave states within the fold, and he vetoed many of the Congressional acts that would have guaranteed rights for African Americans, making no secret of his racist views. Anderson is sharply critical of Johnson as a figure with the power to move the country forward after the Civil War, and who instead capitulated to the regressive demands of white rage.

The Chicago Defender

The Chicago Defender, owned by Robert S. Abbott, was the nation's foremost black newspaper in the early 20th century, and a driving force in the Great Migration. As a black-owned and black-operated paper, the *Defender* published well-reported and strongly-opinionated articles detailing the unfair working conditions and extrajudicial violence faced by blacks in the South, urging them to seek a better life in the industrial cities of the North.

Dr. Ossian Sweet

Sweet was a black physician who moved with his family into a white neighborhood in Detroit in 1925, during the Great Migration. His house was attacked and destroyed by a mob of more than three hundred white protestors, incensed that he had dared to move out of the designated black ghetto. The Sweets defended themselves and their property against the mob with guns, and one white man was killed. The resulting murder trial became a *cause célèbre* defended by the famous attorney Clarence Darrow, who argued that black people have the same right to self-defense as whites do. The story of this trial forms a large part of Chapter 2 of *White Rage*.

George Wallace

Wallace was Governor of Alabama between 1963 and 1987, and he also ran for President in 1968 as an independent candidate. His platform was entirely based on segregation and returning to the Jim Crow era; he is known for a speech that concluded "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever."

Ronald Reagan

Reagan was an actor before becoming President in 1981; in Anderson's portrayal, this fondly-remembered conservative president often used coded racist imagery to achieve his political goals, which included dismantling the social safety net and many of the gains of the Civil Rights Movement.

THEMES

The History of Clawbacks

It may be common or comforting to look at the history of racial equality in this country as an upward trajectory, advancing from slavery to the election of Obama. But Anderson shows that progress towards racial justice has always been met with reactionary measures that stop that progress in order to protect the norms of white privilege. The Reconstruction Acts and the Equal Rights Amendments following the Civil War were answered with Jim Crow laws; the Great Migration and the *Brown* decision sparked virulent and effective opposition movements; the Civil Rights Era and its victories were likewise clawed back by segregationists and the War on Drugs. Even the election of Obama sparked widespread political initiatives driven by racial animus.

The Sanitization of Racial Hatred

Anderson tracks the many insidious ways that the undisguised violence of slavery and the Reconstruction Era went underground in the years that followed, from state-sponsored brutality and murder to the unofficial but public spectacles of lynching, to the cloaked, secret violence of the KKK, to the legal battles waged

against integration, voting rights, fair housing, and equal economic opportunity for African-Americans. White rage against blacks has been able to remain in existence, and perhaps to become even more powerful, by cloaking itself in a veneer of respectable deniability. This is perhaps best demonstrated in the "Southern Strategy."

The Betrayal of American Values

Anderson is devastatingly clear on the extent to which people in power were willing to betray American values in order to preserve the racial status quo. Not only did they betray the tenets of the Declaration of Independence—that all men are created equal—but they betrayed the principles of free-market capitalism, of due process of law, states' rights, and the ideals of individual self-reliance and meritocratic advancement, all in the name of keeping African Americans from a free and equal share of democracy and upward mobility.

The Importance of Education and the Vote

From beginning to end, Anderson stresses that access to education and to the vote are the two crucial factors in ending racial injustice in this country. Those invested in maintaining white supremacy have fought tooth-and-nail to keep blacks out of schools and away from the polls. And those who would make our society more just and fair would do well to ensure access to these crucial pillars of our democracy.

SYMBOLS AND MOTIFS

Redlining

Redlining is a term that originated in the banking sector in the 1930s. Banks would outline poor neighborhoods in red on a city map and refuse to offer housing loans or mortgages on properties within the red line, because the property values there were declining, and the bank risked losing money if they invested in those neighborhoods.

These disadvantaged, "red-lined" neighborhoods were, not coincidentally, often the African-American neighborhoods of a city or metropolitan area, and the practice of redlining created a vicious cycle that trapped these neighborhoods in poverty, since no investments were made in restoring or maintaining them, and nobody would invest in the neighborhoods, because the neighborhoods were poor.

The term has been adopted to refer to numerous practices which systematically isolate and impoverish black neighborhoods, from housing discrimination (when landlords outside the red line refuse to rent to African-American tenants) to business zoning and investment (when major stores and corporations refuse to

open stores within the red line). Redlining is a powerful symbol for Anderson because the arbitrary red line on a map, which separates white from black, safe from dangerous, and rich from poor, clearly reflects the core desire of white rage: to contain and restrict African-American progress, and to keep African-Americans separate and disadvantaged. It also reflects the gradual transformation of white rage from an explosively violent force, fueled by visible hatred—as seen in lynchings and groups like the KKK—to a bureaucratic, seemingly neutral system in which normal parts of life and civil society, like getting a mortgage or opening a business, are entirely dependent upon one's race.

Redistricting

Redistricting refers to the process of drawing and redrawing electoral maps to decide which areas of a city, county, or state become official districts that are represented by a member of the House of Representatives or the state legislature. The familiar term for politically-motivated redistricting, which tilts the election in favor of one party by drawing a district that includes only certain types of people, is gerrymandering.

Anderson shows how redistricting has been a powerful weapon in the hands of white elites for generations, in addition to illustrating how it continues to be a decisive component in elections to the present day. Racially discriminatory redistricting is strongly partisan; since African Americans overwhelmingly vote Democrat, the Republican Party is motivated to weaken the effect of the black vote wherever possible.

One way this is accomplished is by cramming as many African Americans as possible into a few solidly-black voting districts: these districts reliably elect Democrats and minority candidates, but since there are fewer majority-minority districts overall, the more numerous white districts have more representatives and thus a stronger voice in government. Redistricting, in effect, reproduces the effect of redlining on an electoral scale: African Americans are confined to a few narrow areas where opportunities are limited.

Like redlining, redistricting is an important symbol for Anderson because it shows how the game is rigged; even when exercising their right to participate in elections and have a voice in our democratic government, African-American votes are made to count for less than white votes.

IMPORTANT QUOTES

1. "The trigger for white rage, inevitably, is black advancement. It is not the mere presence of black people that is the problem; rather, it is blackness with ambition, with drive, with purpose, with aspirations, and with demands for full and equal citizenship. A formidable array of policy assaults and legal contortions has consistently punished black resilience, black resolve."
(Prologue, Page 3)

White rage, as Anderson defines it, is not a nebulous or ever-present hatred of black people. It is a fundamentally reactionary phenomenon, one which takes hold in response or reaction to the progress of racial justice in this country. White rage flares up every time there is a significant step towards true equality and full citizenship for African Americans.

2. "We have the model for how to do this, he told the throng of seven hundred. 'Use legal means if possible, force if necessary. But put the niggers out. Put them out.'" (Chapter 2, Page 59)

These words were spoken by the president of a Detroit Homeowner's Association in 1925, when a black doctor and his family moved into their white neighborhood. They show how, even in the North, keeping African Americans out superseded all other concerns, including the law itself.

3. "Prince Edward County is emblematic of the way that systematized racism not only destroys black lives but also undermines the very strength of the United States." (Chapter 3, Page 86)

The government of Prince Edward County, Virginia, sabotaged their whole public-school system, harming students of every race, rather than choosing to integrate black and white students. Anderson calls this example "emblematic" because white rage is not only harmful to African Americans; rather, it is harmful to entire communities, and to the entire country.

4. "White rage is not about visible violence, but rather it works its way through the courts and legislatures, and a range of government bureaucracies. It wreaks havoc subtly, almost imperceptibly [...] It's not the Klan. White rage doesn't have to wear sheets, burn crosses, or take to the streets. Working the halls of power, it can achieve its ends far more effectively, far more destructively." (Prologue, Page 3)

For Anderson, it is crucial that we recognize racism and deliberate racial discrimination when it comes in depersonalized, official forms. We must recognize injustice when it speaks through the voice of the justice system itself. Anderson shows how the same hatred that motivated the Ku Klux Klan has motivated legislators, employers, and judges throughout our country's history, even if they have expressed it more subtly.

5. "For working-class whites whose hold on some semblance of the American dream was becoming increasingly tenuous [...] black gains, it was assumed, could only come at the expense of whites. Not surprisingly, polls showed that as African Americans achieved greater access to their citizenship rights, white discomfort and unease mounted." (Chapter 4, Pages 101-02)

These sentences occur in Anderson's discussion of the 1960s Civil Rights Movement. But they also articulate a central thesis of the book: that white people assume African-American progress takes something away from them; thus, they work to contain and restrict African-American progress.

6. "The truth is, white rage has undermined democracy, warped the Constitution, weakened the nation's ability to compete economically, squandered billions of dollars on baseless incarceration, rendered an entire region sick, poor, and woefully undereducated, and left cities nothing less

than decimated. All this havoc has been wreaked simply because African Americans wanted to work, get an education, live in decent communities, raise their families, and vote." (Prologue, Page 5)

For Anderson, racism is a toxic strain in American public life that damages both the victim and the perpetrator. White rage backfires on white people the whole country, as it works to sabotage our schools, our justice system, our democratic process, and our economy.

7. "'You start out in 1954,' Atwater laid out, 'by saying 'nigger, nigger, nigger.' By 1968, you can't say 'nigger'—that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states' rights and all that stuff. You're getting so abstract now you're talking about cutting taxes, and all these things you're talking about are totally economic things and a byproduct of them is blacks get hurt worse than whites.'" (Chapter 4, Page 119)

This quotation comes from Lee Atwater, a campaign strategist for Richard Nixon, explaining what he called the "Southern Strategy" for Republican campaigns in the post-Civil Rights era. Because overt racism had become unacceptable, politicians appealed to racist sentiments in the South by using coded language often economic in nature/topic. Atwater's shockingly blunt statement confirms one of Anderson's core claims: that racism is a driving force in American politics even when politicians may deny racist motives.

8. "Trump tapped into an increasingly powerful conservative base that had been nurtured for decades on the Southern Strategy's politics of anti-black resentment." (Afterword, Page 169)

Anderson argues that the politics of racism is an ongoing and multi-generational force in American society. Trump's campaign drew on the racially-charged strategies of Atwater and Nixon, and his success showed that white rage still motivates American voters.

9. "Crime and blackness soon became synonymous in a carefully constructed way that played to the barely subliminal fears of darkened, frightening images flashing across the television screen." (Chapter 4, Page 104)

One way that Nixon, and Republican politicians who followed in his footsteps, provided a respectable veil for racism was through

advertisements and media representations that associated black people and black neighborhoods with crime and violence. This tactic stoked white fears and white rage.

10. "Education can be transformative. It reshapes the health outcomes of a people; it breaks the cycle of poverty; it improves housing conditions; it raises the standard of living. Perhaps most meaningfully, educational attainment significantly increases voter participation. In short, education strengthens democracy." (Chapter 3, Pages 95-96)

Education is, for Anderson, both the cause of and solution to racial injustice in the U.S. Unequal and insufficient educational opportunities for African Americans have trapped them in poverty and limited their quality of life, but through better education, the cycle of injustice and poverty can be overcome.

11. "Realtors, insurance agents, banks, and landlords had devised a witches' brew of schemes and machinations, such as redlining and redistricting covenants, to cordon off wide swaths of Detroit's housing stock from African Americans and carve a color line through the city." (Chapter 2, Page 56)

Redlining and redistricting refer to ways that landlords and banks contrived to keep black people from moving into white neighborhoods by denying them loans, sales, or permits outside of designated black ghettos. These tactics are an important reminder of how distributed and decentralized the effects of white rage can be; it doesn't simply come from politicians and the courts, but from local businesses and property owners, too.

12. "In effect, Southern courts transferred full control of black people from the plantation owner to a carceral state. The instrument of re-enslavement was a brutal deployment of sheriffs, judges, and hard-labor punishment for black-only offenses such as carrying a firearm, making an insulting gesture, or stealing a pig." (Chapter 1, Page 27)

Anderson describes how, in the immediate aftermath of the Civil War, criminal laws and the justice system were reorganized in Southern states to target African Americans specifically. A carceral state is a state that functions through prisons and incarceration, and in Anderson's argument,

incarceration replaced slavery in the post-war South, and reproduced its oppression of black people.

13. "This is [...] a country for white men, and by God, as long as I'm president, it shall be a government for white men." (Chapter 1, Page 18)

These words were spoken by Andrew Johnson, who succeeded Lincoln to the presidency and thus led the country during the beginning of the Reconstruction era. Anderson views Johnson's presidency as one of the great missed opportunities of American history: the country might have emerged from the Civil War with a deep commitment to human rights and racial justice; instead, those in power were determined to keep it "a government for white men."

14. "The objective was to contain and neutralize the victories of the Civil Rights movement by painting a picture of a 'colorblind,' equal opportunity society whose doors were now wide open, if only African Americans would take initiative and walk on through." (Chapter 4, Page 100)

One way that racist attitudes persist in mainstream society is by denying that racism still exists. Anderson points out how successful some leaders and politicians have been at dismantling affirmative action, voting rights, and equal-opportunity regulations by arguing that the battle against racism is over.

15. "Black respectability or 'appropriate' behavior doesn't seem to matter. If anything, black achievement, black aspirations, and black success are construed as direct threats. Obama's presidency made that clear. Aspirations and the achievement of those aspirations provide no protection." (Chapter 5, Page 158)

It's no secret that Barack Obama's election provoked racists and caused a widespread outbreak of white rage. But one unexpected aspect of that outbreak was the revelation that even someone as educated, articulate, and respectable as Obama could still provoke violent excesses of bigotry. This shows that it is not vulgarity or a lack of refinement that makes some white people uncomfortable, but simply skin color itself.

16. "Republican South Carolina senator Lindsey Graham, taking stock of the nearly inevitable demographic apocalypse, put it best: 'We're not generating enough angry white guys to stay in business for the long term.'" (Chapter 5, Page 139)

Anderson quotes the reaction of one Republican senator to the coalition of young people, women, and minorities who elected Obama. Graham's candor reveals that the Republican Party has built their platform on appealing to "angry white guys," or, put another way, on eliciting white rage.

17. "Now, felony convictions, chiefly via the war on drugs, replaced the explicit use of race as the mechanism to deny black Americans their rights as citizens. Disfranchisement, permanent bans on jury service, and legal discrimination in employment, housing, and education—despite the civil rights legislation of the 1960s—are now all burdens carried by those who have been incarcerated. That burden has been disproportionately shouldered by the black community, which, although only 13 percent of the nation's population, makes up 45 percent of those incarcerated." (Chapter 4, Page 136)

This is one of the more complex claims of Anderson's book, but it is a crucial one. Under Jim Crow laws, it was legal to turn African Americans away from polling places, schools, and certain neighborhoods. Since the Civil Rights Act, discrimination based on race is no longer legal. But it is still legal to turn away convicted felons from housing, jobs, and polling places—and, Anderson explains, the drug laws have been drafted and selectively enforced to target black people. The outcome, therefore, is the same as it was under Jim Crow.

18. "All the while, white rage manages to maintain not only the upper hand but also, apparently, the moral high ground. It's Giuliani chastising black people to fix the problems in their own neighborhoods instead of always scapegoating the police. It's the endless narratives about a culture of black poverty that devalues education, hard work, family, and ambition. It's a mantra told so often that some African Americans themselves have come to believe it." (Prologue, Page 3)

White rage almost never openly confesses to its racist motives and designs. Instead, it is a common tactic to blame the African-American community itself for the problems that racially-unfair policies have created.

19. "While the U.S. population grew, especially as minority communities became a larger share of the electorate, Republican regimes cut nearly 900 polling places where American citizens could cast a ballot. This was a particularly 'pernicious tactic for disenfranchising voters of color' because it was 'often done quietly, late in the election season, making pre-election intervention or litigation virtually impossible.'" (Afterword, Page 168)

Anderson shows in detail in her Afterword the consequences that voter suppression can have on elections and the future of American democracy. By closing polling places in minority neighborhoods and purging minority voters from registration rolls, Republican governors and officials have maintained an electoral advantage by shutting out African Americans from the democratic process. These practices are a major factor, she argues, in the election of Trump.

20. "The ever-present threat of violence was pervasive, with the full support, and sometimes participation, of law enforcement. As J.W. Milam, the Mississippian who tortured and murdered fourteen-year-old Emmet Till to be found 'not guilty' in 1955 by a jury of his peers, remarked, 'Niggers ain't gonna vote where I live. If they did, they'd control the government. They ain't gonna go to school with my kids.'" (Chapter 3, Page 77)

Anderson does not dwell on lynchings like the famous Emmet Till case at great length in the book. But she does talk at great length about the legal efforts made to prevent black people from voting and going to school, which is apparently what the murderer, Milam, wanted, too. This quote is important because it places torture and murder along a continuum of white rage, along with school segregation and vote suppression.

21. "The glint of promise that had come as the war ended required an absolute

resolve to do what it would take to recognize four million newly emancipated people as people, as citizens." (Chapter 1, Page 12)

The end of the Civil War is the first of several moments Anderson refers to as a crossroads for the nation, when changes could have been made that would have protected and fostered equality and justice. In other crossroads moments, too, the people and the government of the U.S. have lacked the resolve to take the better path.

22. "Just as African Americans' so-called genetically induced moral and intellectual failings provided the rationale for Jim Crow, the GOP created a similar series of hypotheses to rationalize voter suppression. The Southern Strategy's long-term efforts to link the Democratic party with blacks and

to

make African American[s] synonymous with crime, thus made tying Democrats to widespread fraud a simple, logical leap." (Chapter 5, Page 140)

In this passage, Anderson connects several different threads of white rage together in the context of voter suppression initiatives by the Republican Party. Under the guise of rooting out voter fraud, Republican governments and movements have removed thousands of black names from the voter rolls and rolled back the protections of the Voting Rights Act. This pretext for getting rid of black voters—who overwhelmingly vote for Democrats—is in line with the other false narratives that have been advanced in the service of white rage.

23. "As the horrific toll crack cocaine caused in the inner city became more and more obvious, the administration's response was not to fund a series of treatment facilities but to demonize and criminalize blacks and provide the federal resources to make incarceration, rather than education,

normative."

(Chapter 4, Page 130)

During the Reagan's presidency, crack cocaine was constantly associated with the black community in the media, and the government took strong

steps to increase criminal penalties for drug offenses. Anderson argues that the choice to manage the drug problem with incarceration, rather than treatment, stems from the association between drugs (especially crack) and blackness, and that the result of this choice was the mass incarceration of black people.

24. "What President Reagan loathed was the Great Society that, despite its dispersal of benefits to middle-class whites and its measurable effectiveness

in lifting the elderly out of poverty, he succeeded in coding as a giveaway program for blacks." (Chapter 4, Page 118)

This passage shows the effectiveness of racial animus and white rage in achieving political goals: even though Reagan's hatred for Social Security, Medicaid, student loans, and other forms of public assistance was not rooted in hatred of blacks, by associating those programs with black people, he succeeded in making them unpopular with large numbers of white voters.

25. "Full voting rights for American citizens, funding and additional resources for

quality schools, and policing and court systems in which racial bias is not sanctioned by law—all of these are well within our grasp. Visionaries, activists, judges, and politicians before us saw what America could be and fought hard for that kind of nation. This is the moment now when all of

us—

black, white, Latino, Native American, Asian American—must step out of

the

shadow of white rage, deny its power, understand its unseemly goals, and refuse to be seduced by its buzzwords, dog whistles, and sophistry." (Afterword, Page 177)

Anderson closes her text with a clear call to action on definable, reachable goals of fairness in voting, education, and the justice system. Achieving those goals, and conquering the corrosive effects of white rage, require us to understand and reject that toxic element of our society.

ESSAY TOPICS

1. Anderson's book traces episodes of white rage dating from the Civil War era to the present day. Is the modern manifestation of white rage different from the 1860's version, and, if so, how?
2. Following Anderson's theory, describe an instance of white rage that is not covered in the book. Remember that "white rage" is not the same thing as racism or white supremacy, but a reaction to the (perceived) advancement of African Americans.
3. Anderson argues that white rage has "undermined democracy" and "warped the Constitution." Is white rage—and systemic racism, more broadly—incompatible with democratic principles? Why or why not?
4. Explain what Anderson means when she refers to Jim Crow laws as "slavery by another name," giving examples of specific laws and policies.
5. Anderson's argument is richly grounded in African-American history. But African Americans are not the only minorities in American society. Does Anderson's theory apply to the history other races and ethnicities in the United States? If not, how might the paradigm of white rage be modified or expanded?
6. According to Nixon's campaign strategist, Lee Atwater, Republican candidates after the Civil Rights era replaced the N-word with coded "dog whistles" like "states' rights" and "forced busing" to endorse racist policies without admitting to being racist. Do you think political candidates still make use of this strategy? Give specific examples.
7. Choose a significant Supreme Court decision that Anderson refers to (other than *Plessy vs. Ferguson* or *Brown vs. Board of Education*). Discuss its impact on African Americans and the repercussions or backlash it created.

8. Chapter 2 of *White Rage* focuses on the Great Migration and the working conditions of African Americans in the agricultural South and the industrial North. Using Anderson's text, construct an argument about how economic systems and racial prejudice interact. Do racial tensions aggravate class conflict, or vice versa? Why is it important to consider economic factors in discussing the history of race relations?

9. Anderson writes that Abraham Lincoln "had neither the clarity, the humanity, nor the resolve necessary to fix what was so fundamentally broken" (9). Do you agree with this representation of the person who freed the slaves? Why or why not?

10. Throughout *White Rage*, Anderson argues for education and democratic participation (the vote) as the most reliable and powerful antidotes to a society riven by racial hatred. Is there another possible solution to our racial divide that Anderson doesn't mention? You can consider music, movies, and art, economic equality, emerging technologies, generational change, or anything else, but follow Anderson's example in staying close to documented sources.