**Magazine of History January 2012**

Beyond Dixie:

"**Northern Lights: The Black Freedom Struggle Outside the South" by Thomas J. Sugrue**

**pages 9-15**

Thesis:  The struggle for racial equality both North and South remains unfinished.

Main Points

        National Scope of Racial Inequality

                Revolution in Historiography

                Forgotten Struggle of Civil Rights struggles in the North

                Myth of "Southern Exceptionalism"

        Trans regional Histories of Race

                Northern Black Voters

                Histories of Race Intertwined

                        Antebellum

**Northerners enact own Forms of Jim Crow**

                                 second-class , segregated schools, neighborhoods, two-tier job market

                                Lynch law, vandalism, violent attacks

                        Activism

                                grassroots organizations during Great Migration and Great Depression

                                WWII- anti-fascism and democracy > educational campaigns

                                Explosion in the 1960s due to frustration

                        White Indifference to inequality > surprise and embittered over black anger

                        Northern and Southern civil rights movement intertwined

                                black press, NAACP, CORE, C.T. Vivian, Ella Baker, Bayard Rustin,

                                Farmer > sit-ins and open housing to activism  of the Freedom Rides

                Jim Crow Northern Style

                        hotels, restaurants, movie theatres, swimming pools, amusement parks, beaches

                        Josephine Baker and Leadbelly "Bourgeois Blues" as examples

                        Black Tourists > Negro Motorist Green Book

                        Grassroots activism protests in Phil, Cinn, CORE, NY, Detroit, San Fran

                                segregated restaurants, hotels, wade-ins

                                hard fought and hard one > inspire activism in the South , CORE

                Fair Employment

                        1930s "Don't Buy Where You Can't Work" Boycotts

                        "Negro Jobs"

                        top of agendas for NAACP, Urban League, and National Negro Congress

                        WWII-  A. Philip Randolph

                        Black workers in public sector

***use PHOENIX as an example***

                        March on Washington "jobs and freedom"

                        "affirmative action" in Johnson and Nixon years- adopted in government

                                contracts

                        Black unemployment consistently 1 and 1/2 to 2X the rate of whites nationwide

                Housing

                        deeply segregated

                        consequence of public policies mandating segregation and major disincentives

                                to integration

                        racially restrictive covenants

                        HOLC, FHA, VA mandated residential segregation - unable to get federally backed

                                loans

                        public housing projects segregated

                        ACTIVISM- lawsuits led to *Shelley v. Kraemer* decision

                        Federal housing officials don't roll back discriminatory loan programs

                        Greatest loss in the Northern Civil Rights struggle!

                                Residential segregation barely changed in northern metro areas from 1920-80

                Public Education

                        Separate schools

                                Gerrymandered neighborhoods, special schools, corralled in classrooms,

                        Communities send all black students to single all-black school - ***Carver!!***

                       "neighborhood school"

                        de facto by choice? HARDLY

                        Massive protests > formidable obstacles

                        federal courts, but reluctant to close black high schools or order busing

                        Massive white resistance

                        Alternatives - community control, African-themed curriculum, magnet schools,

                                charter schools, vouchers

                        Racial segregation worsened

de facto - by choice?  Hardly!!