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Governor Deval Patrick and the Representation of Massachusetts’ Black Interests

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Governor Deval Patrick and the Representation of Massachusetts’ Black Interests

Ravi K. Perry

“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 Patrick

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.
Table 1: Deval Patrick’s Road to Victory

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Election Timeline</th>
<th>Significant Dates</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campaign Announcement</td>
<td>April 13, 2005</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Primary Victory</td>
<td>September 19, 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First General Election Victory</td>
<td>November 7, 2006</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Re-Election Victory</td>
<td>November 2, 2010</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
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 emphasizes 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[ting] 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).

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). 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**

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

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

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

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 con-
cern 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 empha-
sizes 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 universal-
izing the interests of blacks increased with the approach of his reelection
campaign season.

For example, Table 2a/b shows that Patrick engaged black stake-
holders 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 cir-
cumstances, 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 mes-
sage 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 eco-
nomic 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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number Introduced</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>2007</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2009</td>
<td>19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2010</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2011</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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

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

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

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**

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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Terms</th>
<th>Governor Patrick Term 1</th>
<th>Governor Patrick Term 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Number of Policy Actions</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Number of Program Developments</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Number Policies and Programs</td>
<td>25</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Annual Average of Policies and Programs</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1.75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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
Caulto n-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.


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.


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
References


Pierce, Charles. (2006, December 31). “The optimist ‘I wasn’t campaigning as the black candidate,’ And because he didn’t, because he ran a hopeful, grass-roots campaign that ended with his election as governor, Deval Patrick is our 2006 Bostonian of the year.” *Boston Globe*. p. 28.


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.