

The Anger Rule

In *The Anger Rule*, Antoine J. Banks and Ismail K. White examine how Black politicians are uniquely penalized for expressing anger, especially anger related to race. Drawing on social psychology and philosophy, Banks and White demonstrate how this anger penalty helps sustain racial inequality. They argue that anger infers power because it propels individuals to change the status quo. When Black politicians are constrained from expressing anger, it limits their ability to mobilize against wrongs and rally fellow group members; it also signals a lack of power to Black voters. This argument is assessed using a multimethod approach of national survey experiments and content analysis of United States presidential and House congressional speeches and remarks. The findings show that Black politicians and voters are aware of the anger penalty, therefore constraining their anger in political spaces to avoid backlash from those who maintain the racial status quo.

Antoine J. Banks is Professor and Department Chair of Government and Politics at the University of Maryland, College Park. His research interests include racial and ethnic politics, emotions, political psychology, and public opinion. His first book, *Anger and Racial Politics: The Emotional Foundation of Racial Attitudes in America*, explores the link between emotions and racial attitudes and the consequences it has for political preferences. He has also authored numerous journal articles. His research has been supported by the National Science Foundation and Russell Sage Foundation.

Ismail K. White is Professor of Politics and Public Affairs at Princeton University. He studies race and ethnic politics in America, with a focus on Black politics. His first book, *Steadfast Democrats: How Social Forces Shape Black Political Behavior* (coauthored with Dr. Chryl N. Laird) was a 2021 finalist for the American Publishers Award for Professional and Scholarly Excellence (PROSE) in Government and Politics and won the 2021 American Political Science Association's best book award. It was also selected to the *USA Today* list of best nonfiction books of 2020. He has also authored numerous journal articles and book chapters.



Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-27520-0 — The Anger Rule Antoine J. Banks , Ismail K. White Frontmatter More Information

The Anger Rule

Racial Inequality and Constraints on Black Politicians

ANTOINE J. BANKS

University of Maryland, College Park

ISMAIL K. WHITE

Princeton University







Shaftesbury Road, Cambridge CB2 8EA, United Kingdom
One Liberty Plaza, 20th Floor, New York, NY 10006, USA
477 Williamstown Road, Port Melbourne, VIC 3207, Australia
314–321, 3rd Floor, Plot 3, Splendor Forum, Jasola District Centre,
New Delhi – 110025, India

103 Penang Road, #05-06/07, Visioncrest Commercial, Singapore 238467

Cambridge University Press is part of Cambridge University Press & Assessment, a department of the University of Cambridge.

We share the University's mission to contribute to society through the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781009275200

DOI: 10.1017/9781009275255

© Antoine J. Banks and Ismail K. White 2025

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press & Assessment.

When citing this work, please include a reference to the DOI 10.1017/9781009275255

First published 2025

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

NAMES: Banks, Antoine J., 1979– author. | White, Ismail K., author.

TITLE: The anger rule: racial inequality and constraints on Black politicians /
Antoine J. Banks, University of Maryland, College Park; Ismail K.

White, Princeton University.

OTHER TITLES: Racial inequality and constraints on Black politicians
DESCRIPTION: Cambridge, United Kingdom; New York, NY: Cambridge
University Press, 2025. | Includes bibliographical references and index.
IDENTIFIERS: LCCN 2024010453 | ISBN 9781009275200 (hardback) |
ISBN 9781009275217 (paperback) | ISBN 9781009275255 (ebook)
SUBJECTS: LCSH: African Americans – Politics and government. | African
American politicians – Psychology. | Anger – Political aspects – United States. |
Race – Political aspects – United States. | Racism – Political aspects – United States. |
United States – Race relations – Political aspects. | African Americans – Psychology. |
Politicians – United States – Psychology.

CLASSIFICATION: LCC E185.615 .B2847 2025 | DDC 323.I/196073-dc23/eng20240802 LC record available at https://lccn.loc.gov/2024010453

ISBN 978-1-009-27520-0 Hardback ISBN 978-1-009-27521-7 Paperback

Cambridge University Press & Assessment has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.



To my family, thank you for inspiring me.

Antoine J. Banks

To Corrine, my anchor through every storm.

Ismail K. White



Contents

Lis	st of Figures	page ix
Lis	st of Tables	xi
Ac	knowledgments	xiii
Ι	Power of Anger	I
2	Anger Rule	15
3	Angry Black Politicians?	41
4	Anger Penalty	65
5	Racial Differences in Anger Expression	100
6	Anger Constraint	121
7	The Anger Rule Going Forward	142
Re	ferences	159
Ind	dex	т69



Figures

2.1	Distribution of angry Black stereotype among	
	white Americans	page 28
2.2	Emotions in mainstream and Black newspapers	37
2.3	Anger expressed in mainstream and Black newspapers	38
3.1	Clinton's and Obama's emotional expressions	51
3.2	Clinton's and Obama's angry expressions across issues	52
3.3	White members' and Black members' emotional expressions	5 54
3.4	White Democrats' and Black Democrats' angry	
	expressions across issues	55
3.5	White Republicans' and Black Democrats' angry	
	expressions across issues	60
3.6	Black female Democrats' and Black male Democrats' angry	
	expressions across issues	61
4.1	Percentage of US Black House of Representatives	
	and US Black Senators (1965–2022)	70
4.2	Illustration of an anger penalty	74
4.3	Angry Black and white candidate conditions	76
4.4	Difference in racial stereotype ratings	78
4.5	Feeling Thermometer ratings predicted values for the	
	Black and white candidates across the anger and non-anger	
	conditions and anti-Black stereotypes	80
4.6	Voting predicted values for the Black and white candidates	
	across the anger and non-anger conditions and anti-Black	
	stereotypes	81
4.7	Strong leader predicted values for the Black and white	
	candidates across the anger and non-anger conditions and	
	anti-Black stereotypes	83



 \mathbf{X}

Cambridge University Press & Assessment 978-1-009-27520-0 — The Anger Rule Antoine J. Banks , Ismail K. White Frontmatter

More Information

List of Figures

4.8	Candidate evaluations predicted values for the Black and white candidates across the anger and non-anger conditions	
	and social dominance	87
4.9	Angry Black candidate crime and climate conditions	90
4.10	Black candidate evaluations predicted values across policy	
	and anger conditions	91
А4.1	Experimental treatment: non-angry Black and white	
	candidate conditions	99
A4.2	Experimental treatment: non-angry Black candidate crime	
	and climate conditions	99
5.1	Black ANES respondent's racial discrimination response	
	by Black and white interviewers	IIO
5.2	Black 2004 ANES respondent's expressions of pride	
	and anger by Black and white interviewers	112
5.3	Racial anger gap by the interviewer's race	115
5.4	Racial anger gap among online respondents	117
5.5	Racial anger gap by the interviewer's race and	
	online responses	118
6.1	Candidate preference evaluation by anger treatment	132
6.2	Anger Black candidate treatments - majority Black	
	district/majority white district	134
6.3	Candidate preference evaluation by anger treatment	
-	and district racial composition	т 3 6



Tables

3.1	Presidential speeches, addresses, debates, and remarks page	ge 48
A4.1	The treatment effect on candidate evaluations	95
A4.2	The effect of the anger and race conditions interacted with	
	racial stereotypes on candidate evaluations	95
A4.3	The effect of the gender and anger conditions interacted with	
	racial stereotypes on candidate evaluations	96
A4.4	The effect of the anger and race conditions interacted with	
	racial resentment on candidate evaluations	96
A4.5	The effect of the anger and race conditions interacted with	
	social dominance on candidate evaluations	97
A4.6	The effect of the anger and policy conditions interacted with	
	racial stereotypes on candidate evaluations	98
6.1	Experimental conditions of second study	134
6.2	Mean contributions by control and induction treatments	140



Acknowledgments

There are many people to thank for this manuscript. First and foremost, we thank our families because without their support and guidance, the book would have never come to fruition. The idea of the book grew out of our many conversations trying to understand the political struggles Black Americans have endured. At the time Barack Obama was the president of the United States, and we noticed the many constraints he faced as the nation's first Black president. One such constraint Obama made pretty evident at his 2015 White House Correspondent dinner was when Keegan-Michael Key played Obama's anger translator – "Luther." Our conversations and ideas centered on Black politicians' expressions of anger. Are there any limits? What are the consequences? If so, how does this matter for Black people fighting for civil and political rights and opportunities? With this, several conference papers and a book manuscipt was born.

We are indebted to many for their feedback and advice. The most important are Eric Groenendyk and Vincent Hutchings who read the complete manuscript and offered us detailed and invaluable feedback. They pushed us to think harder about the theory and its implications. We are also especially grateful for the feedback on the book project from Chryl Laird, Davin Phoenix, Corrine McConnaughy, Nicholas Valentino, LaFleur Stephens-Dougan, Debra Thompson, and David Karol.

We also had the pleasure of presenting parts of this book at academic conferences, the American Politics Workshop at the University of North Carolina, the Identity Conference at Princeton University, the Social Psychology Workshop at the University of Maryland, the American Politics Workshop at the University of Georgia, the American Politics



xiv

Acknowledgments

Workshop at the University of Chicago, the Social Psychology Workshop at the University of Virginia, and American Politics Speaker Series at Washington University. The book also benefited tremendously from the thoughtful reviewers for Cambridge University Press, who posed tough questions and offered great advice, most of which we incorporated. We are also very grateful to Sara Doskow (former editor) and Rachel Blaifeder (current editor) at Cambridge University Press for their patience and enthusiastic support of the book.

Our gratitude also extends to a host of graduate research assistants. Heather Hicks, William Bishop, Neil Lund, Woohyeon Kim, and Jordan Spencer all provided outstanding assistance. For financial support, we thank the University of Maryland Dean Research Initiative, along with the Russell Sage Foundation for supporting our gender experiment. We also thank Springer Publishers for permission to reprint materials originally published in "Black Politics: How Anger Influences the Political Actions Blacks Pursue to Reduce Racial Inequality," *Political Behavior* (December 2019): 917–943.