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The Rise of Charisma in the USA: Barack Obama and the Politics of Hope and Change

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A decorative graphic on the right side of the page. It features three concentric circles in shades of blue, with a larger one at the top, a smaller one in the middle, and a very large one at the bottom right. Thin blue lines intersect these circles and extend across the page.

The Rise of Charisma in the USA 2008 Elections:

**Barack Hussein Obama Jr. and the Politics of
Hope and Change**

In this paper, the author uses a paradigm drawn from Max Weber's writings on Charisma and Charismatic Leadership. After extrapolating what he considers 6 important criteria, he then uses this framework to analyze Barack Obama's presidential campaign and meteoric rise to the US Presidency, and concludes as to whether Obama can be considered a genuine charismatic leader. His conclusion is that President Obama's campaign fits the bill but it is too early to tell if his social movement can withstand the enormous domestic and international challenges and is truly transformational in nature.

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The Rise of Charisma in the USA 2008 Elections: Barack Hussein Obama Jr and the Politics of Hope and Change

The 2008 Presidential elections was a watershed in American politics and historic in many ways. It was one of the few times in recent history that a member of the upper house – the US Senate was assured election as the chief executive, Commander in Chief and President of the nation. It also pitted one of the oldest persons to run for the presidency, Senator John McCain, and one with some political and legislative experience with one of the youngest and someone with rather limited portfolio skills in this arena. And also at one point, in the quest for the democratic nomination for the Presidency, a female candidate had a serious chance to capture the party's nomination as Hillary Rodham Clinton and the famed and thought to be impregnable Clintonian political machinery battled fiercely with Barack Obama for this signal honor- a task for which she would ultimately fail.

But clearly, the event that captured the imagination of the nation, and indeed many in the far flung reaches of the world- even those who count themselves as America's enemies- was the candidacy of Barack H Obama Jr and his almost flawless campaign to capture the American presidency- the first seriously hopeful campaign for a person of color and one who identified himself as an African – American. In this paper we attempt to interrogate and analyze a number of issues to determine how this process was successfully concluded and to do so we utilize the paradigm of Charisma and Charismatic leadership to better comprehend what transpired in contemporary American society

In this endeavor we utilize the frame of Charisma and Charismatic leadership, as developed by German sociologist Max Weber, and from this we extrapolate a six step formulaic criteria and try to see 1) how close a best of fit we can replicate, and 2) if this helps us better comprehend what happened in Obama's meteoric rise to power, and what lessons can be drawn from his tenure in office.

Weber's notion of charisma has been criticized by many social scientists and intellectuals, each of whom draws upon some inconsistency and then attempts to analyze it(1). It is suggested that the conception best be explained by identifying certain criteria that are characteristic of leaders or historical figures. But even then the problem of relating this to social change remains. As one writer states, "charisma is crucial to Weber's system of analysis as the basis for an explanation of social change. Weber's other types of authority are stable systems within which it is conceivable that change will take place only at a micro level. The problem for Weber was to account for large -scale social change and the concept of charisma provided what Bendix calls a "sociology of innovation' "(2)

In order to ascertain the relation between charisma and social change, one has to identify the psychological and sociological components of charismatic leadership and then attempt to see what social change is implemented by the leadership. The stages of charismatic leadership throughout its development and decline can thus be traced . Such an approach to the concept of charisma is consonant with sociological concerns and underscores the concept's importance in explaining social change.

For the political sociologist , especially in an advanced polity such as the USA with its separation of powers and mixed ideal typical systems of authority, the problem is compounded, for one has to pay even closer attention to the political culture and the formidable systems already in place to blunt meaningful social change.

The Concept of Charisma and the Problem of Charismatic Leadership

The concept of charisma has been overworked in the literature. The term "charismatic" has been applied to leaders as different as Stalin, De Gaulle, Trudeau, Nkrumah, Hitler, Gandhi, Nehru, Franklin Delano Roosevelt (FDR), Frederick Douglass, Jim Jones and the like and there has been a general tendency to equate the charismatic in politics with the demagogic, the emotional, and the "popular."

As conceptualized by Weber, charisma (the gift of grace) refers to "a certain quality of an individual personality by virtue of which he is set apart from ordinary men and treated as endowed with supernatural, superhuman, or at least specifically exceptional powers or qualities." (1) Here Weber sounds like a psychologist discussing leadership.

Weber also recognized the existence of a social basis for the exercise of charismatic leadership. It has to be socially validated. He writes, "It is a recognition of those subject to authority which is decisive for the validity of charisma....." (3) But he immediately counterposes this observation with the statement that, "where charisma is genuine, it is not this which is the basis of the claim to legitimacy. The basis lies, rather, in the conception that it is the duty of those who have been called to a charismatic mission to recognize its quality and act accordingly.... No prophet has ever regarded this quality as dependent on the attitudes of the masses towards him...." Yet Weber immediately continues,.... "If proof of his charismatic leadership fails him for long, the leader endowed with charisma tends to think his god or his magical or heroic powers have deserted him. If he is for too long unsuccessful, above all, if his leadership fails to benefit his followers, it is likely that his charismatic authority will disappear....." (4)

Weber's discussion of the concept of charisma therefore is not completely clear. On the one hand he seems to be saying that macro-change can be produced by a unique person "with gifts of grace." This "great man" theory of history and the psychological argument is buttressed by his contention that the charismatic figure does not require external validation of his gift, but demands obedience regardless of the opinions and attitudes of others. On the other hand, Weber clearly states that if the charisma of these "unique people" is not socially validated by success or other manifest proof, it will not generate social change.

In short, the Weberian conception of charisma leaves us in doubt as to which leaders are charismatic and as to what makes them so. To reach this goal so I would contend that there are needed some universal indices, extrapolated from the literature, that would establish the nature of charismatic leaders by elucidating both the psychological and sociological components that are its main characteristics.

I contend that there are at least six elements of Weber's formulation, or frame of charismatic authority, which should be taken into account in any research aimed at explaining the concept of charismatic leadership. (5)

Criteria for the Establishment of Charismatic Leadership

1. Strong sense of mission.

The leaders must have a strong sense of mission comprising a belief both in the movement and in himself as the chosen instrument to lead the movement. As one writer

states, the charismatic leader typically validates a buoyant confidence in the righteousness and goodness of the aims that he proclaims for the movement, in the practical possibility of attaining these aims, and in his own special calling and capacity to provide the requisite leadership.⁶⁾

A firm belief in the movement, combined with a deep sense of personal mission to lead, may indeed be the strongest qualities underlying charismatic leadership. People in times of distress will respond with great fervor to a leader who can inspire them and give them faith in the possibility of deliverance.

2. Formula for achieving goals

The leader normally proclaims a formula for success. It is often couched in ideological terms, of which "guided democracy," "the great society," "consultative society" are but a few. Also, this formula may be the program of an incipient social movement in the nation.

3 Awe, social distance, and deference

The leader and his office must be held in awe to some degree and the social distance between leader and follower must be not only recognized but socially validated by use of traditional indigenous symbols that usually vary from nation to nation..

4.Expression of inchoate sentiments

The leader must express anti-establishment with intrepidity. He must challenge the status quo which, in most cases, is a growing source of dissatisfaction for many. Normally a trade union movement or a political party is the vehicle through which these sentiments are voiced- especially in developing nations.

5.Hazardous nature of the message

The mere crystallization of a consensus among the dissatisfied masses is not enough. The legitimacy of the system must be challenged by the leader to such an extent that his followers, even his closest disciples, are overcome by the courage of the leader in presenting such a daring message in the face of establishment.

6. Validating of message through achievement of success

The message must not only be socially validated, but, to insure his growing support among his followers, there must be some instances of success achieved for the movement. Should the movement's prospects of victory seem dim, the stature and image of the leader will wane.

These six elements, I would contend, although by no means exhaustive, should provide a useful paradigm in assessing the formidable success of Barack Obama's presidential candidacy, and his chances for an equally successful tenure in office. It is this that I will now attempt to do in some form.

Obama's Campaign, Charismatic leadership and the Best of Fit

1. Strong sense of mission

Obama was not born into riches and wealth and indeed had difficult early childhood experiences but was able, after his college years, to bring some level of stability to his life. It was during his stint as a community organizer in Chicago and later as a lawyer after Harvard law school, that his mission and sense of purpose- his calling- was slowly formed. Of course there were many influences- his friends and family(largely on his maternal side), his wife Michelle and her family, the Reverend Wright and the remarkable number of student peers formed and bonded during his Harvard years who saw in him his uncanny and natural ability for leadership.

As one writer states"Obama's life story is a splicing of two different roles, and two different ways of thinking about America. One is that of the consummate insider, someone who has been raised believing that he will help to lead America,, who believes in the country's capacity or acts of outstanding virtue. The other is that of a black man who feels very deeply that this country's exercise of its great wealth and power has been grossly unjust"(7) Obama himself so stated...."I'm somebody who believes in this country and its institutions, but I often think they're broken"(8)

His sense of mission, I would contend, arises from his serious belief that his own life, his training and his "broad", pragmatic ideological frame was what America needed at this juncture of a deeply divided polity, a disrespect for its international image and posture, a challenged global hegemony, and a nation mired in debt and profligacy and resistant to meaningful income distribution, and making "tough choices" on divisive domestic issues.

To his critics who argued that he was just a freshman senator with a limited political trajectory, he responded that it was his belief that this was the time, the "cusp", that was ready made and ripe for the injection of his mission and for which his mission statement, coupled with a strong organization and grass roots movement and resource mobilization, would win the day and offer the nation the strong leadership that it needed to move in a new direction- hope and change.

2.Formula for achieving goals

One writer, in trying to contextualize Obama's formula for victory and the realization of his short term and long term goals stated...."Most politicians come to national prominence at the head of a movement: Bill Clinton had neo-liberalism, George W Bush had compassionate conservatism, Reagan had supply -side economics. Even Obama's rivals have political calling cards : John Edwards devoted himself to a poverty - fighting populism, Hillary Clinton is defined by a hawkish centrism."(9)

Obama, however, framed his message, couched his formula, differently. He was not bound by a single defining ideological push or force, nor was he irrevocably wedded to any ideological anchor, but rather he offered to many different peoples and constituencies a chance to see in him a chance for their own renewal, vitality, renaissance and transformational change- 'Yes we can'.

As his close friend from law school, confidante and leader at the Center for American Progress Cassandra Butts put it, "People see in him what they want to see." a sentiment reiterated by Bruce Reed, president of the centrist Democratic Leadership Council...."People don't come to Obama for what he's done in the senate,they come because of what they hope he and [they] could be."(10)

Obama asked his followers to see him as vehicle for changing the America we all dream of - a positive ,vibrant democracy, where the rule of law reigns supreme, where class divisions are minimized, where wealth is more equitably distributed ; but also an Americas that is less hegemonically driven but rather focused on multi-polar world leadership, with America still playing "a" pivotal - but not the pivotal role , and ,finally, an "other directed " America focused on alleviating the dysfunctions of globalization - rampant world poverty, environmental degradation, disease and pandemic health failures , terrorism etc ,which emanate from the many failed states and arising from the inability of the world's peoples to confront these challenges, alone.(11) Obama told the American people that the country best days were ahead of it, and that the transformational change must come from them and, further, that he believed that historical forces had chosen him at this cusp to be their leader for the transformational journey to make America even better. And to his detractors he stated: Si se Puede- Yes we can.

3.Awe , social distance and deference

With Obama, crowds were ubiquitous and formidable, reminiscent of other charismatic historical figures- Gandhi, Castro , Hitler, Nasser, King for example . " From the thousands who came out on a subzero Springfield , Illinois morning for his campaign launch last winter, to the massive crowds in Europe ,and finally to his installation , 'swearing in ceremony', millions came to hear this extraordinary man who made them feel good about themselves and the nation(12).

Much of this was reflected in the many photo images of him. "In one, Obama's extraordinariness is represented by his positioning in the frame. He is the only recognizable face in the crowd and is elevated above the other subjects in the image, showing that he is distinguishable from the common man. His eye-line extends upwards suggesting a relationship or understanding between himself and a higher power. All this is supported by the word "believe" which assumes a faith - based character and the surreal blue and white color scheme, which one might connote as heaven"(13)

It would be an oversight to suggest that Obama is somehow divine, or a manifestation of God, argues one writer, "However , "he continues," it has already been argued that through charismatic leadership , he does exemplify the extraordinary and in the modern world, idolatry and worship can occur within the secular context; celebrities provide the best example" (14)

Finally, some argue that his video style is indirect -ethical-image focused and that this one photography of Obama , taken from the visual rhetoric website : [www.nocaptionneeded .com](http://www.nocaptionneeded.com). eloquently captures both his charisma as an expression of the divine and his celebrity. The use of lighting evokes a sense of being in the spotlight , which, together with the microphone , suggest stardom. The way in which the light illuminates his profile also conjures a feeling of divine radiance. . And finally his outstretched hand is symbolic of his capacity to offer guidance and leadership, and perhaps his tendency to reach out to the disparate. (15)Crowds yelled, cried and waited hours to behold a fleeting glimpse of him, even as he told them that they ,not he, are the change we need and that "we" can believe in.

4. Expression of inchoate sentiments

Obama, from early in his candidacy, expressed his opposition to Bush's adventures in Iraq and argued that it was not only an unwise and badly planned venture in nation building, but that it was not actually positively focused on fighting the so called "war on terror". I would contend, however, that his greatest thrust in relation to this criteria was his insistence that America needed to be more connected to a multi-polar frame of leadership, commensurate with a changing world order which would see more multipolarity in which nations and individuals resist leadership by one country, but are yet unprepared to adopt the necessary strong multilateralism that would help tackle the problems from the world's global interdependence.(16) Indeed this was the theme and conclusions of a recently released US American National Intelligence Council report on Global trends through 2025.(17)

This stance drove his critics to accuse him of being an "internationalist" who would destroy US hegemony-forgetting that save for the nation's military power, its debtor society status and poor economic, health and education profiles, for example- were actually trailing behind many developed and a few developing nations, on many internationally recognized indices.

But what mattered largely to those who saw America's hegemony threatened under an Obama leadership, was his uncanny ability to sell his view of the changing world scene softly, gently, but firmly and without threatening overtly to institute this change drastically. He spoke repeatedly of building a "new foundation" almost akin to FDR's New Deal or LBJ's Great Society".

What Obama was arguing for, is for the US to continue playing a constructive role by still exercising its international leadership, but also sharing it with partners, leaning more towards collective leadership, and becoming more an enabler of change and less often an instigator.(18). Indeed, one commentator on this topic poignantly stated that it would seem that now the world's presidential choice is now in the White House. It was this frame that troubled his critics and America's traditionalists most.

5. Hazardous nature of the message

There were (are) many aspects of his message that presented a threatening situation for Obama.

First he was a powerful, charismatically endowed and brilliant black man who was preaching race transcendental politics that was independent of the black community. And that made his message threatening, initially to many in the black leadership elite. Unlike Martin Luther King Jr, Jesse Jackson or Shirley Chisholm, Obama has not tried to make a black struggle a fundamental American struggle(19) As one commentator stated"Instead, he gives equal weight to black demands for full privileges of citizenship and white resentment toward those very demands.(20) His race transcendence claim, "We are all Americans" functions as a condensation symbol, simultaneously affirming broad consensus on national values while ignoring structural inequalities that maintain black exclusion and subordination.(21). Some members of the black elite citizens felt that this message would subsume black demands in the category of "American" without addressing the substantive benefits of membership, the recognition of difference, of power, or of suffering(22) For those he was viewed as a sellout to white America -a Manchurian candidate in reverse. Who among us can fail to recall Jesse Jackson intended "sotto voce" remarks, with the live microphone unknowingly still on, about wanting to

castrate him- a statement ripe with actual and symbolic destructive tendencies steeped in American history so often visited on presumed "Uppity Negroes"

But by far the greatest threat came from the radical right, militarist and those threatened by his ability to transcend race, to unite varied and discrete segments of the American polity, and to promise to usher in real change in America, that would reduce income and other structural inequalities, shift more power to the dispossessed, and upend America's lone ranger and hegemonic global thrust. They, it was feared, would try to assassinate him and kill him as they had done before with other such promising leaders here and abroad, many who had stood less of a chance of becoming the preeminent and most powerful leader in the world.

Threats to his life were magnified and numerous and his Secret Service protection was the earliest given a presidential candidate, and to this day, many in the black community and in progressive circles world-wide, fear that those who, to use Dick Cheney's phraseology - 'walk on the Dark Side' would end the life of one they fear is revolutionary and dangerous; not realizing that in many respects that beyond race Obama's campaign is remarkably mainstream. "He has deftly", one commentator states, "crafted a public persona as the embodiment of the American Dream- a black man whose life measured both the substance and symbolism of individual achievement, hard work and ingenuity.(23) "While accessing a national understanding of American values," he continues, "he simultaneously invokes familiar tropes advanced by Booker T .Washington and others, which champion the rewards of hard work, conservatism and moral uprightness as the keys to black equality. Moreover, Obama's policy platform adjusts to, rather than confronts the centrist model successfully employed by Bill Clinton and the Democratic Leadership Council in the 1990s"(24)

Of course this means little to those who deal in hate and the perseverance of the status quo, and who would violently "take out" anyone who attempts to upend or structurally change it in any meaningful way. The threat level and the security of our first African- American president is always, always, at its highest level wherever he goes- domestically or overseas - and rightly so.

6.Validation of the message through achievement of success

Clearly and importantly one of Obama's initial successes was the significant victory over a more experienced Senator Hillary Clinton, and the vaunted Clinton machine, which had started the campaign with significant support from large segments of the Democratic party- and especially from racial minorities and women. Some contend that his tough race with Senator Clinton matured him immensely and prepared him for the onslaught of the Republican and the right wing juggernaut. Through the many attacks on his experience, his character, his religion and his race, Obama remained steadfast and steady under fire and portrayed such a calm steel-like demeanor, that it was his more seasoned opponent, Senator McCain, who began to make political gaffes - "The fundamentals of our economy is basically sound" for instance, and appeared to be flustered and flabbergasted more often than not. Obama's stance in this regard won him grudging admiration from even some opponents, and galvanized his supporters and many independents to vote for him in the general election, thus leading him to become the 44th President of the United States of America.

Even before officially taking office he was involved in appointing a stellar team of economic advisers and taking over from a failing Bush presidency, by injecting himself and his team into proffering solutions for the global fiscal crisis which enveloped our nation and the world. Save for a few (two actually- Daschle for Health and Richardson for Commerce) he quickly assembled an excellent Cabinet drawn from the best and brightest academic minds, Nobel prize winners, gender and racially diverse, lured his chief rival, Hilary Clinton into a key position in his Cabinet, and even retained a key member of the Bush administration to ensure stability in a key agency (the Defense Department), even as he sought to draw down from one theater of conflict and recast the battle scene in another.

In his first hundred days and beyond he has changed course in the war in Iraq, signed significant executive orders overturning controversial right wing policies of the Bush administration, ended torture of captured combatants as a matter of national policy, got a financial stimulus package through Congress, ushered financial (banking and housing and automotive) bail outs through Congress, enacted a tax cut for the middle class, begun a serious thrust to change the nature of health care as we know it, and just recently nominated his first appointee to the highest court in the land- an academically brilliant Latina jurist, with broad prosecutorial and judicial experiences and solid rags to fame and academic /judicial acclaim through hard work and perseverance, a story not unlike his own. And these, for starters are not all that he has accomplished in little more than one hundred days.

Through it all he has appeared calm, and full of energy and innovating in his approaches to problem solving and although his ratings fell some, he still enjoys relatively high approval ratings -hovering in the mid sixties. Moreover, the opposition Republican party is de facto leaderless and shifts daily more towards a rightist tilt even as it loses its middle class base and alienates large swaths of Hispanic voters, at their core.

These successes are reassuring but President Obama still faces many hurdles, domestically and internationally, which may detract from his further and ultimate validation of successes for his administration.

Iraq's future is still uncertain after the anticipated US armed forces withdrawal, and may still descend into anarchy and lawlessness. The situation in Pakistan- a nuclear power- is grim and may force an unwanted armed intervention by the US and its middle eastern allies- which may destabilize the region more; Afghanistan - the graveyard and Waterloo of many earlier Empires- may yet prove too difficult to manage and successfully conclude; and most of our allies have really not embraced sending more troops to the war theater but, rather, have slowly reduced their force load. The world is still a dangerous terrain and President Obama has still not yet been tested with a formidable military international crisis- as was the late President John F Kennedy, which may threaten Armageddon. He might, or surely will, warn his Vice President Joe Biden. How will he handle such?

Meanwhile, on the domestic front, racial minorities are still overpopulated in our nation's prison industrial complex- America gulag; and the income gap and economic structural inequalities and dysfunctions between racial groups and whites, and between the rich and poor, have grown considerably wider. Medicare and social security still remain hanging over the American political landscape like the sword of Damocles- still too difficult to handle; we still, also, need a sound and fair national immigration policy.

Obama's political victory in capturing the presidency may lull many of his supporters into thinking that political nirvana has been reached and that the struggle is over. That the incipient movement and charismatic thrust of this young leader, for true, lasting and meaningful structural change in America has run its course, and that the battle is over. But he and his movement need to push on for more and constant successes for, to paraphrase another great charismatic American figure, Frederick Douglass, "Power concedes nothing without a struggle, and never will." Neither will the powerful in America, concede without a struggle- a fierce one.

Finally, President Obama should be aware of the terrible power of voters whose expectations of real change have been dramatically pumped by his candidacy- if he disappoints them(25) Canadians, during my brief tenure there from 1966 -1969, were similarly seized by such a transformational charismatic candidate, Pierre Elliott Trudeau in that summer of 1968, and came within hundreds of votes of ending that superstar's political career only four frustrating years later.(26)

In conclusion, let me state that I believe I have made the case for adding Barack Obama to the list of charismatic historical figures - especially political leaders in the USA. However, I would caution that it is far too early to assess what his legacy would be, or even if his charisma will continue to be socially validated. Much will depend on the buoyancy and resiliency of his social and political movement, and its continual mobilization as it organizes and further disseminates its message for meaningful, social change in America, and a new world order.

Si se puede - Yes we can!

I would like to thank the students in my American Studies senior capstone class, Protest and Change, at SUNY College at Old Westbury, just concluded, who helped frame this issue, and particularly Sandra Layer and Paul Cerra who helped with some of the research. Any egregious shortcomings, however, are my own. Further, the framework used was developed by me in an article, Charisma and Charismatic Leadership, in Social Institutions, A Book of Readings, edited by Nelson N Foote and Carol Coe Conway, Kendall Hunt Publishers, Dubuque Iowa, 1974, pp. 233-38.

NOTES

1. For criticisms of Weber's theory see: P. Blau, Critical remarks on Weber's Theory of Authority, " American Political Science Review, 57(June 1963) pp, 305-316; R Fagen, Charismatic Authority and the Leadership of Fidel Castro, " Western Political Quarterly, (June 1963) pp. 275-284; W. Friedland, "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma, " Social Forces, 43(1964) pp 18-26; C. Friedrich, " Political Leadership and the Problem of the Charismatic Power, " Journal Politics, 23 (February 1961) pp. 3-24; K. Ratnam, "Charisma and Political Leadership, " Political Studies, 7(1964) pp 341-354; E. Shils, "The Concentration and Dispersal of Charisma- Their Bearing on Economic Policy in developed Countries, " World Politics, 11(1958-1959) pp 1-19; A and R. Willner, "The Rise and Role of Charismatic Leaders, " The Annals of American Academy of Political

- Science, 358(March 1965)pp.77-88; and finally and more recently Anton Allahar's Caribbean Charisma: Reflections on Leadership , Legitimacy and Populist Politics Ian Randle Publishers , Jamaica, 2006 , especially pp 1-32
2. Friedland, "For a Sociological Concept of Charisma , " Social Forces, 43(1964) pp: 18-26.
 3. Max Weber,, The Theory of Social Change and Economic Organization, translated by T. Parsons and A.M Henderson,(New York: Free Press of Glencoe, Inc.,1964) pp.358-354.
 4. Ibid
 5. These six elements were drawn from the various critical analyses of Weber's works that were mentioned in earlier footnotes. The selection is mine.
 6. See Robert C Tucker, "The Theory of Charismatic Leadership, " Daedalus (Summer 1968) p.749
 7. Ben Wallace - Wells, Destiny's Child in Rolling Stones magazine, see http://www.rollingstone.com/politics/story/13390609/campaign_08_the_radical_roots_of_barack_obama Feb. 2007, p 3
 8. Ibid
 9. Ibid., p. 2
 10. Ibid
 11. Ibid p. 5
 12. Ibid p. 5
 13. From the corn fields of Iowa , to Grant Park in Chicago on election Night of November 4,2008,Obama was packing them in, all culminating in a massive crowd of over 2 million (estimated)and human emotions overflowing at the national mall in Washington , DC on January 20, 2009
 14. See Phillipa Levenberg, The Vicarious Voice: Barack Obama , The Forgotten Youth and Their Battle for Representation, online doctoral dissertation submitted to the University of Capetown, S Africa pp 36-52
 15. Ibid
 16. Ibid
 17. Ben Wallace-Wells , Destiny 's Child , op cit
 18. See US National Intelligence Council report: Global Trends 2025, A Transformed World issued by the US government printing office and posted online.
 19. Ben Wallace - Wells, Destiny's Child
 20. Valerie Sinclair - Chapman and Melayne Price, Black Politics , the 2008 Election,, and the (Im) Possibility of Race Transcendence in PSONline www.apsanet.org, p 740
 21. Ibid and Targ Brill, Barack- Obama: Working to Make a Difference . Millbrook Press Ct, 2006
 22. Sinclair - Chapman and Melayne Price Black Politics , the 2008 Elections
 23. Ibid
 24. Ibid 739
 25. Ibid,
 26. R Sears, America's Renaissance of Hope in Policy Options, March 2008, see online version www.irpp.org, published in Montreal, Quebec, Canada. This was a phenomenon I witnessed in 1968 and wrote about while a graduate student at the University of Alberta , Canada,1966-69.

27. Ibid

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