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**African American Odyssey: from Martin Luther King to  
Barack Obama**

*Thesis submitted to the Department of English in Candidacy of the Degree of  
Doctorate in American Civilization*

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## Dedications

*To the biggest blessings in this world*

*If I devote all my life to serve them,*

*I will never reward them;*

*“my dear parents.”*

*To the light of my life;*

*my son and my soul “Anes Abd Elwehabe.”*

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*I would also express my sincere gratitude to the members of the jury: Dr. Belkacem BENSEDDIK, Prof. Fayza Senouci, Dr. Djamel BENADLA and Dr. Mohamed GRAZIB, who accepted to examine and evaluate my thesis as no doubts, their comments are constructive and warmly welcomed.*

*Cordial thanks to my parents for their constant love, encouragement and moral support and for standing always by me in times of need.*

*Special thanks are due to my friend Nacéra for her assistance and support. I will always remember her saying “No beauty shines brighter than that of a good heart.”*

*Last but not least, I would like to thank all the persons who have impacted my life.*

## **Abstract**

Despite the fact that slavery in America ended in the late of the nineteenth century, institutionalized discrimination persisted to tyrannize African Americans. In the middle of the twentieth century, black Americans were still disallowed to benefit from public services as their white counterparts. They could not even fully exercise their voting right. For decades, civil rights leaders had been struggling against unfair laws and behaviours to assure equal opportunities to all Americans. During the 1950s and 1960s, Martin Luther King played a major role in several famous civil rights movements. He had an outlook of a society in which race was not a problem in how individuals were treated. In fact, inclusion into the American society was the main objective of African American nonviolent protests. Those protests focused on the realization of human dignity, respect, liberty and justice. Throughout the Civil Rights Movement, African Americans used different methods of protests such as sit-ins, marches and boycotts. During the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, King delivered his well-known speech 'I Have a Dream' which reflected his future visualization of post racial America. Indeed, the speech had a real impact not only in America, but in many parts of the world. For several Americans, notably Afro-Americans, Barack Obama's first presidential election was a fulfilment of King's dream and a new American era regarding race relations. Without his efforts, Obama's election would not have been achievable. As a matter of fact, both black and white Americans are indebted to this civil rights activist who devoted his life to the doctrine of nonviolence and strove to establish better race relations in America .

## List of Acronyms

- ANC:** African National Congress
- ANCYL:** African National Congress Youth League
- ANES:** American National Election Studies
- BAM:** Black Arts Movement
- BPP:** Black Panther Party
- COFO:** The Council of Federated Organizations
- CORE:** The Congress of Racial Equality
- CPP:** The Convention People's Party
- DESA:** The Department of Economic and Social Affairs
- FBI:** Federal Bureau of Investigation
- FCNM:** Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities
- ICC:** the Interstate Commerce Commission
- ICEDAW:** the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women
- ICESCR:** the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights
- ILO:** the International Labour Organization
- KKK:** The Ku Klux Klan
- MIA:** Montgomery Improvement Association
- NAACP:** the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People
- NCNW:** the National Council of Negro Women
- OAU:** The Organization of African Unity
- OSCE:** The Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

**PRC:** Pew Research Centre

**SCLC:** Southern Christian Leadership Conference

**SDT:** Social Dominance Theory

**SNCC:** Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee

**SSAC:** Soul Student Advisory Council

**U.S:** United States

**UN:** United Nations

**UNESCO:** United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization

**WPC:** Women's Political Council

**YWCA:** Young Women's Christian Association

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# **General Introduction**

## General Introduction

African American odyssey is one of both immeasurable suffering and soaring hope. Two hundred and fifty years of slavery and persecution prevented black men and women from exercising their basic rights. As a matter of fact, no issue had long-term effects in the American history than slavery. For the blacks, it was a devastating experience; both sexes were torn from homeland and family; both were compelled to perform very tiring labour, exposed to mental and physical violence. Slaves were whipped, shackled, hanged, beaten, burned, mutilated and imprisoned. Punishment was a response to disobedience, breaking the law, or to assert the dominance of the masters over the slaves.

Historically, the pre-civil rights era bridged the gap between the end of the Civil War (1865) and the birth of the Civil Rights Movement. For the blacks, that era was a time of peril and turbulence since they started to ask for their rights of citizenship in a country that cruelly and inhumanly deprived them of those rights. Though the Emancipation Proclamation<sup>1</sup> put an end to slavery in the Confederate States, it was not until the passage of the Thirteenth Amendment to the U.S. Constitution that slavery was abolished all over the country. The Ku Klux Klan (KKK) that was established in Pulaski, Tennessee, started exercising horror against the new enfranchised blacks. Indeed, the period witnessed a sequence of events through which the KKK members tried to keep blacks in their previous and usual status.

To understand the present, one must look at the past. Accordingly, the painful struggles, the treatment of the black man as 'the other' or as a second-class human being and the changes that occurred to black Americans made them aware of the necessity to break the silence inherited from slavery. For several black Americans, silence was not a symbol of personal or social weakness nor was it a signal of fear but rather a step towards power. Thus, they recognized the prerequisite to express their

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<sup>1</sup>. The proclamation issued by President Lincoln in 1863, freeing the slaves in those territories still in rebellion against the Union.

own voice and to organize a movement through which they could articulate their own identity, respect and above all their personal dignity. Their struggle for equal treatment was known as the African American Civil Rights Movement.

The major motive that inspired the researcher to select such a field of study is the noble objectives of the movement. The Civil Rights Movement's achievement was not merely passing the Civil Rights Act but strengthening the moral basics and giving hope to people who had endured oppression for many centuries. Throughout the 1950s and the 1960s, Martin Luther King aimed high to imagine a world built on the real foundations of relationships and societal interactions: freedom, brotherhood and equality. He urged people not only to dream but to strive to accomplish those dreams. His speeches and actions are considered as a basic reference that one needs to make a difference. King did not simply teach people that dreams require commitment in order to come true, but if freedom is the product, love is the way to reach this product.

As we belong to the same continent 'Africa', we share some common characteristics. Years ago, this land was a stage for slavery and colonialism and it still remains in the conflicts circle. Today, many people endure extreme poverty, suffer violations of their human rights and live in violent environments. It seems to be no decent future in their sight. They feel that no one listens or cares for them. They have become marginalized and their voices turned out to be limited. So, under the ghost of wars, sufferings and injustices, one seeks peace and strives to pursue nonviolent ways to live in safety, harmony and serenity. For the Arab Muslim countries, the crisis is not only biological or natural but deeply spiritual. For instance, the aggression against the holy places like Al-Aqsa Holy Mosque is a spiritual or a real death for all the Arabs and Muslim communities. The civil rights movement does not concern only Afro Americans but all people. They can decrease the level of tensions and conflicts when they form a movement that is based on King's outlook.

This research paper tends to focus on the main events in African American history from 1950s which was the period of Martin Luther King's activism till the age of Barack Obama. It highlights the major factors which make King's 'I Have a Dream' a powerful speech. Moreover, the research tries to display people's reactions towards the speech. It also seeks to examine the development of race relations during Obama's two-term presidency. Effectively, King delivered his public speech during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom in which he called for an end to racism in the United States and asked for civil and economic rights. The speech was a crucial and a decisive moment in the African American Civil Rights Movement. Thus, it had an echo in America and beyond. The research questions that guided this study are:

- 1- What made 'I Have a Dream' a powerful speech?
- 2- How did people respond to King's message of nonviolence?
- 3- Have race relations, the core of Martin Luther King's concern, improved during Obama's presidency?

From the above questions, one can suggest the following hypotheses:

- 1- The sublime objectives of Martin Luther King's speech 'I Have a Dream' may be the reason that made the speech so powerful.
- 2- As many Americans, chiefly African Americans, were influenced by King's nonviolence doctrine, they might have strong reactions towards such speech.
- 3- Race relations may have been developed since Barack Obama has been elected for two terms.

During the last few decades, many social movements emerged as an attempt to create a change in certain social organizations or to form new rules. For instance, the 1980s witnessed dynamic movements in the Baltic States, Poland, the German Democratic Republic and the Czech Republic in Eastern Europe which was known as The Soviet Union; Burma ( Myanmar); Guatemala; South Africa; the Philippines; and

other states around the world.<sup>2</sup> These movements brought successful results against great military regimes or indestructible security systems. They reached victory without violence.

Non-violence as an international means of protest was utilized in diverse conflicts. In effect, nonviolent struggles have been a part of political life for many years. They were utilized to challenge mistreatment performed by authorities, organize social reforms, put an end to colonial rule and to protest militarism and discrimination. For instance, two famous campaigns of non-violent protest were the Indian independence struggle led by Mahatma Gandhi and the African-American civil rights movement headed by Martin Luther King. After reading Gandhi and his teachings, King was influenced by his method of nonviolence which was one of the most potent weapons available to oppressed people in their struggle for self-determination. The dynamics and success of non-violence have been the subject of various studies. Several scholars have committed themselves to the study of nonviolence from different perspectives: philosophical, religious, moral and pragmatic. In the Civil Rights era, African Americans use non violent protests to increase national attention and create positive changes.

The Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and the 1960s aimed at ending racial segregation against African Americans and re-establishing their voting right. At national and local levels, major nonviolent protests were carried out by black men and women, along with some white Americans. They used official means, negotiations, appeals and nonviolent demonstrations to attain their objectives. Since the majority of African Americans suffered from racial inequality that touched all economic, political and social spheres in the South, the movement was concentrated there. Certainly, the civil rights movement was the largest social movement in the history of the United States. Accordingly, new women's rights associations and student movements emerged.

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<sup>2</sup>. Porta and Diani, *Social Movements: An Introduction*.

Among the outstanding figures inspired by both Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King is Barack Obama. By holding the highest African American political status in the Senate and gaining a good reputation after publishing his book *Dreams from my Father*<sup>3</sup>, Obama became the first Democratic presidential candidate in both 2008 and 2012. Many Americans considered his victory as an indication of changing race-relations in America and a step towards better life opportunities for all citizens including minorities.

As a matter of fact, the question of minorities' rights is the focal point of many nations since their internal security is bound up with such an issue. Those nations perceive that building an inclusive society where the rights of all individuals and groups, regardless of their age, sex, disability, race, ethnicity, origin, economic or other status are protected, is a paramount issue. Different types of inequities persist in all parts of the world. In many countries, minority groups are subject to increasing discrimination, xenophobia, hate crimes and exclusion. Currently, challenges to guarantee equal protection and full participation of those groups in society are required. Many states are aware of the importance of protecting minorities' rights in developing the values and experiences which minority groups share with other members of their community. They also recognize that taking apposite procedures to uphold these rights is essential for their stability. Many international organizations and forums are founded to defend and assert the rights of individuals who belong to minorities such as the case of African Americans. In fact, ethnic diversity is a source of societies' richness and a witness of their civilizations and components. In contrast, racial intolerance can cause splits within these societies.

To investigate this issue, the doctoral thesis is divided into four interrelated chapters. The first chapter, entitled non violence in race relations and civil rights movement, highlights the concept of non violence; its definition, types, methods,

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<sup>3</sup>. '*Dreams from My Father*' is a memoir witten by Barack Obama. The book explores events of his early years, up until his entry into law school in 1988. He published the memoir in July 1995, when he was starting his political campaign for Illinois Senate. ("Dreams from My Father," Wikipedia )

dynamics, uses in addition to the prominent scholars involved in this action. The second one is an introduction to the African American Civil Rights Movement. It portrays the main events that took place between the 1950s and the 1960s shedding light on the prominent female civil rights' leaders. The third chapter is devoted to answering the research questions stated in the general introduction. Finally, the fourth chapter tries to regard some suggestions to promote minorities' political, social, economic and cultural rights.

The general conclusion opens paths of research linked to the main issues of the research work. The style of referencing which directs the present dissertation is Chicago Citation System (updated 2017). Moreover, the complete details of the citation and the source of '*Chicago Referencing Style Guide*' are mentioned in the bibliography.

**Chapter One**

**Non Violence in Race Relations and Civil**

**Rights Movement**

## Chapter One

### Non Violence in Race Relations and Civil Rights Movement

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## 1.1 Introduction

During his personal growth, the human being undergoes different experiences and obstacles which shape his psyche and his feelings. People's violent behaviours have influenced societies at different historical stages. Men killed each other as a result of emotional responses, to realize economic interests, to exercise authority over other persons, or to reach other aims. However, when these actions and behaviours expanded to groups and countries, the consequent conflicts became disastrous. Many people became aware that violent acts were generally destructive. Hence, they sought for non violent ways to achieve their objectives legally. Throughout the twentieth century, new theories have been formed to build social, economic and political foundations of society. Nonviolent action has been utilized as a means of projecting massive political power. It has been employed to secure independence, establish rights, prevent military coups d'état, resist military occupations, and create new democracies or preserve old ones. In several cases, nonviolent methods brought productive results.

## 1.2 Theories of Race Relations

According to Duckitt, the history of social psychology originates from intergroup conflict. The branch has been remarkably fruitful and successful in detecting the roots of intolerance and discrimination.<sup>1</sup> Tajfel and Turner view that through social identity theory, individuals and groups classify others rapidly making little effort. The fundamental dissimilarity between one's ingroup and outgroups has an effect on perceptions and actions resulting in intergroup prejudices.<sup>2</sup> Brewer

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<sup>1</sup>. Duckitt and Mphuthing, "Political Power and Race Relations in South Africa: African Attitudes before and after the Transitions," 820.

<sup>2</sup>. Tajfel and Turner, *Social Identity Theory*.

argues that ingroup preferential treatment is the product of individuals' protection and affirmation of the self.<sup>3</sup>

The second approach regarding intergroup relations is the social categorization or group cognition approach. Fiske noted that this approach gives a cognitive understanding of intergroup relations whereby social class causes stereotypes, prejudice and discrimination toward the other groups or individuals.<sup>4</sup> Bodenhausen states that "this view understands stereotyping and prejudice as the unfortunate by-products of categorization that are best disrupted at the category activation stage, rather than attempting to suppress or correct for attitudes once activated."<sup>5</sup>

The third theory about intergroup relations is what Sidanius and Pratto call Social Dominance Theory (SDT). According to SDT almost all societies categorize themselves as group-based hierarchies, where members of dominant groups allocate to one another an excessively large share of the valued resources such as homes, jobs and roles.<sup>6</sup> Richeson points out that "group based social hierarchies typically consist of three interactive systems of stratification: (a) an age system privileging the middle-aged over the old and young, (b) a patriarchal system privileging men over women, and (c) an arbitrary set system, in which socially constructed categories, such as race, ethnicity, religion, and nationality, are hierarchically arranged".<sup>7</sup> At the community level, social foundations and associations, such as police forces and other justice systems, uphold and improve the hierarchy through legitimizing ideologies. Yet, those systems and organizations are opposed by competing systems and institutions planned to attenuate group-based hierarchies such as civil rights organizations.

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<sup>3</sup>. Brewer, "The Importance of Being We: human nature and intergroup relations," 726.

<sup>4</sup>. Fiske et al., "Status, Power, and Intergroup Relations: The Personal Is the Societal," 44.

<sup>5</sup>. Bodenhausen, Todd, and Richeson, "Controlling prejudice and stereotyping: antecedents, mechanisms, and contexts." In *Handbook of Prejudice, Stereotyping, and Discrimination*, ed. T Nelson, 111.

<sup>6</sup>. "Social dominance theory."

<sup>7</sup>. Richeson and Nussbaum, "The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias," 417.

According to Richeson, the opposing forces eventually “find equilibrium so as to maintain a stable level of social inequality. In addition to these societal forces, both intergroup and interpersonal processes serve to support and maintain group hierarchies”.<sup>8</sup> SDT illustrates how dynamic systems of racial disparity are and how complicated they are to overcome.

Throughout the last fifteen years, researchers have concentrated on interracial interactions. They have also looked into the way through which people experience diversity at more collective levels including work groups, companies, neighborhoods, and even communities. The question that can be asked in examining how groups experience diversity is: what does it mean for an individual to be ethnically diverse? Unzueta and Binning stated that the idea of diversity in America conjures thoughts about demographic minorities such as blacks, Latinos, and Asians.<sup>9</sup>

According to Crisp and Turner, experiencing diversity can produce different psychological effects. So, what is the impact of racial diversity? Many researchers have studied the results of increased contact between individuals from different racial settings. They consider racial diversity as a significant issue since it enlarges opportunities for persons to interact with and learn from one another. Consequently, negative stereotypes and attitudes can be decreased. From his part, Richeson explained that a lot of modern researches have focused on the dynamics of interpersonal communication between majority and minority groups in terms of physiology, behaviour, cognition and affect.<sup>10</sup> For instance, Shelton notes that prejudice distinguishes interpersonal contact between members of both majority and

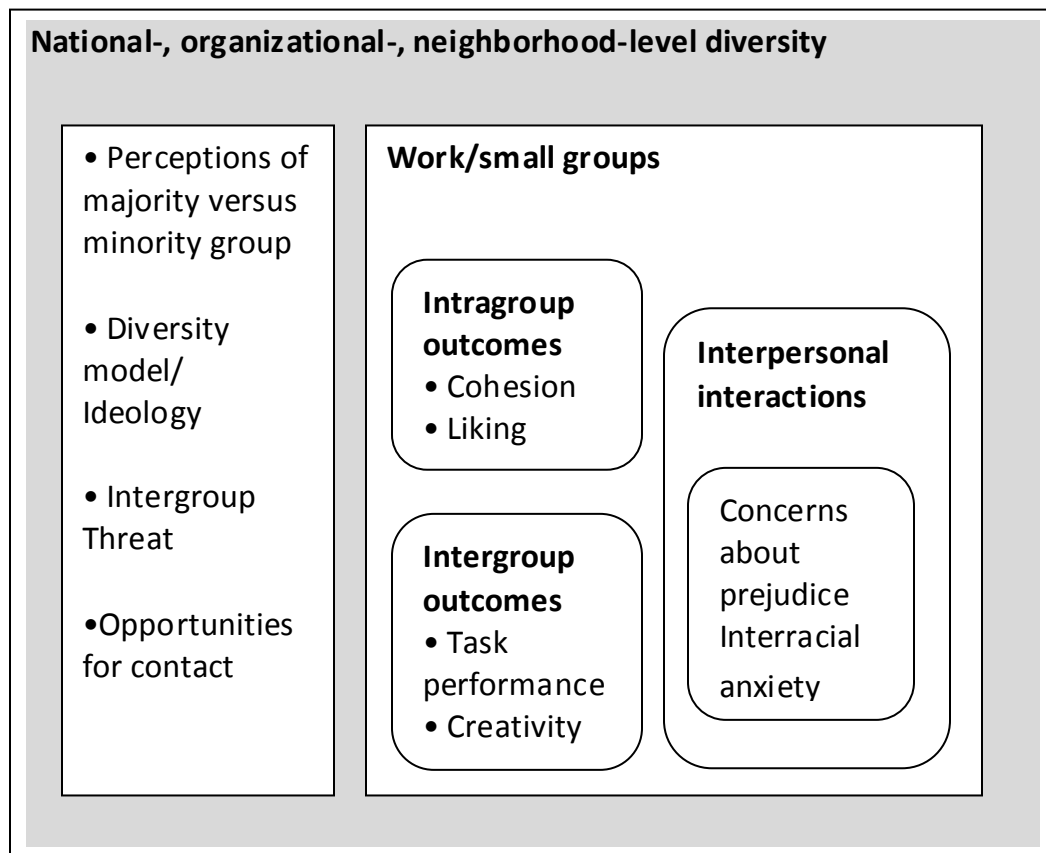
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<sup>8</sup>. Richeson and Nussbaum, “The impact of multiculturalism versus color-blindness on racial bias,” 418.

<sup>9</sup>. Unzueta MM, Binning KR, “Which racial groups are associated with diversity?,” 443.

<sup>10</sup>. Richeson and Nussbaum, “The impact of multiculturalism versus colour-blindness on racial bias,” 423.

minority ethnic groups. However, in various cases, the targets of this prejudice are racial minorities.<sup>11</sup>



**Figure 1: The Effects of Diversity at Societal, Group, and Interpersonal Levels.**

**Source:** Knowles, "Theorizing Race and Ethnicity".

Figure 1 shows the effects of diversity at societal, group, and interpersonal levels. Through its broad definition (i.e., not exclusively based on race), diversity has both negative and positive outcomes. The negative results relate to intragroup outcomes. Those diverse groups are less coherent than homogeneous groups. On the contrary, positive results of diversity generally pertain to dissimilarities in performance, whether in terms of creativity, problem solving, or information sharing. Categorizing group members into ingroup and outgroup restricts group identification, commitment, and morale. Consistent with this view, individuals are less inclined to work in teams with members who are racially dissimilar and expect demographic

<sup>11</sup> . Shelton, "A reconceptualization of how we study issues of racial prejudice," 90.

similarity to reflect attitudinal similarity. People from demographically different backgrounds display diverse perceptions which can be more effective, compared with homogenous groups.

Several philosophies deal with the issue of diversity. They differ extensively across individuals, groups, cultures, and times. Psychologists dichotomize these philosophies into colourblind and multicultural models of diversity. Apfelbaum notes that “a colourblind approach asserts that equality among and within groups is best achieved by minimizing demographic distinctions in policy setting and day-to-day interaction”.<sup>12</sup> According to Norton and Sommers, dominant group members are more likely than minority group members to support this model. Concerning Multicultural approach, both researchers view that demographic differences within a group should be recognized and championed.<sup>13</sup>

### **1.3 The Root of Minority Civil Rights**

The origin of minority protection goes back to the seventeenth century reforms. The latter aimed to defend religious minorities. However, Sigler claims that “the contemporary minority issues with which we have familiarity are largely rooted in the nineteenth century”.<sup>14</sup> Yet, some historians maintained that modern international minority protection was primarily introduced in the Treaty of Versailles, after the World War I. Others argued that the concept of human rights protection effectively emerged after the Second World War when peoples that would be regarded as minorities from today’s perspective were annihilated.<sup>15</sup>

Not all people agree that minority rights are appropriate or required. This was the central outlook within the international community for much of the post-war

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<sup>12</sup>. Apfelbaum, “In blind pursuit of racial equality?,” 92.

<sup>13</sup>. Norton and Sommers, “Whites see racism as a zero-sum game that they are now losing perspective,” 215.

<sup>14</sup>. Sigler, *Minority Rights. A Comparative Analysis*, 68.

<sup>15</sup>. Henkin, *The age of rights*, 90.

era. However, at the beginning of the 1990's, there have been various attempts to codify minority rights at the global and regional levels. Internationally, the UN adopted a "Declaration on the Rights of Persons belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities" in 1992. At the local level, the Council of Europe adopted the "European Charter for Regional or Minority Languages" in 1992, and the "Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities" in 1995.<sup>16</sup>

In reality, the international community is aware of minority problem. In this regard, Woodrow Wilson indicates that "Nothing, I venture to say, is more likely to disturb the peace of the world than the treatment which might in certain circumstances be meted out to minorities".<sup>17</sup> The change that happened through time is the way minority problem is conceptualized.

After World War II, when several international foundations were established, a new approach was adopted. This approach was to replace universal human rights with minority-specific rights. Through providing special rights for all individuals regardless of their group membership, minorities would be protected and given essential civil and political rights. Inis Claude explains that:

The general tendency of the postwar movements for the promotion of human rights has been to subsume the problem of national minorities under the broader problem of ensuring basic individual rights to all human beings, without reference to membership in ethnic groups. The leading assumption has been that members of national minorities do not need, are not entitled to, or cannot be granted rights of a special character. The doctrine of human rights has been put forward as a substitute for the concept of minority rights, with the strong implication that minorities

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<sup>16</sup>. Gudmundur and Asbjorn, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: a common standard of achievement*.

<sup>17</sup>. Gerstle, *Reconsidering Woodrow Wilson: Progressivism, Internationalism, War, and Peace*, 103.

whose members enjoy individual equality of treatment cannot legitimately demand facilities for the maintenance of their ethnic particularism.<sup>18</sup>

The concept of '*minority rights*' was questioned after World War II. It was considered both unnecessary and threatened. Therefore, neither the Charter of the United Nations nor the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 included references to minorities' rights. Indeed, the absence of those references was replicated in many postwar regional charters of human rights, whether in Europe (the European Convention on Human Rights of 1950), the Americas (the American Declaration of the Rights and Duties of Man of 1948), or Africa (the African Charter on Human and Peoples' Rights of 1981).<sup>19</sup>

During that era, many people believed that human rights approach would not give minorities what they needed in order to preserve their languages and cultures, such as the right to use their language in public institutions (schools, courts or public media), or to practice some kinds of regional autonomy. Without these minority rights, ancient and local cultures could not maintain their existence. Yet, the League of Nations supported the idea that minorities' needs should be subordinated to the general interests "in making the national state secure, and its institutions stable, even at the cost of obliterating minority cultures and imposing homogeneity upon the population".<sup>20</sup>

In effect, there have been important developments focusing on minorities that have changed the systems for all ethno cultural groups. The reference point for this change is a provision of the UN's International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights of 1966. Article 27 of the ICCPR states:

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<sup>18</sup>. Claude, *National Minorities: An International Problem*, 248.

<sup>19</sup>. Gudmundur and Asbjorn, *The Universal Declaration of Human Rights: a common standard of achievement*.

<sup>20</sup>. Ibid.

In those States in which ethnic, religious or linguistic minorities exist, persons belonging to such minorities shall not be denied the right, in community with the other members of their group, to enjoy their own culture, to profess and practice their own religion, or to use their own language.<sup>21</sup>

Since the 1990's, three of the most powerful European intergovernmental organizations devoted their efforts to the issue of minority rights: the Council of Europe, the European Union, and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE). In reality, the OSCE was the first European body to make an official statement on minority rights. Additionally, it founded the office of the "High Commissioner on National Minorities" in 1993, and gave valuable recommendations regarding minority rights in the fields of education (1996), language (1998), efficient participation (1999) and broadcasting (2003).<sup>22</sup> These documents asserted that successful minority-specific measures are frequently required to create peaceful and reasonable resolutions of conflicts between states and national minorities.

#### **1.4 The Meaning of Nonviolence, Peace and Social Movement**

Before defining the word '*nonviolence*', it is essential to distinguish between two terms '*nonviolence*' and '*nonviolent action*'. According to Gandhi, nonviolence denotes a total way of life based on respect and empathy whereas nonviolent action means all methods of action used in protests.<sup>23</sup>

Nonviolent action is a way of social struggle that started to be developed more efficiently in the last decades. This action is not dependent on the good will of the opponent. Instead, it seeks to repress violence which means that people who refuse submission, and who see struggle as crucial, can express their disagreement without violence. For instance, they use negotiation, mediation and reconciliation. In fact,

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<sup>21</sup>. Capotorti, "The Protection of Minorities under Multilateral Agreements on Human Rights."

<sup>22</sup>. Benoit, *The Minority Question in Europe*, 103.

<sup>23</sup>. Gandhi, *My Nonviolence*.

nonviolence provides human beings with positive means to avoid wars and to struggle against racial discrimination. Its ultimate goal is to reach social justice and democracy. However, nonviolent action is not limited to any race, nationality, social class, or gender. It has been used successfully in various political situations. It means taking action that goes beyond normal institutionalized political methods (voting, lobbying, letter writing, verbal expression) without injuring opponents. From his perspective, Burrowes explains that life is not a choice between violence and nonviolence but rather a choice between violence and less violence.<sup>24</sup> In his book *'Nonviolent Uprising'*, Theodor Ebert sees that the term can be used to uphold social change.<sup>25</sup>

On the other hand, Abu Nimer who is one of the Islamic non-violent intellectuals defines non-violence as a “set of attitudes, perceptions, and actions intended to persuade people on the other side to change their opinions, perceptions, and actions”.<sup>26</sup> Fredrickson notes that the term non-violence includes “a range of protest or resistance activities that fall between the straightforward use of physical force and the mere expression of dissatisfaction in conventional, legally authorized ways within officially constituted bodies or channels”.<sup>27</sup> According to him, though there are different views related to the term nonviolence, many definitions share the following main characteristics. Firstly, non-violence is morally active. Secondly, protesters use nonviolent action to convince the opponent to change his systems or strategies by arousing his conscience. Thirdly, nonviolence does not seek to devastate people, but it aims at fighting evil. Fourthly, it searches for putting an end to physical and moral violence. Lastly, the whole world supports justice.<sup>28</sup> Another scholar, James Childress states three aspects of a successful non-violent resistance:

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<sup>24</sup>. Burrowes, *The strategy of nonviolent defense: a Gandhian approach*, 96.

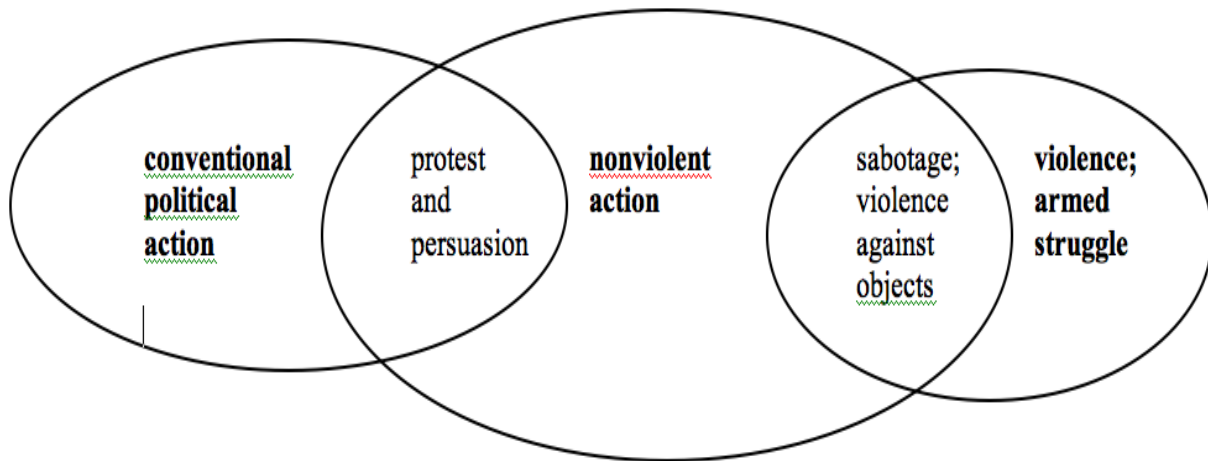
<sup>25</sup>. Mathur, *Non-violence and Social Change*, 133.

<sup>26</sup>. Abu Nimer, *Nonviolence and peace building in Islam: theory and practice*.

<sup>27</sup>. Fredrickson, *Black liberation: a comparative history of black ideologies in the United States and South Africa*.

<sup>28</sup>. Ibid.

recognition of sacred boundaries of action, a voluntary assumption of risk and a sense of equality.<sup>29</sup>



**Figure 2: The Conceptual Spaces of 'Conventional Political Action,' 'Nonviolent Action' and 'Armed Struggle' and their Boundaries.**

**Source:** Lyn and Brian, *Random selection in Politics*.

Figure two illustrates Martin Brian's conception of the three main spaces: conventional political action, nonviolent action and violence.

Brian indicates that physical violence includes beatings, torture and killing. For instance, using guns and missiles to murder people is violence. Sometimes, aggressive behaviours are not directed to persons but to physical objects like throwing rocks to break a shop window or to destroy an empty building. However, some consider these behaviours as violence whereas others think it is not stating that violence must be against human beings. Some protesters use forms of damage such as destroying billboards. This kind of sabotage does not hurt humans, but it aims to ruin objects. Such act is between violent and nonviolent action. Another significant boundary is

<sup>29</sup>. Childress, *Moral Responsibility in Conflicts*, 67.

what Brian calls *conventional political action*. For example, voting and electoral campaigns are conventional in areas where they are supported by governments. On the contrary, nonviolent action is unusual or more challenging. Some people believe that political conversation is a nonviolent act since speakers intend to convey political messages without using violence.<sup>30</sup>

From his part, Gene Sharp confirms that even mild actions can be a serious menace to the leaders. In a case such as a dictatorship, distributing leaflets can lead to arrest, whipping and imprisonment. Brian illustrates that various methods which Sharp called '*protest and persuasion*,' including leafleting, petitioning and rallies, are perilous in a dictatorship but are normal in places where social liberties are appreciated.<sup>31</sup>

Some people use the word '*violence*' in other situations. For instance, '*emotional violence*' means hurting others verbally while '*structural violence*' refers to all kinds of domination, oppression and injustice including economic exploitation using systems which produce poverty and subordination. Martin Brian relates the word '*violence*' to '*physical violence*' proving that when the former is used in all types of aggression, it becomes an unclear term.<sup>32</sup>

Concerning the term '*peace*,' the origin goes back to the 11<sup>th</sup> century. This word is derived from the Anglo-French *pes*, and the Old French *pais*, meaning "peace, reconciliation, silence, agreement." However, the word *Pes* itself comes from Latin *pax*, denoting "*peace, compact, agreement, treaty of peace, tranquility, absence of hostility, harmony.*" At a personal level, to be peaceful means to be kind, respectful, considerate, just, and tolerant of others' beliefs and behaviours. Moreover, the person behaving in this way tends to demonstrate goodwill. The word peace is also

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<sup>30</sup>. Lyn and Brian, *Random selection in Politics*, 211.

<sup>31</sup>. Sharp, Gene, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part One. Power and Struggle*.

<sup>32</sup>. Lyn and Brian, *Random selection in Politics*, 213.

used as a greeting or a farewell, for example the Arabic word '*salaam*'. In English the word peace is used when one sees off a dead person such as the phrase '*rest in peace*'.<sup>33</sup>

As a matter of fact, living peacefully involves lack of quarrels or the absence of aggressions. Peace requires negotiation to reach mutual understanding. The father of peace studies '*Johan Galtung*' divides the term '*peace*' into two categories '*negative peace*' and '*positive peace*'. He views that negative peace is the absence of violence. For instance, when ceasefire is passed, a negative peace will proceed. It is called '*negative*' because something unwanted ended; the violence stopped, the tyranny discontinued. Conversely, positive peace has positive objectives like re-establishment of relationships and founding social rules to solve conflicts. Indeed, peace does not imply the entire nonexistence of quarrels, but it refers to the avoidance of all sorts of violence and resolving disagreements using a constructive method. Accordingly, peace is found when individuals are interacting respectfully and are running their struggles positively taking into account the needs and the interests of each side.<sup>34</sup>

The term '*social movement*' has many definitions. However, Mario Diani notes that almost all definitions are based on three main criteria: "a network of informal interactions between a plurality of individuals, groups and/or organizations, engaged in a political or cultural conflict, on the basis of a shared collective identity".<sup>35</sup>

Charles Tilly views social movements as a sequence of debatable campaigns by which ordinary people demonstrate their disagreement about others. According to him, social movements are instruments for ordinary people to display their political views. He states three fundamental points for each social movement: *campaigns* which are persistent organized public works to stimulate the target authorities' attention to people's claims; *Repertoire* which means forming coalitions, public

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<sup>33</sup>. *Online Etymology Dictionary*.

<sup>34</sup>. Galtung, "Social Cosmology and the Concept of Peace," 183.

<sup>35</sup>. Diani, "The concept of social movement".

meetings, solemn marches, vigils, rallies, statements in public media and pamphleteering and; *WUNC displays* through which participants show a concerted public efforts of worthiness, unity, numbers, and commitments on the part of themselves and their community.<sup>36</sup>

From his part, Sidney Tarrow describes a social movement as "collective challenges [to elites, authorities, other groups or cultural codes] by people with common purposes and solidarity in sustained interactions with elites, opponents and authorities".<sup>37</sup> Likewise, Paul van Seeters and Paul James see that the definition of a social movement involves some conditions such as the structure of collective identity, the sharing desire to reform the status quo. Moreover, it requires practical acts.<sup>38</sup>

## 1.5 Nonviolence Methods

There are three main methods of nonviolence: protest and persuasion, non cooperation and non violent intervention.

### 1.5.1 Protest and persuasion

The first method is characterized with symbolic actions of peaceful opposition or an attempt of persuasion. The use of this tool displays that the actionists disagree with a social or political issue. Hence, non violent protest and persuasion may exhibit personal feelings or moral criticism.<sup>39</sup> The primary objective of this act is gaining public support and drawing the opponent's attention to the issue by convincing him to accept the change. To protest and persuade the antagonist, people use different

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<sup>36</sup>. Tilly, *From Mobilization to Revolution*, 167.

<sup>37</sup>. Tarrow, *Power in Movement: Collective Action, Social Movements and Politics*.

<sup>38</sup>. Paul and Seters, *Globalization and Politics, Vol. 2: Global Social Movements and Global Civil Society*, 89.

<sup>39</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part Two. The Methods of Nonviolent Action*.

activities such as speechmaking, picketing, group or mass petitions, vigils, street theatre, marches, rallies, teach-ins, slogans, caricatures, leaflets, newspapers, journals in addition to radio and television.

### 1.5.2 Non Cooperation

The second method involves active noncooperation. For instance, people refuse to cooperate with the institution, activity or regime with which they have conflict. Refusal to pay taxes, withholding rent, civil disobedience<sup>40</sup>, resistance, fasting and other different kinds of boycotts and strikes are the main actions exercised by the activists. Certainly, the effectiveness of non cooperative method depends on the type of action used and the extent to which it is widespread.<sup>41</sup>

A boycott is an attempt to persuade consumers not to do business with a particular person or business. Its primary objective is to convince a person or corporation to change certain policies. Though many boycotts are organized in the same way, they may have different causes. A boycott can be an end in itself i.e. People may arrange a boycott without expecting the organization being boycotted to make any change. In fact, the boycotters may feel the need to express their disapproval with the company. Otherwise, they want consumers to stop buying something not because they have conflict with this company, but the focus is on the type of product. Furthermore, boycotts can be arranged to destroy an individual or corporation. In this case, the organizers' ultimate goal is to force a company or an

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<sup>40</sup>. In 1848, Henry David Thoreau coined the term 'civil disobedience' in his essay through which, he revealed his refusal to pay the state poll tax that the American government imposed to prosecute a war in Mexico and to enforce the Fugitive Slave Law. In his essay, Thoreau shows that few people (heroes, martyrs, patriots, reformers) honestly serve their society, but they are treated as enemies. (Civil disobedience - *Wikipedia*.)

<sup>41</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part Two. The Methods of Nonviolent Action*.

individual out of business. Boycotts are also used to persuade individuals, companies, or rather countries to change certain practices they disagree with.<sup>42</sup>

A boycott can be used to force a manager to treat his employees better. In effect, the principal advantage of a boycott is the success it can bring in compelling individuals or companies to improve their policies. Business leaders consider boycotts more efficient than letter writing campaigns or lobbying because they stimulate largely people's attention. Additionally, they are reported on by the local media.

Unlike boycotting, strike is a work stoppage. It is characterized by the refusal of employees to work. Generally, a strike occurs as a response to workers resentment about a person or something. During the Industrial Revolution<sup>43</sup>, strikes became widespread in factories and mines. Nevertheless, they were considered as illegal actions in many countries since the owners of factories had more power than their employees. It was in the late 19th century that strikes were legalized by most western countries.<sup>44</sup>

Sometimes, striking is carried out to compel governments to change their strategies. It is often regarded as part of a social movement or rather a campaign of civil resistance. For instance, there were two famous strikes led by Lech Walesa; Gdansk Shipyard (1980) and Warning Strike (1981) to change the political system in Poland. Accordingly, they resulted in the fall of the Iron Curtain and the end of communist party rule in Eastern Europe. Most strikes are done by labour unions during collective bargaining. The object of the latter is that the employer and the workers come to an agreement about wages, benefits or working conditions. Strikes that involve all workers or a number of huge groups of workers in a particular

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<sup>42</sup>. Glickman, *Buying Power: A History of Consumer Activism in America*, 65.

<sup>43</sup>. Industrial Revolution was a period in which fundamental changes occurred in agriculture, textile and metal manufacture, transportation, economic policies and the social structure in England. (*The Industrial Revolution*, The Yale- New Haven Teachers Institute.)

<sup>44</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part Two. The Methods of Nonviolent Action*.

community are known as general strikes. They are carried out to put pressure on the authorities or may be a reaction to insecure conditions in the places of work. The second type of striking is what is called a hanger strike. It is a purposeful refusal to eat and it is often used in prisons as a symbol of political protest. Another kind of strike is the student strike. The latter is intended to draw media attention to the institution so that the students can state the causes that lead to their strike publically.<sup>45</sup>

### 1.5.3 Non Violent Intervention

In the case where the opponent refuses their demands, people take severe actions. In effect, non violent intervention involves the disruption of behaviours, patterns, policies, relationships and in institutions or the creation of new ones that the activists prefer. This method has many forms: sit-ins, occupations, obstructions of business as usual<sup>46</sup> in offices, the street or other places and creating new economic and social institutions. According to Gandhian literature, this method refers to as the constructive program since it tends to pose more direct and immediate challenge comparing with the previously mentioned methods.<sup>47</sup>

### 1.6 The Dynamics of Nonviolent Action

The concept of power has many criteria such as having soldiers, authority, ownership of wealth and institutions. However, nonviolent theorists see power from another angle different from being possessed. In their viewpoint, power is a dynamic social relation and it depends on obedience. When people refuse to obey the leader, his power begins to collapse. The conventional view of power is that rulers who

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<sup>45</sup>. Smolar, "Towards 'Self-limiting Revolution': Poland 1970-89." In Adam, Roberts and Timothy Garton Ash (eds.), *Civil Resistance and Power Politics: The Experience of Non-violent Action from Gandhi to the Present*.

<sup>46</sup>. The phrase refers to the normal conduct of business regardless of current circumstances, especially difficult events which pose a potential negative impact. The phrase can also mean maintaining the status quo. (*Business Dictionary*.)

<sup>47</sup>. Gandhi, *Non-violence in Peace and War*, 59.

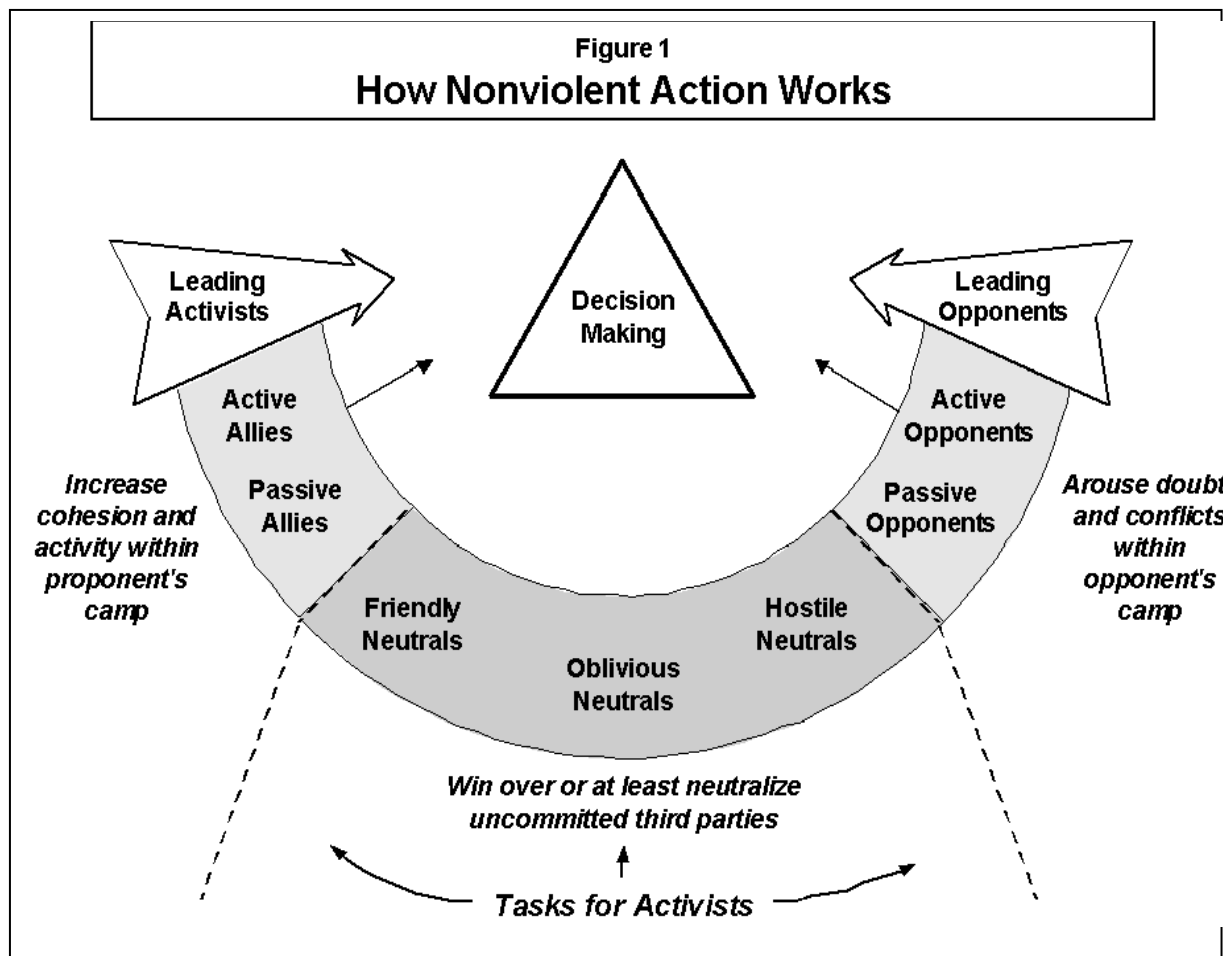
possess a massive army can arrest or shoot protesters. Yet, the conflict is not only between rulers and campaigners; a range of mediators can be involved in the struggle. In some cases, powerful individuals condemn acts of violence. Sometimes, troops or police refuse to follow orders.<sup>48</sup>

Nonviolent action is either unprepared (when a crisis reaches a high point) or is cautiously planned. To understand the dynamics of nonviolent action, Gene Sharp designs an illustrative outline. In a planned nonviolent campaign, establishing a clear groundwork is an important matter. This means putting objectives, choosing strategy and tactics, drawing plans, training, etc. Nonviolence is a way of mobilizing force which protesters have for maximum efficiency. Whether nonviolent action begins as a popular initiative or as an unplanned public response to an event, figure one shows that the primary “action and reaction” are only the commencement.<sup>49</sup>

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<sup>48</sup>. Sharp, *Waging nonviolent struggle: 20th century practice and 21st century potential*.

<sup>49</sup>. *Ibid*



**Figure 3: How Nonviolent Action Works**

**Source:** Irwin and Faison, "Why Nonviolence? Introduction to Nonviolence Theory and Strategy."

Figure three explains how campaigners aim at influencing people with various views along this field. The actions of the main social performers affect all these people. The occurrence of conflict draws attention to the issue. The two sides are not fighting each other directly, but competing with each other for the support of the general public. In order to achieve their desired aim, oppressors must make the protesters lose their unity and harmony and abandon their objectives. In fact, if the activists are united, oppression becomes ineffective. Nonetheless, being unified alone cannot realize success. People on the side of the actionists display their involvement, while those allied with the oppressor may exhibit a little support. Changes of attitude

are as important as shifts of behavior because both sides act according to their level of support.<sup>50</sup>

According to Gene Sharp, there are three means in which nonviolent action may reach its goals: conversion, accommodation and nonviolent coercion. The former means that the opponents want to change their attitude and work toward the protesters' objectives whereas accommodation is that opponents yield not because they have changed their thoughts and not because they are incapable, but it seems the best choice to solve the conflict. The last means which is nonviolent coercion refers to the activists' use of power to discourage the opponents.<sup>51</sup>

### **1.7 Reasons for Using Nonviolence**

Non violent action is used to attain different purposes including resolving conflicts in the community, encouraging reforms, national defense, the realization of national independence in addition to social alteration. Nonviolence is applied to solve problems concerning governmental systems. In different countries, trade workers have successfully used nonviolent sanctions in asking for their rights. In addition, nonviolent plans that have been carried out in preventing riots have contributed in maintaining the political and social security. Scholars in this field see that if this action is consciously used, neighborhood disputes and public disagreement will be reduced. Therefore, experienced trainers of nonviolence in police forces are teaching recruits nonviolent methods for stopping fights and controlling crowd. In effect, nonviolent strategies seek for stability, justice and development. Furthermore, nonviolence has been utilized to fight against unprofessional conduct and the continuous manufacture of toxic products.<sup>52</sup>

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<sup>50</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part Two. The Methods of Nonviolent Action.*

<sup>51</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part Two. The Methods of Nonviolent Action.*

<sup>52</sup>. Irwin and Faison, *Why Nonviolence? Introduction to Nonviolence Theory and Strategy.*

Subjugation by an occupying army can be difficult if civilians are united during their nonviolent resistance. When a civilian society is well prepared to defend itself, war or an external threat can be prevented. Thus, The Baltic States are working to apply plans of civilian defense in Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia and Sweden. These states strive to establish this form of defense. The period between 1989 and 1991 witnessed nonviolent revolutions in Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Some intellectuals in this field view that democracy can be achieved through civil resistance. Peace and security within each nation require two basic elements: teaching history and practicing nonviolence. If people know how to struggle for justice, human rights and democracy without violence, they will realize high level of social, political and economic development.<sup>53</sup>

Many reasons can be stated when using nonviolence. Firstly, it is a weapon accessible to all people. Moreover, it puts an end to all kinds of violence and it offers the possibility of renovation. Besides, during the process of nonviolence, the media focus on the issue at hand. Thus, it is the best way of attaining public empathy. In addition, it produces a constructive rather than a destructive result. Indeed, its aim is to reach the truth of a particular situation (victory is not only for one side) and it is the only means of resistance which major religions uphold. Lastly, nonviolence is an interpersonal and a political action that does not hinder the path towards self-realization<sup>54</sup>.

### **1.8 Gandhian Nonviolence**

In South Africa Gandhi was against any form of violence. However, this fact extended from being a mere personal feeling to the desire to practice nonviolence as largely as possible in the public field. Being a religious person and a politician, Gandhi strived to transform the concept of violence into nonviolence.

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<sup>53</sup>. Irwin and Faison, *Why Nonviolence? Introduction to Nonviolence Theory and Strategy*.

<sup>54</sup>. Ibid.

Indians in South Africa were deprived from the basic civil rights such as the right to vote. Therefore, Gandhi arranged extensive non violent resistance to put an end to these injustices. He wrote many articles against the unjust laws. Besides, he used negotiation with those who would listen. In 1906, the Transfaal South African government required all Indians to register with the government, be fingerprinted and holding constantly a certificate of registration. So, the Indian community was shocked. During the same year, Gandhi organized a massive meeting in Johannesburg to object the proposed legislation. He declared that if each individual clung to nonviolent resistance to oppose the unjust laws and remained faithful to God even they were suffering or killed, they would win. Consequently, their painful struggle stimulated the empathy of the world as well as white South Africans. Many Indians were imprisoned because they opposed the pass laws. As a result, Satyagraha movement was born.<sup>55</sup>

### 1.8.1 Satyagraha

Satyagraha is a term which literally means devotion to truth and resisting all kinds of violent activities but in a non violent way.<sup>56</sup> According to Michael Nagler, this word means '*clinging to truth*'. Other terms related to Satyagraha include '*truth force*', '*soul force*'.<sup>57</sup> Marin Luther King called this word '*love in action*'.<sup>58</sup> Most writers defined it as the philosophy of nonviolent struggle which is the best approach to solve disagreements. For Mahatma Gandhi, the term was considered as a powerful tool to put an end to the British domination. Gene Sharp sees that the word '*Satyagraha*' simply means '*Gandhian nonviolence*'.<sup>59</sup> In Gandhi's view, Satyagraha was not a preconceived proposal but an authentic source to restore human dignity and to provide a foundation for human rights. For that reason, he was called the

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<sup>55</sup>. Gandhi, *The Good Boatman*, 182.

<sup>56</sup>. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*.

<sup>57</sup>. Nagler, *The Guide for Nonviolence Practical Action Handbook*.

<sup>58</sup> - King, *Strength to love*.

<sup>59</sup>-Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part One. Power and Struggle*.

emancipator of the oppressed. In fact, Gandhi helped millions of discriminated people to recognize the true meaning of their lives and to enjoy all their rights. His philosophy has been applied even after his death. Jones notes that “Gandhi is not finished. He is a living power, more powerful in death than life”.<sup>60</sup> Through his principles, Gandhi offers means of fighting for civil rights. His political ideologies and moral principles have been considered as the essence of the past, present and future decisions. He convinces people to face the oppressor and to refuse any sort of cooperation with the conqueror. Although the resistance may be at the expense of their lives, they will remain martyrs of the movement. Furthermore, those who are jailed will be heroes of the new nation. Jail will be the starting point towards new leadership.<sup>61</sup>

Through the process and the spirit of non violent resistance, the oppressed would remain stronger whereas the oppressor would become weaker since the latter would have to surrender, change or collapse. The success of Gandhi’s philosophy is based on the fact that he used it to halt the British system that had been set up in India. Erikson explains that Satyagraha is based on many principles. First of all, the objectives of a nonviolent struggle should be reached through a long-term action and by maximal decrease of violence. Besides, the nature of the means employed determines the nature of the consequences. In addition, each campaign should attempt to extend peace. Erikson mentions that engaging in a nonviolent action intends to fight antagonism, not antagonists. Effectively, the better oppressors understand the satyagrahi's position and behaviour, the lesser violence is exercised. The best way to prove campaigners’ sincerity to an opponent is to make sacrifices. However, the former should not exploit the oppressor’s weakness because Satyagraha stresses more on ethics than on victory.<sup>62</sup>

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<sup>60</sup>. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*.

<sup>61</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>. Erik, *Gandhi's truth on the origins of militant non-violence*.

Today, this doctrine is applied in different fields such as economics, politics, society...etc in order to create constructive changes. Several seminars, workshops, books, articles and strikes are based on his concept of non violence. Certainly, many institutes were founded according to Gandhi's doctrine such as The Albert Einstein Institutions<sup>63</sup> established by Gene Sharp.

The ideological strategy of nonviolence which is based on the acceptance of suffering aims at demonstrating the seriousness of the protester. In addition, it is a call that stimulates the attention of the opponent and the audience. Both the sufferer and the opponent are transformed: the opponent by being forced to face the activist's views on a particular situation to make a change; and the sufferer by not cooperating with the antagonist.<sup>64</sup>

In the cases where nonviolence does not touch the conscience of the antagonist, it can, however, create objective advantages in conflict situations, especially during social struggles. So, the opponent may be transformed indirectly by changing his behaviour if constant nonviolence resistances move public opinion to the side of the protester. In this regard, Gandhi stated that in order to reach the intended aims, public opinion should be aroused. Gandhian theorist Joan Bondurant explains that:

The objective is not to assert propositions, but to create possibilities. In opening up new choices and in confronting an opponent with the demand that he makes a choice, the [nonviolent activist] involves himself in acts of 'ethical existence'. The process forces a continuing examination of one's own motives, an examination undertaken within the context of

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<sup>63</sup>. The Albert Einstein Institution is a non-profit organization that specializes in the study of the methods of nonviolent resistance in conflicts and to explore its policy potential and communicate these findings through print and other media, translations, conferences, consultations, and workshops. (The Albert Einstein Institution, *Wikipedia*.)

<sup>64</sup>. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*.

relationships as they are changed towards a new, restructured, and reintegrated pattern.<sup>65</sup>

Bondurant asserts that the end of this process is truth which can be reached through nonviolence. Indeed, good ends can only be achieved through good means. Moreover, by using nonviolent means, protesters remain open to persuasions whereas using violence indicates a closed mind. Furthermore, she reveals that the primary focus of the ideological nonviolence does not intend to change the opponent's behaviour, but it aims to change his values or attitudes which, certainly, will lead to a change in behaviour. Actually, changing behaviour without changing attitudes can only be maintained through coercion which contradicts the philosophy of nonviolence.<sup>66</sup>

## **1.8.2 Application of Gandhi's Philosophy by some Outstanding Figures**

Most famous personalities were influenced by Mahatma Gandhi including César Estrada Chavez, Tenzin Gyatso, Aung San Suu Kyi, Kwame Nkrumah, Nelson Rolihlahla Mandela, Martin Luther King, Desmond Mpilo Tutu and Barrack Hussein Obama. They were inspired by the Gandhian ideology of nonviolence.

### **1.8.2.1 César Estrada Chavez**

César Chavez was a student and a follower of Gandhi. He was born in 1927 in Arizona. During his childhood, his family lost their farm in the Great Depression. When he became adult, he suffered from injustices of farm worker life. Thus, he led the first successful farm workers union in America for more than thirty years. As a

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<sup>65</sup>. Bondurant, *Conquest of Violence: The Gandhian Philosophy of Conflict*, xiii.

<sup>66</sup>. Gandhi, *Satyagraha*.

result, thousands of farm workers achieved myriad rights like fair wages, respect, dignity, medical coverage, pension benefits and better human living conditions. He applied peaceful methods such as fasts, boycotts and strikes in order to realize justice for farm workers. For instance, in 1968, he fasted for 25 days as a symbol of his personal commitment. He was influenced by the works and thoughts of three famous personalities: ST Francis of Assisi, Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King.<sup>67</sup> He adopted the philosophy of nonviolence as the only weapon to bring about human rights. He states:

Nonviolence is not inaction. It is not discussion. It is not for the timid or weak...Nonviolence is a hard work. It is the willingness to sacrifice. It is the patience to win.<sup>68</sup>

According to César, the truest act of courage, the strongest act of humanity, is to sacrifice ourselves for others in a completely nonviolent struggle for justice. Thus, militant nonviolence is a means for social revolution and a way of achieving justice for citizens.<sup>69</sup>

### **1.8.2.2 Martin Luther King Jr:**

Martin Luther King, Jr. was born on January 15<sup>th</sup>, 1929 in Georgia. He was influenced by many philosophers and theologians. This influence is touchable through his views on race, justice and civil rights. For example, the writings of the essayist Henry David Thoreau made him aware that each individual should refuse unfair laws and oppose all sorts of cooperation with unjust leaders. He supported the principles of the Indian political leader Mahatma Gandhi that helped him in his nonviolent resistance. To confront racial discrimination in the American South, King developed his methods of protest and civil disobedience applying love and nonviolent plans.<sup>70</sup>

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<sup>67</sup>. Vitale, *César Chavez: A Prophet of Nonviolence*.

<sup>68</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>69</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>70</sup>. Levering, *King - a biography*.

Being a theologian, King portrayed his nonviolent approach in his first book *'Stride Toward Freedom'*, and also in the following books and articles. According to him, nonviolent resistance is "a courageous confrontation of evil by the power of love".<sup>71</sup> His first reading about the notion of non violence was Henry David Thoreau's *Essay on Civil Disobedience* when he was a freshman at Morehouse College. Since black Americans suffered mostly from the ghost of racism, King was "fascinated by the idea of refusing to cooperate with an evil system".<sup>72</sup>

It was in 1955 when King first experienced nonviolent direct action in the Montgomery bus boycott. He received guidance from black pacifist Bayard Rustin and Glenn Smiley of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. King did not use armed guardians in spite of threats on his life. King's perception of nonviolence had six key rules. Firstly, one can resist iniquity without violence. Secondly, nonviolent action attempts to gain the understanding of the opponent, not to disgrace him. Thirdly, evil itself should be resisted. Fourthly, those who devoted themselves to nonviolence must accept suffering without revenging themselves on the antagonists. Fifthly, protesters not only reject to shoot their opponents but they also refuse to hate him. The last rule is that the nonviolent resister should understand that "the universe is on the side of justice".<sup>73</sup>

During his journey to India in 1959, King internationally expanded his perception of nonviolence. He became conscious that "the choice today is no longer between violence and nonviolence. It is either nonviolence or nonexistence".<sup>74</sup> In 1967, King observed that some African Americans turned out to be desperate. Therefore, he asserted his commitment to nonviolence explaining that "In life, one develops a conviction so precious and meaningful that he will stand on it till the end.

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<sup>71</sup>. King, *Stride toward freedom*, 80.

<sup>72</sup>. King, *A testament of hope: the essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther*.

<sup>73</sup>. Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr: a profile*.

<sup>74</sup>. King, *A testament of hope: the essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther*.

This is what I have found in nonviolence".<sup>75</sup> He wrote a book entitled '*Where Do We Go from Here: Chaos or Community?*'. The latter was regarded as a bridge towards positive nonviolent power. King maintained that violent upheaval was unreasonable in a multiracial society. Moreover, he described the process of nonviolence using impressive words. King said that "Darkness cannot drive out darkness: only light can do that. Hate cannot drive out hate: only love can do that. The beauty of nonviolence is that in its own way and in its own time it seeks to break the chain reaction of evil".<sup>76</sup>

### 1.8.2.3 Tenzin Gyatso

Tenzin Gyatso was born in 1935 to a farming family in Northeastern Tibet. In 1950, a year after the Chinese invaded Tibet, he became responsible of political affairs. It was in 1954 that Tenzin visited Beijing to discuss the issue of peace with Mao Zedong and other Chinese leaders. However, in 1959, he was sent to exile in Dharamsala, Northern India after the Chinese brutal suppression of Tibetan uprising. In effect, he took many procedures to strengthen peace in Tibet. In 1987, he suggested the Five Point Plan which was the first footstep to solve conflicts there. He aimed high that Tibet would become the Asian centre of peace where all individuals can live in a harmony.<sup>77</sup>

The Dalai Lama<sup>78</sup> admired Gandhian personality and thoughts. He led a campaign for the independence of Tibet. Tenzin reveals that his country will restore its sovereignty if China is free. Besides, Tibetan should not behave violently or hate Chinese people. On November 4<sup>th</sup>, 2005, he declared that non violence is the only solution that can be done with China. He states,

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<sup>75</sup>. King, *A testament of hope: the essential writings and speeches of Martin Luther*.

<sup>76</sup>. King, *Where do we go from here: Chaos or community?*

<sup>77</sup>. Chou, *The Heart of Nonviolence: A Conversation with the Dalai Lama*.

<sup>78</sup>. The Dalai Lamas are believed to be manifestations of *Avalokiteshvara* or *Chenrezig*, the Bodhisattva of Compassion and patron saint of Tibet.

I have the greatest admiration and respect for Mahatma Gandhi. He was a great human being with a deep understanding of human nature. He made every effort to encourage the full development of the positive aspects of the human potential and to reduce or restrain the negative. His life has inspired me ever since I was a small boy. Ahimsa or nonviolence is the powerful idea that Mahatma Gandhi made familiar throughout the world.<sup>79</sup>

Tenzin believes that nonviolence does not denote the total absence of violence. Besides, he views that this principle relies on truth and compassion. To practice true compassion is to appreciate others' sentiments.<sup>80</sup> The Dalai Lama was influenced by Gandhi's idea that non violence can be used to solve political issues as it can be applied in our daily life. In addition, he demonstrates that if one cannot help the others, he must not at least harm them. He said,

I believe that it is very important that we find positive ways in which children and adults can be educated in the path of compassion, kindness and nonviolence. If we can actively do this, I believe we will be fulfilling Mahatma Gandhi's legacy to us. It is my prayer that, as we enter this new century, nonviolence and dialogue will increasingly come to govern all human relations.<sup>81</sup>

Tenzin thinks that people should focus on the culture of dialogue when dealing with problems. According to him, "Dialogue is the only appropriate method. One-sided victory is no longer relevant. We must work to resolve conflicts in a spirit of reconciliation and always keep in mind the interests of others. We cannot destroy our neighbours! We cannot ignore their interests! Doing so would ultimately cause us to suffer. I therefore think that the concept of violence is now unsuitable.

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<sup>79</sup>. Chou, *The Heart of Nonviolence: A Conversation with the Dalai Lama*.

<sup>80</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>81</sup>. Ibid.

Nonviolence is the appropriate method".<sup>82</sup> In 1989, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his contribution to liberate Tibet.

#### 1.8.2.4 Aung San Suu Kyi:

San Suu Kyi was born in 1945. She is a Burmese politician and the General Secretary of the National League for Democracy. In 1964, she got a degree in politics in New Delhi. In fact, she was influenced by Mahatma Gandhi's philosophy of non violence and worked hard for democratization. In 1989, Suu Kyi was put under house arrest. Consequently, she gave many speeches through which she opposed the government. Being a great woman, San Suu Kyi has gained more than 80 international awards. For example, in 1991, she won the Nobel Peace Prize and in 2009, she received India's Gandhi Award.<sup>83</sup> One of her well-known speeches '*Freedom from Fear*' in 1991, in which she says:

It is not power that corrupts but fear. Fear of losing power corrupts those who wield it and fear of the scourge of power corrupts those who are subject to it.<sup>84</sup>

Suu Kyi declared that fear hinders the process of many leaders' works since it makes them powerless to fulfill their objectives. Though she could not put Gandhi's constructive program into practice, she led a campaign in Burma to ask for a democratic government. Her struggle remained a concrete example of the power of non violence. In this context, Rovindra Kumar states,

Today, it is not possible for military dictators...like that of Burma to dishonour an international call. If through a resolution of the United Nations the dictators of such a country are warned by international community of non-cooperation, restrictions or sanctions and boycott then

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<sup>82</sup>. Chou, *The Heart of Nonviolence: A Conversation with the Dalai Lama*.

<sup>83</sup>. Aung, *Freedom from Fear*.

<sup>84</sup>. Aung, "Speech to a Mass Rally at the Shwedagon Pagoda." In Aris, *Freedom from Fear*, 198.

this act, according to me, will be within the scope of nonviolent Gandhian way.<sup>85</sup>

In 2012, this politician received the US Congressional Gold Medal. Moreover, she had a meeting with President Barack Obama at the White House. Today, she is classified as the 61<sup>st</sup> most powerful woman in the world.<sup>86</sup>

### 1.8.2.5 Kwame Nkrumah

Kwame was born on September 21st, 1909 at Nkroful (Gold Coast). It was in 1935 when he travelled to the United States for advanced studies. Afterward, he went to England to continue his schooling. In 1945, Kwame contributed in organizing the Pan-African Congress. Two years later, he returned to Ghana and became the general secretary of the newly founded United Gold Coast Convention. However, in 1949 he separated from it and made the Convention People's Party (CPP). In 1950, Kwame's nonviolent campaign caused trouble in the country and for that reason he was imprisoned. A year after, this politician was released as the CPP won the election and he formed a government.

This personality had an immense role in the independence of Ghana in 1957. Six years later, Kwame Nkrumah followed a strict policy that had an important role in the Organization of African Unity. Nevertheless, he was accused of forming a dictatorship. Kwame spent his last years in exile, dying in Bucharest, Romania in 1972. His dream of a *United States of Africa* still remains the aim of many leaders. He was influenced by Gandhi's nonviolent policy '*Satyagraha*' which he coined as "Positive Action".<sup>87</sup>

Throughout Positive Action, he realized great success in the struggle for liberty. This non violent action found an echo in South Africa in the challenge against the

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<sup>85</sup>. Kumar, *Non-Cooperation*, 28.

<sup>86</sup>. Aung San Suu Kyi, *Wikipedia*.

<sup>87</sup>. Nkrumah, "Positive Action in Africa." In Duffy and Manners (ed.), *Africa Speaks*, 50-51.

oppressive pass laws. Freedom, equality, independence, and social justice inspired this personality to a large extent. He implemented the Gandhian strategy of boycotts, strikes, leafleting, and educational campaigns. It was only through the African unity that Africans could recover their respect, dignity and equality in the world. Therefore, he formed the Organisation of African Unity (OAU) in 1963.<sup>88</sup>

### **1.8.2.6 Nelson Mandela**

Nelson Mandela was born on July 18<sup>th</sup>, 1918 in Transkei-South Africa. He studied at University College of Fort Hare and the University of Witwatersrand and was eligible for law in 1942. Two years later, he was a member of African National Congress (ANC). After 1948, he resisted against the National Party's apartheid policies. When the African National Congress Youth League (ANCYL) launched a non violent campaign, Mandela traveled all over the country to recruit volunteers and to coordinate protests. In 1956, he was jailed because he was accused of treason. Five years later, in 1961, he was released. From 1964 to 1982, Mandela was imprisoned at Robben Island Prison and after in Pollsmoor Prison.<sup>89</sup>

During the years that Nelson Mandela spent in prison, he acquired a remarkable reputation. Indeed, he was regarded as the most noteworthy black leader and an icon of resistance as the anti-apartheid movement became more powerful. In this regard, the Odisha Chief Minister Naveen Patnaik called him "a symbol of anti-apartheid who dedicated his life to fight justice and racial discrimination. He was a great advocate of humanism and a symbol of struggle for justice, service, dedication and sacrifice. He had strong faith in Gandhiji's belief in truth and non-violence. The world has lost a great Gandhian".<sup>90</sup>

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<sup>88</sup>. Nkrumah, "Positive Action in Africa." In Duffy and Manners (ed.), *Africa Speaks*, 50-51.

<sup>89</sup>. Mandela, "The Sacred Warrior: The Liberator of South Africa Looks at the Seminal Work of the Liberator of India."

<sup>90</sup>. Ibid.

In 1990, Mandela was acquitted. Subsequently, he devoted his life to achieve the goals that he had already set about four decades. It was in 1991 that Mandela was elected as the President of ANC. After two years, he won the Nobel Peace Prize and on May 10<sup>th</sup>, 1994, he became State President of South Africa till June, 1999. During his presidency, Mandela supported reconciliation that had a positive echo on the White Africans and on the world as a whole. Being a man of passion, courage and struggle, Mandela was offered the Gandhi/King Award for Non violence from the World Movement for Nonviolence in the last year of his presidency. Mandela said that “Both Gandhi and I suffered colonial oppression and both of us mobilized our respective peoples against government that violated our freedoms”.<sup>91</sup>

When Nelson Mandela spent 27 years at Robben Island Prison, he found many books of Gandhi in the room. So, he exploited those years in meditation and reflection. Though Gandhi and Mandela never met, both of them strived to fight discrimination in South Africa. According to Roger Cohen, both Mahatma Gandhi and Nelson Mandela are the anti-colonialist giants of the twentieth century. Harris Majeke, South Africa’s Ex-High Commissioner to India stated that “While Nelson Mandela is the father of South Africa, Mahatma Gandhi is our grandfather”.<sup>92</sup>

Nitin Mehta wrote an article about Mandela and Gandhi in which he mentioned that the death of Nelson Mandela had a great impact on the whole world as similar as when Mahatma Gandhi died. Although there are several similarities between Gandhi and Mandela, the latter said:

It would not be right to compare me to Gandhi. None of us could equal his dedication or his humanity. He showed us it’s necessary to brave imprisonment if truth and justice were the triumph over evil.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>. “Mohandas Gandhi & Nelson Mandela.”

<sup>92</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>93</sup>. Mandela, *The Authorized Book of Quotations*.

Nevertheless, there is a point that distinguishes Mandela from Gandhi which is the military dimension. The former viewed that when the oppressor's brute force could not be opposed through passive resistance, a militant action or *Umkhonto we Sizwe*<sup>94</sup> would become necessary. In effect, the latter became part of African struggle supported by the OAU and Pan- African Freedom Movement of East and Central Africa in 1962. Mandela said that "Force is the only language the imperialists can hear, and no country became free without some sort of violence".<sup>95</sup> Yet, Gandhi never excluded violence totally. He renounced the use of arms in certain situations. He noted that "Where choice is set between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence...I prefer to use arms in defense of honour rather than remain the vile witness of dishonor..."<sup>96</sup>

### 1.8.2.7 Desmond Mpilo Tutu:

Desmond was born in Klerksdorp, Transvaal in 1931 in South Africa. He studied at Johannesburg Bantu High School. In 1954, Desmond Tutu graduated from the University of South Africa. After being a high school teacher, he started to study theology. From 1962 to 1966, he got a Master degree in theology after a further study in England. After five years, he worked as a teacher of theology in South Africa for five years. In 1975, he was the first black who held the status of the Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg. Three years later, he was the first black General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches.<sup>97</sup>

Being opponent of apartheid in South Africa, he obtained the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984. The term '*Rainbow Nation*' that he coined was a metaphor for post-

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<sup>94</sup>. Umkhonto we Sizwi, meaning "Spear of the Nation", was the armed wing of the African National Congress (ANC), co-founded by Nelson Mandela in the wake of the Sharpeville massacre. Its founding represented the conviction in the face of the massacre that the ANC could no longer limit itself to nonviolent protest; its mission was to fight against the South African government. "Manifesto of Umkhonto We Sizwi."

<sup>95</sup>. Mandela, *The Authorized Book of Quotations*.

<sup>96</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>97</sup>. Gish, *Desmond Tutu. A Biography*.

apartheid South Africa. It has described South Africa's racial diversity. In 2007, Desmond Tutu was offered The Gandhi Peace Prize. His objective of a democratic and a fair society without racial discrimination can be illustrated through four main points: equal civil rights for all, the abolition of South Africa's passport laws, a common system of education and the cessation of forced deportation from South Africa to the so-called '*homelands*'. Tutu admired Gandhian nonviolent strategy. He was the leader of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission through which he paid more attention to reunion and forgiveness. In fact, the commission was founded in 1995 to restore people's dignity that was affected by the system of Apartheid. This process was influenced by the traditional practices of *Ubuntu*<sup>98</sup> communities in South Africa.<sup>99</sup> It stressed on connectedness and on the idea that my humanity is bound up with your humanity. Desmond's expression "What dehumanises you, inexorably dehumanises me."<sup>100</sup> shows the influence of Gandhi on Africa. He was awarded the Mahatma Gandhi Global Nonviolence prize.

#### **1.8.2.8 Barrack Hussein Obama:**

Barrack Obama was born to a white American mother, Ann Dunham, and a black Kenyan father, Barrack Obama, Sr. Obama studied at Columbia University. Afterwards, he attended Harvard Law School. It was in 1990 that Obama became the first African-American editor of the Harvard Law Review. He refused a prestigious judicial clerkship. Instead, he preferred practicing civil-rights law back in Chicago. In addition, he represented victims of housing and employment discrimination and worked on voting-rights legislation. Moreover, he started teaching at the University of Chicago Law School, and married Michelle Robinson. In 1995, Barrack's publication '*Dreams from My Father: A Story of Race and Inheritance*' was the starting point of his fame. Obama was interested in politics. In 1996, he worked hard to get a seat in

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<sup>98</sup>. Ubuntu is a traditional African concept. It can be translated as '*humanity towards others*'.

Ubuntu (philosophy), *New World Encyclopedia*.

<sup>99</sup>. Tutu, *No Future without Forgiveness*, 35.

<sup>100</sup>. Ibid.

the Illinois State Senate and when he won it, he strove to pass the first major ethics law in twenty-five years. He made considerable efforts to reduce taxes and ameliorate healthy conditions for everyone. Four years later and after running for the United States House of Representatives, he lost.<sup>101</sup>

In September 2009, when Obama visited Wakefield High School in Arlington Virginia, he encouraged students to study hard and to learn from their failures in order to succeed in the end. One of them asked him a question: "...if you could have dinner with anyone, dead or alive, who would it be?" Obama answered: "I think that it might be Gandhi, who is a real hero of mine," and he added: "Mahatma Gandhi is someone who has inspired people across the world for the past several generations".<sup>102</sup>

During the 140th anniversary of Gandhi's birth, Barack Obama declared that America "has its roots in the India of Mahatma Gandhi and the nonviolent social action movement for Indian independence which he led".<sup>103</sup> According to him, Americans and Indians have to commemorate together Gandhi's life. Likewise, they need "to reflect on his message of nonviolence, which continues to inspire people and political movements across the globe".<sup>104</sup> Before becoming President of the United States, Obama had always regarded Mahatma Gandhi as an inspiration. He said that the nonviolence applied by Gandhi and Martin Luther King Jr. and their devotion to human progress must always be a leading force for every human being. Obama is the latest of Gandhian followers who have been awarded the Nobel Peace Prize.<sup>105</sup>

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<sup>101</sup>. Remnick, *The Bridge: The Life and Rise of Barack Obama*, 98.

<sup>102</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>104</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>105</sup>. Ibid.

### 1.8.2.9 John Okwoeze Odey:

John Odey is a catholic priest. He was born in the Early 1950s in Ngbo (Nigeria). In 1977, he joined Augustines Senior Seminary Jos. Seven years later, he became a priest. Odey has a doctorate degree in Moral Theology from Academia Alfonsiana in Rome. His numerous writings revolve around politics. Being influenced by Gandhi, John Odey calls the authorities to put an end to the deploring political circumstances in his country.<sup>106</sup> He says:

“... corruption in both high and low places, poverty, indiscipline, hunger, underdevelopment, selection instead of election, artificial fuel scarcity, abduction, strike, ethnic clashes, cultism, examination malpractices, internet fraud, network problem, power outage, marginalisation bad roads, rigging of election, injustice, jungle justice and the celebration of HIV/AIDS”.<sup>107</sup>

In a country where freedom of speech is not free, Odey appeals the authorities to realize their shortcomings and urges people to fight for their rights. Eugene Song advises Cameroonians and all Africans to follow this prominent character. He depicts Odey as “the vociferous and indefatigable Catholic Priest...who challenges the vices that have crept into the socio-political and economic landscape of his country. He feels Nigeria has been plunged into a pool of bribery and corruption and something has to be done quickly so as to ransom the situation. John Odey believes that criticizing the vices ravaging the land must go beyond the pulpit. He holds that theologians/pastors should stand at the forefront leading the people in the fight against injustices”.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup>. Odey, *My Life and my Commitment, The Autobiography of John Okwoeze Odey*.

<sup>107</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>108</sup>. Odey, *The days of the Jackals: The Roots of Violence and a Search for the Meaning and Relevance of Nonviolent Resistance*, 13.

From his part, John Odey writes about the personalities that shaped his mind, mentioning that “Beginning from the year 1979,..., I first read some works of Mahatma Gandhi and Martin Luther King, I have continued to grow in the conviction that to fight against social injustice is a compelling moral obligation. It is not enough to frown at social injustice and do nothing about its possible elimination. More importantly, I have since then equally lived in the conviction that nonviolent resistance provides the best solution to human conflicts”.<sup>109</sup>

Thus, Odey asserts that nonviolence is the paramount solution to change the socio-political situation of Nigeria. According to him, it is a sort of violence when people who have power to talk about a situation, keep silent. He describes this action as “violence of silence” i.e. Individuals act violently if they are capable to speak for the subjugated and their voice can be heard as well as hearkened to, but they let the predators destroy their country without any interference. In his autobiography, Odey shows his love to truth and justice.<sup>110</sup>

### **1.9 Pragmatic vs. Principled Nonviolence**

There have been myriad debates about the term nonviolence. The latter not only describes the process of activities but it is also a way of life. Both pragmatic and principled dimensions consider nonviolence as an effective means for dealing with conflict and political issues since it aims to minimize the rate of damages. According to Burrowes (1996), the two approaches are applied either for reforming or for revolutionary aims<sup>111</sup> whereas Nagler(1999) states that the difference between the two dimensions is the nature of commitment.<sup>112</sup>

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<sup>109</sup>. Odey, *The days of the Jackals: The Roots of Violence and a Search for the Meaning and Relevance of Nonviolent Resistance*, 13.

<sup>110</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>111</sup>. Burrowes, *The strategy of nonviolent defense*.

<sup>112</sup>. Nagler, *The Guide for Nonviolence Practical Action Handbook*.

Pragmatic, tactical or strategic nonviolence is to form a social or political movement that can build a national or international dialogue and can create social changes. For instance, in 1838, William L. Garrison who contributed in establishing the New England Non-Resistance Society, attempted to achieve racial and gender equality and putting an end to all violent action.<sup>113</sup> From his part, Martin Luther King viewed non-violence as a pragmatic strategy to spread peace and justice and also as a way of life. He said:

“Admittedly, non-violence in the truest sense is not a strategy that one uses simply because it is expedient at the moment; non-violence is ultimately a way of life that men live by because of the sheer morality of its claim. But even granting this, the willingness to use non-violence as a technique is a step forward. For he who goes this far is more likely to adopt non-violence later as a way of life”.<sup>114</sup>

Many people understand nonviolent protest as a way of life or as a culture. However, James Forman has another standpoint. In his autobiography, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*, he views nonviolence method as “strictly a tactic, not a way of life without limitations”.<sup>115</sup> During the Montgomery Boycott, many African American protesters applied non-violence for practical motives. Students who started the sit-in protest in Greensboro did not adopt nonviolence as a way of life, but a mere strategy. In fact, the sit-ins seemed to be a tactic which common students could perform against segregation at lunch counters. According to Sitkoff, the majority of students accepted non violent action as a political weapon. During the movement, some African-American students and protesters who used non-violence as a strategy did not reach the desirable political objectives. So, they acted violently. Other

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<sup>113</sup>. Nagler, *The Guide for Nonviolence Practical Action Handbook*.

<sup>114</sup>. Ansbro, *Martin Luther King, Jr. – Nonviolent Strategies and tactics for Social Change*, 6.

<sup>115</sup>. Forman, *The Making of Black Revolutionaries*.

demonstrators resorted to peace and Love as two basic slogans to fight segregation.<sup>116</sup>

Loving the opponents can have a pragmatic reason which means that by separating the deed from the doer, the latter may change his behaviour and his beliefs. In this regard, Martin Luther King illustrated that "Nonviolent resistance... avoids not only external physical violence but also internal violence of spirit. The nonviolent resister not only refuses to shoot his opponent, but he also refuses to hate him".<sup>117</sup> On a practical level, Gandhi explained that the desire to listen to another's opinion depends on reciprocity i.e. in order to be heard by one's antagonists, one must also be ready to listen.<sup>118</sup>

The scholar C.T. Vivian considered non-violence as a philosophy while Hosea Williams who made researches in the same field considered it as a tactical method of protest.<sup>119</sup> Other leaders, like Ella Baker and Adam Clayton Powell, Jr. and the majority of (CORE) activists saw non-violence as practical means to get their rights. However, the famous organizers of the civil rights movement including King, Ralph Abernathy, John Lewis, Farmer, Bevel and Shuttlesworth regarded non-violence as a way of life. When King discussed the issue of nonviolence with Stokely Carmichael and other activists from CORE and (SNCC), he argued that African-Americans did not possess the essential tools to deal with conflict violently. Therefore, he persuaded them to accept non-violent strategy as the only feasible choice. In effect, few persons were killed during ten years of non-violent struggle in the South comparing with

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<sup>116</sup>. Sitkoff, *The Struggle for Black Equality*, 93.

<sup>117</sup>. King, *Stride toward freedom - the Montgomery story*, 84.

<sup>118</sup>. Gandhi, *Non-violence in Peace and War*, 58.

<sup>119</sup>. Fairclough, *To redeem the soul of America: the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Martin Luther King Jr.*, 167-168.

three nights of riots in Watt.<sup>120</sup> Sharp claimed that deaths, suffering and destruction were notably lower when campaigners applied non-violence.<sup>121</sup>

Unlike some short-term movements that were performed for purely strategic aims during the last century, the civil rights movement lasted nearly thirteen years. It is important to be noticed that the longer a conflict spans, the more disciplined activists need to be. Yet, if non-violence is employed as a mere strategy, they may lose confidence if they do not realize the intended goals through a long time. Thus, non-violence teaching is preferable in a long-term conflict.<sup>122</sup>

To be physically and psychologically equipped for protest, activists get training in nonviolence. According to Hart, B H Lidell, there are two ways of nonviolence training: the philosophical technique, which involves perceiving the method of nonviolence and why it is regarded as a useful or practical means, and there is the tactical method that shows protesters “how to be a protestor—how to sit-in, how to picket, how to defend yourself against attack, giving training on how to remain cool when people are screaming racist insults into your face and pouring stuff on you and hitting you”.<sup>123</sup>

### **1.10 Islam and Nonviolence**

At the age of forty, Prophet Muhammad (peace and blessing be upon him) declared his prophethood in Mecca. In fact, 360 gods and goddesses that were worshiped in the holy shrine of *Kaaba*<sup>124</sup> were disposed of. His compassion, honesty, purity of character, gentleness, and truthfulness deserved the respect of the people of Mecca. However, his preaching of the new faith in “One God” made the entire city exasperated. Thus, the dominant groups in Mecca tormented the Prophet

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<sup>120</sup>. Bell, *CORE and the strategy of nonviolence*, 106.

<sup>121</sup>. Sharp, *The Politics of Nonviolent Action. Part One. Power and Struggle*, 454.

<sup>122</sup>. *Ibid*, 635.

<sup>123</sup>. Hart, *Strategy: the Indirect Approach*.

<sup>124</sup>. Kaaba: House of God

Muhammad and his supporters. Afterward, he went to *Taif*<sup>125</sup> to preach his ideas but he was tortured and humiliated there too.

In this period, he neither hurt anyone nor said ill words about any person. In contrast, he strove to spread peace. After twelve years of torment, an attempt to murder him was planned and he was forced to migrate to Medina where human history witnessed a radical change due to the rapid spread of Islam. In 628 A.D., the Treaty of Hudaibiyah was signed. It was an important contract between the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH), representing Medina city, and the Quraysh tribe of Mecca to reduce tension between the two cities.

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and 1,400 Muslims marched peacefully without arms towards Mecca to perform (pilgrimage). They were dressed as pilgrims and they took with them sacrificial animals, wishing that the people of Quraysh would respect the Arabian custom. When Muslims left Medina in a state of *Ihram* (an intended spiritual and physical state which limited their freedom of action and banned fighting), they hoped that the pilgrimage would be peaceful.

As Meccan representatives wanted to prevent the pilgrims to enter into Mecca, the Prophet negotiated the issue with them and, finally, they decided to resolve it through a treaty rather than war. The statement of the treaty was as follows:

In your name, O God!

This is the treaty of peace between Muhammad Ibn Abdullah and Suhayl ibn Amr. They have agreed to allow their arms to rest for ten years. During this time each party shall be secure, and neither shall injure the other; no secret damage shall be inflicted, but honesty and honor shall prevail

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<sup>125</sup>. A city in Mecca Province of Saudi Arabia.

between them. Whoever in Arabia wishes to enter into a treaty or covenant with Muhammad can do so, and whoever wishes to enter into a treaty or covenant with the Quraysh can do so. And if a Qurayshite comes without the permission of his guardian to Muhammad, he shall be delivered up to the Quraysh; but if, on the other hand, one of Muhammad's people comes to the Quraysh, he shall not be delivered up to Muhammad. This year, Muhammad, with his companions, must withdraw from Mecca, but next year, he may come to Mecca and remain for three days, yet without their weapons except those of a traveler, the swords remaining in their sheaths.<sup>126</sup>

Nobody can deny the contribution of Islam to world civilization except those with a narrow-mind. In effect, the Muslims realized myriad achievements and the history is the best witness of that. The great success of Islam was “due to revolutionary significance and its ability to lead the masses out of the hopeless situation created by the decay of the antique civilizations not only of Greece and Rome but of Persia and China and of India”.<sup>127</sup> During a short time the disunited Arabs were unified and they became one power. Hence, they destroyed the edifices of Caesars and Kaisers and gathered treasures of knowledge which were protected and developed later on. As a matter of fact, the Muslims political unity was the main reason for economic and cultural prosperity. M. N. Roy explains:

The rich spiritual legacy of the glorious civilization of ancient Greece was almost buried under the dreary ruins of the Roman Empire, and lost in the darkness of Christian superstition. The grand mission of rescuing the invaluable patrimony which eventually enabled the peoples of Europe to emerge from the depressing gloom of the holy middle ages and build the

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<sup>126</sup>. Treaty of Hudaibiyyah, *Wikipedia*.

<sup>127</sup>. Roy, *The Historic Role of Islam*, 7.

marvelous monument of modern civilization, belong to the Saracen arms, and to the sociopolitical structure erected on the basis of Islamic monotheism. The sword of Islam, wielded ostensibly in the service of God, actually contributed to the victory of a new intellectual life which eventually dug the grave of all religions and faiths.<sup>128</sup>

Islam calls for equality, brotherhood, love, and purity of character. No person has the right to kill anybody except for some particular situations. The Holy Koran says:

We ordained For the Children of Israel that if anyone slew a person— unless it be for murder or for spreading Mischief in the land — It would be as if he slew the whole people: and if anyone saved a life, It would be as if he saved the life of the whole people. (Koran 3:103)<sup>129</sup>

However, Islam takes into consideration human weakness. An ordinary human being cannot love his enemy except when he reaches a high level of faith. So, he hates the action not the person who does this action. When Islam began its expansion the marching army was welcome as deliverers of the oppressed peoples wherever it went. The teachings of Islam had entirely changed the thoughts of those in the army. On account of their ways they got full support from the masses. When the first Caliph Abu Bakr dispatched the Islamic army to Syria the following discipline was to be strictly enforced:

Do not commit treachery or deviate from the right path. You must not mutilate dead bodies. Neither kill a child, nor a woman, nor an aged man. Bring no harm to the trees, nor burn them with fire, especially those which

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<sup>128</sup>. Roy, *The Historic Role of Islam*, 28.

<sup>129</sup>. The Koran. Trans. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: New Edition with Revised Translation and Commentary*.

are fruitful. Slay not any of the enemy's flock, save for your food. You are likely to pass by people who have devoted their lives to monastic services, leave them alone.<sup>130</sup>

Islam is derived from the root word '*salam*' which literally means peace. After a thorough study of the basic tenets of Islam one concludes that it is based on a belief in the unity, power, mercy and supreme love of the Creator; charity and unity of all people; subjugation of passion; and accountability for all actions on the day of judgment. Islam focuses on the individual as the basis of the society. Many verses in the Koran urge believers to be righteous when treating the others. Love, kindness, forgiveness and mercy are what this religion aims at. The Holy Book says:

And hold fast All together, by the Rope Which Allah (stretches out) for you, and be not divided Among yourselves; and remember with gratitude Allah's favour on you; for ye were enemies And He joined your hearts In love, so that by His Grace, Ye became brethren. (Koran 3:103)<sup>131</sup>

The Koran highlights freedom of conscience which implies that faith is related to one's conscience. Therefore, no compulsion is permitted in this situation. Several verses in the Koran illustrate this concept such as "Let there be no compulsion in religion. Truth stands out clear from Error." (2:256)<sup>132</sup>

The Prophet Muhammad's life was full of tolerance, empathy, brotherhood, peace towards all, compassion and love, righteousness, politeness and freedom of conscience. Besides, he accomplished his duties in the perfect way towards all people including those who were exploited. Therefore, God said of him: "We sent thee not,

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<sup>130</sup>. Ameer, *The Spirit of Islam*, 137-138.

<sup>131</sup>. The Koran. Trans. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: New Edition with Revised Translation and Commentary*.

<sup>132</sup>. Ibid.

but as a mercy for all creatures.” (Koran 21:107 )<sup>133</sup> The Islamic religion is simple. Its basic tenets are: profession of faith, prayer, fasting during the month of Ramadan, *zakah* (alms), and *hajj* or pilgrimage (for those who have enough money to perform it). Additionally, Islam requires Muslims to fight in the sake of God (The holy War or *Jihad*). Some people misunderstand the word '*jihad*'. The Holy Koran explains it clearly:

Fight in the cause of Allah those who fight you, but do not transgress limits; for Allah loves not transgressors. And slay them wherever ye catch them and turn them out from where they have turned you out; For tumult and oppression are worse than slaughter...And fight them on until there is no more tumult or oppression, and there prevails Justice and faith in Allah; but if they cease, Let there be no hostility except to those who practice oppression. (Koran 2 :190 , 191, 193)<sup>134</sup>

The differences in clan, colour and nationality were eliminated. For instance, when Islam reached India, Muslim rulers played a significant role in bringing the Hindus and Muslims closer to each other. H. A. R. Gibb says that in Muslim scholars' sight, law was not just an intellectual or theoretical study but a practical part of the religious and social policy preached by the Prophet Muhammad.<sup>135</sup> In 1918, the famous Indian poetess Sarojini Naidu said:

It was the first religion that preached and practiced democracy; for, in the mosque, when the call for prayer is sounded and worshippers are gathered

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<sup>133</sup>. The Koran. Trans. Yusuf Ali, *The Holy Qur'an: New Edition with Revised Translation and Commentary*.

<sup>134</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>135</sup>. Gibb, *Islam*, 47.

together, the democracy of Islam is embodied five times a day when the peasant and king kneel side by side and proclaim: 'God Alone is Great' ...<sup>136</sup>

The European pressure on the Muslim world produced a sequence of reaction by many exemplars of the new Muslim renaissance such as the movements of Abd El Wahab of Najd, Ahmed al-Tijani of North West Africa, Ahmad Ibn Idris of Morocco, Muhammed Ibn Ali al-Sunusi of Algeria, Mahdi Mohammad of Sudan, Jamaluddin Afghani, Muhammed Abduh, Shaikh Rashid Rida of Egypt, Shah Waliullah, Syed Ahmad Barelvi, and Sir Syed Ahmad Khan of India.

Islam offered people simple rules based on flexible principles that helped them develop their societies. This great religion gives much consideration to human rights and duties. The law treats all men as equal. The well-known Egyptian scholar Anwar al-Jundi has stated some important principles of Islam. Firstly, Islam frees human soul from worshipping someone other than God and explained the perception existing between belief and action. Secondly, this religion recognizes man's leaning and emotions. Thirdly, it has faith in the reunion of the generations not in the conflict between them. Fourthly, Islam does not support the idea of changing morals according to differences in time and place. Fifthly, it confirms that each individual is both good and bad and it is his faith in God which prevents him from doing evil deeds. Sixthly, it supports the progression of civilization which is based on Islamic principles. Seventhly, it encourages Muslims to move forward, to change their means and standards of living, and to welcome any innovation which is not in contradiction with their morals. Eighthly, it gives the best solutions for all problems. Ninthly, Islam opposes all kinds of oppression. Last but not least, the Islamic Religion coexists with all civilizations and cultures.<sup>137</sup>

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<sup>136</sup>. Naidu. *Ideals of Islam. Speeches and Writings*.

<sup>137</sup>. Arkoun, "The Islamic Consciousness: A Cultural Profile," 75.

Social justice and recognition of the rights of others are emphasized both in the Holy Book and in the sayings of the Prophet (PBUH). For example, the Prophet Muhammad in his Last discourse in Minâ, said: "O people! Your Lord is one Lord, and you all share the same father. There is no preference for Arabs over non-Arabs, nor for non-Arabs over Arabs. Neither is their preference for white people over black people, nor for black people over white people. Preference is only through righteousness."<sup>138</sup>

The Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) devoted his life for peace and justice. If one looks at how he treated non-Muslims minorities and with the enemies during the war time, he will discover how great person he is. Following his path, many rulers in Muslim history showed peaceful and good relations with their non-Muslims. If the comparison is made between the treatment of the Muslim rulers towards the minorities who lived under their rule during the nineteenth century and the behaviour of the Europeans and the Americans towards their minorities, one can observe that Muslims' attitudes would be much better. In this regard, Professor Roderic Davison, a well-known historian of the Ottoman Empire said:

It might in fact have been argued that the Turks were less oppressive of their subject people than were Prussians of the Poles, the English of the Irish, or the Americans of the Negroes...There is evidence to show that in this period [i.e., late 19th century], there was emigration from independent Greece into the Ottoman Empire, since some Greeks found the Ottoman government a more indulgent master [than their own Greek government].<sup>139</sup>

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<sup>138</sup>. *Islam and Nonviolence-center for Global Nonkilling*.

<sup>139</sup>. Iqbal, *The Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam*, 159.

From his part, Mahatma Gandhi displayed his admiration of the prophet's character. He said:

...I became more than ever convinced that it was not the sword that won a place for Islam in those days in the scheme of life. It was the rigid simplicity, the utter self-effacement of the prophet, the scrupulous regard for his pledges, his intense devotion to his friends and followers, his intrepidity, his fearlessness, his absolute trust in God and his own mission. These and not the sword carried everything before them and surmounted every trouble.<sup>140</sup>

In 1854, Lamartine described the prophet Muhammad as "Philosopher, orator, apostle, legislator, warrior, conqueror of ideas, restorer of rational dogmas, of a cult without images; the founder of twenty terrestrial empires and of one spiritual empire, that is Muhammad. As regards all standards by which human greatness may be measured, we may well ask, is there any man greater than he?"<sup>141</sup> In *'A Ranking of the Most Influential Persons in History'*, Michael H. Hart illustrated that the prophet Muhammad is the most successful person in the world. He said:

My choice of Muhammad to lead the list of the world's most influential persons may surprise some readers and may be questioned by others, but he was the only man in history who was supremely successful on both the religious and secular level.<sup>142</sup>

In his famous quotation about Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Islam, Leo Tolstoy stated that the prophet performed great works which humanity could never forget. He said:

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<sup>140</sup>. "Quotes: Mahatma Gandhi on Prophet Muhammad (PBUH)."

<sup>141</sup>. "Alphonse de Lamartine regarding the Prophet Muhammed."

<sup>142</sup>. Hart, *Muhammad-The Most Influential*.

Undoubtedly, the Prophet Muhammad is one of the greatest reformers who served the social community. It suffices him for pride that he guided an entire nation to the light of truth, made his people inclined to peace and tranquility and giving preference to an ascetic life, prevented them from bloodshed and offering victims from among mankind and opened to them the way of development and civility. This is indeed a great work which could be done only by a man gifted with power, and such a man is worthy of respect and honor.<sup>143</sup>

### **1.11 Non Violence and Social Change**

Humanity faces myriad hurdles today. The division of the world and nations into groups and communities; the problem of exploitation of nations by nations and even within nations of one section by another is a real threat to stability and prosperity. In the western world, one could observe that a number of movements dealt with the issue of peace. However, their efforts have been ineffective since they did not try to tackle the problem of emergence of exploitative groups inside national boundaries.

Gandhiji realized that in order to be a peaceful nation in the international sphere, we have to be a non-exploitative society within national borders. Moreover, peaceful socio-economic and political changes can be attained only through peaceful methods. For instance, societies should eschew violence and exploitation, encourage cooperation among individuals, groups and nations, bring about greater equality and enable socio-economic changes through the initiative of the people not only through nonviolent means but also with adequate rapidity.<sup>144</sup> In contrast, one can perceive a split personality of individuals, groups and nations. On the one hand, one cannot live

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<sup>143</sup>. "Quotes of Leo Tolstoy about Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) and Islam."

<sup>144</sup>. Mathur, *Non-Violence and Social Change*, 5-6.

without the help of the other, and on the other hand he is afraid of him. Each individual wants love and truth for oneself and at the same time he hates the other.

While science was progressing, humanity was lagging behind. Love, compassion and kindness were not the concern of the scientist. Gandhiji displayed that radical change is required in our environment and also in our attitude. He demonstrated that even the unorganized and the weak can perform miracles if they applied non-violent techniques of change efficiently. Non-violence does not mean passivity or inaction. It is a dynamic living force or a permanent revolution. His nonviolence was an instrument in the struggle for justice and freedom. According to Gandhiji, non violence had three main elements: (i) creation of a human society involving non-violent methods of resisting exploitation, (ii) education of oppressed to take positive and constructive steps to resist exploitation and development of good and harmonious relationship between oppressed and oppressor once the struggle was over, (iii) ushering in of a non-exploitative decentralized economic and political institution.<sup>145</sup>

Several scholars and statesmen see that non-violence is a must for democracy and for effective parliamentary system whereas some people believe that rapid changes can be brought about through violent techniques. One of the tangible examples of non violence is the Indian experience. Gandhiji's non-violent struggle against the Rowlett Bill and his Satyagraha show the success of this technique. It must, however, be mentioned that the success of nonviolence depends basically on the quality of leadership. Being a great political and social leader, Gandhiji put down a stern code of discipline at his ashrams, which were his training schools of non-violence.<sup>146</sup>

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<sup>145</sup>. Mathur, *Non-Violence and Social Change*, 6-7.

<sup>146</sup>. *Ibid.*, 8.

## **1.12 Conclusion**

Gandhi's perception of non-violence starts with his life experience. The latter comprises actions, speeches and ideas that reflect his compassion, self-sacrifice, patience and courage. Likewise, it depicts his way of struggle against all sorts of oppression. His theory of social change aims to decrease conflicts to the level of 'tension', then, using non-violent means of communication. Thus, the basis for applying nonviolence as a political method of activism or a way of life depends on the facts that it works technically and it is right morally. Movements can achieve the desirable changes over time through commitment. They can develop over generations, as the children of movement activists and young people born into activist communities often become campaigners themselves in the same movements or in constructing new ones. These new movements can be influenced by political visions and stories from the past as inspiration for modern activism. The following chapter stresses on Afro-American non violent civil rights movement to illustrate this period of non violent actions.

## **Chapter Two**

# **African American Nonviolent Civil Rights Movement**

## Chapter Two

### African American Nonviolent Civil Rights Movement

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## 1.1 Introduction

The African American civil rights movement was a period of non violent actions. It focused on two main objectives: full civil rights and equal opportunities to all American citizens. This chapter will give an overview on some important historical events which took place during that epoch including Brown v. Board of Education, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, African American Sit-ins, Freedom Rides, African American Voter Registration, Albany and Birmingham Movements in addition to March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Likewise, since African American women's contribution was notable, the chapter will shed lights on their different roles in the movement.

## 2.2 An Overview on Blacks' Life before the Civil Rights Movement

Before the American Civil War citizenship was limited to whites and only white men of property had the right to vote. Nearly four million blacks lived in the South under the shadow of slavery. After the Civil War, the constitution comprised three amendments: the thirteenth Amendment (1865) which put an end to slavery, the fourteenth Amendment (1868) that considered African Americans as citizens, and the fifteenth Amendment (1870) which stated that only African-American males could vote. The period between 1865 and 1877 saw an unstable Reconstruction Era in the United States. Southern leaders tried to set up free labor and civil rights of freedmen after the end of slavery. However, many whites who wanted to keep their supremacy over blacks disagreed with the social changes. They organized rebellious movements such as the Ku Klux Klan that assaulted black and white republicans. To suppress the KKK, President, Ulysses S. Grant, the U.S. Army, and U.S. Attorney General Amos T. Akerman conducted a campaign under the Enforcement Acts. Nonetheless, some states were against these acts and violently resisted African-American legal equality and suffrage.<sup>1</sup> After the end of Reconstruction and the withdrawal of the federal

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<sup>1</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

troops, southern whites who attacked blacks before and during elections had the political power to manage the state legislatures. Excluding African Americans from the political system lasted until the mid of 1960's when national civil rights legislation that gave them the right to vote was passed.<sup>2</sup>

In the South, whites who ruled the Democratic Party had the powerful voting bloc in Congress. The Republican Party or the party of Lincoln which comprised most blacks, reduced since whites repressed black voter registration. In 1901, Theodore Roosevelt who was president at that time called Booker T. Washington to have dinner with him at the White House. The latter was the first African American to be there. Southern politicians and newspapers severely disagreed with this invitation. Washington convinced Roosevelt to employ more blacks in federal positions in the South. Besides, he asked him for improving African-American leadership in Republican associations. Both white Democrats and white Republicans opposed Washington's idea and regarded it as an intrusion into state politics. Definitely, African Americans were disfranchised. White Democrats enforced racial discrimination by law. The system of segregation and oppression which appeared in the post-Reconstruction South was called the '*Jim Crow*' system. Gradually, many states started integrating their schools after the Supreme Court decision about *Brown v Board of Education*.<sup>3</sup>

Several aspects characterized the post-Reconstruction period. Firstly, racial segregation of public facilities and government services like education were separated into '*white*' and '*coloured*' fields. Coloured people were underfunded and considered as inferior race. Secondly, white Democrats disfranchised African Americans, they passed laws which limited voter registration. Consequently, the number of African-American voters decreased. They were incapable to elect representatives. Thirdly, they were exploited and economically discriminated.

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<sup>2</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

<sup>3</sup>. Ibid.

Fourthly, police and other officials treated them brutally using different violent methods.<sup>4</sup>

This unfair government was resisted by African Americans and other ethnic communities. They challenged it using different means such as lawsuits, associations and the establishment of labour organizations. In effect, African-American protesters applied various methods of direct action, nonviolent resistance and civil disobedience in the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>5</sup>

### **2.3 Major Events in the African American Movement**

Many events shaped the African American movement including *Brown v. Board of Education*, the Montgomery Bus Boycott, sit-ins, Freedom Rides, Albany and Birmingham movements and March on Washington.

#### **2.3.1 Brown v. Board of Education**

In 1951, black students were opposed to the segregated educational system. At Moton High School students displayed their resentment about the deteriorating conditions and the failing services. When some local organizers of the NAACP attempted to convince the students to end the protest against the Jim Crow laws of school segregation, they refused. Afterward, the National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People (NAACP) joined the movement. Three years later, the U.S. Supreme Court declared that public schools segregation was unconstitutional.<sup>6</sup> The Court announced that:

The segregation of white and colored children in public schools has a detrimental effect upon the colored children. The impact is greater when it

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<sup>4</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

<sup>5</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>. Lester, "Brown v. Board of Education Overseas."

has the sanction of the law; for the policy of separating the races is usually interpreted as denoting the inferiority of the Negro group.<sup>7</sup>

To win the case of *Brown vs. Board of Education*, the NAACP lawyers gathered many evidences. They argued that interracial contact would prepare children to cope with pressures which society exercises concerning the racial issue. Hence, they would have a better chance to live in democracy. Besides, the lawyers emphasized the role of education in developing individuals' mental, physical and moral capacities. The NAACP's objective was to show the Court that black children were the victims of the unfair educational system and that their futures would be in danger. Consequently, both *Plessy v. Ferguson* (1896) which was based on the principle '*separate but equal*' and (1899), *Cumming v. Richmond County Board of Education* (1899) were unconstitutional.<sup>8</sup>

In the South, the first city that abided *Brown v. Board of Education* system was Greensboro in North Carolina in 1954. A year before, Dr. David Jones, an African American, was appointed to the school board. In reality, these events persuaded both whites and blacks that Greensboro was heading in a positive way. Unlike Greensboro where integration happened peacefully, huge resistance occurred in Alabama, Arkansas and Virginia. Some regions closed their public schools. Yet, in Greensboro, school desegregation faced oppositions in some local districts. On the other side, northern cities practiced segregation policies, resulting in a huge gap in educational means between black and white communities. For example, in Harlem, New York, no new school was built since the turn of the century. Therefore, many parents were disappointed including Mae Mallory who, with the NAACP's encouragement, opened a successful lawsuit against the city and state on *Brown's* rules. In 1959, Mallory and other parents organized a school boycott to make the lawsuit more effective.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>7</sup>. Cited in Lester, "Brown vs. Board of Education Overseas."

<sup>8</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>9</sup>. Lester, "Antony, Brown v. Board of Education Overseas."

### 2.3.2 Rosa Parks and the Montgomery Bus Boycott

Since severe forms of segregation were taking place in Montgomery, civil rights leaders put their centre of attention there. It was on December, 1955 when Rosa Parks (a black leader) refused to vacate her seat to a white man on a public bus. Thus, she was arrested. Parks was called the '*mother of the civil rights movement.*' She became a member of the Montgomery NAACP in 1943, and she solved many cases concerning murders, rapes and flogging. Moreover, she took part in various actions of nonviolent civil disobedience.<sup>10</sup>

In fact, the Montgomery Bus Boycott was organized by African Americans to call for equal treatment of all passengers on buses. The NAACP, that was led by E.D. Nixon, insisted on a complete desegregation of public buses. In Montgomery, ninety percent of African Americans contributed in the boycott which had a substantial effect on decreasing bus revenue. In 1956, Montgomery's buses were officially desegregated and the boycott ended. As the Montgomery Improvement Association was founded under the leadership of Martin Luther King, more efforts were made by the organization. Effectively, the protest drew public attention to him and to the whole city. His speech left a national positive impression.<sup>11</sup>

### 2.3.3 African American Sit-ins, 1958–1960

In 1958, sit-ins were organized by the NAACP Youth Council at Dockum Drug Store in Kansas. After a short period, the movement succeeded in getting its objective and all Dockum stores were desegregated. During the same year, Clara Luper arranged a student sit-in at a Katz Drug Store in Oklahoma City which also realized positive results.<sup>12</sup> In North Carolina, many black students led a sit-in at a Woolworth's store in 1960. For instance, four students from an all-black college, Ezell A. Blair,

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<sup>10</sup>. Robinson and Garrow, *The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the Woman Who Started It*.

<sup>11</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>12</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

David Richmond, Joseph McNeil, and Franklin McCain, protested against segregated lunch counter. In fact, African Americans were prevented from being served there. They bought small items from the store and kept their receipts. Afterwards, they sat down at the lunch counter and asked to be served. However, store workers refused. The four students presented their receipts and asked why they could purchase everything from the store, but could not be served at the lunch counter. The most efficient protest was in Nashville, Tennessee where a huge number of well organized students led sit-ins and a boycott. When students started protesting at the lunch counters of local stores, they sometimes faced police brutality.<sup>13</sup>

Conducting a sit-in was not a new event. In 1939, Samuel Wilbert Tucker led a sit-in at the segregated Alexandria, Virginia library. In effect, this method of protest raised public awareness to the movement in 1960. During the same year, a group of Atlanta University students wrote *An Appeal for Human Rights* which was published in newspapers such as *Atlanta Journal* and *Atlanta Daily World*. The group conducted sit-ins on March 15<sup>th</sup>, 1960 and brought successful achievements to the movement.<sup>14</sup>

Lunch counters, parks, beaches, libraries, theaters, museums and other public places were the major focus of campaigners. In April, 1960, protesters who organized these sit-ins received an invitation from SCLC activist Ella Baker to participate in Shaw University Conference in North Carolina. The conference contributed to the construction of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC). The latter used nonviolent policies to establish the freedom rides. Since interstate commerce was constitutionally protected, they strove to fight segregation on interstate buses and in public bus services. Furthermore, they set interracial teams on them so that African Americans who wanted to travel from the North to the South would not find any hurdle.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>14</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

### 2.3.4 Freedom Rides

Activists organized Freedom Rides trips on interstate buses into the South to check the United States Supreme Court decision *Boynton v. Virginia*, which stated that segregation was illegal for interstate travelers. The first Freedom Ride of the 1960s that was organized by CORE, left Washington D.C. on May 4th, 1961, and was planned to arrive in New Orleans on May 17th. Throughout the first and the following Freedom Rides, protesters went to the South to incorporate seating patterns on buses and integrate bus stations. In effect, it was a dangerous task. In Alabama, for example, one bus was firebombed. Moreover, Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) reported that a Public Safety Commissioner ordered Ku Klux Klan members to attack a group of Freedom Riders. The riders were cruelly beaten. Similarly, in Montgomery, Alabama, the Freedom Riders followed the steps of Rosa Parks and rode an interstate Greyhound bus from Birmingham. While they were peacefully objecting interstate bus segregation, white mob violently assaulted them. The riot caused twenty-two injuries.<sup>16</sup>

In Anniston and Birmingham, mob aggression momentarily stopped the progress of the activists' journeys. SNCC protesters from Nashville made new riders to carry on the journey from Birmingham to New Orleans. On May 24th, 1961, the freedom riders continued their journeys into Jackson, Mississippi, and they were imprisoned for breaking peace by using 'white only' services. Various associations organized new freedom rides and kept on moving into the South. When the riders reached Jackson, they were captured and more than 300 were put in jail. Ross Barnett who was the Mississippi Governor at that time said that "The Negro is different because God made him different to punish him."<sup>17</sup> From lockup, the Riders declared "Jail No Bail" i.e. they would not pay fines for unlawful arrests and illegal verdicts. Furthermore, by staying in prison, their issue would remain dynamic. The

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<sup>16</sup>. Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*.

<sup>17</sup>. Quoted in Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle for Racial Justice*.

freedom riders were treated brutally, crowded into small, dirty cells and were compelled to do hard labor in Jackson Jail. Others were sent to the Mississippi State Penitentiary where they were imprisoned under severe conditions. The windows of their cells were shut on hot days, and they could hardly breathe. Public support for the freedom riders encouraged John F. Kennedy's to order the Interstate Commerce Commission (ICC) to give out a new desegregation instruction. When the new ICC law was put into action on November 1st, 1961, travelers could sit wherever they chose on the bus. In addition, separate drinking fountains and waiting rooms were combined. Lunch counters started to serve people in spite of their skin colour.<sup>18</sup>

The student movement included great characters such as John Lewis, a determined activist; James Lawson, the leader of nonviolent theory and tactics; Diane Nash, a brave public defender of justice; Bob Moses, pioneer of voting registration in Mississippi; and James Bevel, a preacher and a strategist. Other famous protesters comprised Charles McDew, Bernard Lafayette, Charles Jones, Lonnie King, Julian Bond, Hosea Williams and Stokely Carmichael.<sup>19</sup>

### **2.3.5 African American Voter Registration**

In Mississippi, black leaders including Amzie Moore, Aaron Henry, Medgar Evers and others demanded the help of SNCC to enroll black voters and to construct associations which could have a political part to control the state. In 1890, the new constitution made enrolling more difficult and deprived blacks from voter registration. Moreover, black voting was violently repressed. By the mid of the twentieth century, whites attempted to impose their supremacy over blacks by preventing them from voting. In 1961, Robert Moses who was the SNCC coordinator started the first voter registration plan in McComb and the nearby countries in the Southwest part of the state. The organization met many hurdles and oppositions

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<sup>18</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>19</sup>. Ibid.

from the White Citizen's Council and the Ku Klux Klan. Protesters were beaten and arrested. Besides, Herbert Lee-the voting campaigner- was killed.<sup>20</sup>

Since whites strongly resisted black voter registration in Mississippi, activists suggested that the state's civil rights organizations need to unify their efforts to reach the intended goal. In February 1962, delegates of SNCC, CORE, and NAACP made the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO). After few months, SCLC joined the COFO. Despite all the efforts made, they were fiercely treated. Arrests, beatings, shootings, arson, and murder were sorts of punishment. Additionally, some whites shot blacks who attempted to register, and landowners expelled them from their rental houses. In 1963, voter registration struggles in the South augmented. After passing the Civil Rights Act of 1964, more efforts had been concentrated by the movement to protect and facilitate voter registration. In effect, the Voting Rights Act of 1965 insisted that all citizens had the constitutional right to vote.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.3.6 Albany and Birmingham Movements**

The Albany Movement was a desegregation alliance founded in Albany, Georgia in November, 1961. One month later, Martin Luther King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) were involved in the movement. The latter gathered thousands of individuals for a peaceful attack in the city and stimulated national attention. However, the movement failed as a result of Laurie Pritchett's strict plans (a local police chief), and the split within the black community. Pritchett repressed the activists without violence that aroused public anger. He put the arrested protesters in the neighboring communities' jails.<sup>22</sup>

Prichett knew that King's presence in jail was a danger. He said: "We had witnessed persons being kicked off lunch counter stools ... ejected from churches ...

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<sup>20</sup>. Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*.

<sup>21</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>22</sup>. Ibid.

and thrown into jail ... But for the first time, we witnessed being kicked out of jail". In 1962, he released him so he could not unify the black community. King did not realize any remarkable result. Nevertheless, failure was a key lesson for the movement which kept on struggling. In the following few years, it achieved many successes.<sup>23</sup>

The Birmingham movement was a tactic organized in 1963 by the SCLC to enhance civil rights for African Americans. The campaign's plans of '*Project C*' were developed due to the works of the SCLC Executive Director 'Rev. Wyatt Tee Walker'. Activists' objective was to fight the segregated civil and economic policies of the city. The struggle took more than two months duration. King and black citizens of Birmingham used nonviolent strategies to break the unjust laws. King described the philosophy of the movement and explained that "the purpose of ... direct action is to create a situation so crisis-packed that it will inevitably open the door to negotiation." In Birmingham, campaigners started with a boycott to force companies to provide jobs to all people regardless of their race. In addition, they strove to put an end to segregated services in the stores. As companies' leaders were against the boycott, King and the members of SCLC implemented the Project C (a group of sit-ins and marches that were set to provoke arrest). Indeed, the movement ran low on adult volunteers. So, protesters employed children for what was called the '*Children's Crusade*.' To control all protesters, the Birmingham Police Department, conducted by Eugene Bull Connor, used high-pressure water jets and police dogs. King and the SCLC were condemned of exposing children to hurtful situations. However, by the end of the protest, King's gained a great status. Connor lost his post and the '*Jim Crow*' signs went down. Another important event in Birmingham was that civic places became more open to black citizens.<sup>24</sup>

### **2.3.7 March on Washington**

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<sup>23</sup>. Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*.

<sup>24</sup>. Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*.

In 1941, a march was organized by A. Philip Randolph in Washington to abolish job discrimination in industries. The march was cancelled as the Roosevelt administration issued Executive Order 8802 barring racial inequity. In 1962, Randolph and Bayard Rustin planned for another march. Unlike the designed march of 1941, the 1963 march was a unified effort of all the Civil Rights movements. At first, Kennedy was against the march because he believed that it would negatively impact the drive for passage of civil rights legislation, but the protest leaders insisted on its progress. The march had six main objectives: significant civil rights laws, a substantial national works program, fair employment, decent lodging, the right to vote and benefit from adequate education.<sup>25</sup>

Media played a significant role to stimulate public attention to the march. William Thomas stated that:

Over five hundred cameramen, technicians, and correspondents from the major networks were set to cover the event. More cameras would be set up than had filmed the last presidential inauguration. One camera was positioned high in the Washington Monument, to give dramatic vistas of the marchers. By carrying the organizers' speeches and offering their own commentary, television stations framed the way their local audiences saw and understood the event.<sup>26</sup>

Generally, the march brought successful results such as an end to racial segregation in public school, significant civil rights legislation, including a law barring racial inequity in employment, protection of worker's civil rights from police brutality and a \$2 minimum wage for all workers. A huge number of demonstrators assembled in front of the Lincoln Memorial, where Martin Luther King delivered his speech '*I Have a Dream*'. More than a quarter million people of different ethnicities attended the event. Indeed, it was the largest meeting of marchers in Washington's history.

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<sup>25</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>. Quoted in Branch, , *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*.

King's famous speech astonished the audience. It is considered as one of the finest speeches in the history of American rhetoric.<sup>27</sup>

### 2.3.8 Martin Luther King's Assassination

Before his assassination, King received many critics from African-American campaigners who saw that confrontational policy was the paramount solution to make a change. To face this opposition, he created an alliance of poor Americans- blacks and whites- to deal with the issues of poverty and unemployment. In the spring of 1968, as King arranged a march to Washington to force the authorities to improve living standards of the poor, he was invited to Memphis, Tennessee to sustain a sanitation workers' strike. On the night of April 3, he delivered a speech at the Mason Temple Church in Memphis during which he denoted threats against his life, but he did not seem afraid to die.<sup>28</sup> King concluded with these words:

Well, I don't know what will happen now. We've got some difficult days ahead.

But it really doesn't matter with me now, because I've been to the mountaintop. And I don't mind. Like anybody, I would like to live - a long life; longevity has its place. But I'm not concerned about that now. I just want to do God's will. And He's allowed me to go up to the mountain. And I've looked over. And I've seen the Promised Land. I may not get there with you. But I want you to know tonight, that we, as a people, will get to the Promised Land. So I'm happy, tonight. I'm not worried about anything. I'm not fearing any man. Mine eyes have seen the glory of the coming of the Lord.<sup>29</sup>

On the following day, a sniper shot King in the neck while he was standing with his companions on the second-floor balcony of the Lorraine Motel. Indeed, that

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<sup>27</sup> . Branch, *Parting the Waters: America in the King Years, 1954-1963*.

<sup>28</sup> . Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

<sup>29</sup> . Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

painful and sudden incident caused his death. Stun and grief generated disturbance and rioting in all parts of the country such as burning and raiding. Four days after King's murder, his widow, Coretta Scott King together with her four children led a crowd in a silent march in Memphis to honor her husband and support the foundation of the city's black sanitation workers. From his part, President Lyndon Johnson urged all American citizens to rebuff all sorts of violence. Seven days after king's assassination, Johnson signed the Fair Housing Act.<sup>30</sup>

On June 8, the police arrested James Earl Ray who was the suspect of King's assassination. A short time after the shot was fired, witnesses saw him fleeing from a boarding house next to the Lorraine Motel. He shot king from that building. Near the site, the authorities found a rifle and binoculars, both marked with his fingerprints. In 1969, Ray was sentenced to ninety-nine years in prison. Afterwards, Ray said that he was the victim of a conspiracy. Many African Americans assumed that King had been the victim of assassination by a plot involving the Memphis police and the federal agencies.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the fact that King's death distressed both blacks and whites as he was the most famous African-American civil rights leader of his era, the split between the two races enlarged. Many blacks considered that sorrowful event as a denial of the principle of equality which King devoted all his life to fulfill through the nonviolent resistance. His killing radicalized many black protesters, encouraged the expansion of the Black Power Movement and the Black Panther Party in the late 1960s and early 1970s.<sup>32</sup>

## 2.4 Female Contribution to the Civil Rights Movement

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<sup>30</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>31</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>32</sup>. Finkelman, *Encyclopedia of African American History*.

African American women's role during the Civil Rights Movement was noticeable. For instance, Dorothy Height was a civil rights activist and a defender of women's rights especially African-American women. Being the leader of the National Council of Negro Women, she arranged campaigns against drugs, illiteracy and unemployment. In 1946, Height led the integration of all Young Women's Christian Association (YWCA) centers. In 1957, she headed the National Council of Negro Women. Moreover, she founded YWCA Center for Racial Justice in 1965. Due to her sacrifices, Height became one of the prominent figures of the Civil Rights Movement. According to her, greatness is not determined by a person's achievement, but by the hurdles he/she has overcome to reach his/her objectives. She organized different campaigns and demonstrations along with Martin Luther King Jr., A. Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, Whitney Young, John Lewis and James Farmer such as the March on Washington which was a revealing experience for her. She stood near to Martin Luther King Jr. when he gave his '*I Have a Dream*' speech. Despite Height's eloquence, she had not the chance to speak that day.<sup>33</sup>

In 1971, Dorothy Height, Gloria Steinem, Betty Friedan and Shirley Chisholm established the National Women's Political Caucus. Six years later, Height retired from the YWCA. Yet, she carried on managing the National Council of Negro Women (NCNW) for many years. Furthermore, she made considerable efforts to reinforce the African-American family. For instance, she arranged the first Black Family Reunion in 1986 to celebrate African American traditions annually. Thanks to her role in society, Height was offered the Presidential Medal of Freedom by President Bill Clinton. In 2002, Height made her 90th birthday celebration a benefit for the NCNW. In fact, great personalities participated in the event like Oprah Winfrey and Don King. Two years later, President George W. Bush granted her the Congressional Gold Medal.

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<sup>33</sup>. *Civil Rights Activist-Biography*.

From his part, the President Barack Obama pointed out to her effective contribution in the Civil Rights Movement.<sup>34</sup>

Amelia Boynton strove to guarantee voting, property and education rights to poor African Americans farmers in Alabama. In 1964, Amelia Boynton was the first woman to run as a Democratic candidate for Congress in Alabama. Though Amelia didn't gain her seat, she got ten percent (10%) of vote. During the same year, Boynton and Martin Luther King worked together in order to reach their common aims. Being a famous activist in Selma, Amelia tried to lessen African Americans' suffering. She demanded the help of King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference to support the cause there. After a short period, King and the SCLC placed their headquarters at Boynton's home in Selma where they prepared the Selma to Montgomery March of 1965. To stop the march for voting rights, the authorities cruelly attacked the protesters who were sent to hospital, including Boynton who was brutally beaten. In fact, what happened on the Bloody Sunday drew nationwide attention to the cause. After the event, she was invited as a guest of honor when President Lyndon B. Johnson signed the Voting Rights Act in 1965.<sup>35</sup>

In 1988, Boynton worked as vice chair of the Schiller Institute in Tuskegee where she became a vigorous civil and human rights activist. Two years later, Amelia gained the Martin Luther King Jr. Medal of Freedom. In 2014, her participation in the Civil Rights Movement was portrayed through the Oscar-nominated film *Selma*.<sup>36</sup>

In Montgomery, Jo Robinson devoted herself to Dexter Avenue Baptist Church and the Women's Political Council (WPC). She underwent a severe experience on a public bus in 1949. Though the bus was nearly empty, the driver ordered her to sit in the fifth row. A year later, when she headed the council, she put all her focus on ending segregation on buses. In fact, the WPC made many complaints. Following the

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<sup>34</sup>. *Civil Rights Activist-Biography*.

<sup>35</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>36</sup>. *Ibid.*

Supreme Court decision in *Brown v. Board of Education*, Robinson notified the city's mayor that a bus boycott would occur if they did not intervene to solve the problem. When Rosa Parks was arrested in 1955, Jo with the assistance of two students and Cannon, chairman of the Business Department at Alabama State put the planned protest into action. To supervise the organization of the boycott, King and other civic and religious leaders established the Montgomery Improvement Association (MIA). King requested her to write and edit the weekly MIA Newsletter.<sup>37</sup>

Several means of pressure targeted Jo Robinson. For instance, in 1956, a local police officer threw a stone through her window. Few days later, a police officer poured acid on her car. Likewise, the governor ordered state police to guard the houses of boycott organizers.<sup>38</sup> After the success of the boycott, Robinson wrote:

An oppressed but brave people, whose pride and dignity rose to the occasion, conquered fear, and faced whatever perils had to be confronted. The boycott was the most beautiful memory that all of us who participated will carry to our final resting place.<sup>39</sup>

At the beginning of 1960, after the student sit-ins at Alabama, Jo and the adherent of the students preferred giving up their faculty positions rather than living under pressure which Robinson called "a constant threat to our peace of mind".<sup>40</sup>

From her part, Daisy Bates and her husband advocated the National NAACP. In 1952, she became the leader of the Arkansas Conference of Branches, the umbrella organization for the state NAACP. The couple worked collaboratively with other members of the Little Rock branch to reach racial equality in all public spheres. It was not until 1956 that white Arkansans recognized her status as a civil rights advocate

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<sup>37</sup>. *Civil Rights Activist-Biography*.

<sup>38</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>39</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>40</sup>. *Ibid.*

during the pre-trial events of the federal court case. In fact, the case aimed at enforcing the rights of black children in Little Rock to attend schools with whites in reference to the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka, Kansas*. As president of the Arkansas Conference of Branches, Bates made great efforts to end school segregation. Because this civil right activist was in constant contact with NAACP leaders, she received continuous threats and pressure from segregationists who attempted to destroy the NAACP in Arkansas. Occasionally, the Bateses' house was exposed to many attacks in Little Rock. Due to her role, Daisy was regarded as the Woman of the Year in Education and one of the top ten newsmakers in the world in 1957. However, after two years, white business managers boycotted the Bateses' newspaper obliging them to close the *Arkansas State Press*. In 1960, she moved to New York to publish her journal of her desegregation struggles in Little Rock, *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*. She remained the head of the Arkansas Conference of Branches until 1961. In 1968, Bates lived in Mitchellville (an all-black town) where she had worked as an executive director of the Economic Opportunity Agency for six years to achieve economic self-sufficiency for poor African Americans. In 1984, she reestablished the *Arkansas State Press*, but she sold it in 1988 because of financial problems. In 2001, the Arkansas government chose the third Monday of February as Daisy Gatson Bates Day. Today, many streets in Arkansas bear her name.<sup>41</sup>

## **2.5 Robert F. Williams and the debate on nonviolence**

Throughout the South, the Jim Crow system, the KKK in addition to its collaborators from the police department exercised terror and oppression as means of social control. At the end of 1950s, the Civil Rights Movement confronted serious impediments and threats. Therefore, some black organizers started using armed self-defense. For instance, Robert F. Williams was the first black leader to do so. He encouraged his community members to defend themselves against whites'

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<sup>41</sup>. *Civil Rights Activist- Biography*.

aggressions. In 1957, when KKK attacked the house of NAACP member Dr. Albert Perry, Williams' armed group exchanged gunfire with KKK members. The following day, the city council passed an order prohibiting KKK motorcades.<sup>42</sup>

In Monroe, though white men sexually abused white women, they were discharged. This unfair ruling stimulated blacks' anger. In *The New York Times*, and *The Carolina Times*, Williams declared to United Press International reporters that he would use violence as a revenge strategy. Accordingly, the NAACP National chairman Roy Wilkins immediately suspended Williams from his post. However, Robert gained support from many NAACP chapters in all parts of the country. Afterwards, Williams and his wife, Mabel Williams continued leading the Monroe movement. In 1960, they published their national newsletter '*The Crusader*.' Two years later, their book '*Negroes with Guns*' had a nationwide echo. In fact, Williams did not call for complete militarization. He used nonviolent methods and armed self-defense as a complementary tactic. In 1961, he was invited by Ella Baker and James Forman to join SNCC.<sup>43</sup>

## 2.6 Malcolm X and the Nation of Islam

Malcolm X or Malcolm Little was born on May 19<sup>th</sup>, 1925 in Nebraska, U.S. As an African American leader and a famous personage in the Nation of Islam, he expressed his racial pride in the beginning of the 1960's. When Malcolm was six years old, his father who was a Baptist minister was hit by a tram. Many blacks believed that the incident was a conspiracy organized by whites.<sup>44</sup>

Malcolm's family was so poor. After his mother's illness in 1939, he was sent to foster homes with his siblings. During his teenage years, he committed minor crimes. Known as 'Detroit Red', he engaged in drug trade and led a group of thieves in New York City. He spent six years in prison between 1946 and 1952. In fact, that period

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<sup>42</sup>. Tyson, "Robert F. Williams: NAACP "Warrior and Rebel."

<sup>43</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>44</sup>. Natambu, Kofi, *The Life and Work of Malcolm X*.

was a starting point in his life. After being influenced by Reginald's discussions, who was a member in Detroit and who shared with him bitter years in Norfolk Prison Colony in Massachusetts in 1948, Malcolm X learned more about Islamic rules. To be educated, he spent a long time reading books in the prison. Besides, he developed his forensic skills by taking part in debate classes. Sticking to Nation tradition, Malcolm changed his surname 'Little' with an 'X' to imitate Nation of Islam followers who regarded their family names as having relation with slavery.<sup>45</sup>

When Malcolm X was released from prison, he participated in organizing the Nation of Islam. The latter witnessed a great prosperity during that period. In 1952, he designed temples for the Nation in many Northern and Southern cities. Moreover, he explained the Nation's racial doctrines through his *Muhammad Speaks Newspaper*. Malcolm's reputation grew rapidly as he became the minister of Boston Temples No. 11. He was the second National Representative of the Nation of Islam after Elijah Muhammed. Being an eminent personality and a courageous leader, he displayed anger and suffering of African Americans between 1955 and 1965. Throughout his speeches, he criticized both the American society and the mainstream of the Civil Rights Movement. In addition, he disagreed with Martin Luther King's ideas concerning integration and nonviolence arguing that it was not a matter of sitting in a restaurant or voting when people's lives were at stake. Many speeches given by Malcolm X alerted the American authorities that militant activity would rise if African-Americans did not get their rights.<sup>46</sup> In 1964, he delivered his famous speech '*The Ballot or the Bullet*', Malcolm said:

There's new strategy coming in. It'll be Molotov cocktails this month, hand grenades next month and something else next month. It'll be ballots, or it'll be bullets.<sup>47</sup>

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<sup>45</sup>. Natambu, Kofi, *The Life and Work of Malcolm X*.

<sup>46</sup>. Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*.

<sup>47</sup>. Quoted in Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*.

According to Martin Luther King, the issue of racial injustice can be solved in America if it becomes the concern of every American whether he lives in the South or in the North. However, Malcolm X opposed the participation of any white American in the Civil Rights Movement. He said: "He can't just stomach it. But, he can go along with anything that is integrated, because he knows he can get in there and finagle it, and have you walking backwards thinking you'll be waking forwards. No, we don't want that." Malcolm X views that the blacks can work side by side with the whites to build a better civilization. Yet, they should control their own black community.<sup>48</sup>

Concerning the philosophy of nonviolence, Malcolm differs with King's thoughts justifying that plans based on morals can only succeed when you are dealing with moral people or moral laws. A law that opposes a man because of his colour is devoid of morality. To stress their identity, integrity and independence, he encouraged his followers to use any essential means to defend themselves. Furthermore, he contributed to changing the words '*negro*' and '*coloured*' to '*black*' and '*Afro-American*.'<sup>49</sup>

## 2.7 Black Power vs. Non Violence

The term 'Black Power' was used by African Americans who struggled for independence. In the late 1960s and early 1970s, this slogan had a remarkable echo in the U.S. It focused on racial pride and the establishment of political and cultural organizations to maintain blacks' shared interests and principles. The first usage of the term was in a 1954 book '*Black Power*' written by Richard Wright. However, the original popular use of such slogan as a political and racial motto was in 1966 by Stokely Carmichael who was an organizer of the SNCC. Stokely Carmichael considered the notion 'Black Power' as a symbol of African American unity and a means for

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<sup>48</sup>. Dyson, *Making Malcolm: The Myth and Meaning of Malcolm X*.

<sup>49</sup>. Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

blacks to strengthen their political positions and to elect representatives to defend their needs.<sup>50</sup>

By 1966, many members of SNCC criticized the nonviolent method. From his part, King objected to the black power movement. In 1967, he said:

In the final analysis the weakness of Black Power is its failure to see that the black man needs the white man and the white man needs the black man. However much we may try to romanticize the slogan, there is no separate black path to power and fulfillment that does not intersect white paths, and there is no separate white path to power and fulfillment, short of social disaster, that does not share that power with black aspirations for freedom and human dignity. We are bound together in a single garment of destiny. The language, the cultural patterns, the music, the material prosperity, and even the food of America are an amalgam of black and white.<sup>51</sup>

After the significant development of the Civil Rights Movement, more militant powers challenged white domination. Many young blacks showed their disagreements about the principles of cooperation and integration. At the beginning of 1960s, civil rights organizers refused using violent methods in the movement. Yet, some of them preferred using both nonviolent action and armed self-defense. For example, Fred Shuttlesworth—a famous civil rights activist—worked with an armed defense group headed by Colonel Stone Johnson. In this context, Frye Gaillard states,

...these were the kind of men Fred Shuttlesworth admired, a mirror of the toughness he aspired to himself...They went armed [during the Freedom Rides], for it was one of the realities of the civil rights movement that however nonviolent it may have been at its heart, there was always a

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<sup>50</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>51</sup>. Quoted in Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

current of 'any means necessary,' as the black power advocates would say later on.<sup>52</sup>

The slogan '*Black Power*' had a great influence. It promoted African Americans' educational levels, activated black voters to elect black candidates, and made them more proud of their ancestors. Among the most notable demonstrations for Black Power was in 1968. At the end of Summer Olympics which took place in Mexico City, African American gold medalist Tommie Smith and bronze medalist John Carlos wore Olympic Project for Human Rights badges and showed the raised fist.<sup>53</sup>

Although its objectives were racially specific, Black Power movement had an impact on later political and social movements. Through opening up debates on democracy and equality, the Black Power paved the way for many social justice movements such as black feminism. The most important issues of those movements were political identity and inequality. Activists in the movement also tackled the issues of gender and class such as women's rights. Despite the fact that Black Power was primarily a political movement, its psychological and cultural significances had and still have impacts on America than concrete political amendments. In this respect, William Deburg indicated that "movement leaders never were as successful in winning power for the people as they were in convincing people that they had sufficient power within themselves to escape the prison of self-deprecation".<sup>54</sup>

The movement increased African American awareness about the importance of racial unity and positive self-identity. It helped black people to understand themselves and their culture by asking the question '*who are we?*' to form their

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<sup>52</sup>. Quoted in Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>53</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>54</sup>. Ibid.

personal and group identity. Furthermore, it led to the establishment of various African American museums exhibiting their history and culture.<sup>55</sup>

*'Black is beautiful'* is a cultural movement that focuses on correcting the beliefs that African Americans' natural traits like skin colour, facial features and hair are ugly. The phrase was first coined by John Sweat Rocklin the period of slavery. The movement advised black men and women to stop straightening their hair and lightening their skin. In effect, Black Power is generally regarded as a cultural revolt which aims to celebrating and protecting the distinctive cultural components of the black community. The movement used folk, literary, and dramatic expression relating to African ancestral past to raise African Americans' consciousness about their cultural identity that was previously ignored and disparaged by the whites.<sup>56</sup>

Clothing manner became an expression of Black Power in the 1960s and 1970s. During those years, the movement redefined the criteria of beauty that were traditionally shaped by white Americans and instead take pride in their skin colour. In 1966, Stokely Carmichael said: "We have to stop being ashamed of being black. A broad nose, thick lip and nappy hair...we are going to call that beautiful whether they like it or not".<sup>57</sup> Hair styles, such as the Afro, remained a noticeable celebration of black heritage. In fact, the Black Power movement promoted the idea of a black aesthetic that showed the African American value and beauty.

The Black Arts Movement (BAM), established by Amiri Baraka is considered as the artistic bough of the Black Power movement. There were prominent writers who contributed to the construction of the movement including N. Giovanni , Don L. Lee, S. Sanchez, M. Angelou, D. Randall, S. Plumpp, L. Neal, T. Joans and E. Knight.<sup>58</sup>

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<sup>55</sup>. Ogbar, Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>56</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>57</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>58</sup>. Ibid.

Although a lot of components of the Black Arts movement were detached from the Black Power movement, both had common characteristics pertaining to their objectives and themes. Literature, drama, and music "served as an oppositional and defensive mechanism through which creative artists could confirm their identity while articulating their own unique impressions of social reality".<sup>59</sup> Thus, the artistic works of the movement highlighted various messages such as African Americans' unity, empowerment and freedom. Black artists instructed members of their community to look positively at themselves so that they could change their social circumstances.<sup>60</sup>

The emergence of Black Power led to militancy of young activists. Hence, non-violent movement began to lose its effectiveness. Dyson argued that King's disagreement with Stokely Carmichael, Floyd McKissick and other African-American militant leaders obliged him to think deeply about black self-respect and Black Pride. He criticized the use of the slogan because of its "unconscious and often conscious call for retaliatory violence". Despite the fact that the establishers of Black Power were against using violence, some of their followers encouraged its use. Black Power can be regarded as a cry for self-recognition. To King, it was a response to racial discrimination, "a psychological reaction to the psychological indoctrination that led to the creation of the perfect slave".<sup>61</sup>

One of Black Power aims was to call for the "glory in blackness and to resurrect joyously the African past." Carmichael and McKissick viewed that the word 'black' was important in the Black Power slogan in order to stimulate the African-American groups' attention. They claimed that power for African-Americans was natural, as other ethnic groups in America had power, such as Italians and Irish. King asserted that none of these groups used slogans like Italian or Irish Power. He proposed using

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<sup>59</sup>. Ogbar, Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>60</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>. Ibid.

a milder motto, like '*black consciousness*' or '*black equality*'. However, Carmichael and McKissick considered those expressions as not influential as '*Black Power*'. According to King, Black Power symbolized a movement of rebelliousness.<sup>62</sup>

The motto '*Black Power*' can be regarded as a refusal of '*white*' American principles. In this respect, Killens said: "We are not fighting for the right to be like you. We respect ourselves too much for that. When we fight for freedom, we mean freedom for us to be black, or brown, and you to be white and yet live together in a free and equal society." Moreover, he emphasized that his struggle was "not to be a white man in a black skin, but to inject some black blood, some black intelligence into the pallid main stream of American life, culturally, socially, psychologically, philosophically."<sup>63</sup>

King confessed that Black Power could build up political and economic strength and offer African Americans the opportunity to express their voice. Paul Garber maintained that King only refused what was destructive in Black Power but he encouraged the economic and political dynamics it represented. He said that King was a Black Power supporter without the slogan. In order to justify his conciliatory approach to the Black Power movement, King accused white Americans for the emergence of Black Power. He called Black Power "a cry of disappointment...It was born of the wounds of despair and disappointment." In King's book *Chaos or Community*, King mentioned that he observed a change in young African-Americans' mood during the Meredith March when they refused to sing the '*hymn*' of the movement. They said: "we shall overcome" and someone suggested that they should sing "we shall overrun".<sup>64</sup>

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<sup>62</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>63</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>64</sup>. Ibid.

Many Black Power advocates were influenced by the African American psychiatrist, Frantz Fanon, who had been a supporter of violent resistance and had traveled to Algeria to support the National Liberation Front (FLN) in its struggle against French colonialism. In his book *The Wretched of the Earth*, Fanon asserted that only violence would allow the oppressed to defeat their 'inferiority complex.' From his point of view, violence is a refining power. It enables the native to get rid of their inferiority complex and their despair; it makes them fearless and restores their self-confidence.<sup>65</sup>

According to Zanden, racists and segregationists regarded African-Americans as inferior to whites in order to justify segregation. A lot of African-Americans showed how racism and segregation led them to hate themselves. He added that "the Negro suffers considerably in terms of self-esteem and has every incentive for self-hatred".<sup>66</sup> In the same vein, Malcolm X blamed white Americans of 'brainwashing' African-Americans. Only the black men in America have been colonized mentally, their minds and their culture have been destroyed. African-American militants viewed that they had to change their 'blackness' from a negative to a positive self-awareness. African-American militants became proud of both their blackness and their identity as African-Americans. Malcolm X was well-known in African-American communities for his angry rhetoric and his criticism to the 'white man' who was the responsible for the African-American man's self-contempt:

Who taught you to hate the color of your skin? Who taught you to hate the texture of your hair? Who taught you to hate the shape of your nose? Who taught you to hate yourself from the top of your heads to the soles of your feet? Who taught you to hate your own kind? Who taught you to hate the race you belong to so much that you don't want to be around each

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<sup>65</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>66</sup>. Ibid.

other?... You should ask yourself, who taught you to hate being what God gave you?<sup>67</sup>

This negative self-image even caused a split within African-Americans themselves. King expressed how some African-Americans, from the middle-class, looked sneeringly on other African-Americans and attempted to emulate white people. King claimed that African-Americans who “reject their heritage, are ashamed of their color, ashamed of black art and music who determine what is beautiful and good by the standards of white society...end up frustrated and without cultural roots”.<sup>68</sup> In fact, Black Pride was an important topic to African-Americans because segregation and racism caused them great psychological harm. Years before, the Negro considered himself as nobody, and regarded his colour as a symbol of his inferiority.

To keep African Americans in their inferior place, supremacist white Americans had defined and stereotyped blackness in a negative way. King said that Roget’s Thesaurus offered one hundred and twenty synonyms for blackness of which at least sixty were insulting whereas one hundred thirty-four synonyms were equated with whiteness that were all positive. Whiteness was a symbol of ‘purity’, ‘cleanliness’, ‘chastity’ or ‘innocence’, whereas the word blackness carried negative connotation like ‘blot’, ‘soot’, ‘grime’, ‘devil’ and ‘foul.’ Killens blamed American white culture of the way through which African-Americans were depicted. For instance, in various Hollywood films, they were always described as inferior.<sup>69</sup>

Segregated facilities frequently humiliated African-Americans and reminded them of their substandard position. Lawson illustrated that though physical lynching faded away, there was still the ‘lynching of the soul’ since whites deprived African-

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<sup>67</sup>. Quoted in Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>68</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>69</sup>. Ibid.

Americans from their human characteristics. King argued that psychological freedom and self-worth were the most forceful weapons against the *'long night of physical slavery.'*<sup>70</sup> He said that nonviolence had great psychological significance to the Negro. He had to win and to defend his dignity in order to enjoy self-respect. When analyzing the rhetoric of the non-violent movement, one can find that non-violent leaders focused on black pride using simple statements on this issue. King stated,

...the Negro must throw off the manacles of self-abnegation and say to himself and the world: I am somebody. I am a person. I am a man with dignity and honor. I have a rich and noble history, however painful and exploited that history has been. I am black and comely.<sup>71</sup>

From his part, Young maintained the need of African Americans for liberty and a sense of worth. He said, "Our movement was to change the relationship from one of fear and distrust to a relationship of respect and understanding." The most vocal supporter of Black Pride rhetoric was Malcolm X who saw that African-Americans had to be psychologically free so that they could impose their existence in the American community and get back their personhood. Malcolm X and King had different views concerning Black Pride and also the manner by which it had to be founded. Malcolm X believed that African-Americans would get their self-respect if they resorted to self-defense and culturally detached themselves from American society. He disagreed with King and argued that African-Americans could not love whites without loving themselves first. Yet, King searched for a way to maintain equilibrium between non-violence and Black Pride.<sup>72</sup>

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<sup>70</sup>. Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>71</sup>. Quoted in Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*.

<sup>72</sup>. Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

The Nation of Islam put more emphasis on African Americans' self-respect. In addition, it threw out America's cultural principles. Despite the fact that African American Muslims' views might not stimulate the attention of some African-Americans, their Black Pride rhetoric had a considerable influence on black community. Even King exhibited his appreciation about this side. He wrote: "While I strongly disagree with their separatist black supremacy philosophy, I have nothing but admiration for what our Muslim brothers have done to rehabilitate ex-convicts, dope addicts and men and women who, through despair and self-hatred, have sunk to moral degeneracy."<sup>73</sup>

Walton claimed that King's non-violent strategy had a psychological influence on African-Americans since it enabled them to maintain their personal value. King explained that non-violence had a beneficial consequence on the psyche of black community. The central point in the whole movement is what has shaped the Negro's life. The Negro has gained a new respect for himself. He believes in himself. World opinion is on his side. The law is on his side. In Chicago, King was aware that African-American slum dwellers were beaten down psychologically. Protesters mentioned that the ghetto was lodged with psychotic African-Americans who underwent harsh conditions of life.<sup>74</sup> Bevel stated that the Chicago Campaign's objective was to "move people that they will not bow, that they will stand up and say to the whole city that they refuse to live in such houses, that they refuse to go to such schools—to say that they have been treated indecently and in inhuman ways—and that they will no longer stand for it."<sup>75</sup>

Organizers of the non violent protest asserted that the political triumphs which the non-violent protest realized raised the African-Americans' sense of worth. In

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<sup>73</sup>. Cited in Marable, *Malcolm X: A Life of Reinvention*.

<sup>74</sup>. Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr. - a profile*.

<sup>75</sup>. Quoted in Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr. - a profile*.

contrast, violence would only increase oppression. Sharp claimed that African Americans could not achieve their citizenship rights unless they realized two things: first, they had to see themselves as full human beings and not as a subordinate group (not inferiors to anyone), and second, to resist and challenge the patterns of weakness and subordination. Sharp noted that “Some change of self-perception among at least certain members of the subordinate group must precede action ... An improved self-image often must precede action against the stratified system”. Regarding the action of protest, Camus demonstrated that “Not every value entails rebellion, but every act of rebellion tacitly invokes a value”.<sup>76</sup> This statement denotes that by demonstrating non-violently and courageously, like the sit-in protesters for example, African-Americans could overcome stereotypes.

The victory of non-violent campaign, which took place until the mid-sixties, showed the effectiveness of the non-violent method. Despite the fact that the Albany movement was not regarded as a success, Garrow argued that African-Americans gained many advantages from the experience since it increased their self-confidence and made them less afraid of *‘the white man’s jail.’* Many protesters narrated their stories about Black Pride and non-violent protest. For example, a sit-in student expressed how the protest raised his sense of manhood: “If it’s possible to know what it means to have your soul cleansed-I felt pretty clean at that time. I probably felt better on that day than I’ve ever felt in my life..., and I felt as though I had gained my manhood, so to speak, and not only gained it, but had developed quite a lot of respect for it.” Another student leader recounted how he desegregated a lunch counter in the South: “I myself desegregated a lunch counter, not somebody else, not some big man, some powerful man, but me, little me. I walked the picket line and I sat-in and the walls of segregation toppled. Now, all people can eat there.”<sup>77</sup> Through this speech, one can discover the extent to which he was proud of himself.

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<sup>76</sup> . Lincoln, *Martin Luther King, Jr. - a profile*.

<sup>77</sup> . Ibid.

The Black Panther Party (BPP) was an association born out of the Black Power Movement. Huey Newton was the founder of its theories and principles. He established the movement when he was twenty-four. Judson L. Jeffries viewed that the ideology of the Panthers “can be broken down into four phases: black nationalism, revolutionary socialism, internationalism, and intercommunalism.”<sup>78</sup> The Party was initially focusing on nonviolent social change. At Merritt College, Newton and Bobby Seale were members of the Soul Student Advisory Council (SSAC). In fact, the momentum for the establishment of the BPP was instigated by a split within SSAC between “those who favored campus cultural enrichment programs and other members who advocated community mobilization.”<sup>79</sup> In his autobiography, *Revolutionary Suicide*, Newton mentioned that Dr. King came to Watts “in an effort to calm the people and we had seen his philosophy of nonviolence rejected. Black people had been taught nonviolence; it was deep in us. What good, however, was nonviolence when the police were determined to rule by force?”<sup>80</sup> Ron Maulana Karenga perceived Black Nationalism as “a social theory and practice organized around the concept and conviction that Blacks are a distinct historical personality and they should, therefore, unite in order to gain the structural capacity to define, defend and develop their interests.”<sup>81</sup>

Newton and Seale organized the 10-Point Panther Program and Platform to achieve the objectives of the party. The first performance of the 10-Point Program gave emphasis to black solidarity. The platform and program also highlighted the need of blacks for full employment, decent housing, education, black exemption from military service, an end to police brutality, freedom for black prisoners, all-black

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<sup>78</sup>. Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 62.

<sup>79</sup>. Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*, 338.

<sup>80</sup>. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*, 110.

<sup>81</sup>. Karenga, *Kawaida Theory: An Introductory African Communication Philosophy*.

juries, land, bread, clothing, justice, peace, and most significantly blacks' autonomy.<sup>82</sup>

In 1968, Newton added:

And as our major political objective, a United Nations supervised plebis cite to be held throughout the Black colony in which only Black colonial subjects will be allowed to participate, for the purposes of determining the will of Black people as to their national destiny.<sup>83</sup>

According to Harrison, cultural nationalists and “those who believe in the ‘I’m Black and Proud [sic]’ theory believe that there is a dignity inherent in wearing naturals; that a buba makes a slave a man; and that a common language—Swahili—makes all of us brothers”.<sup>84</sup> In Oakland, Newton became very well read in socialism and Marxism. Through his memoirs, he stated that his conversion to socialism was a result of intensive reading of Mao Tse-tung’s works. In this context, he said that “it was my life plus independent reading that made me a socialist—nothing else”.<sup>85</sup> In 1969, President Nixon formed the Office of Minority Business Enterprise (OMBE). Its aim was to promote the economic status and the pride of minority groups, and to involve them totally in the private enterprise system. Yet, the Panthers thought that black capitalism would be an obstacle to the revolution, justifying that “a small group of blacks would control the destiny of the majority of black people.”<sup>86</sup>

Since the Black Panthers were influenced by communist thoughts, capitalism and class became as imperative as race in their struggle. In his book *Huey P. Newton: The Radical Theorist*, Judson L. Jeffries noted that the Vietnam War provided “the

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<sup>82</sup>. Foner, *The Black Panthers Speak*, 2-3.

<sup>83</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>84</sup>. Quoted in Ogbar, *Black Power: Radical Politics and African American Identity*, 114.

<sup>85</sup>. Newton, *Revolutionary Suicide*, 70.

<sup>86</sup>. Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 79.

perfect entrée for the Black Panther Party to pursue white allies.”<sup>87</sup> Jeffries claimed that “the war made the United States seem like an evil country in the eyes of many white youth.”<sup>88</sup> Those whites sought out the Black Panther Party and other groups to create a change in the American government, the same government which the BPP was against. During the Vietnam War, the Left regarded the American government as an imperialist country. Newton and his colleagues stated that “Black people in America were colonized in much the same way as the people of Africa, Asia, and Latin America, whose countries Western Europeans subjugated in the nineteenth century.”<sup>89</sup> To confront the imperialist oppression, the Panthers collaborated with minority groups inside the U.S such as the Young Lords, the Patriot Party, the Red Guard, and the Brown Berets. According to the Panthers, the key to freedom was to replace capitalism with socialism.

Through his article ‘*The Black Panther*’, Newton explained that “the only way we can combat an international enemy is through an international strategy, unity of all people who are exploited, who will overthrow the international bourgeoisie.”<sup>90</sup> Newton started helping international groups that suffered from oppression like the Congolese Socialist Youth Union, the Korean Democratic Lawyers Association, the French Federation of Black African Students, the German Socialist Student’s League (West Germany), and the Communist Party of Canada.<sup>91</sup> The Panthers strove to wipe out imperialism in the former colonies of Africa. In 1970, they founded the International Section of the Black Panther Party in Algiers, Algeria. From the capital, the Panthers could communicate with other communist societies including Vietnam, North Korea, and China. In this regard, Judson L. Jeffries said:

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<sup>87</sup>. Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 72.

<sup>88</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>. Quoted in Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*, 165.

<sup>90</sup>. Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*, 165.

<sup>91</sup>. Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 241

Newton's trip to China fostered the move towards intercommunalism because of several reasons: [Primarily, it] reinforced Newton's understanding of the revolutionary process and his belief in the necessity of making a concrete analysis of real-life conditions. The visit also confirmed his conviction that an oppressed people can be liberated if their leaders persevere in raising the people's consciousness and in struggling relentlessly against the oppressor.<sup>92</sup>

Since 1966, the media has blamed the Panthers for promoting racist anti-white behaviour. Norman Hill, author and journalist, considered the Panthers as "implacable, ignorant, bigoted foes in the Southern United States and South Africa".<sup>93</sup> From his part, Vice President Spiro T. Agnew described the Panthers as a "completely irresponsible anarchist group of criminals."<sup>94</sup> The New York Times called the BPP "an anti-integration group of articulate young militants".<sup>95</sup> As a response to those comments, Newton said: "We don't hate white people; we hate the oppressor. And if the oppressor happens to be white, then, we hate him."<sup>96</sup>

Despite the fact that the BPP was viewed as racist and anti-white group by many, it was one of the most progressive parties of the Black Power Era. Its most popular slogan was: "We say All Power to the People—Black Power to Black people and Brown Power to Brown People, Red Power to Red People and Yellow Power to Yellow People. We say White Power to White People".<sup>97</sup> The organizers of the BPP perceived that in order to attain their objectives, they would have to work with

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<sup>92</sup>. Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 78.

<sup>93</sup>. Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*, 37.

<sup>94</sup>. Quoted in Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 29.

<sup>95</sup>. Johnson, *Black Panthers Picket a School*, 38.

<sup>96</sup>. Quoted in Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*, 349.

<sup>97</sup>. Jones, *The Black Panther Party: Reconsidered*.

people of other races. In 1968, Bobby Seale delivered a speech to young blacks. He stated:

[if] you got enough energy to sit down and hate a white person just because of the color of his skin, you're wasting a lot of energy. You'd better take some of that same energy and put it in some motion and start dealing with those oppressive conditions [that you're living in].<sup>98</sup>

## 2.8 Conclusion

As it has been observed during this chapter, African American Civil Rights movement underwent various significant events. Definitely, its plans and achievements had a real impact on the American society as a whole. Martin Luther King's '*I Have a Dream*' speech which he delivered during March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom reflected his future vision of better race relations in America. The following chapter will offer an analysis of the speech. Also, since Barack Obama's election victory was regarded as a turning point in the history of the United States, more particularly African American community, the third chapter will demonstrate how African Americans were treated by their white counterparts during his presidency. Furthermore, it will examine whether the progress made under Obama's agenda has developed relations between the two races.

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<sup>98</sup>. Quoted in Jeffries, *Huey Newton: The Radical Theorist*, 81.

## **Chapter Three**

# **Martin Luther King's Dream, Obama's Presidency and the State of Race Relations**

**Chapter Three**  
**Martin Luther King’s Dream, Obama’s Presidency and the State of**  
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### 3.1 Introduction

Dream is a significant element in life. In the African American community, this element has always had a special significance. For African Americans, dream is born of the tragic experiences. While hope and dream may start in the brain, they reach beyond the self and unify individuals who share common objectives against common restraints. From the civil rights era to the presidential election of Barack Obama, generations' desire for better race relations and equal opportunities is and continues to be the African American chasing goal. Because Martin Luther King's dream is deeply rooted in the American Dream, this chapter will give a general idea about the American Dream and a rhetorical analysis of his famous speech '*I Have a Dream*'. Besides, it will portray the state of relations between blacks and whites in the age of the President Barack Obama.

### 3.2 A Synopsis on the American Dream

Through their definitions of the 'American Dream', historians displayed different understandings and appreciations. However, the term traditionally means the ability of all Americans to have better life opportunities and accesses. This includes the opportunity for one's children to receive a good education and carrier. Furthermore, all citizens have the right to make their choices without prior constraints which limit them according to their class, caste, religion, race or ethnicity. Lawrence Samuel claims that:

For many in both the working class and the middle class, upward mobility has served as the heart and soul of the American Dream, the prospect of 'betterment' and to 'improve one's lot' for oneself and one's children much of what this country is all about. 'Work hard, save a little, send the kids to college so they can do better than you did, and retire happily to a warmer climate' has been the script we have all bteen handed.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. Lawrence, *The American Dream : A Cultural History*.

The dictionary '*Optimum A to Z Dictionnaire culturel britannique et americain*' explains the emergence of 'the American Dream' stating that when English Puritans settled in America in the seventeenth century, they were striving to fulfill their dream of religious freedom. Afterward, their aim became political. Life, liberty and happiness were their new trends. Throughout history, the sense of the 'American Dream' has changed to comprise both individual and universal vision.<sup>2</sup>

Several authors dealt with the '*American Dream*' as a central theme of their literary works such as Willa Cather's '*My Antonia*', F. Scott Fitzgerald's '*The Great Gatsby*', Theodore Dreiser's '*An American Tragedy*' and Toni Morrison's '*Song of Solomon*.' Other writers who treated the American Dream subject include Hunter S. Thompson, Edward Albee, John Steinbeck and Langston Hughes. In 1925, F. Scott Fitzgerald published his novel '*The Great Gatsby*' illustrating the dreams of status-seeking Long Islanders that became nightmares. Through the character of Jay Gatsby, Fitzgerald gave an example of the rise and fall of the American Dream. He was aware of the power of American dreams and also the problems of seeking them out in lived experience. Neil Campbell and Alasdair Kean note that "Fitzgerald's examination of America's dreamscape and its sense of identity born out of newness and beginning has become a major theme in American cultural experience. Individual courage, persistence and determination focused on idealism and 'dream' have become a strong, resilient strand in expressions of 'Americanness'."<sup>3</sup>

The popular culture has reinforced the dream. The playwright Moss Hart described his gritty childhood in Brooklyn and his dazzling success at the age of twenty five. He mentioned that the American Dream belonged not only to him but to every person:

It was possible in this wonderful city for that nameless little boy-for any of its millions-to have a decent chance to scale the walls and achieved what

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<sup>2</sup>. Fichaux, *Optimum A to Z dictionnaire culturel britannique et americain*, 212.

<sup>3</sup>. Campbell and Kean, *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture*.

they wished. Wealth, rank, or an imposing name counted for nothing. The only credential the city asked was the boldness to dream. For those who did, it unlocked its gates and its treasures, not caring who they were or where they came from.<sup>4</sup>

In 1914, journalist Walter Lippmann published his book 'Drift and Mastery' through which, he used the term 'American Dream' to encourage readers to search a new dream for the twentieth century which would put an end to the governmental inaction that resulted in the deterioration of the American Politics.<sup>5</sup> In his book '*The Epic of America*', James Truslow Adams used the term '*American dream*' to depict the religious beliefs, political and social expectations. According to him, the dream required something more than mere achievement of wealth and celebrity:

It is not a dream of motor cars and high wages merely, but a dream of social order in which each man and each woman shall be able to attain to the fullest stature of which they are innately capable, and be recognized by others for what they are, regardless of the fortuitous circumstances of their birth...It has been a dream of being able to grow to fullest development as man and woman, unhampered by the barriers which had slowly been erected in older civilizations, unrepressed by social orders which had developed for the benefit of classes rather than for the simple human being of any and every class. And that dream has been realized more fully in actual life here than anywhere else, though very imperfectly even among ourselves.<sup>6</sup>

In its essence, the American Dream is a state of mind i.e. the dream would continue due to an existing optimism which maintains it. Thus, in the period of Great Depression, Adams was convinced that America, after undergoing a serious economic

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<sup>4</sup>. Hart, *Act One: An autobiography*, 55.

<sup>5</sup>. Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that Shaped a Nation*.

<sup>6</sup>. Adams, *The Epic of America*.

crisis, would overcome all the barriers. He asserted that this optimism continued to afford this country with more successes. In fact, during the Great Depression, Americans had a feeling that their future would be prosperous, if not for themselves, then certainly for their successors. They believed that economic development could be reached if the American Dream was accompanied with hard work. Adams said:

We have a long and arduous road to travel if we are to realize the American Dream in the life of our nation, but if we fail, there is nothing left but the eternal round. The alternative is the failure of self-government, the failure of the common man to rise to full stature, the failure of all that the American Dream has held of hope and promise for mankind.<sup>7</sup>

In the early years of the 1900's, most black Americans were excluded from the American Dream's promise. It became harder for them to have access to education or to get jobs and houses. In this context, Lorraine Hansberry gives a clear picture of the challenges that faced black workers in Chicago between the 1920's and the 1950's through her play *'A Raisin in the Sun.'*<sup>8</sup> At the beginning of the twentieth century, violence and coercion prevailed the South. So, many blacks moved to work in northern industrial cities like Chicago, New York, Saint Louis, Cleveland, Pittsburgh and Philadelphia. However, those migrants extremely suffered under whites' hostility when they were searching for houses. In this context, Leonard Dinnerstein states:

The worst housing in the cities was reserved for the black migrants coming from the South Owners preferred to rent to white immigrants rather than to blacks, and the black families sometimes encountered violence when they tried to move outside their growing ghettos.<sup>9</sup>

In Chicago, Lorraine's father, Carl Hansberry met a serious housing segregation which forced him to demand his rights. Steven R. Carter mentioned that "In 1938,

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<sup>7</sup>. Adams, *The Epic of America*.

<sup>8</sup>. Bloom, *The American Dream*, 171.

<sup>9</sup>. Dinnerstein, Leonard and alii. *Natives and Strangers: Blacks, Indians, and Immigrants in America*.

when Lorraine was eight, her father risked jail to challenged Chicago's real estate covenants, which legally enforced housing discrimination, by moving his family into an all-white neighbourhood near the University of Chicago."<sup>10</sup>In fact, the play focuses on real events that happened in the 1940's and the 1950's and had an impact not only on Hansberry's family, but on many blacks in this city and in other northern cities as well. The title of the play originates from Langston's well-known poem "Harlem" which was written in 1951. Included in his *'Montage of a Dream Deferred'*, the play investigates the fate of the African American Dream:

What happens to a dream deferred?

Does it dry up

Like a raisin in the sun?

Or fester like a sore

And then run?

Does it stink like rotten meat?

Or crust and sugar over

like a syrupy sweet?

Maybe it just sags

like a heavy load.

Or does it explode?<sup>11</sup>

In reality, the poem raised significant questions concerning the completion of the American ideal of justice and equality which white racists continually defer

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<sup>10</sup>. Carter, *Hansberry's Drama: Commitment amid Complexity*.

<sup>11</sup>. Hughes, *Harlem. The Collected Poems of Langston Hughes*, 426.

against black community. Hughes inquires whether the ideal will dry and not be fulfilled, or fester like an old and hurtful wound, or result in violent behaviours. Throughout these inquiries, he describes the African American dream of success, equality and freedom as a vague process. On the one hand, the dream carries many possibilities like the optimistic picture of an exploding raisin with *'crust and sugar over.'* On the other hand, it can *'fester like an old sore and run'* and becomes hard to achieve when it is surrounded by racism and violence. The critic David Jarraway depicts the African American dream as "the willed mystery, the uncertainty, the indeterminacy or the deferred otherness of black experience."<sup>12</sup>

Most blacks who lived in Chicago during the 1920's were domestic workers. According to Franklin Frazier, New York, Chicago and Philadelphia were cities where "a fifth of employed Negro men were in semi-skilled industrial occupations, while nearly thirty percent were engaged in similar occupations in Detroit".<sup>13</sup> At that period, many Chicago blacks were jobless. Moreover, blacks' dilemma was a consequence of educational, economic and social discrimination that stood as an irresistible obstacle to the growth of a powerful African American community. In this regard, Barry Bluestone notes:

Denied the educational resources and the physical infrastructure necessary to develop technical skills and provide an efficient means of production, while at the same time denied access to the corporate sector through discriminatory practices in housing, in the schools, on the job, and in the capital market, the ghetto has been forced to rely upon its one remaining resource: cheap labour.<sup>14</sup>

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<sup>12</sup>. Jarraway, "Montage of an Otherness Deferred: Dreaming Subjectivity in Langston Hughes," 819-847.

<sup>13</sup>. Frazier, *The Negro Family in The United States*.

<sup>14</sup>. Bluestone, "Black Capitalism: The Path to Black Liberation."

The effects of such discrimination in blacks' life were collapse, poverty, anger and depression. In 1901, W.E.B. Du Bois wrote an article portraying the damaging consequences that a lack of skills, injustice and inequity had on the black man:

Young coloured men can seldom get positions above menial grade, and the training of the older men unfits them for competitive business. Then, always the uncertain but ever present factor of racial prejudice is present to hinder or at least make more difficult the advance of the coloured merchant or businessman.<sup>15</sup>

At the end of the 1950's and the beginning of the 1960's, African Americans realized considerable economic development. In 1965, Ray Marshall wrote an essay on the African American employment models. He commented that well-educated African Americans found substantial occupational opportunities during that period:

Significant gains were made by nonwhites in the 1955-1962 period in such professional categories as hospital, medical, and other health services, welfare and religious institutions, and business and repair services. The relative increase of nonwhites in these occupations was 70 percent, about twice that of whites. Nonwhites also have gained relatively faster than whites in the educational services field and in government employment.<sup>16</sup>

In effect, several scholars related this positive change in work opportunities to the growing level of education among blacks which started in the 1940's. Through social welfare plans, the job market opened largely for African Americans in 1960. This improvement was, in one way, a realization of the American Dream of economic success.

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<sup>15</sup>. Du Bois, "Keeping Down The Black Man Now Will Haunt Us Later."

<sup>16</sup>. Marshall, Ray, "The Job Problems of Negroes." In Northrup. Ed. *The Negro and Employment Opportunity: Problems and Practices*, 67.

### 3.3 'I Have a Dream' Speech Analysis, Objectives and Responses

Many writers and scholars have studied King's speech '*I Have a Dream*' focusing on its rhetorical analysis, objectives in addition to public reactions towards such speech.

#### 3.3.1 Speech Rhetorical Analysis

During the 1960s, Martin Luther King led a number of Civil Rights boycotts and protests that created substantial progress in the movement. As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, King's famous speech '*I Have a Dream*' was delivered in 1963 in front of Lincoln Memorial during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Indeed, the speech had a powerful public reaction as it reflected the social mood of that era. It revealed racial problems, making white Americans feel guilty. Besides, it inserted hope in the distressing African-American hearts.

Through his speech, Martin Luther King makes a significant delivery. His linguistic style helps conveying his message. Leech notes that "The style proclaims the man."<sup>17</sup> This statement indicates that there is a close relation between the style and the author's personality. Audience from different social classes and backgrounds can understand King's speech since his words are familiar to them. Examples of those words include '*promise, equality, soul, victim, freedom, hope, brotherhood.*' Indeed, these words hold senses of sympathy and unity. Moreover, he uses words like '*segregation, unalienable, obligation, emancipation, proclamation, decree, captivity, exile...etc*' to produce a somber atmosphere.<sup>18</sup> Those words express the tragic reality which African Americans live under the ghost of racism. Likewise, they draw public attention to think seriously about the issue and motivate black community to carry on their non-violent movement until they attain their civil rights.

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<sup>17</sup>. Leech and Short, *Style in Fiction*.

<sup>18</sup>. Ibid.

To enforce his speech, King frequently uses words of complete form rather than short form. Examples of this include *'I am, It is, We have, There is, We must not, Let us...etc.'* By uttering such words of full form, he both underlines the necessity to struggle for the civil rights and reveals his seriousness. Through using pronouns like *'I, we, you, our'* repeatedly, King becomes closer to the addressees. For instance, *'we'* has been used for 31 times to remember them of their common fate and common interests.<sup>19</sup>

Repetition and parallelism are employed to increase public emotional responses. In effect, the repetition of words makes the speech more memorable. The sentences *'I have a dream'* and *'let freedom ring'* are widely employed. Examples of these statements are: "I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed...", and "I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.... every valley shall be exalted...and the glory of the Lord...shall see it together." By repeating the sentence *'I have a dream,'* King hopes to see a new America where all citizens live under the shadow of justice and equality. The repetition employed in "let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire...from Stone Mountain of Georgia...Lookout Mountain of Tennessee...hill and molehill of Mississippi...let freedom ring." displays King's desire to see freedom spread in all parts of the country. In fact, this speech structure strengthens his dream and inserts hope in people's hearts, so that they would one day enjoy equal rights and live in safety and stability. To attract the audience's attention easily, King uses parallelism. This distinctive linguistic aspect enforces the rhythm of the speech. Examples of parallelism include *'to work, pray, struggle, go to jail together and to stand up for freedom together.'*<sup>20</sup>

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<sup>19</sup>. Leech and Short, *Style in Fiction*.

<sup>20</sup>. Ibid.

In addition to repetition and parallelism, Martin Luther King employs periodic sentences as a stylistic device. Zheng indicates that:

In periodic sentences, audience's comprehension of a sentence is delayed till they come to the end of the sentence...This periodic sentence brings us an element of suspense. The more anticipatory constituents there are, the greater the suspense and the greater the burden on the audience's mind and memory. In this way, audience can easily remember what the speaker wants to emphasize. Besides, if used judiciously and in the right context, the periodic sentence can be rhetorically effective.<sup>21</sup>

As it is stated in the previous chapter, African Americans underwent a cruel experience during the period of slavery. Thus, Martin Luther King employs 'euphemism' as a pleasant means to soothe them and diminish their pain. For instance, he has not mentioned the word 'slavery' in the whole speech. Instead, he uses the word 'captivity' so that the dark image of the past would not be brought to their minds.<sup>22</sup> The Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory defines euphemism as "the substitution of a mild and pleasant expression for a harsh and blunt one, such as 'to pass away' for 'to die'. Euphemism has become the bane of much writing in the 20<sup>th</sup> c., especially in the jargon language of sociologists, educationists and bureaucrats...also in broadcasting and newspapers."<sup>23</sup> Another example is "those who hope the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual." The expression '*a rude awakening*' is also a kind of euphemism. By making use of such expression, King aims to alert the white racists that African American community will no longer stay calm and will carry on their resistance until they treated fairly. Martin Luther King also employs simile such as comparing '*Emancipation Proclamation*' with

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<sup>21</sup>. Zheng, "A Stylistic Analysis on 'I Have a Dream'", 124.

<sup>22</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>23</sup>. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, 292.

'the beacon light', for it will ignite the light of hope in the African American hearts. Through using such figure of speech, King leaves a deep feeling in the audience's hearts.<sup>24</sup>

One figure of speech utilized widely by this African American leader is 'metaphor.' According to Zheng, King employs more metaphors than similes. For example, having a great beacon light of hope, African Americans are 'seared in the flames of withering injustice. They are crippled by 'the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination', and they live 'on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity.' These metaphors require intellectual efforts on the part of the audience to understand the hidden significance of the speech. Meanwhile, they leave a strong impression on the listeners and enlarge their imagination.<sup>25</sup> In addition, King uses punning. This figure of speech "involves a play upon words...the pun is widespread in many literatures and gives rise to a fairly universal form of humour. Puns are very often intended humorously but not always."<sup>26</sup> For instance, in the phrase 'In a sense we have come to our nation's capital to cash a check', the word 'capital' means the most important city or town of a country or region. It also denotes wealth owned by a person or organization or invested, lent, or borrowed. Here, 'capital' is referred to those who possess a great deal of capital, notably those who refuse to share equal rights with African Americans.

By employing paradox, Martin Luther King shows a depressing satirical image of Negro's living conditions. When hearing the sentence 'One hundred years later, the Negro is still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land.' for the first time, the audience may think 'exile in his own land' is a contradiction. Yet, after examining this expression, one can realize that 'exile' is

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<sup>24</sup>. Zheng, "A Stylistic Analysis on 'I Have a Dream'", 133.

<sup>25</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>26</sup>. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, 711.

wisely and purposely used. In fact, African Americans are deprived from their civil rights, and are treated as outsiders by their white counterparts. Through making use of such statement, King raises African Americans' awareness about the real tragedy they live. It is both pitiful and heartbreaking when one feels exiled in his country.<sup>27</sup>

Many poets and writers utilize alliteration. According to J. A. Cuddon, alliteration is "a figure of speech in which consonants, especially at the beginning of words, or stressed syllables, are repeated. It is a very old device indeed in English verse (older than rhyme) and is common in verse generally. It is used occasionally in prose."<sup>28</sup> King, for instance, exploits such device to stimulate the audience's attention and make his delivery more memorable. Examples of alliteration include '*the unalienable rights of life and liberty*', '*the dark and desolate valley*.'<sup>29</sup>

King urged all African Americans to struggle for equal rights. To achieve this objective, he created a suitable atmosphere. Being a skillful orator, Martin Luther King used a language which adds more interests and beauty to his speech. Indeed, his employment of stylistic means motivated the African '*I Have a Dream*' encouraged all African Americans to never surrender and made a lot of white Americans change their racial ideologies and support racial colour-blindness.<sup>30</sup>

### 3.3.2 Speech Objectives

On August 28<sup>th</sup>, 1963, Martin Luther King made the largest manifestation in the American history. He called his addressees to reflect on the promise of America.

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<sup>27</sup>. Zheng, "A Stylistic Analysis on 'I Have a Dream'", 134.

<sup>28</sup>. Cuddon, *The Penguin Dictionary of Literary Terms and Literary Theory*, 4<sup>th</sup> Edition, 23.

<sup>29</sup>. Zheng, "A Stylistic Analysis on 'I Have a Dream'".

<sup>30</sup>. Racial colour-blindness is a sociological term for the disregard of racial characteristics when selecting which individuals will participate in some activity or receive some service. In practice, colour-blind operations use no racial data or profiling and make no classifications, categorizations, or distinctions based upon race. (Burdman, "On Race and Diversity. Exposing the truth and fiction of racial data", 40-46.)

To remind them of the year of Emancipation Proclamation, King stood opposite to the Lincoln Memorial. His speech and activism realized many successful results. '*Have a Dream*' is considered as an unrivalled speech among 20th-century American oratories.<sup>31</sup> In general, the civil rights movement remains a model for various reform movements.

King's devoted his life to founding principles which mirrored his faith and made him America's most excellent apostle of moral and political colourblindness. Those principles induced him to criticize the American racial and socioeconomic inequality.<sup>32</sup> From the beginning to the end of his activism, King maintained that his dream was a dream profoundly embedded in the American dream. In effect, such activism is elucidated through different phases.

The first stage of the movement began in the mid-1950s and ended with the lawmaking achievements of the mid-1960s. King called this phase as a "demand [for] our citizenship and manhood."<sup>33</sup> During its first phase, the movement relied significantly on the Constitution as applied by the federal judiciary to protect its rights and to protest against segregation.<sup>34</sup> According to King, the roots of the American citizens' rights are deeper than American citizenship i.e. they were not only civil or political rights but human rights.

The '*Dream*' speech was an announcement that showed the organizers' promissory note to their successors. In its real meaning, the '*promise*' was exclusively American and broadly humanitarian. It aimed to guarantee equal rights to all citizens regardless of race, colour, or other categorizations. King perceived self-improvement as an essential component of human personality and dignity. It is the capacity to *act* as a free, responsible and self-governing individual. One of the perilous goals of

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<sup>31</sup>. Hansen, *The Dream: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech that Inspired a Nation*, 177.

<sup>32</sup>. Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that Shaped a Nation*, 126.

<sup>33</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>34</sup>. Ibid.

segregation was to destroy this potential. Many African American were victims of false sense of inferiority and passivity in the face of discrimination. Through focusing on the growth of personal standards, King called for the removal of vices and the promotion of virtues. Furthermore, King insisted on civil disobedience as a way to oppose unfair laws. He displayed grand respect for democratic government. He called democracy "the greatest form of government ... that man has ever conceived."<sup>35</sup> In addition, he urged people to understand such disobedience as a constructive action. In his standpoint, positive law contributes to the construction of moral and civic behaviours.

Another principle of King's activism observed through his speech is his commitment to integration. In a 1962 speech, King said:

We are simply seeking to bring into full realization the American dream. A dream of equality of opportunity, of privilege and property widely distributed ... of a land where men no longer argue that the color of a man's skin determines the content of his character.... This is the dream. When it is realized, the jangling discords of our nation will be transformed into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood.<sup>36</sup>

The language of brotherhood that King used in this statement and in 'I Have a dream' speech reveals his integrationist vision. He preferred integration as the only means for African Americans to get freedom, and as the only power to rescue America from the negative consequences of division. In 1963, one of the famous civil rights activists -Bayard Rustin- remarked an advance in the movement from its 'classical stage' to a new phase. Protesters would not be satisfied with 'integrated lunch counters'; they would ask for equal opportunities and complete freedom. Thus, in its first phase, the movement's aim was to secure equal rights mentioned in the

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<sup>35</sup>. Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that Shaped a Nation*, 126.

<sup>36</sup>. Hansen, *The Dream: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech that Inspired a Nation*, 58.

Declaration of Independence, while it developed its second-phase goals from the expanded ideas of rights that appeared in the 20th-century progressive movement.<sup>37</sup>

King stated that the African Americans “live within two concentric circles of segregation. One imprisons them on the basis of colour, while the other confines them within a separate culture of poverty.”<sup>38</sup> King was aware the root causes of the social ills facing black community and he was also conscious of their remedies.

*'I Have a Dream'* speech had several intentions. As a matter of fact, it was not simply to raise emotional appeal on behalf of African Americans; but to expose all Americans to the reality of economic inequity that created a huge difference between blacks and whites. Hence, the focal point of the speech was to provide African Americans with jobs and economic opportunities similar to those of whites. Moreover, it aimed to increase their wages and arouse the awareness of the American authorities about the dilemma of African Americans. King's speech was particularly significant on this last idea, for the *'I Have a Dream'* section of the speech was an eloquent statement for a society founded on racial concord. Absolutely, the speech added more power to the march. King's vision of a future without racial divisions stimulated the emotions of many viewers and, later, readers of the speech.<sup>39</sup>

### **3.3.3 Responses to King's Speech**

Through his great delivery, Martin Luther King and his message of non-violence gained nationwide and worldwide echoes. The speech was reprinted in newspapers and magazines in all parts of America and all over the world. His name was known to many more people than before. Also, it paved the way to the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

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<sup>37</sup>. Hansen, *The Dream: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech that Inspired a Nation* .

<sup>38</sup>. Cullen, *The American Dream: A Short History of an Idea that Shaped a Nation* .

<sup>39</sup>. Ibid.

Consequently, African Americans achieved more equal treatment than they ever had before.<sup>40</sup>

The speech was generally regarded as the climax of the March by the viewers. The journalist James Reston stated that "Dr. King touched all the themes of the day, only better than anybody else. He was full of the symbolism of Lincoln and Gandhi, and the cadences of the Bible. He sent the crowd away feeling that the long journey had been worthwhile." Reston added that King's delivery "was better covered by television and the press than any event here since President Kennedy's inauguration".<sup>41</sup> In an article, Mary McGrory stated that the speech "caught the mood and moved the crowd of the day 'as no other' speaker in the event."<sup>42</sup> On the contrary, after observing the speech, the FBI organization enlarged its COINTELPRO<sup>43</sup> operation against the SCLC, and considered King as a threat to the United States.<sup>44</sup>

The Kennedy administration and the liberal civil rights coalition that had planned the event regarded it as a victory. After watching the speech on television, President Kennedy was so impressed. He invited March leaders to the White House. Kennedy felt the March augmented the chances for his civil rights bill.<sup>45</sup> Africans found a touching message in King's call for racial tolerance and his statement that "the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination."<sup>46</sup> Today, there are some African avenues that hold his name such as Martin Luther King Road in Lusaka, Zambia, and Martin Luther King Street in Mpumalanga, South Africa. Such name is also found in France like *'Collège*

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<sup>40</sup>. Freedman, "The Big March in Washington Described as 'Epic of Democracy.'"

<sup>41</sup>. Reston, "'I Have a Dream...': Peroration by Dr. King sums up a day the capital will remember."

<sup>42</sup>. McGrory, "Polite, Happy, Helpful: The Real Hero Was the Crowd."

<sup>43</sup>. A portmanteau (derived from COunter INTELLIGENCE PROgram) was a series of covert, and often illegal projects conducted by the United States Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) aimed at infiltrating, discrediting and disrupting American political organizations. (Wolf, *COINTELPRO: The Untold American Story*.)

<sup>44</sup>. Weiner, *Enemies: A history of the FBI*, 235.

<sup>45</sup>. Reeves, *President Kennedy: Profile of Power*, 580–584.

<sup>46</sup>. Hansen, *The Dream: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech that Inspired a Nation*.

*Martin Luther King'* in Villiers-le-Bel. Additionally, Martin Luther King Jr. Day is commemorated in Canada and other countries. Furthermore, his speech was part of the mass demonstration, which was picked up and utilized to a large effect in student revolts in various countries. His words clearly portrayed a country where racism, assassination, rioting and war took place.

### **3.4 Race Relations under Obama's Presidency**

Several questions have been raised about race in the United States. As a matter of fact, segregation had and still has impacts on social relations. It specifies power and domination of white and non-white people. Race and racial specifications are linked in the American systems, customs, principles, cultural and social behaviours and the political rule. Therefore, the problem is not only race but the racial supremacy as well. The notion of racialization comprises ideas and beliefs, advantages and disadvantages, the *'Self'* and the *'Other'*.<sup>47</sup> Ideologically, racism in the U.S refers to *'whiteness'* supremacy i.e. privilege and visibility of white people as the dominant group. Racial arrangement has categorized the major governing group, political, social and economic activities, religious and cultural standards in addition to residential life.<sup>48</sup>

As it has been stated before, during the period of slavery, black people were regarded as chattels. Moreover, they were treated as subhuman and had no right as citizens. From the mid-19th century to the early 21th century, various political and social movements have been organized by African Americans to secure and exercise the basic civil rights assured by the American Constitution. The African American struggle has been a step from exclusion to inclusion into white civic society. In effect,

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<sup>47</sup>. Marable and Clarke, *Barack Obama and African American Empowerment: The Rise of Black America's New Leadership*.

<sup>48</sup>. *Ibid.*, 134.

the issue of citizenship in the U.S has been attached to three main terms; race, authority and racialization.<sup>49</sup>

After a long struggle against racial discrimination and for inclusion, blacks benefited from some rights of citizenship. Nevertheless, at the beginning of the 21<sup>st</sup> century, such benefits are controlled by racial determinants notably freedom and access.

Race still remains an impasse in the American society. It is characterized by colour lines or barriers between white and non-white people which have been imposed by the law. When ideologists tackle the racial issue, they do not have reference to whites, but they typically speak about blacks or other non-white people. According to Kennedy and Bracey, self hatred was a phenomenon which spread among African Americans who underwent a severe racial experience and treated as a second rate human beings- of being told 'no' whenever they intended to do something.<sup>50</sup> In his book *'An Illustrated History of the USA'*, Bryn O' Callaghan mentioned that at the end of the Second World War, a young black American girl was posed the following question by a journalist "How should we punish Hitler?" She bitterly answered, "Paint him black and bring him over here."<sup>51</sup>

Race attributes to ethnic etiquette which specifies people's actions along racial lines. This etiquette differentiates people socially and politically like what happened to African Americans during the period of slavery and *de jure* racial discrimination. Hill and Lee state that social practices such as racism are observable today through the manners in which African Americans are treated as criminals, hold inferior economic and political positions and have lower income.<sup>52</sup> In this context, M. Marrable and K. Clarke note that the racial issue has not changed much over the last

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<sup>49</sup>. Marable and Clarke, *Barack Obama and African American Empowerment: The Rise of Black America's New Leadership*.

<sup>50</sup>. Kennedy, *Sellouts: The politics of racial betrayal*.

<sup>51</sup>. O' Callaghan, *An Illustrated History of the USA*, 27.

<sup>52</sup>. Hill and Tazinski, *The politics of racial domination and the criminalization of black males*.

years. After the assassination of Martin Luther King, the civil rights movement had not attained his dream of a beloved community. Although some marginal modifications have taken place in the racial standing of African Americans, their life chances are constantly hindered by the racial arrangement.<sup>53</sup>

Some scholars believe that Martin Luther King's dream has been realized for noticeable reasons including Obama's status as the first black presidential candidate. However, some argue that this personality represented a post racial political era during which race was not the central focus of his proposal for the White House. Besides, some black neoconservatives regarded him as not black enough.

#### **3.4.1 Barack Obama's two-term presidential elections:**

Similar to the 2008 election, the majority of blacks reelected the president Barack Obama in 2012. The rate of African Americans were 93%, down two percentage points from 2008; 71% of Hispanics in 2012, up from 66% of Hispanics in 2008, and 73 % of Asians, up from 63% in 2008. Almost half (42%) of whites with college or post-graduate education voted for Obama, down five percentage points from 2008. Generally, Obama received just 39% of the white vote in 2012, down from 43 % in 2008.<sup>54</sup>

The results show that the election of the president is no longer determined by the white vote alone. In effect, Obama's loss of the white vote is obvious in the South, where he received little percentage in 2008 and 2012. In addition, Obama got less than 50% of the white vote in each of the eleven states of the Old Confederacy in 2008 and 2012. For instance, in Alabama, Arkansas, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi,

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<sup>53</sup>. Marable and Clarke, *Barack Obama and African American Empowerment: The Rise of Black America's New Leadership*, 138.

<sup>54</sup>. Wolff, *Race and the 2012 Election*.

South Carolina, Tennessee, and Texas, only 35% of whites voted for him in 2008 and 2012. Table below demonstrates the rate of white voters.<sup>55</sup>

State	2008	2012
	Obama’s Percentage of White Vote %	Obama’s Percentage of White Vote %
Alabama	10	15
Arkansas	30	30
Georgia	23	23
Louisiana	14	14
Mississippi	11	10
South Carolina	26	26
Tennessee	34	34
Texas	26	26

**Table 1: Percentage of White Support for Obama under 35%**

**Source:** Clayton, “Post-Racial America and the Presidency of Barack Obama,” 2016.

In spite of his exact plans to win Southern states, Obama gained merely three Southern states in the 2008 election: Virginia, North Carolina, and Florida, and just two Southern states in 2012. Yet, in those states, he got little white vote percentage in both electoral terms. Tables below illustrate the differences between Obama’s first and second presidential elections.<sup>56</sup>

State	Obama’s Percentage of White Vote
Florida	42
Virginia	39
North Carolina	35

**Table 2: Percentage of White Support for Obama in the Three Southern States that He Carried in 2008**

**Source:** Clayton, “Post-Racial America and the Presidency of Barack Obama,” 2016.

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<sup>55</sup>. Clayton, “Post-Racial America and the Presidency of Barack Obama,” 40-41.

<sup>56</sup>. Ibid.

State	Obama's Percentage of White Vote %
Florida	37
Virginia	37

**Table 3: Percentage of White Support for Obama in the Two Southern States that He Carried in 2012**

**Source:** Clayton, "Post-Racial America and the Presidency of Barack Obama," 2016.

As it shown in table 2 and table 3, white support decreased in 2012 comparing with 2008 election in the two Southern states he won. Like the election of 2008, the 2012 vote underlined the changing demographics within the American voters. Dick Morris commented on Obama's performance saying: "This isn't your father's America."<sup>57</sup> Only 10% of Hispanics voted in 2012. According to the new statistics, African Americans comprise 13% of the population and 13% of the voters while Asian inhabitants form 5% of the general population and just 3% of the voting public.<sup>58</sup> Many demographers expect that white Americans will not be the majority, and that America will become a majority minority nation.<sup>59</sup>

### 3.4.2 Media and the Myth of the Americans Dream

Since the Civil Rights period, scholars have remarked that a new racism has shaped racial disparities without direct references to race. Some politicians created racist dialogues through the news media connecting race and social welfare policies.<sup>60</sup> To know the effects of the new racism in discussion of welfare reform, it is

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<sup>57</sup>. Chinni, *Election Exit Polls Provide Mountain of Data*.

<sup>58</sup>. Wolff, *Race and the 2012 Election*.

<sup>59</sup>. Greenblatt and Marshall, "Changing U.S. Electorate", 56.

<sup>60</sup>. Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare*, 65.

essential to examine the news media. Newspapers, political comments and websites played a vital role in the public discourse on welfare reform.

Traditionally, newspapers have been the main source of news for Americans and other societies. They have been the basic means of change, affecting public opinions and the different economic, social and political domains.<sup>61</sup> In response to technological changes, many newspapers have framed the events online. Today, people, notably the young generation, get their news from the internet. Effectively, political conversations on this network have a real impact on how people search for information and participate in political discussions.<sup>62</sup> Pew maintains that though cable news is the most popular single source of news, the number of people who look for news from the internet and who read printed newspapers is bigger than those who use cable news.<sup>63</sup>

According to Patterson, the news media are the main sources of contemporary political dialogues as they organize political information in an interpretive manner. Currently, the media are corporate-owned by grand elites who exercise influence and authority.<sup>64</sup> Media and cultural studies scholars have investigated the way which the elites exploit the media. Originally, the media contributed to public discussions by announcing events. However, this informational means lead consumers to increase new understandings of social and political events. Patterson indicates that "In contemporary media coverage, there is a significant focus on politics rather than governance, and on controversies rather than social conditions. Currently, interpretive style journalism is the dominant style of reporting in the U.S, with facts and interpretation intermingled together in reports, giving the powerful elites behind

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<sup>61</sup>. Wallace, *Newspapers and the Making of Modern America: A History*, 101.

<sup>62</sup>. Johnson, "Voices of Convergence or Conflict? A Path Analysis Investigation of Selective Exposure to Political Websites," 449-469.

<sup>63</sup>. *In Changing News Landscape, Even Television is Vulnerable*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>64</sup>. Patterson, "The News Media: An Effective Political Actor?," 445-446.

media corporations even more opportunity to affect public opinion and political institutions.”<sup>65</sup>

Studies show that the way through which a news story is reported has an effect on people's perceptions and reactions. Valentino states that “certain portrayals of minorities prime racial attitudes, influencing evaluations of politicians by juxtaposing crime stories involving a minority with political stories.”<sup>66</sup> Thus, there is a correlation between framing and public opinions. The media can frame events in a way that strengthens dominant understandings about race and racial hierarchies. In the last few decades, news media has largely concentrated on race relations in America, what scholars describe as new racism.<sup>67</sup>

Many white Americans view racism as a problem of the past. According to them, racial epithets have become unacceptable. Yet, critical race scholars have noticed new shapes of racism that have kept racial inequality though many racial and cultural improvements have been made in different fields. According to Patricia Hill Collins, the term ‘*new racism*’ refers to three modern social realities: 1) corporatization and the concentration of capital, 2) globalization and the concentration of political power, and 3) a heavy reliance on mass media manipulation of ideas and perpetuation of hegemonic ideologies indicating that racism is no longer a problem.<sup>68</sup>

Collins treated an important theme about current race relations and the new racism. She looked at how the media was presenting the images of African American women. She said that “only the powerful have the media resources necessary to

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<sup>65</sup>. Patterson, “The News Media: An Effective Political Actor?,” 445-446.

<sup>66</sup>. Valentino, Nicholas, “Crime News and the Priming of Racial Attitudes During Evaluations of the President,” 293.

<sup>67</sup>. Joseph, *The New Racism in the Media: a Discourse Analysis of Newspaper Commentary on Race, Presidential Politics, and Welfare Reform*.

<sup>68</sup>. Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*, 77.

spread stereotypes and influence public thought in this way.”<sup>69</sup> By giving negative controlling pictures, African Americans in addition to other discriminated people became ‘others,’ or cultural outsiders. So, this negative portrayal was frequently gendered and greatly influenced by class. Collins criticized the role of the media as it gave disfigured and repeated images about African Americans such as the bad (black) mother, the submissive modern ‘mammy,’ and ‘the criminal’ to make sexism, classism, and racism seem natural.<sup>70</sup>

Through the new racism, whites have developed new ideologies including colourblind racism. Bonilla-Silva defines this ideology stating four fundamental frameworks: “*Abstract liberalism* frames racial issues in a classical liberal sense involving abstract concepts such as equality and individualism, while opposing practical steps to address racial inequality. *Naturalization* frames racial inequality as natural occurring phenomena. *Cultural racism* attributes racial inequality to supposed cultural differences between races, and *minimization of racism* involves suggesting that racism no longer has a substantial impact in the lives of racial minorities.”<sup>71</sup> Bonilla-Silva’s explanation of colourblind racism displays that young, liberal whites make huge benefits for them through colourblind racism.

As it has been mentioned previously, the year 2008 was a remarkable moment in the American history when Barack Obama was elected as the first African American president. Indeed, The elections got a large and exceptional media reporting. News analyses described Obama as educated, eloquent, and charismatic.<sup>72</sup> However, this good picture was different from the frequent negative representation of Blacks in

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<sup>69</sup>. Collins, *Black Sexual Politics: African Americans, Gender, and the New Racism*, 77.

<sup>70</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>71</sup>. Bonilla, “The Linguistics of Colour Blind Racism: How to Talk Nasty about Blacks without Sounding ‘Racist’,” 41-64.

<sup>72</sup>. Columb and Plant, “Revisiting the Obama effect: Exposure to Obama reduces implicit prejudice,” 499.

media. They have been portrayed as hostile, lazy, and stupid.<sup>73</sup> The mainstream media has also casted Obama using cultural stereotypes which strengthened racist beliefs. Unlike any previous American president, Obama was a special state in media framing because of his African American identity. Logan stated that media portrayed him as holding both Black and White American values. In spite of the negative stereotypes of African Americans in media, Obama's multiculturalism, and especially his blackness, was not intimidating since he occupied the most political status. They viewed multiculturalism as a positive phenomenon.<sup>74</sup>

According to Scheufele, media employs many techniques when reporting public figures. As a matter of fact, racial/ethnic minority groups are underrepresented, marginalized, and humiliated in mainstream media such as the case of African Americans. In various situations, they are depicted as violent, criminal, and unmotivated in news.<sup>75</sup> Srividya Ramasubramanian noted that "Prior studies assert that White audience members express more liking and social attraction to Black media celebrities when they approximate prototypically White in-group attributes, are highly assimilated, and participate in interracial harmonious interactions; these highly assimilated portrayals of Black out-group media celebrities exhibiting prized White in-group attributes (i.e., intelligence) affirm White audience members' self-concept as not racist."<sup>76</sup>

As a result of racial categorization which continues to be a fundamental issue in the United States, many claim that Americans, especially the whites, cannot remain colour-blind because racial classifications are deeply planted in the American society.

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<sup>73</sup>. Bogle, *Toms, coons, mulattoes, mammies, and bucks: An interpretive history of Blacks in American films*, 45.

<sup>74</sup>. Logan, *At this defining moment: Barack Obama's presidential candidacy and the new politics of race*, 49.

<sup>75</sup>. Scheufele, "Framing as a theory of media effects," 103.

<sup>76</sup>. Ramasubramanian, "The impact of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical media exemplars on racial attitudes, causal attributions, and support for affirmative action," 497.

Brown Givens and Monahan point out that racialized images in the media should eliminate explicit negative stereotypes in order to overcome violent public reactions. Currently, though types of racism and discrimination toward particular minority groups in America are generally unacceptable, race detachment and colourblindness continue.<sup>77</sup> Ramasubramanian contends that “symbolic racism is measured with items targeting themes such as the denial that discrimination persists, the attitude that individual work ethic is tied to responsibility for outcomes, the perception that racial minorities (particularly African Americans) are making excessive demands, and that they gain undeserved advantage.”<sup>78</sup>

Through her study, Ramasubramanian illustrates that public attitudes and racial outlook are based on how the president is framed in the media. For instance, the negative portrayal of news stories about Obama increased racial prejudices. Her study revealed that the idea that there is a quick decline in Whites' prejudicial feelings about African Americans in America's post-racial age and that racism is no longer a problem is not true. This means that racist beliefs about African Americans are still deep-rooted in the psyche of the U.S. Besides, biases, racial discriminations and stereotypes against African Americans persist. By using indirect visual and verbal signals, the media continues repeating ethnic prejudices without caring about their damaging consequences. Ramasubramanian notes:

The mere exposure to negatively-framed news stories about Obama appears to be sufficient to activate racial/ethnic prejudices and symbolic racism. These vivid and concrete media exemplars invoke spontaneous negative feelings such as discomfort, dislike, and fear. Such implicit

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<sup>77</sup>. Givens and Monahan, “Priming Mammies, jezebels, and other controlling images: An examination of the influence of mediated stereotypes on perceptions of an African American woman,” 106.

<sup>78</sup>. Ramasubramanian, “The impact of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical media exemplars on racial attitudes, causal attributions, and support for affirmative action,” 497.

priming of anti-Black sentiments by media exemplars relies upon readers' existing associative networks of thoughts, emotions, and beliefs.<sup>79</sup>

Exposure or habituation to more positive media coverage of Black Americans in authority positions and the black community as a whole can lessen quarrels between African and white Americans and can also reduce prejudicial feelings. In this context, Columb and Plant show that “when prominent counter-stereotypical exemplars are relegated to exceptional token status and dominant out-group (i.e., White American) media audiences do not routinely see a broad spectrum of Black Americans beyond media-framed stereotypes, the potential positive effects that may apply in everyday inter-group dynamics are limited.”<sup>80</sup> Therefore, constant exposure to positive portrayal of nontraditional leaders can be a solution to negative racial interpretations.

### **3.4.3 Demographic Leaning and Economic Welfare:**

Demographic pointer of social and economic welfare divides America into two societies –one black and one white. Analysis of federal government data by the Pew Research Center<sup>81</sup> demonstrates that blacks on average are at least twice as likely as whites to be poor or to be unemployed. Black householders are paid less than what white householders earn. In relation to median net worth, white householders are

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<sup>79</sup>. Ramasubramanian, “The impact of stereotypical versus counterstereotypical media exemplars on racial attitudes, causal attributions, and support for affirmative action,” 497.

<sup>80</sup>. Columb and Plant, “Revisiting the Obama effect: Exposure to Obama reduces implicit prejudice,” 7.

<sup>81</sup>. Pew Research Center is a nonpartisan fact tank that informs the public about the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world. It does not take policy positions. The Center conducts public opinion polling, demographic research, content analysis and other data-driven social science research. It studies U.S. politics and policy; journalism and media; internet, science and technology; religion and public life; Hispanic trends; global attitudes and trends; and U.S. social and demographic trends. The percentages less than 0, 5% are replaced by an asterisk (\*). Columns/ Rows may not total 100% due to rounding. Throughout the questionnaire carried out by Pew Research Centre, whites and blacks include only non-Hispanics and Hispanics are of any race. (*On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.)

thirteen times as wealthy as black householders. This gap has widened since the Great Recession. Ethnic differences in family structure have persisted. Non-marital births, for example, are more than twice as common among black mothers as white mothers. In addition, black children are almost three times as likely as white children to be living with a single parent. Although poor blacks are more than twice as likely as whites, there has been a remarkable improvement since the mid-1970s when poor blacks were almost four times as likely as whites. Since the 1960's, though whites and blacks have approximately had the same high school achievement rates, blacks are still less likely than whites to graduate from college. Ninety-two percent (92%) of white women with a bachelor's degree who recently gave birth were married comparing with 60% of new black mothers with the same educational degree.<sup>82</sup>

Absolutely, a college degree is the way to financial welfare. Since the 1960s, the number of college graduated students belonging to minorities has extremely augmented. In spite of that, huge gaps persist. Analyses of the Current Population Survey reveal that whites are far more likely to hold a bachelor's degree than blacks. The percentage of bachelors is 36% for whites and 23% for blacks. Recently, there has been a slight difference between whites and blacks concerning college completion whereas in 1995, whites were almost twice as likely as blacks to have a bachelor's degree. In 1964, only 27% of blacks ages 25 and older had a high school diploma, but the newest statistics indicates that the share is 88%. In contrast, 51% of whites had a diploma in 1964, while currently, the rate becomes 93%. The rate of Hispanics with a bachelor's degree has tripled since 1971. Today, nearly 15% are college graduates. Yet, the Hispanic-white gap in college completion persists; whites today are more than twice as likely as Hispanics to have a college degree.<sup>83</sup>

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<sup>82</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>83</sup>. *Ibid.*

During Obama's years of presidency, there were huge differences in incomes between races. Consequently, begging phenomenon spread among poor blacks. According to Dr. King, "True compassion is more than flinging a coin to a beggar; it is not haphazard and superficial. It comes to see that an edifice which produces beggars needs restructuring."<sup>84</sup> The U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics pointed out that in 2011, the number of blacks (as well as Latinos) who were unemployed was higher. For instance, the national unemployment rate for whites was 7.7% for males and 7.0% for females whereas black males had a national unemployment rate of 18% and black females had an unemployment rate of 13.4%.<sup>85</sup>

In 2014, median black household income was about \$43,300, while white household income was about \$71,300. Household heads who received high level of education had higher household incomes. Nevertheless, disparities in income between blacks and whites existed in all educational levels. In 2014, the median household income among black householders with at least a bachelor's degree was \$82,300, nearly the same as that of the median income for households headed by Hispanics, while the income of college-educated white householders was \$106,600. Blacks are more than twice as likely as whites to live in poverty. In 2014, (26%) of blacks and 10% of whites were poor. In fact, the black-white poverty gap narrowed comparing with the mid-1970s, when 30% of blacks were living below the poverty line.<sup>86</sup>

Households headed by whites had higher median net worth than those headed by blacks. In 2013, the net worth of white households was \$144,200, nearly thirteen times that of black households, according to Pew Research Center analysis of data from the Federal Reserve's Survey of Consumer Finances. In reality, the wealth gap

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<sup>84</sup>. Nickel, *Martin Luther King on Economic Justice. Money and Values*.

<sup>85</sup>. *Usual Weekly Earnings of Wage and Salary Workers*, Bureau of Labor Statistics 2011.

<sup>86</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

between black and white households has enlarged since 1983, when the median wealth of white households (\$98,700) was eight times that of the wealth of black households (\$12,200). This difference reduced in the 1990s and early 2000s but augmented after the Great Recession. The median net worth boosted as levels of educational achievements rose. However, the white-black gap in wealth remained large. For example, the median net worth of black households headed by persons with at least a bachelor's degree was \$26,300 in 2013, while for households headed by white college degree holders the net worth was \$301,300—eleven times that of blacks. During the same year, the wealth gap between white and Hispanic households was also huge. The net worth of white households was ten times that of households headed by a Hispanic (\$14,000).<sup>87</sup>

Regarding differences in homeownership, white householders' rate of homeownership was bigger than that of racial and ethnic minorities. For example, 72% of white householders own their own home, compared with 43% of black householders. Comparing with statistics made in 1976, homeownership rates increased for both blacks and whites who had higher incomes and education. Yet, dissimilarities between black and white households persist. The homeownership rate of upper-income blacks (68%) is lesser than the rate of upper-income whites (84%). Fifty-eight (58%) of blacks and 45% of Hispanic householders with a college degree own their home, compared with 76% of whites.<sup>88</sup>

According to Current Population Survey data, the rate of unemployed persons belonging to minorities has decreased since 2010. Nonetheless, black unemployment percentage was twice as high as white unemployment in the past forty-seven years. In 2015, the unemployment rate was 4.5% for whites and 10.3% for blacks.

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<sup>87</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>88</sup>. *Ibid.*

Unemployment percentage for Hispanics was 1.6 times that of whites. Only 3.6% of Asians were unemployed.<sup>89</sup>

Non-marital births are more widespread among blacks than whites. In 2014, 71% births to black women occurred outside of marriage, compared with 29% of births to white women. However, in 1970, the rate was 38% births to black women and only 6% to white women. Educational disparities were among the main causes of these different rates in non-marital births. For example, 92% of whites (with a college degree) who recently gave birth were married in 2014. Between 2008 and 2013, the percentage was 41%. In 2014, 53% of births to Hispanic women were non-marital births.<sup>90</sup>

#### **3.4.4 Views on Race Relations**

When tackling the issue of race relations in America, the question which comes to mind is: Did Barack Obama's two-term presidential elections change the relation between the perceptions of racial discrimination and the rate of racial practices in America? Tesler & Sears viewed that the 2008 election was post-racial and that the 2008 campaign was the most racialized presidential election in the history of the U.S.<sup>91</sup> Vincent Hutchings stated that whites and blacks are now divided on the basis of racial issues in the same way as they were in 1988.<sup>92</sup>

After Barack Obama's election, voters expected that America's first black president would improve race relations. Table below shows American citizens' viewpoints about Obama's role in developing such relations.

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<sup>89</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>90</sup>. *Ibid.*

<sup>91</sup>. Tesler and Sears, *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of A Post-Racial America*.

<sup>92</sup>. Hutchings, "Change or More of the Same? Evaluating Racial Attitudes in the Obama Era," 917.

	Obama and Race Relations (%)		
	Whites	Blacks	Hispanics
Made progress toward improving race relations	28	51	38
Tried but failed to make progress	24	34	36
Did not address race relations	9	9	7
Made race relations worse	32	5	13
Don’t know/Refused	6	2	5

**Table 4: Obama and Race Relations**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016

The rate of black Americans who believed that Obama has made efforts to make better race relations was 51%, whereas 34% said he made attempts but he did not succeed. Just 5% of blacks viewed that Obama made race relations worse and 9% declared that he did not tackle the issue. Regarding white citizens, 32% argued that the president made racial relations worse, more than a quarter (28%) said that he did some changes in this issue while about a quarter (24%) stated he could not attain the desirable objective. Hispanics’ evaluation of the president’s works on race relations was more positive than those of whites and less optimistic than those of blacks. A percentage of 38% Hispanics believed that Obama made footsteps to enhance race relations, 36% of these people thought that he failed in this process, and 13% of them said he deteriorated these relations. Few blacks (9%) and Hispanics (7%) viewed that the president did not deal with race relations.<sup>93</sup>

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<sup>93</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

Among blacks, opinions about Obama's handling of race relations vary primarily along educational lines. According to PRC about half of black Americans with some college or with a high school education maintained that Obama made attempts to realize better race relations. Few number of blacks with a bachelor's degree said the president reached this objective. More than half (63%) white Republicans argued that Obama exacerbated race relations. On the contrary, almost half (52%) of white and black (55%) Democrats asserted that the president made advancement in this field.<sup>94</sup>

### **3.4.5 Racial Discrimination:**

In 2009, Kaiser and colleagues carried out studies to understand the degree to which racial attitudes changed after Obama's electoral success. They found that he made a lot of racial progress. In the same vein, Valentino and Brader's researches displayed that after the 2008 election, racial discrimination in America reduced across racial and ethnic lines.<sup>95</sup> According to the ANES survey (2009), whites' and blacks' perceptions of the current amount of racial discrimination changed. Many whites believed that there was a little racial inequity during Obama's first presidency while the majority of blacks said that racial injustice exceeded the limits in that period.<sup>96</sup>

Table five displays black, white and Hispanic views regarding discriminatory laws and institutions and also prejudice confronting black community. In fact, both blacks and whites have dissimilar viewpoints concerning the impediments black community face in America. A considerable number of whites (70%) see that injustice

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<sup>94</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>95</sup>. Valentino and Brader, "The Sword's Other Edge: Perceptions of Discrimination and Racial Policy Opinion after Obama," 201-226.

<sup>96</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

faced from individuals is the major issue blacks meet, while 19% relate the problem to institutional discrimination. Nearly half of blacks (48%) state that individual prejudice is the main problem comparing with 40% who say unfair rules and institutions are the real crisis confronting blacks.<sup>97</sup> Concerning Hispanics, 67% believe that people's prejudice is the main hurdle threatening black community whereas 23% view that American laws and institutions are responsible for racial discrimination. Few blacks (9%) mention that unfair laws, bigoted organizations in addition to individuals' injustices stand as three real obstacles in their life. Very few whites and Hispanics share the same view.

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<sup>97</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

	Racial Discrimination		
	W	B	H
Discrimination that is built into our laws and institutions	19	40	23
Discrimination that is based on the prejudice of individual people	70	48	67
Both	4	9	4
Neither/there is no discrimination against black people in our country today	3	1	1
Don’t know/Refused	3	2	5

**W: Whites**

**B: Blacks**

**H: Hispanics**

**Table 5: Racial Discrimination in the Age of Obama**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

The number of whites who view that blacks across the country are more exposed to unjust treatment than whites from police, in the courts, when voting, in places of work, in demanding for a loan, and in stores or restaurants is less than

blacks'. A lot of blacks say racism, inferior quality schools and high level of unemployment stand as major barriers in their life. Therefore, they need a great deal of time to get ahead than whites. However, few whites display the same opinions. Table six demonstrates the treatment of both blacks and whites.<sup>98</sup>

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<sup>98</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

	In the workplace%			In stores or restaurants%			When applying for a loan or mortgage%			In dealing with the police%			In the courts%			When voting in elections%		
	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H
Blacks treated less fairly	22	64	38	21	49	30	25	66	36	50	84	59	43	75	49	20	43	25
Whites treated less fairly	5	1	3	1	1	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	*	1	1	1	1
Treated about equally	67	34	54	75	50	67	55	29	49	41	14	38	44	22	44	74	53	68
Don't know/Refused	7	2	5	4	1	3	19	6	13	8	2	2	11	2	6	5	3	6

**Table 6: Treatment of Blacks and Whites**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

In many situations such as in courts, when voting, in offices, in restaurants, blacks say they are treated less fairly either in places where they live or in other parts of their country. Many black Americans (84%) say they face more injustices from the police. The majority of them (75%) state they are treated less equally in the courts, when asking for a mortgage (66%), and in places of work (64%). Additionally, they mention that they encounter unjust treatment in stores and restaurants (49%) and during elections (43%). However, 50% of whites say blacks are treated less equally than whites in dealing with the police and 43% of them see that unfair treatment is met in the courts. A quarter (25%) of whites state that blacks cannot get a loan easily comparing with white citizens. Less than a quarter say blacks confront racial prejudice in places where they work, in stores or restaurants or during elections. Half of white population says blacks are treated as equal as whites in stores or restaurants, in the offices, when demanding for a mortgage and when voting. Almost four-in-ten see that both blacks and whites are fairly treated by the police or in the courts. Nearly no white citizen says whites are treated less equally than blacks in these areas.<sup>99</sup>

Current data show substantial racial differences in terms of health care. In 1966, Martin Luther King Jr. said, "Of all the forms of inequality, injustice in health care is the most shocking and inhumane."<sup>100</sup> In health sector, blacks and other people of colour have poor health and are less beneficial of health insurance than whites. For instance, in 2010, the National Center for Health Statistics declared that the asthma rate among black children was double that of white children.<sup>101</sup> In addition, in 2011, as said by Office of Minority Health, black men were twice as likely as white men to have stomach cancer. Also, during the same year, the infant death rate for black women was 2.4 times upper than it was for white women.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>100</sup>. Cullen, *Martin Luther King and Health Care*.

<sup>101</sup>. "National Center for Health Statistics 2010."

<sup>102</sup>. *Ibid.*

Table seven reveals public opinions about the realization of equality in America. A huge number of blacks and Hispanics see more improvements are required to realize equal opportunities (88%, 70% respectively). About half of whites (53%) share this opinion. Almost half of blacks (43%) do not believe that progress will ever be made to help blacks enjoy their rights. Few whites (11%) and Hispanics (17%) are not convinced that these changes will happen. However, a considerable number of whites (38%) believe that the country has done the necessary steps to realize equality. Table below shows public views about this point.

	W%	B%	H%
The country has made the changes needed to give blacks equal rights with whites	38	8	20
The country needs to continue making changes to give blacks equal rights with whites	53	88	70
Yes, the country will eventually make the changes	40	42	49
No, the country will not make the changes	11	43	17
Don’t know /Refused	2	4	4
Both/ Neither	9	4	10

**Table 7: Public Opinions about the Realization of Equality in the U.S**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

Table eight shows the barriers that hinder black people’s way to make more progress than whites. Blacks and whites differ about the extent to which racism impedes progress for black people. The majority of blacks (70%) and 36% of whites say inequity is the chief obstacle which makes blacks less developed than whites.

Blacks are more than whites to relate the problems facing blacks to the poorer quality of schools and the increasing rate of joblessness. Blacks are also more than whites to see lack of motivation to work hard impede their progress. Pertaining to family instability and lack of good role models, approximately half of black and white populations say family instability and lack of good role models are the main issues delaying blacks' growth.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>103</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.



	Racial discrimination %			Lower quality schools %			Lack of jobs %			Lack of motivation to work hard%			Lack of good role models %			Family instability %		
	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H
Major reason	36	70	58	53	75	63	45	66	50	30	43	51	52	51	59	55	57	64
Minor reason	37	21	21	21	13	16	26	23	22	28	26	22	25	31	20	24	26	20
Not a reason	23	9	20	23	11	19	26	11	25	37	29	24	19	18	18	15	17	11
Don't know/refused	3	1	1	3	1	2	3	*	3	5	2	2	3	1	3	6	1	5

**Table 8: Obstacles Facing Black Community**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.



The African American Muslims have a cultural identity that has preserved its existence despite external and internal threats. This cultural distinctiveness is tangible through name choice, religion, dress of men and women, arts and marriage.

American Muslims in general and African American Muslims in particular offer a wonderful picture of Islam in America through their good characters and their effective role in society. For instance, doctors help those who are uninsured in free medical clinics whereas young American Muslims feed homeless people, donate money to the needy and aid building houses and mosques. A number of those people came to Islam as adults, but many more have Muslim parents and even grandparents who were brought to America as slaves. Currently, Muslims are among the mainly well-informed, entrepreneurial and hard workers in the U.S. They are doctors, engineers, lawyers, teachers, police officers, moviemakers and elected officials. They powerfully participate in the economic, social, political and cultural prosperity of this country. However, as several other communities, Muslims often face discrimination and stereotypes. They use dialogues and other peaceful means to reduce conflicts and misunderstandings. Like other American citizens, African American Muslims agree or disagree with U.S strategies. They show their agreements or dissents by expressing their views in newspapers, in news programs or by organizing conferences in universities. In addition, they work with other American groups to create more positive changes.

African American Muslims confront frequent troubles in the U.S. because of their skin colour and their religion. They suffer from both anti- black racism and Islamophobia movement. Sajdah Nubee-an African American blog editor for Muslim Anti-Racism Collaborative (Muslim ARC)- perceives Islamophobia as “a symptom of a larger problem that exists in America as well as other societies. It is that deep-rooted illness that goes back to the enslavement of Africans in America and European colonization of many areas around the world. It is the ideas of white supremacy that beget racism and bigotry. Those same ideas that devalue a group of people based on

race are the same ideas that allow for an indictment of an entire religion vastly made up of people of colour. Like racism, Islamophobia devalues a group of people based on beliefs rooted in falsehood and ignorance.”<sup>104</sup> Campbell, N and Kean, A stated that Obama, in ‘*A More Perfect Union*’ Speech, emphasized that religion should not be a means for quarrels. Instead, it should be a bridge across racial and social divisions.<sup>105</sup>

Since September, 11<sup>th</sup> , as a reaction to anti-Muslim prejudice, laws and programmes, Anti-Islamophobia activism has been headed by immigrants in addition to second and third generation American Muslims. According to PRC (2011), following the attack, many Muslim Americans said it became harder to be a Muslim in the United States especially after experiencing mistreatment and discrimination. They also claimed that Muslims, in general, are targeted by the American terrorist policies. For example, TV news programmes feature a woman wearing Muslim clothes such as a hijab or niqab when dealing with a news story about terrorism or violence.<sup>106</sup> In fact, many Muslims in America condemn the media for their poor description of Islam. Their resentment is noticeable through their reactions.

#### **3.4.6 Achieving Racial Equality**

Many Americans view that the state needs to realize a great level of development to attain racial equality. For example, 48% of black Americans, 46% of whites and 53% of Hispanics say it would be very effective for groups aiming to aid blacks to fulfil their rights to ask directly community members about their problems, 41% of black people and 34% of whites suggest that advising different racial groups to organize meetings and dialogues to talk about race would be very efficient. Almost a quarter (24%) of whites and 38% of blacks think that electing more black people to

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<sup>104</sup>. Nubee, *A Black Muslim Voice on Islamophobia*.

<sup>105</sup>. Campbell and Kean, *American Cultural Studies: An Introduction to American Culture*.

<sup>106</sup>. “Pew Research Center 2011.”

office is a very good idea. Few blacks and whites (19%, 7% respectively) believe that arranging protest and rallies can bring very successful results. In each group, many individuals consider working directly with community members, creating dialogic meetings between the different races, and giving more chances to black people to be elected to office as efficient strategies. Their percentages are between 70% and 88%. More than half blacks (63%) say organizing protests and public meetings would be successful. Yet, only 39% of whites share the same opinion. Table nine reveals the opinions of the different races about the ways to achieve equality.<sup>107</sup>

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<sup>107</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

	Talking about race%			Working to get more black people elected to office%			Organizing protests and rallies%			Working directly with community members to solve their problems%		
	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H	W	B	H
Effective	77	83	83	70	81	78	39	63	55	86	87	88
Very effective	34	41	45	24	38	36	7	19	20	46	48	53
Somewhat effective	42	41	38	46	43	43	31	44	35	40	38	35
ineffective	20	16	15	23	18	15	58	35	41	10	12	9
Not too effective	11	8	6	12	10	8	25	20	19	6	6	3
Not at all effective	9	9	9	11	7	8	33	15	22	5	6	5
Don't know/Refused	3	1	3	7	1	6	4	2	4	3	1	3

**Table 9: Ways of Achieving Racial Equality**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

Table ten shows the rate of public support to Black Lives Matter. A lot of black Americans (80%) support the movement. The rate of blacks who powerfully sustain it is 51%. Concerning white Americans, 53% reveal their support for the movement, but merely 18% demonstrate their forceful endorsement. Many Hispanics (67%) sustain Black Lives Matter. Few blacks, whites and Hispanics oppose it (15%, 37%, and 23% respectively).<sup>108</sup> Table below displays the percentages of white, black as well as Hispanic supports to the movement.

	<b>The Black Lives Matter% (n=2800)</b>		
	<b>W</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>H</b>
Support	53	80	67
Strongly support	18	51	30
Somewhat support	35	30	37
Oppose	37	15	23
Somewhat oppose	15	10	11
Strongly oppose	22	5	11
Neither support nor oppose	6	2	9
Don’t know/Refused	4	3	2
	N=1442	N= 809	N=295

**Table 10: Support to Black Lives Matter Movement**

**Source:** Pew Research Center, 2016.

After asking people about the Black Lives Matter movement’s role in realizing racial justice (Table eleven), many blacks (73%) and Hispanics (64%) said that it would produce effective results. Only a quarter (25%) of black population stated that the movement would be very efficient. However, almost half of whites (52%) believed

<sup>108</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

that such organization would be ineffective. Few blacks (26%) and Hispanics (32%) viewed that Black Lives Matter would be unsuccessful.<sup>109</sup>

	<b>Black Lives Matter % (n=2800)</b>		
	<b>W</b>	<b>B</b>	<b>H</b>
Effective	45	73	64
Very effective	8	25	15
Somewhat effective	37	48	48
Ineffective	52	26	32
Not too effective	23	17	16
Not at all effective	28	9	15
Don’t know/ Refused	3	1	4
	N=1442	N=809	N=295

**Table 11: Black Lives Matter Movement Role**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

Table twelve illustrates that a considerable number of blacks believe that the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus are successful in improving blacks’ lives and offering them equal political and civil rights (77%, 66%, and 63% respectively). More than a quarter of black Americans (29%) believe that the NAACP is very efficient while 47% of them consider the organization somewhat effectual in helping blacks achieve their rights. Eighteen percent (18%) of non Hispanic blacks regard the National Urban League as a very successful association whereas 48% of blacks affirm that the association is effective to some extent. Fifteen percent (15%) of black citizens consider the Congressional Black Caucus as an extremely efficient convention. Some blacks regard the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus as unsuccessful organizations

<sup>109</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

(20%, 23%, and 27% respectively). However, just 7% indicate that they have not heard of the National Urban League and 6% say they have not heard of the Congressional Black Caucus.<sup>110</sup>

	<b>Based on non Hispanic blacks only % (n=1004)</b>		
	The NAACP	The National Urban League	The Congressional Black Caucus
Effective	77	66	63
Very effective	29	18	15
Somewhat effective	47	48	48
Ineffective	20	23	27
Not too effective	13	16	18
Not at all effective	7	7	9
Never heard about this group	*	7	6
Don’t know/Refused	3	4	3

**Table 12: Non Hispanic Blacks’ Views on the Role of the NAACP, the National Urban League and the Congressional Black Caucus**

Source: Pew Research Center, 2016.

### 3.4.7 Comments on Obama’s Performance

According to Ralina Joseph, post-race has two connotations. The first one illustrates that the existence of a post-race period means that the Civil Rights movement achieved its objectives and that racism has no meaning. The second one implies that living in a post-race society means living in a society in which race itself is not important.<sup>111</sup> In a post-race state, mixed raced people are supposed to be beyond unchanging biological and historical characteristics. They are, as described by Ruth La

<sup>110</sup>. *On Views of Race and Inequality, Blacks and Whites Are Worlds Apart*, Pew Research Center.

<sup>111</sup>. Joseph, *New Millennium ‘Mulattas’: Post-ethnicity, Post-Feminism, and Mixed-Race*.

Ferla "Generation Ethnically Ambiguous."<sup>112</sup> Mary Beltrán said that "ethnically ambiguous protagonist embodies contemporary concerns regarding ethnicity and race relations with respect to the nation's burgeoning cultural creolization and multiethnic population."<sup>113</sup> The current generation is regarded as "Generation Mixed."<sup>114</sup>

The election of Barack Obama as the first African American president was regarded as a new epoch in race relations in America. Numerous Americans who elected him hoped that America finally got rid of its racist decades. They gave an optimistic impression in voting for an African American president. Effectively, President Obama represented the actualities of the shifting demographics in a multicultural and multiracial society. Some Americans were against Obama because he is African American.

After his presidential appointment, Obama was exposed to racist confrontations by the media and the conservative movement.<sup>115</sup> In September 2008, A Republican Congressman- Lynn Westmoreland- described Obamas as 'uppity.' This adjective has a racist connotation.<sup>116</sup> Likewise, the McCain campaign attempted to increase black-white tensions pretending that Obama would apply plans that would enlarge opportunities for African Americans. The campaign also depicted him as an outsider asking "Who is the real Barack Obama?" and inviting the citizens to "Vote for a real American, John McCain."<sup>117</sup> In fact, racial opposition to Obama appeared in

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<sup>112</sup>. Ruth, "Generation E. A.: Ethnically Ambiguous".

<sup>113</sup>. Beltran, *The New Hollywood Racelessness: Only the Fast, Furious, and Multiracial Will Survive*, 50.

<sup>114</sup>. Beltran and Fojas, Introduction, *Mixed Race in Hollywood Film and Media Culture*, 2.

<sup>115</sup>. Dawson, *Not in Our Lifetimes: The Future of Black Politics*, 64.

<sup>116</sup>. Formisano, *The Tea Party: A Brief History*, 43.

<sup>117</sup>. King and Smith, *Barack Obama and the Future of American Racial Politics*, 30.

2008 and continued to his reelection. Mark Potok who leads an association that supervises hate groups stated that:

The 1990s saw the rise and fall of the anti-government 'Patriot' movement, made up of paramilitary militias, tax definers, and so called 'sovereign citizens.' By early in the 21st century, they had largely disappeared. After disappearing for almost a decade, rightwing militias, tax definers, and sovereign citizens are reappearing across the country.<sup>118</sup>

Potok views that Barack Obama's voting success, in addition to whites' failure in the election racialized the Patriot movement. The latter did not previously focus on race hate. The movement included right-wing armed forces and consisted of five hundred Patriot groups in 2009. After three years, the number of the groups was about 1,400.<sup>119</sup> Another sort of opposition to Obama was the Tea Party that was established in 2009. It encompassed white males above 45 and richer than most Americans.<sup>120</sup>

In 2010, the University of Washington's Institute for the Study of Ethnicity, Race, and Sexuality carried out an analysis on race. It was found that Tea Party adherents were inclined to racial prejudice. After observing the results of race study, Christopher Parker said, "Once you control for partisanship, party identification and ideology, there's still a significant, robust effect for race."<sup>121</sup> In 2010, the NAACP passed a resolution criticizing the racist behaviours of the Tea Party.<sup>122</sup>

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<sup>118</sup>. Potok, *The 'Patriot' Movement Explodes*.

<sup>119</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>120</sup>. Pitts, *Obama, Race, and Tea Party Supporters*.

<sup>121</sup>. Quoted in Pitts, *Obama, Race, and Tea Party Supporters*.

<sup>122</sup>. Logan, *At this Defining Moment: Barack Obama's Presidential Candidacy and the New Politics of Race*, 88.

As a matter of fact, America has not become a post-racial or a colour-blind society. Instead, it is a country which is divided by race. Racial stereotypes and attitudes still shape the social hierarchy. In his book *'The Price of the Ticket: Barack Obama and the Rise and Decline of Black' Politics*, C. Harris Fredrick mentioned that several scholars dealt with issues relating to attitudes and inequality. For instance, Phillip Goff called the basic challenges of the modern era the "attitude-inequality mismatch."<sup>123</sup> According to Goff racial prejudice is hard to assess. Valerie Purdie-Vaughns and Richard Eibach studied the impact of public events on the formation of attitudes through the impact of Obama's presidential status on the social structure of African American identity. During their psychological survey, Purdie-Vaughns and Eibach concentrated on schools as a fundamental setting where cognitive growth and political socialization take place. Their study revealed that Obama's political standing rose both African American children's racial pride and scholarly achievements.<sup>124</sup>

### **3.5 Conclusion**

Although there has been progress in different areas, African Americans are still being denied their basic rights. Many live in poverty because of the low income. In several situations, they still find barriers to get jobs. In courts, when voting, in offices and restaurants, they are treated less justly. To overcome the ghost of racism and injustice in the workplaces, schools and other sectors, equality must touch all societal arenas and each individual must have the same opportunities for without the chance for equal opportunity, King's dream can never be reached. Thus, racial struggles based on political, economic, social and cultural disparities can cause a split within each society. The next chapter will offer some suggestions to lessen such struggles, though they can be regarded as ideals or utopia.

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<sup>123</sup>. Harris, *The Price of the Ticket: Barack Obama and the Rise and Decline of Black Politics*, 12.

<sup>124</sup>. Harris and Lieberman, *Beyond Discrimination: Racial inequity in the age of Obama* .

# **Chapter Four**

## **Creating an Inclusive Society**

## Chapter Four

### Creating an Inclusive Society

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## 4.1 Introduction

In the political sciences, the term 'minority rights' refers to legal provisions which have two main aspects: first, they are planned to recognize the needs of individuals belonging to ethnic or racial groups; and second, the aim of these provisions is to found minority-specific measures. Anti-discrimination strategies or measures include the protection of minorities from injustice at the hands of dominant groups. They also confirm that members of minorities have equal access as individual citizens to the ballot box. In effect, policies relating to this topic focus on promoting minorities' social inclusion. The question is how to make the theory of inclusion realistic despite resistance to change. In some situations, social exclusion is intentionally practiced to realize individuals' or groups' interests at the expense of minority members. The role for policy makers and social intellectuals is, thus, to find ways to realize a society for all. This means recognizing each person's dignity and value, not only as a moral stance, but also as a societal objective and a lawful rule which can be implemented on the real ground.

## 4.2 Toward an Inclusive Society

The idea of social inclusion has multiple understandings and conceptions. For example, Lombe views that: "Inclusion is the realization that everyone has essential dignity and everyone has something to contribute."<sup>1</sup> In the same vein, Therborn defines social inclusion as "multidimensional process aimed at lowering economic, social and cultural boundaries between those who are included and excluded, and making these boundaries more permeable."<sup>2</sup> Those boundaries are dynamically transforming over time. Sen explains social inclusion as "being characterized by societal elements that would include the active participation by citizens, equality of opportunities, and basic levels of wellbeing."<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>. Lombe, "Creating an Inclusive Society."

<sup>2</sup>. Therborn, "Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration."

<sup>3</sup>. Sen, "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny."

The question which comes to mind is: what are the main constituents of an inclusive society? Notionally, an inclusive society focuses on human rights principles. However, in practice, the term implies that each society's members, irrespective of their backgrounds, can participate in civic, social, economic and political activities and have equal opportunities to education, facilities and information.<sup>4</sup> What is more, the cultural diversity has to be respected. So, all persons belonging to the society, despite their economic, political or social status have to be treated fairly under the law. Thus, the judges must be impartial and responsible.

As a matter of fact, the security of all persons and their living environment is necessary to create a feeling of inclusion and participation in society. Such participation requires access to public infrastructure and facilities including recreational facilities, public libraries, internet facilities, equipped public schools, clinics and sanitations. Likewise, equal access to public information is demanded so that all members of the society can be well-informed. Justice in the allocation of wealth and resources is another element of inclusion. In that case, socio-economic policies should realize fair distribution. Social inclusion is also often more easily accepted as a policy goal. According to Busatto,

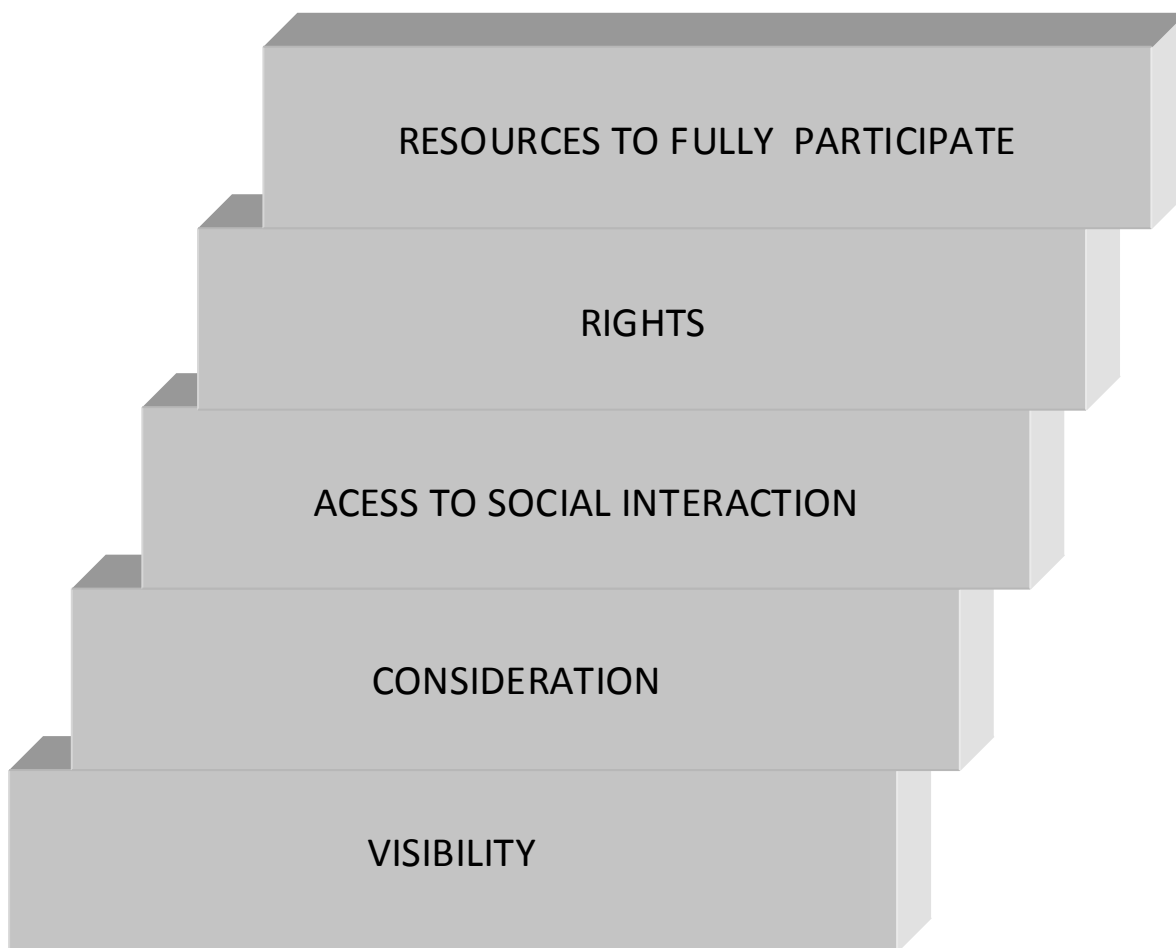
Inclusion is community. No one becomes included by receiving handouts, even if these handouts are given by public bodies and with public resources. No one becomes included by being treated by a program in which they are no more than a number or a statistic. Inclusion is connection to the network of community development, it is to become more than a speck of dust, to have a forename and surname, with one's own distinctive features, skills and abilities, able to receive and give

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<sup>4</sup>. Sen, "Social Exclusion: Concept, Application and Scrutiny."

stimulus, to imitate and be imitated, to participate in a process of changing one's own life and collective life.<sup>5</sup>

The above statement draws attention to individual's identification and the relationship between community and the individual. It asserts that inclusion is advantageous for both the community and its individuals. To understand the progress of social inclusion, Goran Therborn proposes five steps: visibility, consideration, access to social interactions, rights and resources to fully participate in society.<sup>6</sup>



**Figure 4 : Steps to Promoting Social Inclusion**

**Source:** Therborn, "Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration."

<sup>5</sup>. Busatto, "Solidary Governance for Creating Inclusive Societies."

<sup>6</sup>. Therborn, "Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration."

Figure four shows the five stages of social inclusion. Indeed, individuals need to be noticed, known, and have their own voices. Some people remain uncounted and invisible. They need also to engage in society's economic, social, cultural, religious, and political activities. Likewise, they have rights to act and claim, rights to housing, education and health care in addition to the right to work and the right to participate in social, cultural and political life. Resources to partake in societal activities are the final step for social inclusion.<sup>7</sup>

Several countries that are aware of the advantages of social inclusion and participation realize relatively equal societies and demonstrate robust economic competitiveness. Yet, the benefit of inclusion should not be approached through simply economic side, but also through other angles. In reality, the effects of discriminating or marginalizing a group of the society can produce insecurity, high crime rates, instability, divided societies, and social conflicts. Understanding people with different backgrounds, culture, traditions and values in addition to promoting tolerance and participation can lead to societies' success. In effect, approaching social inclusion in this way can result in sustainable progress. Thus, increasing awareness about inclusive communities where all individuals are unified, share sense of belonging and a sense of responsibility, is essential.

### **4.3 A Citizenship-Based Social Inclusion Approach:**

Some scholars view citizenship as participation in a society. This citizenship is tangible through many rights, duties and organizations. Unlike Ancient Greece citizenship that was reserved for those in the decision-making group of the city-state, contemporary citizenship "extends across society through such institutions as universal voting and the rule of law."<sup>8</sup> In 1949, the concept of *social* citizenship was initially used by the sociologist, T.H. Marshall in an essay entitled '*Citizenship and*

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<sup>7</sup>. Therborn, "Practical Strategies to Promote Social Integration."

<sup>8</sup>. Bellamy, *Citizenship. A very short introduction*, 15.

*Social Class.*<sup>9</sup> At that time, the principles of the post-war British welfare were founded. Marshall tried to give a justification to the historical progress that led to modern citizenship rights. He classified citizenship in a chronological order into three components: civil, political and social. The first component, *civil citizenship*, appeared in the eighteenth century. It included freedom of speech, rights to possessions and the right to justice. The second element, *political citizenship*, emerged in the nineteenth century. It established the right to political participation through holding offices and voting. Lastly, *social citizenship* was set up in the twentieth century. It consisted of the right to economic welfare and security.<sup>10</sup> This sort of citizenship also denotes the social responsibilities, foundations and equal opportunities.

#### 4.3.1 From Inclusion to Participation

Many political scientists believe that participation, rather than inclusion, should be the focal point of efforts to overcome social exclusion.<sup>11</sup> Heinz Steinert claims that the notion of inclusion means the need to follow the major social standards and demands.<sup>12</sup> On the contrary, Steinert's participatory approach is based on the democratic right to participate in ways which are regularly negotiated and contested.<sup>13</sup> Steinert's perception of social exclusion, thus, stresses on participation in a manner that both asserts the requirement for human welfare and people's contribution in the activities related with their welfare. He notes:

Social exclusion can thus be understood as the continuous and gradual exclusion from full participation in the social, including material and symbolic, resources produced, supplied and exploited in a society for

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<sup>9</sup>. Marshall and Bottomore, *Citizenship and social class*, 5.

<sup>10</sup>. Ibid., 8.

<sup>11</sup>. Klapp, *Opening and Closing: Strategies of Information Adaptation in Society*, 100.

<sup>12</sup>. Steiner, *Welfare Policy from Below: Struggles against Social Exclusion in Europe*, 16.

<sup>13</sup>. Ibid.

making a living, organizing a life and taking part in the development of a (hopefully better) future.<sup>14</sup>

According to Millar, there are several ways through which people can play a part in society. His approach has different characteristics: relational in a sense that it focuses on people in the context of family, household, community and nation, rather than merely as individuals; inclusive of all resources obtainable to people not just income but also access to goods and services, public facilities, leisure and social activities; dynamic that is, focused on future opportunities and capabilities.<sup>15</sup> Steinert relates this approach to the idea of social citizenship when he declares that social policy is not only about material welfare but has a fundamental civil and political dimension:

[It has] effects on the degrees of freedom in the labour market, on equality of civic status and on power to influence the future of society. The provisions of the welfare state are more than means for material survival. They are a decisive part of the infrastructure of social and political participation.<sup>16</sup>

Inclusive societies are characterized by active participation in civic, social, economic and political activities by individuals, both at the local and national levels. A society where most of its citizens, if not all, feel that they are playing a part, have access to their basic needs/livelihoods, and are provided with the opportunity to participate in discussions relevant to their concerns, is a society that will best foster principles of inclusivity. In order to encourage all-inclusive participation, there must be universal access to public infrastructures and facilities. To create and sustain

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<sup>14</sup>. Steiner, *Welfare Policy from Below: Struggles against Social Exclusion in Europe*, 5.

<sup>15</sup>. Millar, "Social exclusion and social policy research: defining exclusion." In Abrams, Christian and Gordon (eds), *Multidisciplinary handbook of social exclusion research*, 3.

<sup>16</sup>. Steiner, *Welfare Policy from Below: Struggles against Social Exclusion in Europe*, 7.

inclusive societies, it is a pre-requisite that all members of society are able to participate in the decision-making processes that affect their lives.

The concept of social inclusion carries the implication of passivity on the part of the excluded. That is, the basic model is one in which the excluded are brought into the fold by the included. Arguably, a commitment to social inclusion suggests the need for opportunities for excluded people to participate as far as possible in such matters. In that sense, the concept of social citizenship with its focus on the activation of social rights offers greater promise than does the concept of social inclusion.

Central to a more inclusive, social citizenship approach would be opportunities for citizens to participate in the design and setting of objectives and priorities of social institutions such as the public health and education system. An important question is whether the opportunity to participate in periodic federal and state/territory elections, the occasional parliamentary (or other) inquiry or government consultation process can be regarded as sufficiently inclusive and participatory.<sup>17</sup>

Some observers have suggested that forms of deliberative democracy such as citizens' juries (for example, on the issue of priority setting in the health system) can play a role in enhancing citizen participation both at the local and national levels. Others have questioned the capacity of such initiatives to give genuine voice to the concerns and perspectives of those who do not normally participate in debates about social institutions. The important point is that there is discussion about the appropriate mechanisms for enhancing opportunities for such participation as a part of efforts to bring about social inclusion.

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<sup>17</sup>. Millar, "Social exclusion and social policy research: defining exclusion." In Abrams and Gordon (eds), *Multidisciplinary handbook of social exclusion research*, 5.

### 4.3.2 Maintaining and Respecting Minorities' Civil and Political Rights

Assuring minorities' rights is the first step that should be dealt with to realize the stability of each state and decrease the level of tensions between its members.

#### 4.3.2.1 Survival and Existence

Actions for making minority groups secure should concentrate on the protection of the physical existence of their members such as secure their lives from genocide and aggressions against humanity. The 2001 Durban Declaration confirms that "the ethnic, cultural, linguistic and religious identity of minorities, where they exist, must be protected and that persons belonging to such minorities should be treated equally and enjoy their human rights and fundamental freedoms without discrimination of any kind."<sup>18</sup> In the periods of conflicts and struggles, the physical integrity of minority members is threatened. Therefore, they should have access to humanitarian assistance such as food, shelter and health care. Kofi Annan stated that "We must protect especially the rights of minorities, since they are genocide's most frequent targets."<sup>19</sup>

Violating the right to existence can lead to the annihilation of such communities. In fact, the displacement of minority members from their countries can demonstrate the extent to which their rights are respected, protected and realized. The protection of minorities' survival also involves respecting and protecting the fundamental components of their identity including religious and cultural heritage.

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<sup>18</sup>. Cited in Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*.

<sup>19</sup>. Ibid.

### 4.3.2.2 Identity Protection

In each society, people see themselves as individuals with distinctive characteristics, attitudes, beliefs, dreams, hopes, and so on. These elements form their individual identities. From another angle, persons categorize themselves as members of particular social group. The latter is regarded as a symbol of their social identity.<sup>20</sup> In fact, people have several social identities in proportion to the large circles of group memberships like gender, economic status, traditions, religion, language, nationality, etc. These identities have indicators such as customs, clothes and behaviours. So, in order to make the indicators more effective, they should be recognized by others.<sup>21</sup>

From his perspective, Leopold Senghor<sup>22</sup> views that all Africans have common features, attitudes and aesthetics<sup>23</sup>. When one contemplates his poem 'New York' (see appendix 10) in which he uses the image of night, he/she discovers that Senghor comprehends African heritage as both unavoidable and innate. In his point of view, race determines both outer and inner characteristics of each individual.<sup>24</sup> In this context, Ania Loomba maintains that every racial group has "shared culture and subjectivity and spiritual essence."<sup>25</sup> By using the word *negritude*, Senghor challenges the idea that the black man is biologically inferior to the white man. Thus, such a term remains a rejection to the principle of slavery and also a means of freedom.

All over the world, various wars and conflicts have been waged due to the issue of identity. Palestinians and Israelis, India and Pakistan, whites and blacks are

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<sup>20</sup>. Tajfel and Turner, "The social identity theory of inter-group behavior." In Worchel and Austin (eds.), *Psychology of Intergroup Relations*, 19.

<sup>21</sup>. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society*.

<sup>22</sup>. Leopold Senghor was a poet, first president of Senegal and a major proponent of the concept of *Negritude*.

<sup>23</sup>. The word '*aesthetics*' refers to a set of principles concerned with the nature and appreciation of beauty, especially in art. (Pearsall, *Concise Oxford Dictionary*, 21.)

<sup>24</sup>. "Leopold Sedar Senghor's Concept of *Negritude*."

<sup>25</sup>. Loomba, *Colonialism/ Postcolonialism*, 176.

the best examples of these struggles. Effectively, identity-based conflicts exist between 'us' and 'them', 'the self' and 'the other.' Although self-identity is concerned with a particular person, identities have a wider connotation. Collective identities extend to countries and ethnic societies. For instance, people feel injured when other individuals sharing their identity are hurt or murdered because they have a common interest and a common fate too. In some cases, they sacrifice their lives to protect their identity group such as Palestinian suicide bombers.<sup>26</sup>

Identities are fundamentally formed as a result of many experiences. In many states like the United States, skin color is a major sign of identity whereas in others, it has almost no significance. In this context, Ralph Ellison, a famous African American writer handles the question of identity in his novel *'Invisible Man'* (1952). His work offers a clear picture about a young black man's passage from "innocence to self awareness."<sup>27</sup> According to Ellison, being free is a prerequisite to recognize his identity "I could no more escape than could think of my identity. Perhaps, I thought, the two things are involved with each other. When I discover who I am, I'll be free."<sup>28</sup> Thus, if the writer does not know his true self, he cannot exit from the bondage circle.

Some researchers in this field believe that ethnicity is a static phenomenon. Other scholars have another social view. For example, some aspects of identity are fixed at birth, such as parental background and religion, place of birth, and skin colour. Other features may be acquired or changed through time like the language spoken and the clothing style.<sup>29</sup>

Several types of collective identities resulted in either constructive or destructive struggle. The first type is persistent identities i.e. ethnic conflicts rely on the long perseverance of ethnic societies that undergo segregation by other people.

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<sup>26</sup>. Kriesberg, *Identity Issues. Beyond Intractability*.

<sup>27</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>28</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>29</sup>. Ibid.

Sometimes, conflicts are to preserve highly important identities or what is called primary identities such as the case of native people in countries ruled by colonists. For these people, land is a chief focus of identity. The third type is non-compromising identities which means that persons who put an extreme priority on being honored and treated with respect, may find difficulty to make compromises with other groups or to respect them. In addition, some have ideas that stand as obstacles to conflict resolution such as the concept of sovereignty or authority.<sup>30</sup>

There are three situations which form collective identities: internal aspects within each group; relations with the opponents and the social context of the groups' contact. In the first situation, group members have some characters that influence their identities and their visions of the conflicting groups. Some analysts claim that all people struggle to achieve fundamental and total human needs such as recognition, protection and identity. So, frustrating these needs creates many social conflicts. Besides, past experience has an impact on identities as group members hold feelings of both suffering and hostility emerging from historical painful events. Identities in the second situation are formed as a result of interactions.<sup>31</sup>

Hostile relations and oppression compel people to use force in fighting coercion and in imposing it on the other group. Violent group is encouraged by other individuals who belong to the same group and are regarded as exemplars. Conversely, their opponents may be seen as violent and bearing detestation. In fact, these ideas hinder conflict resolution because individuals of the other camp may brutally respond these aggressive behaviors and manners of describing people.

Nonetheless, there are some constructive interactions between two adversaries which are equally desired and sympathetic such as the case of people who are engaged in money-making business with the other side. The third situation is the social setting which has an effect on the adversaries' identities. For instance, ways

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<sup>30</sup>. Kriesberg, *Identity Issues. Beyond Intractability*.

<sup>31</sup>. Ibid.

of thinking shape people's perception of themselves in addition to their views of the others. In different times and places, the classification of religious beliefs, class relations, ethnicity, or standards of living is remarkable. For example, class-consciousness has been widespread in European societies than in the United States. Another social aspect is self determination i.e. ethnic group ask for the right of collective independence. Additionally, modeling is among the chief characteristics of the social context. An illustrative historical event is African Americans' civil rights struggle. They expressed their identity as blacks and regarded as models for other underprivileged peoples.<sup>32</sup>

Clearly, inequity between groups with diverse social identities can cause stereotypes founded on appearance, gender, ethnicity, religion and culture, for instance. It can also lead to social exclusion. An illustrative example of stereotyping is the case of conservative female African-American from rural area. People may understand that these labels and categories mirror inherent traits. However, they are results of interaction and a cultural structure of a particular society. Thus, they should not be considered as something that resides in the person. Furthermore, the society's values cultures and conditions are responsible for the inclusion or exclusion of individuals.<sup>33</sup>

To reach social inclusion, it is essential to change hostile characters. This is a challenging task since it deals with all levels of society. Some groups prefer preserving their traditional beliefs and ways of life, without mixing with the majority of society. Social inclusion involves that society accept all people including minorities. Moreover, individuals who are different from others are not only included, but also can participate in decision-making procedures pertaining to their lives. Hence, an

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<sup>32</sup>. Kriesberg, *Identity Issues. Beyond Intractability*.

<sup>33</sup>. Ibid.

inclusive and participatory society welcomes diversity and promotes a sense of belonging.<sup>34</sup>

Many states are aware of the necessity to preserve minority rights. Besides, they recognize that minorities considerably contribute to the diversity of communities. Hence, minorities' identity should be tolerated and respected. In cases where members of minority groups are mistreated, procedures should be taken to prevent such unfair treatments.

Actually, there are some plans which inhibit the intractability of conflicts; impede the continuation and increase of difficult disagreements, and facilitate conflicts resolution. By using preventive strategies, many persons within each adversary camp try to lessen the intractability of conflicts. So, being nonviolent is part of groups' identities. From their part, parents, teachers, leaders, artists and others can promote this principle in their children, students, citizens and audiences. Additionally, school texts, films, and news reports play a great role in transmitting the values of humanity to groups with whom arguments have taken place. Another type of strategies is what most scholars call '*interruptive policies.*' People can make some initiatives or actions to reduce the intricacy of conflicts. These actions can decrease adversaries' feeling of grievances or reciprocate peaceful behaviours by the other group. For example, community leaders may take on dissents or peaceful movements. The dissenters ask for admitting aspects of group's identity rather than provoking the other camp.<sup>35</sup>

Transformational strategies are based on principles that change the ideologies and systems which increase conflicts. Today, much concentration is drawn to reveal the facts of injustices occurred in the history of humanity such as human rights

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<sup>34</sup>. Kriesberg, *Identity Issues. Beyond Intractability.*

<sup>35</sup>. Ibid.

violations. As a matter of fact, Knowledge of past painful events that depict the cruelty of oppressors can change individuals' self-identity and spread peace in societies. So, they would apologize when hurting others. Some countries gave compensations to damaged people such as the case for Germans after World War II. Absolutely, apologizing for colonial history does not deny war's crimes committed against humanity during that era, but it may contribute to open a new page between the peoples and the countries concerned.<sup>36</sup>

Thus, protecting minorities' identity prevents the loss of cultures, religions and languages that are the sources of the world's prosperity and parts of its heritage. So, these distinctive identities should be valued. Besides, any differential treatment towards groups or persons belonging to such groups does not mask unfair practices and policies. Therefore, positive actions should be taken to respect cultural, religious and linguistic diversity.

#### **4.3.2.3 Minorities' Economic, Social and Cultural Rights**

The economic, social and cultural rights of minority groups include the right to food, labour and housing rights, access to education, and the right to preserve and promote their culture.

##### **4.3.2.3.1 The Right to Food**

The right to food is a human right and is found in many international human rights tools. Minorities suffer excessively from economic marginalization, social discrimination and political exclusion. The International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) orders all governments to implement effectively the provisions of the treaty into their national legal systems. The convention emphasizes

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<sup>36</sup>. Kriesberg, *Identity Issues. Beyond Intractability*.

two measurements in relation to the right to food: a component of an adequate standard of living and a basic claim to freedom from hunger. Under the second measurement, persons who are unable to meet their food needs because of their age, handicap, natural disaster or discrimination can be supplied with food directly from the state.<sup>37</sup> The Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food states that:

The right to food is the right to have regular, permanent and free access, either directly or by means of financial purchases, to quantitatively and qualitatively adequate and sufficient food corresponding to the cultural traditions of the people to which the consumer belongs, and which ensures a physical and mental, individual and collective, fulfilling and dignified life free of fear.<sup>38</sup>

The right to food as a collective right has a supplementary value when comparing with individual rights. To express it differently, it is more significant to consider the right to food as a collective right than an individual right since some property rights to lands, territories and resources are collective rights and subsistence-based activities which are exercised cooperatively are element of their cultural identity. In various situations, a collective right to food may meet the needs of minority groups better than individual rights because their combined decisions concerning their right to food can be more productive.

The idea of promoting the right to adequate food aims to realize healthy nutrition for all human beings including minorities. Indeed, this aim is dependent on other accomplishments in the domains of health, land/income security and

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<sup>37</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, 71.

<sup>38</sup>. Special Rapporteur's report 2001, para. 14. "Report to CESCR on the Effect of German Policies on Social Human Rights in the South."

education.<sup>39</sup> The HRC Universal Comment No. 6 mentions that “the protection of this right requires that states adopt [positive] measures to eliminate malnutrition.”<sup>40</sup>

The protection of minorities’ land and their resources is a condition to maintain their right to food and their economic survival. The ICESCR declares that minorities and indigenous people have rights to the land they have occupied by tradition. Therefore, their land and territories have to be recognized. In addition, the convention draws attention to the importance of non-discrimination principle to benefit from social security services. The right to food, as the other rights, involves the provision of food security and the implementation of human rights tenets such as participation, responsibility, non-discrimination, transparency and human dignity. The idea of good governance and the human rights-based approach are alike. However, the former is perceived as a policy notion, whereas the latter is an officially authorized concept. Hence, to fulfil the right to food, states and their representatives should enact laws, perform administrative procedures and systems and respond to any violation against this right.<sup>41</sup>

#### **4.3.2.3.2 Labour Rights**

The ICCPR in Article 8 banned slavery, the slave trade, and all sorts of forced and compulsory labour. The ICERD Article 5 urges states to assure the right to equality before the law such as the rights to have job, to free choice of employment, to fair and good conditions of work, to protection against joblessness and to equal pay for equal work. Concerning the ILO’s task, it offers opportunities to both men and women to get suitable work. Moreover, the organization provides basic rights

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<sup>39</sup>. Zeigler, “Report of the Special Rapporteur on the Right to Food, UN doc. E/CN.4/2004/10, 9, February 2004.”

<sup>40</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>. Ibid.

and principles at work, and takes into consideration groups that are socially or economically disadvantaged regarding the society in which they live.<sup>42</sup>

Effectively, protecting ethnic minorities in the world of work is an important matter. ILO strives to ensure equality of all workers, so that all individuals can achieve the basis of their rights and dignity. The operation of improving minorities' rights tries to give those affected persons a voice in this process. In 1998, the ILO declared essential rules and rights in the work field. It requires all members to respect and recognize the following basic rights that are the focal point of the organization: freedom of association and respecting the right to collective bargaining, the abolition of forced labour and child labour and finally, protecting all workers from discrimination. Minority groups' non-discrimination and equality are among the first codes of the ILO. The prohibited space of discrimination includes race, colour, sex, religion and national extraction, Article 1 describes discrimination as "any distinction, exclusion or preference which has the effect of nullifying or impairing equality of opportunity and treatment in employment and occupation," with access to professional training and improvement of work conditions. Furthermore, Recommendation No. 111 comprises other fields of equality which should be guaranteed, such as access to occupational guidance and placement services, progression, security and equivalent payment for work of equal value. It also covers indirect discrimination such as inequity of treatment. Similarly, the Committee of Experts (ILO) views that it is an important step for governments to eliminate dress codes which are regarded as discriminatory against members of religious minorities.<sup>43</sup>

The Committee of Experts, when examining periodic reports by governments on ratified Conventions, has dealt with various issues concerning the protection of minority workers and asked governments to take remedial action. The Committee

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<sup>42</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, 72.

<sup>43</sup>. Ibid.

has indicated elevated unemployment rates of ethnic minorities, including minority women who complained about lack of training and educational opportunities and their low-paid jobs. It has also stressed that the elimination of discrimination in employment is critical to sustainable growth. It looks at discrimination against minorities in the world of work, not as a mere phenomenon, but as a feature of social, cultural and economic context. For instance, based on a trade union complaint of 1989, the Committee of Experts addressed the attempts to restrain the cultural identity of the Turkish minority in Bulgaria, chiefly the obligatory change of names and preventing Turkish workers to use their language.<sup>44</sup>

Child labour has an effect on minority groups to a larger extent. In reality, child labour practices bring about poverty and inequity along racial boundaries by depriving children of the opportunities to acquire knowledge and skills needed in their future productive life. The UN Convention on the Rights of the Child prevents economic exploitation of all children (Art. 32). Correspondingly, the ILO Minimum Age Convention (No. 138) and the Worst Forms of Child Labour Convention (No. 182) urge states to end the phenomenon of child labour regardless of their racial origins. Article 6 of Convention No. 182 states that programmes of action to abolish child labour shall be planned and put into practice, taking into account the opinions of concerned groups. These programmes also aim to work with societies where children are at special risk and seek to inform and mobilize concerned individuals.<sup>45</sup>

One important subject concerning minority labour is the right to freedom of association and collective bargaining which help minority workers to take decisions relating to their employment field. Article 2 of the ILO's Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention (No. 87) protect the right of workers and employees, without distinction whatsoever, to form and join organizations

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<sup>44</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, 72.

<sup>45</sup>. *Ibid.*, 73.

appropriate to their own choice. The phrase '*without distinction whatsoever*' means eliminating discrimination, not only in the private sector but also in public services. In 1994, the Committee of Experts mentioned that each individual lawfully residing in the territory of a given country profits from trade union rights declared in Convention No. 87. In 1952, the ILO Conference decree about the independence of the trade union movement declared that in order to reach such independence, trade unions should be constructed regardless of race, national origin or political membership. In addition, these unions should attain their aims focusing on solidarity and general economic interests.<sup>46</sup>

Training courses for lawyers, judges and advocates are occasionally organized by the UN, the ILO, and NGOs. UN and ILO training tools are accessible through their websites or regional offices. International associations have a key role in assisting development and helping minority members to reach economic growth. They can finance projects, and work in cooperation with national organizations. Nonetheless, they need firm and strong action by national and local authorities, and their performance will not be efficient unless the groups themselves seek their own protection and ask national authorities to take crucial actions. Also, great efforts are needed to get rid of all types of discrimination against minority women. Since discrimination against minorities is often related to racism and intolerance, ILO develops training and increases awareness about the social values such as tolerance and respect.<sup>47</sup>

#### **4.3.2.3.3 Housing Rights**

Great efforts have been made to defend and preserve minorities' own economic and social resources including housing and land. For many citizens, land

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<sup>46</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, 75.

<sup>47</sup>. Ibid.

rights represent the way by which they live and exercise their culture. As a matter of fact, housing rights criteria are included in all of the major international economic and social instruments such as ICESCR Art. 11(1), ICEDAW Art. 14(2)(h). At the national level, the right to housing is contained in more than fifty constitutions, seven of which are those of South Africa and India. In the case of India, the Supreme Court passed effective laws that protect minority group's economic, social and cultural rights. In effect, providing security for slum dwellers from forced expulsion in *Olga Tellis v. Bombay Municipal Corporation* 10 is one of the well known decisions.<sup>48</sup>

The right to housing implies that the state and its agents have to respect individuals' own housing and land property by protecting them from compulsory evictions. The authorities have also to endorse housing and land rights by establishing suitable laws and plans. Besides, the state has to provide public housing, social security payments and services. The right to housing consists of: legal security of tenure, availability of services, materials, facilities and infrastructure, affordability, habitability and accessibility. Hence, the right to housing does not mean supplying mere shelter, but also assuring the right to peace, security and dignity.<sup>49</sup>

Effective remedies should be accessible to evicted people such as adequate compensations in order to protect individuals from homelessness and from being vulnerable to extra human rights violations. As a general rule, international human rights law forces states to search for alternative solutions before performing any eviction. If eviction is carried out as the only resolution, the affected individuals must be afforded efficient legal guarantees, including an opportunity for consultation, accessibility of information on the proposed eviction in reasonable time, attendance of government officials or their representatives during an eviction, identification of

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<sup>48</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous Peoples*, 29.

<sup>49</sup>. *Ibid.*, 30.

the persons who are responsible to perform the eviction and avoidance of evictions in bad weather or at night.<sup>50</sup>

Human rights are inter-reliant. So, violating the right to adequate housing can have an effect on the enjoyment of other human rights and vice versa. Effectively, access to adequate housing can be a prerequisite to enjoy several rights including the right to work and the right to health. The opportunity to earn a living can be weakened especially when an individual changes his/her place of residence because of the eviction and becomes. The new residence may be far from his/her work place. Also, forced eviction may cause children's schooling interruption or abandonment. The trauma experienced following a forced eviction can also impair a child's capacity to attend classes. During forced evictions, inhabitants are often beaten, cruelly treated or killed. In point of fact, avoiding compulsory evictions and ameliorating housing conditions rely on petitions made by those affected. If the right to freedom of expression, for example, is not appreciated, the odds for individuals and minorities to demand better living conditions can be reduced.<sup>51</sup>

Housing discrimination can have various shapes: unfair laws, zoning systems, exclusion from housing benefits, denial of security of tenure and lack of access to credit. Hence, non-discrimination and equal opportunity are essential to preserve minorities' housing rights. The International Convention on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights, in its article 2 (2), mentions that the most discriminatory aspects are: race, colour, sex, language, religion, social origin and property. The Special Rapporteur on adequate housing has indicated that poverty and economic marginalization are, in a number of cases, the reasons for segregation in housing.

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<sup>50</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

<sup>51</sup>. Ibid.

When discussing sex, race and national origin, the conference has asserted equal rights of men and women to the enjoyment of all economic rights.<sup>52</sup>

Nationally, governments are responsible for preventing all forms of discrimination. State obligations can three main phases: the obligations to respect, protect and fulfil. The first duty obliges each state not to interfere in the enjoyment of the right to adequate housing. For instance, authorities have to desist destroying homes and executing unfair procedures which deprive women from having access to housing, land and property. The obligation to provide protection means that states should undertake actions to guarantee that banks and financial establishments extend housing finance without favoritism. The obligation to fulfil implies that governments have to apply policies and plans to develop the housing sector, taking into account disadvantaged and marginalized groups. Additionally, they have to specify time frame for the implementation.<sup>53</sup>

#### **4.3.2.3.4 Educational Rights**

Ensuring the educational rights can have various effects on the achievement of other individual rights. Indeed, in the states where these rights are respected, protected and realized, one can remark a considerable increase concerning the rights to health, work and freedom of expression. In multicultural countries, however, education can be either divisive or cohesive like what happened in Rwanda in the 1990's, during which education played a role in the instigation of genocide.

The space of educational rights comprises not only equal access, but it includes also the contents and means of education. Education rights are also an imperative component of international law protecting minority rights. The right to education means being totally realized according to the available resources including support

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<sup>52</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

<sup>53</sup>. Ibid.

offered by the international community. An important point that needs to be focused on is the governmental obligations such as guaranteeing the right of access to public educational establishments and programmes on a non-discriminatory basis, supplying primary education for each individual and applying a national educational strategy which includes provision for educational levels. Therefore, it is the duty of the government to assure free and compulsory primary education. In case where this condition is not attained, the state needs to improve its plans and put a rational time-frame. According to the former UN Special Rapporteur on the Right to Education, Katerina Tomasevski (2004), primary education is still not free in 91 countries.<sup>54</sup> Free of charge means that fees should not be charged. Thus, tangible steps should be taken to offer free secondary and higher education. Yet, The Special Rapporteur indicates that this norm is under threat because education is gradually traded as a service.<sup>55</sup>

Minimum obligations include the lawmaking duty to make equal access to education. Human rights law requires that discrimination must be forbidden and abolished. Eliminating such discrimination necessitates completing the governmental obligation by encouraging attendance and promoting the culture, language and religion of minority children. Accordingly, representatives of minorities should be present in participatory processes of designing educational systems. The UNESCO Convention against Discrimination in Education disallows the foundation of separate educational systems or institutions for persons or groups of persons and encourages integrated education.<sup>56</sup>

Another significant principle relating to the right to education is the pluralism in education. Parents have the right to ensure the religious and moral education of their children in accordance with their own beliefs, and to establish schools outside

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<sup>54</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

<sup>55</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>56</sup>. Ibid.

the public education system. The UN bodies regard the rejection of these minorities' rights as a human rights violation. Generally, states are not obliged to fund private schools equally with public schools. They are occasionally required to fund private minority schools where these fill a gap in provision.<sup>57</sup>

Reasonable and objective criteria in education should always be taken into account such as redressing minorities' historical marginalization. Education should promote understanding and awareness among all ethnic groups, as well as national, racial and religious groups. In addition, it should be culturally suitable in both its structure and basis, including curricula and teaching approaches. The ILO Convention states that all parts of the national community should receive education to reduce prejudices. Also, text books should provide a precise representation of their societies and cultures. As the Committee on the Rights of the Child delineate, this procedure demands "a balanced approach to education and one which succeeds in reconciling diverse values through dialogue and respect for difference."<sup>58</sup> To fulfill these purposes, states should afford education materials, teacher recruitment and training, and appropriate curricula to improve intercultural education, and adopt measures to overcome stereotyping.

Concerning minorities' first language, the FCNM (Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities) mentions that "every person belonging to a national minority has the right to learn his or her minority language."<sup>59</sup> However, the convention makes a distinction between the right to learn a language and the right to learn through that language. To express it differently, children learn to read and write their mother tongue as an objective, rather than a right. So, it is important to teach those children the official language in order to give them the opportunity to integrate

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<sup>57</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

<sup>58</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>59</sup>. Cited in Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

totally in the society, advance in higher and further education and get suitable jobs in the future. Nevertheless, many researches indicate that children receive better knowledge when they first learn through the means of their first language. In this regard, UNESCO encourages bilingual education since it gives children belonging to minorities the chance to be multilingual, and helps them to learn alongside those of majority groups.<sup>60</sup>

A basic means of maintaining minority rights in education is at the state level such as the national human rights organization. Such organizations take into consideration individual complaints, look into human rights abuses, and take footsteps to examine government policies. Hence, when the international redress is required, individual complaints can be brought under certain human rights treaties. At the regional level these comprise: the African Commission on Human and Peoples' Rights; the Inter-American Commission and Court on Human Rights; the European Court on Human Rights; and the European Committee on Social Rights.<sup>61</sup>

Today, the duty of modern educators to attempt to fight racism in classrooms gathering students from different races is of paramount value. Really, if the role of education is to construct a better society, then the teacher should hold the responsibility of this hard task. According to Powell (2001), one method a teacher could use to eliminate racism from classrooms is to examine the materials that the students use in learning. In fact, various school texts contain monoculture though the new educational trends focus on multiculturalism. He views that this phenomenon may send grave message about the inferiority of some and the superiority of others.<sup>62</sup> Another standpoint displayed by Henson about school texts is that when these texts do not address the issue of multiculturalism and use pictures and examples of mostly

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<sup>60</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 30.

<sup>61</sup>. Ibid.

<sup>62</sup>. Powell, "Saving Black Mountain: The Promise of Critical Literacy in a Multicultural Democracy".

white males, can unintentionally create the problem of racism by promoting stereotypes and prejudices. Therefore, teachers are required to choose texts that give a positive image about non-mainstream persons.<sup>63</sup>

In the same vein, George Dei recommends that knowledge should provide facts about the contributions of African communities to world civilization in order to represent Africans in a more positive picture rather than dealing with their problems and failures, which can increase prejudices.<sup>64</sup>

Powell views that supportive learning groups are both an efficient means to educational growth through participation and a good way to remove racism. By creating a team, a micro-society, members of the group reveals their attitudes, ideas, experiences and beliefs that aim at reaching a general goal through a cooperative effort. Effectively, group work can facilitate understanding of the task at hand, the dynamics of team-work, and more importantly, enlarge the space of communication between group members regardless of race, sex, age or religion.<sup>65</sup>

Other ways to get rid of racism consist of various active learning strategies through different multi-sensory learning techniques. For instance, during an activity, Maria Sweeney-a fourth grade class teacher-asked her students to make posters criticizing racism. The students also watched movies on apartheid and made anti-racist rap songs for a play and performed it for their parents to show the evils of racism.<sup>66</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>. Henson, *Curriculum Planning: Integrating Multiculturalism, Constructivism, and Educational Reform*, 99.

<sup>64</sup>. Dei, "The Challenge of Anti-Racist Education in Canada", 11.

<sup>65</sup>. Powell, "Saving Black Mountain: The Promise of Critical Literacy in a Multicultural Democracy".

<sup>66</sup>- Sweeney, "No Easy Road to Freedom: Cultural Literacy in a Fourth Grade Classroom", 9.

Baldwin states that some schools apply a zero-tolerance strategy to discourage racism and other disagreeable behaviours that can lead to the removal of the offending student from his/her school. These methods can positively reduce the ills of racism in the classroom, but what about society as a whole? Existentialists may disagree with this approach arguing that children must learn how to overcome and face racism outside of schools. Students must be taught to accept racists though they oppose their attitudes or behaviours, because if they don't accept these individuals, they themselves will become intolerant.<sup>67</sup>

So, it is essential that students understand that racism is a real threat to society and that any effort to fight it is a step towards the right direction. It is also significant to make them aware that racial problem will exist despite their creation of posters and plays and that changing some people's thoughts and actions is not an easy task. For that reason, students should prepare themselves for the severe truth which James Baldwin points out in the following statement:

When attempting to correct so many generations of bad faith and cruelty operating in classroom and society, you will meet the most fantastic, brutal, determined resistance. There is no need in pretending this will not happen.<sup>68</sup>

This should not impede student's struggle for moral justice. In contrast, they need to be equipped with knowledge and realize that this process is long-lasting and challenging.

#### **4.3.2.3.5 Health Right**

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<sup>67</sup>. Baldwin, "Talk to Teachers." In Schultz, *Sources: Notable Selections in Education*, 58.

<sup>68</sup>. Ibid.

Health is a very important matter to human survival as it is both a prerequisite and a by-product of the enjoyment of other rights. The health of minorities and indigenous peoples counts on the rights to education, work, housing, food, and civil and political rights. Since this topic is so essential, the state is responsible for protecting the health of underprivileged and discriminated persons and groups.

As it is mentioned in the previous chapter, there are remarkable rate disparities between black and white populations pertaining to health care and conditions. Vernellia R. Randall states that:

Many examples of inequities in health status between racial/ethnic groups exist: infant mortality rates are 2 times higher for blacks, and 1 times higher for American Indians, than for whites. The death rate for heart disease for blacks is higher than for whites. Yet, despite these significant health status inequities, we have denied many Americans equal access to quality health care based on race, ethnicity, and gender.<sup>69</sup>

Randall summarizes the causes that produce an imbalance in health care, stating that socioeconomic discrimination, misunderstanding of civil rights laws, inequities in access to health care services, dissimilar participation in health research in addition to unjust distribution of health care finance create such an imbalance. Traditionally, medical doctors and medical leadership contributed to unfair health care system by founding the slaveocracy and revealing unjust health diagnosis and treatment of patients.<sup>70</sup>

Hitherto, current problems in the health sector are the consequences of both past and present racism. Definitely, racial bias in health care delivery, financing, and research still exist through inequitable policies and practices. Successful health policy requires that national laws must be implemented to abolish unfair racial practices

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<sup>69</sup>. Randall, "Inequity in Health Care Is Killing African Americans."

<sup>70</sup>. Ibid.

which mostly affected minorities. Vernellia R. Randall asserts that “Health Care Anti-Discrimination Act should be enacted which would (1) recognize multiple forms of discrimination (2) authorize and fund testers, (3) assure fines & regulatory enforcement (4) require a health scorecard/report for health agency, provider or facility, and (5) require data collection and reporting.”<sup>71</sup>

Article 12 of the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (ICESCR) , encompasses principles that each state should concentrate on to reach the best achievable standards of health including the realization of the right to health without discrimination and paying specific attention to marginalized groups, including minorities . The right to be free from discrimination with regard to health is mentioned in many international treaties. Since minority women frequently suffer to a great extent from discrimination, the international laws oblige all states to put an end to inequity against women and provide them with more health care especially during pregnancy. Furthermore, these laws require all countries to reduce the gap between rural and urban women in areas which have an effect on health.<sup>72</sup>

As a matter of fact, advocacy on the right to health involves not only remedies, but also the enhancement of minority groups’ consciousness about health issues. Those groups are unable to defend their health rights until they know them and comprehend the circumstances that make them enjoy these rights. Therefore, those marginalized and discriminated groups should consider themselves as rights-holders. The right to health can be examined by using statistical information and budgetary data because budget analysis can demonstrate whether the government properly ensures minorities’ health.<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup>. Randall, “Inequity in Health Care Is Killing African Americans.”

<sup>72</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 31.

<sup>73</sup>. Ibid.

#### 4.3.2.3.6 Cultural Rights:

Culture has multiple figures and practices in the daily life of minority peoples. It is characterized by duties and actions that are essential for their survival, for their collective identity and for the distinctiveness of the group. Since culture has a relation with collective and individual identity, social cohesion and daily life, cultural rights are basically imperative for minorities. Culture consists of various beliefs, principles and customs. Thus, the right to culture has different norms. The rights to life, lands and resources have cultural significance. As a matter of fact, cultural rights are interrelated with other minorities' rights. So, guaranteeing the right to education, health and housing and other rights necessitates that services be culturally suitable and take into consideration traditional activities and values.<sup>74</sup>

Article 15(1) of the ICESCR states that of all individuals have the right to “take part in cultural life” and to profit from “the moral and material interests of any scientific, literary or artistic production” written by them. This helps in preserving traditional knowledge and intellectual heritage rights. Since discrimination is the root for violation of cultural rights, the ICERD ensure the cultural rights of minority groups and individuals including the right to property and inheritance. In the same way, the HRC's laws include a number of minorities' cultural rights under Article 27. Such as the rights of individuals to exercise economic and social activities that are part of their culture, to be protected from compulsory relocation and from dreadful conditions in addition to preserving places of religious or cultural worth.<sup>75</sup>

In general, the right to culture involves both negative and positive requirements. Negative in the sense that all citizens are obliged to recognize and respect other people's cultural rights; and positive to the extent that countries have

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<sup>74</sup>. Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*, 31.

<sup>75</sup>. Ibid.

to afford resources and take effective steps to assure those rights. Cultural rights support has different shapes across local, national and international levels. For instance, minorities in many parts of the world make intensive efforts to spread their culture at the local level, particularly in the educational domain.<sup>76</sup>

At the state level, the right to culture influences other rights such as the right to land, the right to protect the cultural traditions and the right to implement intercultural education programmes. At the global level, cultural rights, as a separate category of rights, are to some extent ignored. Indeed, there is a requirement to put specific cases and reports that draw attention to the cultural right as a stand-alone right and also create coordination between cultural rights and other rights: education, food and housing, for instance.<sup>77</sup>

In 2001, UNESCO General Conference highlighted the value of culture, cultural plans and cultural rights in the realm of globalisation and diversity. The convention agreed on the following definition of culture:

The whole complex of distinctive spiritual, material, intellectual, and emotional features that characterize a society or social group' including 'not only the arts and letters, but also modes of life, ways of living together, the fundamental rights of the human being, value systems, traditions and belief.<sup>78</sup>

It maintained that cultural diversity is an assurance of human rights of discriminated groups. These rights comprised free expression of their own culture and partaking in the cultural life of the general public as a whole (Articles 1 and 2). With regard to protection and transmission of the heritage, draft Article 6(a)

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<sup>76</sup> . Salomon, *Economic, Social and Cultural Rights: A Guide for Minorities and Indigenous People*.

<sup>77</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>78</sup> . Ibid.

mentions that “Just as preservation of the natural heritage and biodiversity are vital for the future of the human race and the planet, so it is also indispensable to preserve the cultural heritage in all its forms, in particular the oral and intangible cultural heritage, in order to enhance, enrich and transmit to future generations the diversity of forms of cultural expression, traditions and ways of life.”<sup>79</sup>

In 2000, the Council of Europe Committee of Ministers emphasized the right to cultural Diversity. In the introduction of its declaration, the convention mentioned that new technological tools, globalization and trade policies have an influence on cultural diversity. The statement exhibits the European apprehension of the effects of trade liberalization and globalization on cultural and audiovisual production of minority groups. Indeed, globalization can facilitate interaction between cultures. Thus, cultural diversity can be realized through the “constant exchange between cultures and the right of access of all people to a rich and diversified range of cultural expression from all over the world.”<sup>80</sup> In relation to intangible cultural heritage, UNESCO Director-General noted that:

A new instrument should be effective in countering adverse impact of globalization which threaten the survival of much intangible cultural heritage, particularly that of indigenous and minority people. This heritage helps to affirm cultural identity, promote creativity and enhance diversity worldwide.<sup>81</sup>

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<sup>79</sup>. Declaration of the World Conference on Cultural Policies, Mexico, 1982, UNESCO.Doc.CLT/MD/1; Final Report of the World Conference on Cultural Policies, Extract from the Report of Commission II, UNESCO Doc.CLT-83/CONF.216/5, Annex 1, paras.8-15, and Annex 2, Recommendations 51-56. (Vrdoljak, “Minorities, Cultural Rights and the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage”)

<sup>80</sup>. Vrdoljak, “Minorities, Cultural Rights and the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage.”

<sup>81</sup>. 1998 UNESCO Programme of ‘Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage’, developed under the umbrella of the 1989 UNESCO Recommendation: see UNESCO Doc.CL/3553, Annex. (Vrdoljak, “Minorities, Cultural Rights and the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage.”)

Furthermore, The Director General announced that many countries regarded the term *'folklore'* as *'debasings.'*<sup>82</sup> Article 2 of the Convention on the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage (CSICH) states that intangible heritage consists of: "... the practices, representations, expressions, knowledge, skills – as well as the instruments, objects, artifacts and cultural spaces associated therewith – that communities, groups, and in some cases, individuals recognize as part of their cultural heritage".<sup>83</sup> Actually, different states affirm that the interrelation between the tangible and intangible, movable and immovable aspects of cultural heritage is significant.

#### 4.3.2.4 Political Participation

Non-discrimination in the political right is fundamental to protect minorities' interests. Fair elections clearly reveal the will of the people. All citizens have the right to participate in political process in order to find answers to the political questions. Thus, individuals belonging to minorities may not be excluded from this process. In effect, a healthy democracy should encourage debates and provide channels for communication between political parties and discriminated groups, so that members of minorities can exhibit their opinions. Democracy, according to the Inter-Parliamentary Union's (IPU) Universal Declaration on Democracy, requires the existence of a parliament in which "all components of society are represented and

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<sup>82</sup>. Vrdoljak, "Minorities, Cultural Rights and the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage."

<sup>83</sup>. See Progress Report on the Preparation of an International Convention for the Safeguarding of the Intangible Cultural Heritage, UNESCO Doc.164 EX/19, paras.6 and 26; Final Communiqué, 3<sup>rd</sup> Round Table of Ministers of Culture, 17 September 2002, para.2; and Action Plan by International Round Table, Piedmont, UNESCO Doc.161 EX/15, Annex, p.1, para.7. (Vrdoljak, "Minorities, Cultural Rights and the Protection of Intangible Cultural Heritage.")

which has the requisite powers and means to express the will of the people by legislating and overseeing government action".<sup>84</sup>

A report by the European Commission for Democracy through Law (Venice Commission) stated that a fairer representation of minorities results not so much from the application of rules peculiar to minorities, as from the implementation of general rules on electoral law, albeit adjusted, where required, to increase the chances of success by candidates from minority groups.<sup>85</sup>

Parliament is a significant medium for decision-making. Yet, it is not the only means to discuss state's decisions. The latter are made in ministries, local government and by governmental organizations. It is essential that the interests and choices of citizens from minority groups are embodied at all stages of government decision-making. This requires the consultation of the state with members of minorities before procedures are adopted. The significance of consultation is explained in the UN Declaration on Minorities (Art. 2(3)) and in the Framework Convention on National Minorities (Art. 15). International human rights bodies reveal a specific apprehension that deliberative inclusion has been efficient. In addition, a majority decision has been produced by rational public debate and not by simple preferences and interests.<sup>86</sup> The right of inclusion in the process of reflection and decision-making is obviously important for minorities to protect their interests.

No right of self-government exists for minorities under international law. According to Thornberry, those groups do not have the right to autonomy. This idea

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<sup>84</sup>. Inter-Parliamentary Union's Universal Declaration on Democracy. (Wheatley, "Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities.")

<sup>85</sup>. Wheatley, "Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities."

<sup>86</sup>. See *Länsman et al. v Finland* (No. 2), HRC, Communication No. 671/1995, UN Doc. CCPR/C/58/D/671/1995, 22 November 1996, para. 10.5; *Mahuika et al v New Zealand*, HRC, Communication No. 547/1993, UN Doc. CCPR/C/70/D/547/1993, 15 November 2000, para. 9.8; *Hopu and Bessert v France*, HRC, Communication No. 549/1993, UN Doc. CCPR/C/60/D/549/1993/Rev.1, (Wheatley, "Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities.")

“does not flow freely from the sources of international law as an obligation on states.”<sup>87</sup> Packer views that the recognition of systems of autonomy as one aspect of political participation results from the idea of ‘*a good governance*’. He notes that:

[T]he notion of good governance may be summarised in the idea that the government reflect the ‘will of the people’ – meaning the whole population so far as practicable. In this regard, majority decision-making may be viewed as the default position where ... the will of the people is divided. Good governance, therefore, requires that steps be taken so far as practicable to accommodate the minority will(s) in an effort to respond to the whole population.<sup>88</sup>

Minorities’ self-determination rights emerge from recognition of the political fairness of all citizens in a polity. Under democratic system, every citizen has a fully equal part in the exercise of power. The conditions of a democratic decision-making are embodied in the following statement:

All issues have to be open to question; all opinions voiced in conditions of equality and free from domination. Decision processes have to be conditioned by the desire of participants to reach agreement in the absence of coercion or threat of coercion. To this end each has to put forward reasons that others could reasonably accept, and seek acceptance for their reasons, and reject proposals on the basis that insufficiently good reasons have been offered for them: the requirement of public reason. The only influence thus exercised is the force of the better argument.<sup>89</sup>

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<sup>87</sup>. Thornberry, “Self-Determination and Indigenous Peoples: Objections and Responses.” In Aikio and Scheinin (eds), *Operationalizing the Right of Indigenous Peoples to Self-Determination*, 155.

<sup>88</sup>. Packer, “The origin and nature of the Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life”, 10.

<sup>89</sup>. Wheatley, “Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities.”

The basic characteristics of the deliberative model are political equality, participation and consensus. Rightful rules stem from reasoned deliberation between equal participants who discuss and agree on their plans. The value of deliberation in political decision-making is documented in the Lund Recommendations, which make sure that minorities have *'an effective voice'* in the central government (LR 6). In the same vein, the Flensburg Proposals, put by a set of international experts insist on providing opportunities for minorities to *'make themselves heard.'* Flensburg Proposal 8 and LR 12 demand the foundation of consultative bodies to enlarge channels for dialogue. Thus, effective communication of minority interests should be ensured. Both realize that the core of democratic government is deliberation between interested participants. Furthermore, they highlight the importance of including minorities in decision-making bodies.<sup>90</sup>

In fact, the deliberative form of democracy necessitates democratic government to facilitate the consensus amongst all citizens to decide what is to be done. Measures may be established to guarantee the cultural security of minority groups such as the financial support of minority cultural activity, the authorization of a minority television or radio channel. The Lund Recommendations state that successful participation of minorities in public life entails not only a right to a say in decision-making, but the establishment of “non-territorial or territorial arrangements of self-governance or a combination thereof.” The government might recognize the right of a minority group to establish elements of the curriculum for those schools where a majority of students identify themselves with the minority group. The Lund Recommendations mention that “the issues most susceptible to cultural autonomy

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<sup>90</sup>. Packer, “The origin and nature of the Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life.”

arrangements are education, culture, use of minority language, religion, and other matters crucial to the identity and way of life of national minorities”.<sup>91</sup>

Including political participation in the theory of minority rights takes into account two main cases: Firstly, that other rights and avoidance of discrimination of minorities cannot be successfully guaranteed, except when the minority itself dynamically participates in the political decision-making procedures that control the protection of minority rights. Hence, without contribution other apparatuses of minority rights protection can be ineffective. Secondly, minorities are often excluded from the political system. Therefore, the chances of political representatives from minority groups participating in the political system are restricted. For instance, the British-style ‘*First-Past-The-Post*’ electoral system excludes dispersed minorities from representation.<sup>92</sup> Several scholars of divided societies and ethnic relations assert that the conventional institutions of democracies without minorities are insufficient to put a firm democratic system in diverse societies.<sup>93</sup>

Incorporating minorities is a key measure for societies’ stability. On the contrary, alienating them from their country of residence can create serious problems. Certainly, armed secessionist movements which resulted from this alienation have been key challenges to many countries lately. So, it is in the interest of societies’ stability to focus on the political inclusion of minorities to avoid the outcomes of exclusion.<sup>94</sup>

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<sup>91</sup>. Packer, “The origin and nature of the Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life.”

<sup>92</sup>. It favours, however, territorially concentrates groups, such as voters in favour of Scottish independence in the House of Commons.

<sup>93</sup>. Lijphart, *Democracy in Plural Societies: A Comparative Exploration*, 25.

<sup>94</sup>. Timothy, *Power Sharing and International Mediation in Ethnic Conflicts*, 34.

After discussing minority rights, the Lund Recommendations stated in the first article the effective partaking of minorities in public life:

Effective participation of national minorities in public life is an essential component of a peaceful and democratic society. Experience in Europe and elsewhere has shown that, in order to promote such participation, governments often need to establish specific arrangements (emphasis added) for national minorities. These Recommendations aim to facilitate the inclusion of minorities within the State and enable minorities to maintain their own identity and characteristics, thereby promoting the good governance and integrity of the State.<sup>95</sup>

Hence, political representation without protection of minority rights may result in insecurity and arbitrariness.

#### **4.4 Strategies to Create an Inclusive Society**

There are several strategies to build an inclusive society such as establishing fair laws, creating dialogues to lessen conflicts between the different groups and reexamining the role of the media.

##### **4.4.1 Eliminating/Amending Discriminatory Laws and Practices**

Political leaders should avoid making statements which intensify racial tensions. They should use their neutral position to establish understanding and equality rather than hatred and division. Nazila Ghanea claims that “the political and

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<sup>95</sup>. Lund Recommendations on the Effective Participation of National Minorities in Public Life, September 1999, Art. 1/1. (Wheatley, “Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities.”)

electoral sphere should respect the prohibition on racism, racial discrimination, xenophobia and related intolerance.”<sup>96</sup>

Politicians and political parties should protect minorities by passing laws and prohibiting any kind of violation against minority members. They should also respect these laws and take dynamic steps and procedures so that individual can enjoy their right. It is more appalling when the governments that are expected to extend equality and justice in the society are occasionally taking part in racial discrimination and intolerance. Eliminating or amending unfair laws or practices may be the fundamental first pace to found an inclusive society. Realizing social inclusion involves long-term plans on the part of all local and international foundations. Also, efforts should implement appropriately these plans.<sup>97</sup>

In 2007, a meeting on Minority Issues was organized. It shed lights on the best practices, opportunities and projects for the further completion of the Declaration on the Rights of Persons Belonging to National or Ethnic, Religious and Linguistic Minorities.<sup>98</sup> The excluded or discriminated groups cannot feel themselves members of the society in which they live. In this case, social inclusion can be reached through education, conversation and awareness campaigns. So, the educational system should address social issues including respect for diversity. The Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) states that:

The process of social inclusion should not merely be reversing the social order from one group to another, but should be transforming a society into a new, more inclusive one. It is a process to “level the playing field” for both the disadvantaged and advantaged, which is required for social transformation. Transforming the mindset of people is about creating

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<sup>96</sup> . Nazila, “The role of politicians and political parties in combating racism.”

<sup>97</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>98</sup> . Ibid.

solidarity and about the realization that though there are differences we are all human beings; it is about encouraging the acceptance of others and interrelations among groups who may not share affinity, common values, or have empathy towards one another.<sup>99</sup>

Policy-making procedure should be clear and inclusive. Strategies should also meet the needs and concerns of the different social groups. It is important to establish social, political and economic systems through which people can have a voice in society. Therefore, the key criterion of social inclusion is guaranteeing equal treatment, so that each individual has equal opportunities, access and rights. Such action necessitates the contributions of governments, authorities, associations and also discriminated groups who are regarded as inferior to the rest of the community.

#### **4.4.2 Dialogue as a Basis for Rapprochement**

The field of cultural dialogue covers many valuable issues and contributes to resolving problems. Such a dialogue unifies members of communities within a context of mutual respect and a collective force to found a nation free of tensions and crises. Examples of these crises are ethnic and racial injustices. Indeed, racial movements menace the world's security and stability as they increase conflicts and hostility. The aim of creating mutual understanding through dialogue is that each person can understand the other, so they can arrive at agreement. In actual fact, dialogue can produce positive results and realize interests for both sides.

According to Abdulaziz Othman Altwaijri, "dialogue is not an intellectual luxury and should not be kept behind closed doors, cut off from reality, because it would have no effect on defusing struggles and conflicts. Its effect would be just as bad on

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<sup>99</sup>. Wheatley, "Non-Discrimination and Equality in the Right of Political Participation for Minorities."

the dissemination of the culture of justice and peace and the establishment of security and peace on earth”.<sup>100</sup> Thus, participants in the dialogue should appreciate each other and respect the different beliefs and opinions. Likewise, they should not use offensive expressions that can, directly or indirectly, hurt human soul. Altwajri views that his dialogic culture “leads to rapprochement – the latter being a spur to dialogue in its broadest acceptance and as a concept that reinforces objectives of building firm connections between individuals and communities, between peoples and nations.”<sup>101</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>. Altwajri, “Dialogue of Cultures and Civilizations: a Means to Counter Racism.”

<sup>101</sup>. Ibid.

However, dialogue should not be an end in itself, but a way to achieve human coexistence, mutual understanding and aid. Hence, any attempt made by individuals or groups towards rapprochement between communities and peoples can promote peace and social harmony that have been the main focus of many leaders during the last decades. Also, successful dialogic results depend on international laws that assure equal rights for peoples and groups and set up peace and security in each country. Those who support dialogue of cultures have the ethical responsibility to spread justice in societies and oppose all sorts of racism, hatred and prejudice using all possible means and resources. Peace, stability and impartiality seekers, thus, should encourage dialogue and rapprochement of cultures and fight racist ideologies.<sup>102</sup>

#### **4.4.3 Positive Media Coverage**

The media play a vital role in society since they reveal each nation's values and customs. They give us pictures of prescription and description and tell us how society views us as individuals and at the same time, they show us how to act in that society. The media encourage the idea of consensus - that we belong to a core group. Thus, preserving it is the concern of all its members.

The imaginary concept that all persons are equal in society's eyes, and that all possess equal access to institutions such as the media, helps us view our society as an open-minded state. However, if there are inequalities, within this concept, the blame may be directed to individuals. For example, if one cannot get a job, then it is an indication of that person's incapability to find employment. So, within this image, racism, sexism and class are translated into individual behaviours.

In the same context, the media see themselves as a basic source to report on issues of concern to the citizens. They regard their stances as neutral and objective. They impartially present the events that happen in daily life and provide unbiased

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<sup>102</sup>. Altwajri, "Dialogue of Cultures and Civilizations: a Means to Counter Racism."

coverage by presenting the different sides of a topic. In fact, media argue that they give the best explanation of the societal issues. Also, they report the comments, statements and arguments of other commanding institutions such as the government. Explanations and opinions expressed by these institutions are regarded as more reliable, and for this reason, less open to interview.

The media cannot be separate from the society on which they report. Indeed, they are an important part of society that depicts the historical signs of the previous systems of thoughts and beliefs. After her study of the coverage of ethnic and racial minorities in The Vancouver press from 1907 to 1976, Doreen Indra concluded that in Australia, New Zealand and the United States, people of colour and indigenous peoples were represented in a negative way. They were often accused of crime, deviance and the threat of invasion. Though Indra's study examined the coverage many years ago, the situation has not changed radically. Recently, after examining major dailies, it has been found that media give a bad image of people of colour and indigenous peoples. They are noticeably present in stories dealing with crime or with problems in their communities.<sup>103</sup> Yasmin Jiwani illustrates this point demonstrating that:

From print to electronic media, the racialization of groups continues in a number of different ways. Primary among these mechanisms is the identification of racial background when these are simply not warranted. Take for instance, the statement "The suspect was a black male....". Or, "the suspect is a Chinese man." Alternatively, if the racial identity is absent, the cultural background tends to be mentioned, as for example, "The body of the baby found in the ravine revealed her to be of South Asian origin." This association of cultural identity with a crime indicates

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<sup>103</sup>. Jiwani, "Race and Media: A retrospective and Prospective Gaze."

that the cultural heritage is to blame for the way in which the person acted.<sup>104</sup>

In effect, the cultures of those groups are viewed as a source of social troubles. This racial discrimination is regarded by many theorists as cultural racism. Moreover, in many cases, ethnic communities are not permitted to express themselves freely through the media. All happenings involving their lives are reported under whites' control. Jiwani said that:

Another technique used frequently by the media is the heavy reliance on official interpretations of events concerning or involving ethnic minorities/people of colour and aboriginal peoples. In these cases, the people themselves are often not allowed to talk. Instead, an official, who is usually white, speaks on their behalf...When people of colour or aboriginal people are allowed to speak, their words are often surrounded by quotations, or preceded by words such as "alleged." The implication here is that their stories or perspectives are dubious.<sup>105</sup>

Many writers view that within cinema, an ethnic minority member is only acceptable if his cultural characteristic is detached from the scene. This means that people of colour have to dissociate themselves from their cultures. America's news media must make intensive efforts to inform the public about racial issues, and to include communities of colour in discussions of topics and problems which concern their life. The media must do a better job of including the voices and experiences of all social groups. Furthermore, commentators should examine cautiously the possible impact of provocative comments, and check their facts correctly.<sup>106</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> . Jiwani, "Race and Media: A retrospective and Prospective Gaze."

<sup>105</sup> . Ibid.

<sup>106</sup> . Ibid.

Research should not only criticize negative media contents, but should also concentrate on factors in production (such as journalists' training) and audience reactions to media messages. More should be known about the psychological effects of media framing on audience perception, and what factors influence this. Also, research that analyzes and theorizes the relations between media and political agendas and their effects needs further development. Print media, TV and radio should be analyzed more broadly.<sup>107</sup>

## **Conclusion**

To feel integrated in society, citizens need to be appreciated and recognized. Social inclusion helps maintaining solidarity and encouraging the acceptance of others regardless of their differences. As it is mentioned in this chapter, establishing cultural dialogues is a vital step for these circumstances. Initiatives that create communications between all groups of the society, including discriminated minorities, should be sustained. Organizers, leaders and all decision makers of governments are responsible for promoting unity among different communities and building an outlook founded on the respect of diverse groups. If all individuals feel integrated in the society and can benefit from the economic, social and political opportunities and resources, they will greatly contribute to its success. As ensuring rights for all community members is an important issue, governments need to think deeply about their policies and make practical actions that fit the requirements of social inclusions, and the wellbeing of individuals beside the welfare of the country.

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<sup>107</sup>. Jiwani, "Race and Media: A retrospective and Prospective Gaze."

## **General Conclusion**

## **General Conclusion**

Throughout history, racial discrimination has threatened the existence and stability of societies. Many countries have violated and disregarded the human and civil rights of their citizens. They expressed this disregard through etiquettes, unfair laws and racial class systems which contravene human values and dignity. Race categorizes individuals and groups based on physical characteristics, particularly one's skin colour. As it is mentioned in the first and the second chapters of the present research, ethnicity defines one's origin or nationality, one's cultural setting or ancestry in addition to one's language and beliefs. Despite the fact that racial and ethnic identities are shaped by physical and biological roots, race and ethnicity are also ideologies, or ways of perceiving and understanding the world around us. Hence, they are used as descriptors and as indicators of wider conceptions. Race and ethnicity can distinguish individuals as belonging to a group or as outsiders. Through these two markers, some groups exercise power or dominance over others.

To understand the cultural significance related to a particular race or ethnicity, one should study the historical origins of the different ideologies. Many of American conceptions about race and ethnicity originate from specific moments in history. Through such transformations, dominant groups exerted power and authority over other groups. Subordinate groups, such as the case of Afro Americans, had almost no power. They were often deprived of the basic rights and opportunities. In contrast, the dominant group held and continues to hold social, political and economic authority.

In several cases, violence stems from racial discrimination. Absolutely, discrimination carries meanings of alienation, exclusion and subordination. It conveys an explicit message of differentness and inferiority of the victimized group or individuals. Such a discrimination causes disunity and conflicts that destroy communities. In effect, it is a peril to democracy.

Discrimination is not only a danger to societies, but also a violation of individual's identity. For example, having an Algerian identity is more than merely a personal ownership, i.e. just significant in terms of how a person is represented in politics or boardrooms. In fact, identity is an indicator of how possessions and opportunities are distributed. People who have historically experienced segregation and inequity, recognize that identity determines groups or individuals who benefit from such possessions and opportunities. To found a consistent society, the government should constitute fair laws and set up organizations, programs to guarantee and protect individuals' rights and help build better race relations. A cohesive community is one which works towards good ethnic relationships, the security of all its members, assures human and civil rights, fights marginalization, promotes a sense of belonging, and encourages upward mobility.

Undoubtedly, intolerance is devastating to societies and their cultures. It brings about terrific moral, cultural, and economic suffering to all nations. In fact, when the seeds of detestation and ethnocentrism are set in society, it will destroy every corner of life. Racism can be noticed through inequalities between groups/individuals and also through tensions among different ethnic communities.

Blacks needed to reach an estate of equal citizenship, not just in theory but more importantly in practice. Today, despite the reforms made, the process of democratization is still incomplete. African Americans suffer from diseases and afflictions of social marginality more than whites. They experience lower life conditions, higher infant mortality rate, low academic accomplishments, higher poverty and unemployment rates, and upper incidence of mental illness than do white Americans.

When racial stereotypes, inequity and prejudice spread in schools and universities, each individual is affected, mostly pupils and students belonging to minorities. The harmful consequences of racial discrimination include excessively

punition discipline, racial tensions and unfair funding. Fighting racism is essential to make sure that all learners receive a quality of instruction which helps them succeed in their professional lives. Learners who face racism from colleagues or teachers may react negatively. Such behaviours can provoke firm discipline. Students from minority groups are less likely to finish high school, attend college or get middle-class wages. Tensions can produce hate crimes or physical attacks between students from diverse races. In fact, a stressful atmosphere intensifies those students' anxiety and detracts them from learning.

Despite decades of struggle to fight discrimination in America, health status of African Americans is notably worse than that of whites. Nowadays, as the statistics revealed in the third chapter, rate of diseases, mortalities and injury among African American community is high. The factors that cause poor health include cultural differences in life patterns, inherited health risks, inequities in access to health care, differences in socioeconomic situation, and housing segregation. Another factor which has an impact on African Americans' health is police brutality. The latter is not just about persons dying during interactions with police force. It comprises verbal attacks which dehumanize the victim. Researches demonstrate that police brutality has health outcomes for people who are victimized.

Political and economic discriminations also shape African American life. In the political field, many issues about a possible new post-racial America have been discussed. Notwithstanding, the actualities of American racial politics have not changed considerably. Regarding economic discrimination, disparities between the two races include job availability, incomes, wages, accessibility of goods and services, and the amount of capital investment funding available to minorities for business. Such a discrimination is noticed through racism against workers, consumers, and minority-owned businesses or investors.

When speaking about racial issues in the United States, the word tragedy comes to our mind. Despite the civil rights revolution in laws and politics which took place during the 1950s and 1960s, African Americans still feel marginalized. In his “I have a Dream” Speech, Martin Luther King stated that black Americans “live in lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity”. Yet, despite the progress made, this state has not changed significantly. Moreover, King’s vision that one day people will be judged by the content of their character and not by the colour of their skin remains unrealized. Even now, Americans classify, respond to, and form their opinions on the basis of race.

Throughout this research, we observed that both black men and women suffered from exploitation, violence and racism. But, these Afro-American women namely Rosa Parks, Dorothy Height, Amelia Boyton, Daisy Bates and Jo Robinson struggled for human rights and decent living in a country where discrimination was felt in any walk of life. Black feminism was defined by black feminists as being stronger and sharper than white feminism, as black women had experienced a double discrimination rising from slavery and gender. Coined by Alice Walker as womanism, black feminism achieved some goals more related to their human and geographical issues.

To build healthy and strong societies and achieve democratic goals, great efforts need to be made to tackle the issue of racism. Racist behaviours do not only appear through individual attitudes, but also through organizations, public policies and culture. In America as well as other countries, disparities between racial and ethnic groups in education, housing, health care, justice systems and job opportunities still exist. Intercultural dialogues are advantageous as they promote people’s understanding of each other across ethnic lines. Well-organized dialogues can contribute greatly to changing race relations and offer new ways to deal with prejudice and inequity. Diverse interviews and discussions are productive especially when people hold different political, social and cultural perspectives.

Racial diversity may lead some people and communities to misunderstand members of a particular culture or race. Thus, they may practice discrimination. To achieve understanding, educational systems should include courses about cultural diversity. Each individual needs to perceive that cultures differ generally in their rules for expected behaviours as well as in the way they direct the progress of the person. Definitely, appreciating people from different cultures is necessary to overcome negative stereotypes and prejudice. Stereotypes are images held in people's minds about certain racial or cultural groups, without knowing whether the images held are true or false. Prejudice and discrimination are generally rooted in particular historical and social backgrounds, and are figured by institutional practices. When strategies that are set to develop intergroup relations do not include lessons about how to act in line with new awareness and knowledge, they are likely to be ineffective in changing relationships. Most individuals are not competent enough when interacting with people they perceive to be culturally and racially different. Even those with good intentions sometimes do the wrong thing.

As a matter of fact, each individual contributes to spread tolerance and seek to change racist behaviours. It is important to notice that while ethnic groups may have differences, they often have common features. So, making 'the other' seems less different or strange can promote positive interactions and avoid stereotyping. In several circumstances, many stereotypes and conflicts are not founded on clear or exact truths. By facing this misinformation directly, prejudices can be lessened. For instance, as many studies and data demonstrate, beliefs which many white Americans hold about the number of African American males who commit violent crimes, and the percentage of alcohol and drug abuse among African Americans are wrong. Learning what people think about members of other racial groups, and being able to rectify misinterpretations are the tasks of those who seek to develop intergroup relations.

To conclude with, as Professor Bedjaoui mentioned in her article “Vers une communication interculturelle,” education for tolerance can be one means to promote intercultural understanding or the dialogue of cultures. A sound education based on mutual respect can pave the way to tolerance and dignity which remain two fundamental characteristics of a decent life.<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> . Bedjaoui, “Vers une communication interculturelle,” 99.

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# **Appendices**

Appendix 1 : Islam and Nonviolence



لَا إِكْرَاهَ فِي الدِّينِ قَدْ تَبَيَّنَ الرُّشْدُ مِنَ الْغَيِّ فَمَنْ يَكْفُرْ بِالطَّاغُوتِ وَيُؤْمِن بِاللَّهِ فَقَدِ اسْتَمْسَكَ بِالْعُرْوَةِ الْوُثْقَىٰ لَا  
2:256 انْفِصَامَ لَهَا وَاللَّهُ سَمِيعٌ عَلِيمٌ

وَمَا أَرْسَلْنَاكَ إِلَّا رَحْمَةً لِّلْعَالَمِينَ ﴿١٠٧﴾

مِنْ أَجْلِ ذَلِكَ كَتَبْنَا عَلَىٰ بَنِي إِسْرَائِيلَ أَنَّهُ مَن قَتَلَ نَفْسًا بِغَيْرِ نَفْسٍ أَوْ فَسَادٍ فِي الْأَرْضِ فَكَأَنَّمَا قَتَلَ النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا  
وَمَنْ أَحْيَاهَا فَكَأَنَّمَا أَحْيَا النَّاسَ جَمِيعًا وَلَقَدْ جَاءَتْهُمْ رُسُلُنَا بِالْبَيِّنَاتِ ثُمَّ إِنَّ كَثِيرًا مِنْهُمْ بَعَدَ ذَلِكَ فِي الْأَرْضِ  
لَمُشْرِكُونَ (32) سورة المائدة

وَاعْتَصِمُوا بِحَبْلِ اللَّهِ جَمِيعًا وَلَا تَفَرَّقُوا ۗ وَادْكُرُوا نِعْمَتَ اللَّهِ عَلَيْكُمْ إِذْ كُنْتُمْ أَعْدَاءً فَأَلَّفَ بَيْنَ قُلُوبِكُمْ فَأَصْبَحْتُمْ  
بِنِعْمَتِهِ إِخْوَانًا وَكُنْتُمْ عَلَىٰ شَفَا حُفْرَةٍ مِّنَ النَّارِ فَأَنْقَذَكُمْ مِنْهَا ۗ كَذَلِكَ يُبَيِّنُ اللَّهُ لَكُمْ آيَاتِهِ لَعَلَّكُمْ تَهْتَدُونَ  
سورة آل عمران الآية 103

وَقَاتِلُوا فِي سَبِيلِ اللَّهِ الَّذِينَ يُقَاتِلُونَكُمْ وَلَا تَعْتَدُوا إِنَّ اللَّهَ لَا يُحِبُّ الْمُعْتَدِينَ سورة البقرة الآية 190

"وَأَقْتُلُوهُمْ حَيْثُ ثَقِفْتُمُوهُمْ وَأَخْرِجُوهُمْ مِّنْ حَيْثُ أَخْرَجُوكُمْ وَالْفِتْنَةُ أَشَدُّ مِنَ الْقَتْلِ وَلَا تُقَاتِلُوهُمْ عِنْدَ الْمَسْجِدِ  
الْحَرَامِ حَتَّىٰ يُقَاتِلُوكُمْ فِيهِ فَإِن قَاتَلُوكُمْ فَاقْتُلُوهُمْ كَذَلِكَ جَزَاءُ الْكَافِرِينَ" سورة البقرة الآية 191 .

"وَقَاتِلُوهُمْ حَتَّىٰ لَا تَكُونَ فِتْنَةٌ وَيَكُونَ الدِّينُ لِلَّهِ فَإِنِ انْتَهَوْا فَلَا عُدْوَانَ إِلَّا عَلَى الظالمين" سورة البقرة الآية 193

### **Translation of the Verses**

There shall be no compulsion in [acceptance of] the religion. The right course has become clear from the wrong. So whoever disbelieves in Taghut and believes in Allah has grasped the most trustworthy handhold with no break in it. And Allah is Hearing and Knowing.(2 :256)

And We have not sent you, [O Muhammad], except as a mercy to the worlds.(21:107)

Because of that, We decreed upon the Children of Israel that whoever kills a soul unless for a soul or for corruption [done] in the land - it is as if he had slain mankind entirely. And whoever saves one - it is as if he had saved mankind entirely. And our messengers had certainly come to them with clear proofs. Then indeed many of them, [even] after that, throughout the land, were transgressors.(5:32)

And hold firmly to the rope of Allah all together and do not become divided. And remember the favor of Allah upon you - when you were enemies and He brought your hearts together and you became, by His favor, brothers. And you were on the edge of a pit of the Fire, and He saved you from it. Thus does Allah make clear to you His verses that you may be guided.(3:103)

Fight in the way of Allah those who fight you but do not transgress. Indeed. Allah does not like transgressors.(2:190)

And kill them wherever you overtake them and expel them from wherever they have expelled you, and fitnah is worse than killing. And do not fight them at al-Masjid al- Haram until they fight you there. But if they fight you, then kill them. Such is the recompense of the disbelievers. (2:191)

Fight them until there is no [more] fitnah and [until] worship is [acknowledged to be] for Allah. But if they cease, then there is to be no aggression except against the oppressors.(2:193)

**Appendix 2 : Application of Gandhian Nonviolence by Outstanding figures**



Source : [http://www.mkgandhi.org/africaneedsgandhi/relevance\\_of\\_gandhi's\\_nonviolence.htm](http://www.mkgandhi.org/africaneedsgandhi/relevance_of_gandhi's_nonviolence.htm)

### Appendix 3: Martin Luther King's Biography



Martin Luther King, Jr., (January 15, 1929-April 4, 1968) was born Michael Luther King, Jr., but later had his name changed to Martin. His grandfather began the family's long tenure as pastors of the Ebenezer Baptist Church in Atlanta, serving from 1914 to 1931; his father has served from then until the present, and from 1960 until his death Martin Luther acted as co-pastor. Martin Luther attended segregated public schools in Georgia, graduating from high school at the age of fifteen; he received the B. A. degree in 1948 from Morehouse College, a distinguished Negro institution of Atlanta from which both his father and grandfather had graduated. After three years of theological study at Crozer Theological Seminary in Pennsylvania where he was elected president of a predominantly white senior class, he was awarded the B.D. in 1951. With a fellowship won at Crozer, he enrolled in graduate studies at Boston University, completing his residence for the doctorate in 1953 and receiving the degree in 1955. In Boston he met and married Coretta Scott, a young woman of uncommon intellectual and artistic attainments. Two sons and two daughters were born into the family.

Source : [https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel\\_prizes/peace/laureates/1964/king-bio.html](https://www.nobelprize.org/nobel_prizes/peace/laureates/1964/king-bio.html)

**Appendix 4 : Rosa Parks' Biography**



Rosa Parks was born on February 4, 1913 in Tuskegee, Alabama. When her parents divorced, she moved to Montgomery where she had to deal with segregation and laws she did not agree with. Rosa was affected greatly by segregation as a child; she despised being separated in everyday life. Although Rosa had to live with these rules and segregation as she grew, she managed to develop a sense of equality among the races. In fact, her mother stated about Rosa's beliefs, "**...People should be judged by the respect that they have for themselves and others.**" As an adult, Rosa married a barber, Raymond Parks. Rosa Parks was very active in the NAACP and the Montgomery Voters League. By her mid-life, Rosa became even more involved in the pursuit of racial justice. She participated in boycotts against various facilities endorsing segregation. As well as being absorbed in her fights for equality, Rosa had various jobs and extensive education. She attended Alabama State University, and later held jobs as a housekeeper, and seamstress. After the incident on the bus Rosa was continually threatened and harassed; however, she would not give up her efforts towards equality. Following her husband's death in 1977, Rosa founded an institute in order to help black youths, The Rosa and Raymond Parks Institute for Self Development. Throughout the end of her life, she received many awards and recognitions for her contributions. Rosa died peacefully on October 24th, 2005 at the age of 92.

**Appendix 5: Amelia Boynton's Biography**



Amelia Boynton was born on August 18, 1911, in Savannah, Georgia. Her early activism included holding black voter registration drives in Selma, Alabama, from the 1930s through the '50s. In 1964, she became both the first African-American woman and the first female Democratic candidate to run for a seat in Congress from Alabama. The following year, she helped lead a civil rights march during which she and her fellow activists were brutally beaten by state troopers. The event, which became known as Bloody Sunday, drew nationwide attention to the Civil Rights movement. In 1990, Boynton won the Martin Luther King Jr. Medal of Freedom. She died on August 26, 2015 at the age of 104.

**Source :** <https://www.biography.com/people/amelia-boynton-21385459>

**Appendix 6 : Dorothy Height's Biography**



Born in Virginia in 1912, Dorothy Height was a leader in addressing the rights of both women and African Americans as the president of the National Council of Negro Women. In the 1990s, she drew young people into her cause in the war against drugs, illiteracy and unemployment. The numerous honors bestowed upon her include the Presidential Medal of Freedom (1994) and the Congressional Gold Medal (2004). She died on April 20, 2010, in Washington, D.C.

**Source:** <https://www.biography.com/people/dorothy-height-40743>

**Appendix 7 : Jo Ann Robinson's Biography**



Jo Ann Robinson was born on April 17, 1912, in Culloden, Georgia. After earning a master's degree, she moved to Montgomery, Alabama, to teach at Alabama State College. After a verbally abusive encounter on a segregated city bus, Robinson became an advocate for equal rights for African Americans. She led a successful city bus boycott that gained national attention and the support of Martin Luther King Jr.

**Source :** <https://www.biography.com/people/jo-ann-robinson-21443551>

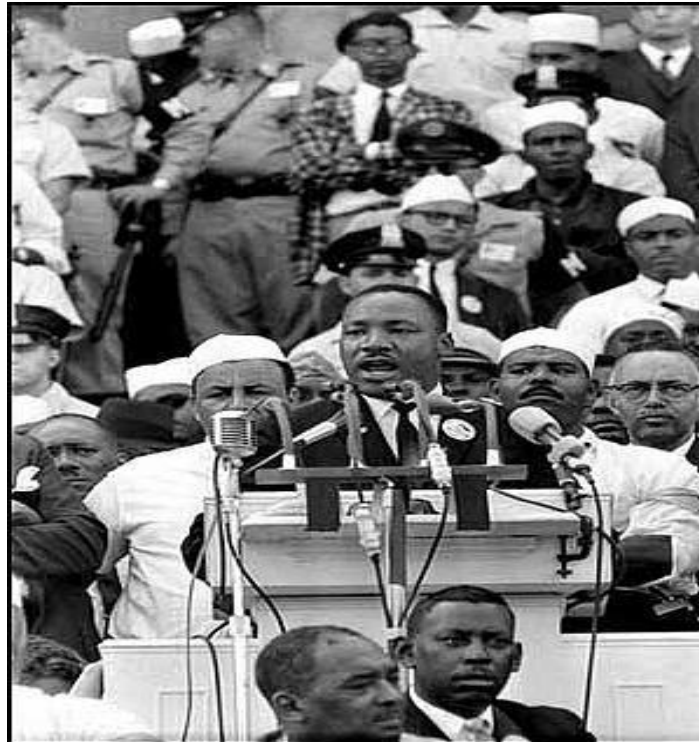
**Appendix 8 : Daisy Bates' Biography**



Daisy Bates was born on November 11, 1914, in Huttig, Arkansas. She married journalist Christopher Bates and they operated a weekly African-American newspaper, the Arkansas State Press. Bates became president of the Arkansas chapter of the NAACP and played a crucial role in the fight against segregation, which she documented in her book *The Long Shadow of Little Rock*. She died in 1999.

**Source:** <https://www.biography.com/people/daisy-bates-206524>

**Appendix 1:** Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr: *'I Have a Dream'*



Text below transcribed directly from audio.

I am happy to join with you today in what will go down in history as the greatest demonstration for freedom in the history of our nation.

Five score years ago, a great American, in whose symbolic shadow we stand today, signed the Emancipation Proclamation. This momentous decree came as a great beacon light of hope to millions of Negro slaves who had been seared in the flames of withering injustice. It came as a joyous daybreak to end the long night of their captivity.

But one hundred years later, the Negro still is not free. One hundred years later, the life of the Negro is still sadly crippled by the manacles of segregation and the chains of discrimination. One hundred years later, the Negro lives on a lonely island of poverty in the midst of a vast ocean of material prosperity. One hundred years later, the Negro is

still languished in the corners of American society and finds himself an exile in his own land. And so we've come here today to dramatize a shameful condition.

In a sense we've come to our nation's capital to cash a check. When the architects of our republic wrote the magnificent words of the Constitution and the Declaration of Independence, they were signing a promissory note to which every American was to fall heir. This note was a promise that all men, yes, black men as well as white men, would be guaranteed the "unalienable Rights" of "Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness." It is obvious today that America has defaulted on this promissory note, insofar as her citizens of color are concerned. Instead of honoring this sacred obligation, America has given the Negro people a bad check, a check which has come back marked "insufficient funds."

But we refuse to believe that the bank of justice is bankrupt. We refuse to believe that there are insufficient funds in the great vaults of opportunity of this nation. And so, we've come to cash this check, a check that will give us upon demand the riches of freedom and the security of justice.

We have also come to this hallowed spot to remind America of the fierce urgency of Now. This is no time to engage in the luxury of cooling off or to take the tranquilizing drug of gradualism. Now is the time to make real the promises of democracy. Now is the time to rise from the dark and desolate valley of segregation to the sunlit path of racial justice. Now is the time to lift our nation from the quicksands of racial injustice to the solid rock of brotherhood. Now is the time to make justice a reality for all of God's children.

It would be fatal for the nation to overlook the urgency of the moment. This sweltering summer of the Negro's legitimate discontent will not pass until there is an invigorating autumn of freedom and equality. Nineteen sixty three is not an end, but a beginning. And those who hope that the Negro needed to blow off steam and will now be content

will have a rude awakening if the nation returns to business as usual. And there will be neither rest nor tranquility in America until the Negro is granted his citizenship rights. The whirlwinds of revolt will continue to shake the foundations of our nation until the bright day of justice emerges.

But there is something that I must say to my people, who stand on the warm threshold which leads into the palace of justice: In the process of gaining our rightful place, we must not be guilty of wrongful deeds. Let us not seek to satisfy our thirst for freedom by drinking from the cup of bitterness and hatred. We must forever conduct our struggle on the high plane of dignity and discipline. We must not allow our creative protest to degenerate into physical violence. Again and again, we must rise to the majestic heights of meeting physical force with soul force.

The marvelous new militancy which has engulfed the Negro community must not lead us to a distrust of all white people, for many of our white brothers, as evidenced by their presence here today, have come to realize that their destiny is tied up with our destiny. And they have come to realize that their freedom is inextricably bound to our freedom.

We cannot walk alone.

And as we walk, we must make the pledge that we shall always march ahead.

We cannot turn back.

There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, "When will you be satisfied?" We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality. We can never be satisfied as long as our bodies, heavy with the fatigue of travel, cannot gain lodging in the motels of the highways and the hotels of the cities.

We cannot be satisfied as long as the negro's basic mobility is from a smaller ghetto to a larger one. We can never be satisfied as long as our children are stripped of their

selfhood and robbed of their dignity by a sign stating: "For Whites Only." We cannot be satisfied as long as a Negro in Mississippi cannot vote and a Negro in New York believes he has nothing for which to vote. No, no, we are not satisfied, and we will not be satisfied until "justice rolls down like waters, and righteousness like a mighty stream."

I am not unmindful that some of you have come here out of great trials and tribulations. Some of you have come fresh from narrow jail cells. And some of you have come from areas where your quest for freedom left you battered by the storms of persecution and staggered by the winds of police brutality. You have been the veterans of creative suffering. Continue to work with the faith that unearned suffering is redemptive. Go back to Mississippi, go back to Alabama, go back to South Carolina, go back to Georgia, go back to Louisiana, go back to the slums and ghettos of our northern cities, knowing that somehow this situation can and will be changed.

Let us not wallow in the valley of despair, I say to you today, my friends.

And so even though we face the difficulties of today and tomorrow, I still have a dream. It is a dream deeply rooted in the American dream.

I have a dream that one day this nation will rise up and live out the true meaning of its creed: "We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal."

I have a dream that one day on the red hills of Georgia, the sons of former slaves and the sons of former slave owners will be able to sit down together at the table of brotherhood.

I have a dream that one day even the state of Mississippi, a state sweltering with the heat of injustice, sweltering with the heat of oppression, will be transformed into an oasis of freedom and justice.

## *Appendices*

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I have a dream that my four little children will one day live in a nation where they will not be judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character.

I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day, down in Alabama, with its vicious racists, with its governor having his lips dripping with the words of "interposition" and "nullification" one day right there in Alabama little black boys and black girls will be able to join hands with little white boys and white girls as sisters and brothers.

I have a *dream* today!

I have a dream that one day every valley shall be exalted, and every hill and mountain shall be made low, the rough places will be made plain, and the crooked places will be made straight; "and the glory of the Lord shall be revealed and all flesh shall see it together."

This is our hope, and this is the faith that I go back to the South with.

With this faith, we will be able to hew out of the mountain of despair a stone of hope. With this faith, we will be able to transform the jangling discords of our nation into a beautiful symphony of brotherhood. With this faith, we will be able to work together, to pray together, to struggle together, to go to jail together, to stand up for freedom together, knowing that we will be free one day.

And this will be the day this will be the day when all of God's children will be able to sing with new meaning:

*My country 'tis of thee, sweet land of liberty, of thee I sing.*

*Land where my fathers died, land of the Pilgrim's pride,*

*From every mountainside, let freedom ring!*

And if America is to be a great nation, this must become true.

And so let freedom ring from the prodigious hilltops of New Hampshire.

Let freedom ring from the mighty mountains of New York.

Let freedom ring from the heightening Alleghenies of Pennsylvania.

Let freedom ring from the snowcapped Rockies of Colorado.

Let freedom ring from the curvaceous slopes of California.

But not only that:

Let freedom ring from Stone Mountain of Georgia.

Let freedom ring from Lookout Mountain of Tennessee.

Let freedom ring from every hill and molehill of Mississippi.

From every mountainside, let freedom ring.

And when this happens, when we allow freedom ring, when we let it ring from every village and every hamlet, from every state and every city, we will be able to speed up that day when *all* of God's children, black men and white men, Jews and Gentiles, Protestants and Catholics, will be able to join hands and sing in the words of the old Negro spiritual:

*Free at last! Free at last!*

*Thank God Almighty, we are free at last!*

**Appendix 9 : Barack Hussein Obama's Biography**



Barack Obama, in full Barack Hussein Obama II, (born August 4, 1961, Honolulu, Hawaii, U.S.), 44th president of the United States (2009–17) and the first African American to hold the office. Before winning the presidency, Obama represented Illinois in the U.S. Senate (2005–08). He was the third African American to be elected to that body since the end of Reconstruction (1877). In 2009, he was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize “for his extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and cooperation between peoples.

**Source:** <https://www.britannica.com/biography/Barack-Obama>

**Appendix 10:** Leopold Sedar Senghor's Poem 'To New York' (translated by Melvin Dixon)



New York! At first I was bewildered by your beauty,  
Those huge, long-legged, golden girls.  
So shy, at first, before your blue metallic eyes and icy smile,  
So shy. And full of despair at the end of skyscraper streets  
Raising my owl eyes at the eclipse of the sun.  
Your light is sulphurous against the pale towers  
Whose heads strike lightning into the sky,  
Skyscrapers defying storms with their steel shoulders  
And weathered skin of stone.  
But two weeks on the naked sidewalks of Manhattan —  
At the end of the third week the fever  
Overtakes you with a jaguar's leap  
Two weeks without well water or pasture all birds of the air  
Fall suddenly dead under the high, sooty terraces.  
No laugh from a growing child, his hand in my cool hand.  
No mother's breast, but nylon legs. Legs and breasts  
Without smell or sweat. No tender word, and no lips,  
Only artificial hearts paid for in cold cash  
And not one book offering wisdom.  
The painter's palette yields only coral crystals.  
Sleepless nights, O nights of Manhattan!  
Stirring with delusions while car horns blare the empty hours

And murky streams carry away hygenic loving  
Like rivers overflowing with the corpses of babies.

II

Now is the time of signs and reckoning, New York!  
Now is the time of manna and hyssop.  
You have only to listen to God's trombones, to your heart  
Beating to the rhythm of blood, your blood.  
I saw Harlem teeming with sounds and ritual colors  
And outrageous smells—  
At teatime in the home of the drugstore-deliveryman  
I saw the festival of Night begin at the retreat of day.  
And I proclaim Night more truthful than the day.  
It is the pure hour when God brings forth  
Life immemorial in the streets,  
All the amphibious elements shinning like suns.  
Harlem, Harlem! Now I've seen Harlem, Harlem!  
A green breeze of corn rising from the pavements  
Plowed by the Dan dancers' bare feet,  
Hips rippling like silk and spearhead breasts,  
Ballets of water lilies and fabulous masks  
And mangoes of love rolling from the low houses  
To the feet of police horses.  
And along sidewalks I saw streams of white rum  
And streams of black milk in the blue haze of cigars.  
And at night I saw cotton flowers snow down  
From the sky and the angels' wings and sorcerers' plumes.  
Listen, New York! O listen to your bass male voice,  
Your vibrant oboe voice, the muted anguish of your tears  
Falling in great clots of blood,  
Listen to the distant beating of your nocturnal heart,  
The tom-tom's rhythm and blood, tom-tom blood and tom-tom.

III

New York! I say New York, let black blood flow into your blood.  
Let it wash the rust from your steel joints, like an oil of life  
Let it give your bridges the curve of hips and supple vines.  
Now the ancient age returns, unity is restored,

The reconciliation of the Lion and Bull and Tree  
Idea links to action, the ear to the heart, sign to meaning.  
See your rivers stirring with musk alligators  
And sea cows with mirage eyes. No need to invent the Sirens.  
Just open your eyes to the April rainbow  
And your eyes, especially your ears, to God  
Who in one burst of saxophone laughter  
Created heaven and earth in six days,  
And on the seventh slept a deep Negro sleep.

**Source:** <https://www.poetryfoundation.org/poems/53354/to-new-york>

# **Glossary**

## Glossary

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### Glossary

**Apartheid:** the system of segregation or discrimination on grounds of race in force in South Africa 1948-91.

**Autonomy:** the possession or right of self-government.

**Civil disobedience:** the refusal to comply with certain laws or to pay taxes, as a political protest.

**Civil rights:** the rights of citizens to political and social freedom and equality

**Commitment:** the state or quality of being dedicated to a cause or policy.

**Coup d'état:** a sudden, illegal and often violent change of government.

**Culture:** the customs, institutions, and achievements of a particular nation, people, or group.

**Democracy:** a form of government in which the people have a voice in the exercise of power, typically through elected representatives.

**Discrimination:** prejudiced or prejudicial outlook, action, or treatment.

**Education:** the theory and practice of teaching.

**Equality:** the same status, rights, and responsibilities for all members of a society, group, or family.

**Ethnic minority:** a subgroup within a community which differs ethnically from the main population.

**Etiquette:** the rules of polite and correct behavior.

**Ghetto:** a part of a city, especially a slum area, occupied by a minority group.

**Human rights:** rights which are believed to belong justifiably to every person.

**Identity:** the fact of being who or what a person or thing is.

## Glossary

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**Inequity:** an instance of injustice or unfairness.

**Non-violence:** absence or lack of violence; state or condition of avoiding violence.

**Post-racial:** denoting or relating to a period or society in which racial prejudice and discrimination no longer exist.

**Prejudice:** preconceived opinion that is not based on reason or actual experience.

**Race relations:** relations between members of different races within a country.

**Racialization:** the act or process of imbuing a person with a consciousness of race distinctions or of giving a racial character to something or making it serve racist ends.

**Racism:** the belief that there are characteristics, abilities, or qualities specific to each race.

**Right:** a moral or legal entitlement to have or do something.

**Self-abnegation:** Lack of consideration for oneself or one's own interest; self-denial.

**Self-awareness:** conscious knowledge of one's own character, feelings, motives, and desires.

**Self-contempt:** a feeling of scorn and lack of admiration for oneself.

**Self-determination:** the process by which a country determines its own statehood and forms its own allegiances and government.

**Self-realization:** fulfilment of one's own potential.

**Slavery:** the system by which people are owned by other people as slaves.

**Social movement:** a group of diffusely organized people or organizations striving toward a common goal relating to human society or social change.

**Stereotype:** An image or idea of a particular type of person or thing that has become fixed through being widely held.

## **Glossary**

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**The Other:** a group or member of a group that is perceived as different, foreign, strange, etc.

**The self:** a person's own nature or qualities.

**Xenophobia:** intense or irrational dislike or fear of people from other countries.