

## Strategies of Resistance

## Dimensions of Action

1. Degree of challenge to dominant groups: accommodationist, moderate, reformist, militant, revolutionary
2. Integrationism vs separatism: whether the minority group stresses equality and mixing with the dominant group, or separation and difference

## Conservative/Radical Dimension

- Accommodationist = cooperating with the dominant group
- Moderate/Reformist= seeking change while not challenging those in power
- Radical/ Militant = seeking larger changes in a confrontational, aggressive manner
- Revolutionary/Violent = seeking to overthrow the present system, by violence if necessary

## Integrationist vs. Separatist

- Integrationist = Races should mix, minorities should intermingle with majority, everyone should be treated the same (egalitarian)
  - Assimilationist = Minorities should adopt majority culture, blend into the larger group
- VS
- Separatist = Races should be separate, minorities should keep in their own groups
  - Nationalist (in this context)= Minorities should have separate culture, distinct political base

## American Indians

- After 1870, US policy was generally forced assimilation, denial of language, religion, culture.
- As a reaction, American Indian movements tend to have anti-assimilation, self-determination themes
- Vary in degree of militancy, from individual assimilation to legal challenges to disruptive protests

## Black Assimilation & Separatism –1-

- African Americans share most culture with European Americans, have always had both impulses in their movements
  - Assimilationist: stress common cultural heritage, desire for citizenship, share "American values."
  - Separatist: stress value of own culture, look back to homeland (Africa), stress economic development, political self-determination.

### Black assimilation & separation –2-

- Whites forced separation, segregation on Blacks 1870-1970 (and after), so integration could be a radical demand
- Or accept segregation and demand self-determination can also be radical
- Separatism generally stronger among African Americans when Whites are more hostile; integration and assimilation are strong when times seem hopeful

### Black Integrationists & Separatists

	Assimilationist/ Integrationist	Separatist/ Nationalist
Accommodationist	today's "Black conservatives"	Booker T. Washington, some churches
Reformist	Urban League NAACP	Some community development groups
Radical/ Militant	M. L. King, Jr. W.E.B. Dubois A. Philip Randolph	Marcus Garvey Malcolm X Louis Farrakhan
Revolutionary	Class Revolution	Freedom Fighters

### Accommodationism

- Booker T. Washington
- 1895-1915
- Accommodationist self-improvement
- “The Atlanta Compromise” accepts segregation in exchange for economic development money
- “Official Black”: all White money channeled through him
- Retrospective view of him changes with the times

### Militant Separatists

### Reparations, Migration

- Bishop Henry McNeal Turner, Black nationalist, demanded \$40 billion in reparations for slavery, preached God is Black, involved in "African Fever", organized International Migration Society for a dollar-a-month plan to pay for passage to Liberia; not feasible, but facilitated passage of 500+ to Liberia 1895-1896

### Marcus Garvey

- Universal Negro Improvement Association, “Back to Africa” movement
  - 1-2 million followers
  - Black businesses, Black Star steamship line
  - Black religious symbols: Black Madonna, Black Jesus.
  - Ideology of moving to Africa, some negotiations with Liberia, nothing came of it
- Convicted of mail fraud in 1922; imprisoned then deported from US.
- Threats to Whites of Black Nationalism

### **Nation of Islam (Black Muslims)**

- Elijah Muhammad 1920s – 1975. Nation of Islam.
- Malcolm X (El-Hajj Malik El-Shabazz) 1952-1965. Nation of Islam. (Son of Malcolm Little, a Garveyite minister)
- Louis Farrakhan 1975- Nation of Islam (separatist splinter after W. Deen Muhammad led most of NOI into mainstream non-racial Islam)
- NOTE: NOI and Black Muslims are NOT the same as Muslims in general

### **Some Militant Integrationists**

### **W.E.B. DuBois**

- Critical of Booker Washington
- Integration, equality, “talented tenth”
- A sociologist; “double consciousness”
- Founds Niagra Movement 1905
- Founds NAACP, 1909
  - National Association for the Advancement of Colored People
  - Intended to involve Whites
- Also some cultural nationalist impulses

### **Many others**

- Ida B. Wells-Barnett Anti-lynching campaign. Demonstrates that lynching is a political tool. Inflammatory rhetoric.
- Thomas Fortune, William Trotter ran Black newspapers, advocated equality
- Weldon Johnson, leader of NAACP in the 1920s

### **A. Philip Randolph**

- 1920s - 1940s.
- Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters.
  - Strong Black union, political platform
  - Randolph a labor organizer, not a porter
- Socialist, integrationist: unite the working class
- But militant for Black political strength, equality
- March on Washington 1941

### **Class Issues**

- Whites divided by class: elites vs. working class
- So are Blacks. Historically 10% free Blacks educated, while 90% slave were legally required to be illiterate (some slaves got illegal educations)
- Blacks tend to unity due to common oppression by Whites, but at the same time are divided by class & education

### **Class Tensions: ongoing dilemmas**

- African American activists are generally from better-off and more educated backgrounds
  - Feel common sympathy with the poor, in some cases come from similar origins
  - But also feel critical of lower class lifestyles, feel “pulled down” by actions of others, feel stereotyped by Whites as “all Blacks are alike”
- Politicized lower-class Blacks feel class antagonisms, critiques of privilege, elitism of better-off Blacks

### **Resources & Capacities**

- Groups resist with the tools at hand
  - Lobbying, petitions if government is receptive
  - Electoral if you can vote
  - Disruptive protests if you have the numbers
  - Violent if you think you can win or have nothing to lose
- Weighing themselves against the opposition

### **Cognitive Liberation**

1. There is something wrong, something is unjust
2. It is possible to do something about this, change is possible

### **Something is wrong**

- Injustice frame = the present situation is wrong, immoral, unjust
- “Internalized oppression” = you accept subordinate position, believe it is right
  - God’s will
  - Your individual failure
- System attribution: the problem is social or political

### **Something can & should be done**

- Belief that change is possible is essential for action
- Tied to perception of possibilities
- Example of others’ success
- There is also action in the face of certain failure when the alternative seems worse than death or loss.
  - I’ll know I tried
  - “I’d rather die on my feet than live on my knees.” Zapata.