Gary L. Anderson & Kathryn G. Herr

Editors

Encyclopedia of ACTIVISM *and* SOCIAL JUSTICE

1

Joseph C. Santora
Thomas Edison State College

Jeff Sapp
California State University, Dominguez Hills

Diego Saravia
Universidad Nacional de Salta

Paul Khalil Saucier
Northeastern University

Scott Schaffer
Millersville University of Pennsylvania

H. E. Schmiesser
University of Florida

David Schweickart
Loyola University Chicago

Helen C. Scott
University of Vermont

Katherine A. Scott
Temple University

Adrian Oscar Scribano
Universidad Nacional de Villa Maria CEA UN Cordoba

James L. Secor
Sun Yat-Sem University, Guangzhou City, China

Eden H. Segal
University of Maryland

Maha Shami
United Palestinian Appeal

Muna J. Shami
American University

Benjamin Shepard
California State University, Long Beach

Frederick Shepherd
Samford University

David Sherman
University of Montana

Horacio Sierra
University of Florida

John Sillito
Weber State University

Shawnece Simmons
Urban Scholar in Residence Program at Central Magnet High, Bridgeport, Connecticut

Anneliese A. Singh
Georgia State University

Michael Singh
University of Western Sydney

Daniel A. Smith
University of Florida

David Norman Smith
University of Kansas

Yushau Sodiq
Texas Christian University

Soner Soysal
Middle East Technical University

Andre Spicer
University of Warwick

Stephanie Urso Spina
State University of New York, Cortland

(SCLC). As in her earlier work in the NAACP, Baker played an important if largely unacknowledged role in the SCLC. Her criticism of its reliance on charismatic male leaders and hierarchical organizational structures would cause tension with the SCLC leadership, including Martin Luther King, Jr. She was instrumental in organizing the successful May 17, 1957, Prayer Pilgrimage for Freedom held at the Lincoln Memorial in Washington, D.C. Attended by 25,000 to 30,000 people, it provided a national political stage for the SCLC. In 1958, Baker moved to Atlanta and worked for the SCLC directing the voter rights campaign, Crusade for Citizenship. Baker continued to urge SCLC leaders to promote mass action programs, to target women's involvement, and to develop youth and action work.

In April 1960, following a series of student desegregation sit-ins, Baker invited students and other leaders to a conference at Shaw University, her alma mater. Later that year, she helped them form the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee.

Baker encouraged and mentored the founding of an independent youth organization that provided a more egalitarian, grassroots-based model than that of the SCLC. Four years later, the Mississipi Freedom Democratic Party was created as a grassroots political party challenging the all-white, segregated Mississippi Democratic Party. Baker established the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party's Washington, D.C, office. She delivered the keynote speech at its state convention in Jackson, Missisippi, and eulogized the three recently murdered white civil rights workers.

Baker continued to work on a series of projects, including the Southern Conference Education Fund, which was organized to promote cooperation between black and white people. From serving on the Puerto Rican Solidarity Committee to ties with the Third World Women's Alliance to the Angela Davis Defense Committee, Ella Jo Baker lent her support and name to a range of activities that promoted her vision for radical change and elimination of racial, economic, and political injustice.

—Joyce Apsel

See also Civil Rights Movement; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP); Southern Christian Leadership Conference; Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)

Further Readings

Grant, J. (Producer/Director). (1981). *Fundi: The story of Ella Baker* [Video film]. (Available from First Run Icarus Films, 32 Court Street, 21st Floor, Brooklyn, NY 11201)

Grant, J. (1998). *Ella Baker: Freedom bound.* New York: Wiley.

Ransby, B. (2003). *Ella Baker and the black freedom movement: A radical democratic vision.* Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Baldwin, James (1924–1987)

James Arthur Baldwin was born in Harlem, New York City, on August 2, 1924. He was the eldest of nine children. His stepfather, a hard and cruel man, was a storefront preacher. A voracious reader as a child, Baldwin published his first story at the age of 12 in a church newspaper. At the early age of 14, he became a preacher in a Pentecostal church in Harlem, but in his late teens, he converted from the love of religion back to his first love, literature. Baldwin's literary genius would take him all over the world, but he was always rooted in the influences of his childhood. The influences on his writing style included the rhythms and rhetoric of the King James Bible and the storefront church. Family, race, and sexuality would become his topics of choice. His writings were influential in informing a large white audience about growing up black in America.

The year that Baldwin was born was also the year of the Detroit race riots of 1924, one of the bloodiest race riots of the century. The day of his stepfather's funeral, on Baldwin's 19th birthday, a race riot broke out in Harlem as well. Indeed, as they drove to the graveyard, Baldwin later wrote, injustice, anarchy, discontent, and hatred were all around them. As a black man in America, Baldwin seemed destined to confront race, and he approached it with the evangelical fervor of his youth. He had been a child preacher,

and he still believed in the possibility of mass conversion regarding race in America.

Baldwin's rage toward racism was fueled by a job he had in a defense plant in New Jersey during the war. It was there that he felt the sting of segregation at the bars, diners, and bowling alleys that were closed to him. He insisted on going to these places even though he knew he would be refused service. He felt compelled to suffer the rejection and force whites to tell him they would not serve him.

Baldwin began writing full-time in 1943 and, although publishers rejected his work, his book reviews and essays helped garner him the prestigious Rosenwald Fellowship in 1948. Baldwin's difficult relationship with his stepfather, his confusion with his sexual orientation, the suicide of a friend, and the ever-present strain of racism in America drove him to move to Paris in 1948. It was in Europe that Baldwin finished *Go Tell It on the Mountain*; this novel garnered him fame when it was published in 1953. In this and subsequent works, Baldwin fused autobiographical material with a keen analysis of prejudice and social injustice. In his book *Love in a Dark Time: And Other Explorations of Gay Lives and Literature,* Colm Toíbín says that Baldwin was both freed and cornered by his heritage. He was freed from being a dandy and freed into finding a subject. Then he was cornered into being a spokesman or an exile.

Baldwin was always conscious of his otherness and wrote about it often. In an essay, "Stranger in the Village" (1953), he describes traveling to a small Swiss village. The children call him a nigger in Swedish, and he realizes that American beliefs originated right there in Europe. He had not escaped racism at all by going to Europe; he had only found its roots.

Baldwin's play *The Amen Corner,* published in 1955, was also written during his time in Europe; it speaks to another of Baldwin's major topics, that of family. He was the oldest child in his family and once commented that his family had saved him because they kept him so busy caring for them. Many of his writings had a theme of brotherhood and, often, of one brother helplessly watching the other spiral down into death and despair. The title essay in *Notes of a Native Son* (1955) was autobiographical.

In 1956, Baldwin published his second novel, *Giovanni's Room,* the story of a white American expatriate who must come to terms with his sexual orientation. This beautifully written story about gay love has come to symbolize the confining space occupied by gays in the past. It is considered by many to be the finest example of gay prose ever created. Baldwin's inclusion of gay themes resulted in a brutal criticism from some in the black community. Eldridge Cleaver, of the Black Panthers, said that Baldwin's writings displayed a total hatred of blacks. Editors in New York felt that publishing a black writer was fascinating, but they also felt that publishing a black homosexual writer was totally impossible. Publishers told him point-blank not to write about his homosexuality. When he did, they refused to publish it.

Baldwin returned to America from Europe in 1957 to participate in the struggle for school desegregation in the South. He offered a vital literary voice during the era of the civil rights movement and activism during the 1950s and 1960s. Many other famous black literary figures would have nothing to do with the civil rights movement; Langston Hughes took no part, nor did Ralph Ellison. Baldwin's writing and passion was always connected to the world of his family and his country. It was inevitable that he would become passionately involved in the movement. The movement, though, offered him no safe haven.

The civil rights movement was hostile to homosexuals. There were only two known gay men in the movement, Baldwin and Bayard Rustin. Rustin was a veteran activist by the time the movement came to national prominence. He had been imprisoned as a conscientious objector, beaten by police as early as 1942 for his refusal to obey segregation laws, and served on a chain gang in 1947 for his participation in the first Freedom Ride organized by the Congress of Racial Equality. Rustin and King were very close, as Rustin received credit for the success of the March on Washington. Whereas King was not bothered by Rustin's homosexuality, many of his colleagues were. Eventually homophobic pressure resulted in King distancing himself from Rustin. This may also be why Baldwin was conspicuously uninvited to speak at the end of the March on Washington. During his involvement in the movement, Baldwin made

speeches, went on television, traveled, and organized boycotts. He wrote very little during this time; many believe it was because his work was directly political.

Published in 1962, the novel *Another Country* was about racial and gay sexual tensions among New York intellectuals. It was criticized for having weak characters. Also published in 1962, *Nobody Knows My Name* was a collection of essays that explored, among other issues, black-white relations in America, Faulkner's views on segregation, and the work of Richard Wright. It became a bestseller in 1963 under the title *The Fire Next Time*; in it, Baldwin warned readers that violence would result if white America did not change its attitudes toward black America. Like King and others during the civil rights movement, Baldwin attracted the attention of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, which had a 1,750-page file on him.

When Martin Luther King, Jr. was assassinated in 1968, Baldwin began to acknowledge that violence was the way to racial justice. Optimism and peaceful solutions crept back into his work later. His novel *Tell Me How Long the Train's Been Gone* (1968) was also criticized as simpleminded and one-dimensional. *If Beale Street Could Talk* (1974) showed an artistic renewal as Baldwin penned a moving and poetic love story that emphasized the importance of family bonds and the simple power of love as a means of survival. *The Evidence of Things Not Seen* (1985) was an account of the brutal, unsolved murders of 28 black children in Atlanta in 1980 and 1981. It also disappointed critics. Baldwin became Five College Professor in the Afro-American Studies Department of the University of Massachusetts at Amherst in 1983. He spent his last years, however, in St. Paul de Vence on the Riviera, in France, where he died of stomach cancer on November 30, 1987.

Baldwin was compelling because he embodied so many contradictions. He was artist and agitator. He was political and engaged. He was Harlem and Greenwich Village and Paris. He was social and a loner. In his writings he explored the parts of the self that most people conceal and attempt to hide even from themselves. He wanted it all illuminated; he wanted to bare it all. Always the child preacher, Baldwin demonstrated the necessity of recognizing our sins, and not just those of racism and homophobia, but our refusal to really know each other, to accept differences, and to love. He believed not in guilt, but in responsibility.

—Jeff Sapp

See also Civil Rights Movement; Congress of Racial Equality; Freedom Rides, 1961; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Literature and Activism; Nonviolence and Activism; Other, The

Further Readings

Baldwin, J. (1953, October). Stranger in the village. *Harper's, 207,* 42–48.

Baldwin, J. (1953). *Go tell it on the mountain.* New York: Knopf.

Baldwin, J. (1954, July). The amen corner. *Zero, 2,* 4–8, 11–13.

Baldwin, J. (1955). *Notes of a native son.* Boston: Beacon Press.

Baldwin, J. (1956). *Giovanni's room.* New York: Dial.

Baldwin, J. (1962). *Another country.* New York: Dial.

Baldwin, J. (1963). *The fire next time.* New York: Dial.

Baldwin, J. (1968). *Tell me how long the train's been gone.* New York: Dial.

Baldwin, J. (1974). *If Beale Street could talk.* New York: Dial.

Baldwin, J. (1985). *The evidence of things not seen.* New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston.

Tóibín, C. (2001). *Love in a dark time: And other explorations of gay lives and literature.* New York: Scribner.

Ballot Initiatives

Perhaps more than anywhere else in the world, activists clamoring for social justice have used ballot initiatives in the American states to advance their progressive causes. The initiative is one of the three mechanisms of direct democracy (along with the popular referendum and the recall).

Originating in Switzerland, direct democracy was imported to the United States during the 1890s, the heyday of the populist movement. Of the three mechanisms, the initiative is by far the most widely used. It allows citizens to participate directly in the making of public policy by casting their votes on ballot measures. In order to place either a statutory or a constitutional

midwestern senators. Together they formed what came to be known as the Peace Progressive caucus. This group added to the NPL's traditional defense of the farmer a noninterventionist and anti-imperialist foreign policy preference that sought to make the United States a power for international peace, economic justice, and equitable development. There was also created a National Non-Partisan League that tried to coordinate these efforts.

In addition, the NPL's success inspired a number of efforts at creating a broad nationwide coalition labor party. In the first of these attempts, the NPL's David C. Coates joined a group of labor leaders and former Socialist Party, Prohibition Party, and Progressive Party activists to form the National Party. This group, which owed much to the efforts of John Spargo, failed to attract broad support, and it folded within a couple of years of its 1917 founding. Some NPL activists then teamed up with members of the Committee of Forty-Eight to form the national Farmer-Labor Party. Their organizational and electoral model inspired, too, the Conference for Progressive Political Action in the 1920s, the short-lived EPIC campaign of California socialist Upton Sinclair in 1932, and partially even Michael Harrington's Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee of the 1970s. In all these cases, democratic socialists tried to build a socially activist movement that was not class-based but would pool the power of all progressively minded groups in America.

As a national force, the NPL never did gain the kind of influence that its North Dakotan and Minnesotan sections enjoyed locally. After World War II, this local power disappeared, too, for in 1956 the North Dakota NPL merged with the Democratic Party to form the Democratic-Non-Partisan League, and in Minnesota the Farmer-Labor Party merged with the Democrats to form the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in 1956. In both these states, however, the long-lasting influence of the NPL empowered and inspired a tradition of progressive social activism that continued in the new merged parties.

—Markku Ruotsila

See also Democratic Socialism; Grange Movement; Sinclair, Upton; Social Democracy; Third-Party Politics

Further Readings

Critchlow, D. T. (Ed.). (1986). *Socialism in the heartland: The midwestern experience, 1900–1925.* Notre Dame, IN: University of Notre Dame Press.

Johnson, R. D. (1995). *The Peace Progressives and American foreign policy.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Morlan, R. L. (1955). *Political prairie fire: The Non-Partisan League, 1915–1922.* Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Ruotsila, M. (2006). *John Spargo and American socialism.* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Russell, C. E. (1920). *The story of the Non-Partisan League: A chapter in American evolution.* New York: Harper & Brothers.

Weinstein, J. (1967). *The decline of socialism in America: 1912–1925.* New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

Nonviolence and Activism

Nonviolent activism comprises the practice of applying power to achieve social and political goals through the use of nonviolent methods. It is a powerful and effective way to cause social change because it seeks to transform society using means that are consistent with the ends of a just society. Nonviolence is more than the mere absence of violence. It is a positive, constructive orientation to all living things. The roots of this creed are found in the Indian concept called *ahimsa,* which means nonviolence or noninjury.

Mohandas Gandhi was a major political and spiritual leader in India. He was the pioneer of *satyagraha*—resistance through mass civil disobedience strongly founded upon *ahimsa* (total nonviolence). Gandhi most famously implemented nonviolence and activism when he led Indians in the disobedience of the oppressive salt tax in the 1930 Dandi Salt March. Although nonviolence gained popularity in the political arena, Gandhi did not limit it to this arena. Early in the development of his philosophy and the techniques that came from it, he saw fit to live by the law of nonviolence in all his activities. These included his family relations, diet, and work interactions. He did not believe that one could use nonviolence only in the political arena and not in all of one's life. Gandhi's life

and teachings inspired people working for justice throughout the globe, including Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., and the American civil rights movement. King learned about Gandhi and, thus, nonviolence and activism from a wealthy white southern woman named Juliette Hampton Morgan.

Morgan was a seventh-generation southerner and a third-generation Alabamian with high status in the community. She suffered from severe anxiety attacks and for that reason rode the Montgomery, Alabama, city buses instead of driving her own vehicle. On those buses, she saw the white bus drivers terribly mistreat the black passengers. In 1939, 16 years before the famous Montgomery Bus Boycott, Morgan began writing letters of protest to the *Montgomery Advertiser.* In these letters, she said that segregation was un-Christian and wrong and that the citizens of Montgomery should do something about it.

One morning as she rode the bus, Morgan watched a black woman pay her fare and then leave the front door of the bus to reenter through the back door, as was the custom. As soon as the black woman stepped off, the white bus driver pulled away, leaving the woman behind even though she'd already paid her fare. Incensed, Morgan jumped up and pulled the emergency cord. She demanded that the bus driver open the door and let the black woman come on board. No one on the bus, black or white, could believe what they were seeing. In the days that followed, Morgan pulled the emergency cord every time she witnessed such injustices.

On December 1, 1955, Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat on a Montgomery city bus. On December 12, 1955, Morgan was published in the *Montgomery Advertiser* and wrote how the quiet dignity and discipline of the local boycott reminded her of Gandhi and what he had accomplished in India. The Reverend Martin Luther King, Jr., recalled Juliette Morgan's influence on him and the civil rights movement in his book, *Stride Toward Freedom: The Montgomery Story.* King acknowledged that Morgan had been the first to draw an analogy between the boycott and Gandhi's practice of nonviolent civil disobedience.

The American civil rights movement employed many forms of nonviolent activism to bring segregation to its knees. Those in the movement adopted a combined strategy of direct action with nonviolent resistance sometimes referred to as civil disobedience. The acts of civil disobedience produced crises, and authorities often had to act with an immediate response that sometimes went in favor of the protesters. Examples of nonviolent activism include boycotts like the Montgomery Bus Boycott (1955–1956) in Alabama, sit-ins such as the lunch counter sit-ins in 1960 in North Carolina, and marches like the Selma-to-Montgomery marches in 1965 in Alabama. One of the aspects of nonviolent activism is that it allows almost everyone to participate: women and men, elderly, youths, and children. An example of this is the Children's March in 1963 in Birmingham, Alabama.

There are numerous techniques or forms that nonviolence can take. In his book *Politics of Nonviolent Action,* Gene Sharp identified almost 200 methods of nonviolent action. Among them are symbolic protests, hunger strikes, social or economic boycotts, strikes, civil disobedience, political noncooperation, public demonstrations, slow-downs, publication of banned newspapers, assistance to persecuted people, defiance of the government, student defiance, children's demonstrations, individual and mass resignations, and refusal to collaborate.

Nonviolence is based on humane principles like love, compassion, understanding, caring, forgiveness, equity, and justice. It works from the notion that power is gained through cooperation and that people have the freedom to cooperate or withdraw cooperation. It recognizes the humanity of the oppressor and offers ways to oppose the oppressor without doing violence to the doer of the wrong.

—*Jeff Sapp*

See also Civil Disobedience; Civil Rights Movement; Gandhi, Mohandas K.; King, Martin Luther, Jr.; Montgomery Bus Boycott; Parks, Rosa

Further Readings

Gandhi, M. (1961). *Non-violent resistance.* New York: Schocken.

King, M. L., Jr. (1958). *Stride toward freedom: The Montgomery story.* New York: Harper & Row.

Sharp, G. (1973). *Politics of nonviolent action.* Boston: Porter Sargent.

penalties. But whistleblowing has been less successful at holding individual corporate officers legally responsible and providing recompense to the individuals most affected. Because recoveries are not earmarked for the specific program defrauded, those served by the programs (e.g., Medicaid recipients, veterans, users of public health clinics) receive no direct benefit. Whistleblowing, however, does give employees a way to take positive action to end illegal profiteering, often at the expense of programs designed for the most vulnerable. Whistleblowing works best when tied to ongoing social movements, but the very exposure of wrongful actions itself serves as a catalyst to change.

—Beatrice Manning

See also Ellsberg, Daniel; Silkwood, Karen; Webb, Gary

Further Readings

Alford, C. F. (2002). *Whistleblowers.* Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press.

McLean, B., & Elkind, P. (2004). *The smartest guys in the room.* New York: Penguin.

Orey, M. (1999). *Assuming the risk.* Boston: Little, Brown.

White Privilege

White privilege is the condition of having a collection of benefits based on belonging to a group perceived to be white, when the same or similar benefits are denied to members of other groups, not because of one's individual accomplishments or actions. White privilege is about concrete benefits to resources, social rewards, and the power to shape the norms of society. Peggy Macintosh aptly calls this unpacking the invisible knapsack of privilege that white people carry with them because of their skin color. The "knapsack" contains the unearned assets that white people cash in on but about which, all too often, white people remain oblivious.

White privilege is racism's elusive counterpart. Racism asserts the superiority of one race over another, seeks to maintain dominance through a complex system of beliefs, behaviors, language, and policies, and racism ranges from the individual to the institutional to the societal. White privilege, though, isn't something that white people necessarily do or benefit from on purpose. It does provide advantages because it shapes the world in which we live.

Jennifer Holladay writes a clear example of her own white privilege in *White Anti-Racist Activist: A Personal Roadmap.* She writes about how she wanted a job at a certain civil rights organization and couldn't get an interview, so she phoned her white male mentor from her predominantly white college. Her mentor knew another white man who knew someone who worked at that organization, who also happened to be a white man. Her father, a white man, wrote a letter to the editor of a newspaper, also a white man, who wrote a letter on her behalf to the founder of the organization she wanted a job at, who was also a white man. Holladay goes on and on about the trail of white men who opened up the door for her to interview for the job she wanted. She got the job. She was qualified for the job she got too, but through her narrative we see that she knows she didn't get it solely on her own merit. She unpacked the knapsack of her white privilege through the personal and professional connections that many people don't even think to deconstruct. If Holladay's narrative seems odd, it is because whiteness exists in the absence of any kind of definition. It's normative, so it's odd to hear a white person describing another person as white.

White privilege, or white skin privilege, involves an advantage, exemption, or immunity granted to white people beyond the common advantage extended to people of color. In this view, white privilege is the primary benefit of racism as expressed in preferential treatment within a society.

—Jeff Sapp

See also Baldwin, James

Further Readings

Holladay, J. (1999). *White antiracist activism: A personal roadmap.* Roselle, NJ: Center for the Study of White American Culture.

Johnson, A. G. (2001). *Privilege, power, and difference.* New York: McGraw-Hill.

Macintosh, P. (1989). *White privilege: Unpacking the invisible knapsack.* Wellesley, MA: Wellesley Centers for Women.

Encyclopedia of ACTIVISM *and* SOCIAL JUSTICE

The **Encyclopedia of Activism and Social Justice** presents a comprehensive overview of the world of activism with topics of varying dimensions, breadth, and length. This three-volume Encyclopedia is designed for readers to understand the concepts and ideas that motivate and shape the fields of activism, civil engagement, and social justice, as well as to learn more about the major thinkers and leaders who have influenced and continue to influence the study of activism.

Key Features

- Offers multidisciplinary perspectives with contributions from the fields of education, communication studies, political science, leadership studies, social work, social welfare, environmental studies, health care, social psychology, and sociology
- Provides an easily recognizable approach to topics, ideas, persons, and concepts based on alphabetical and biographical listings in civil engagement, social justice, and activism
- Addresses both small-scale social justice concepts and larger-scale issues
- Includes biographical pieces that highlight the concepts, ideas, or legacies of individuals and groups who have influenced current practice and thinking, such as John Stuart Mill, Rachel Carson, Mother Jones, Martin Luther King, Jr., Karl Marx, Mohandas Gandhi, Nelson and Winnie Mandela, Dorothy Day, and Thomas Merton

Visit our Web site at www.sagepublications.com

A SAGE Reference Publication