

Transformation

Vol. 17 Issue 1
Winter 2002

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**Arkansas Timeline,
Suggested Reading List**

Focus on Race: Black, White, Other

The increase in hate crimes against Arab-Americans since September 11th reveals how easy it is for certain Americans to trample the rights of their neighbors in times of crisis. Often, immigrant groups or groups thought to be immigrant are targeted based on false notions that they contribute to problems largely out of the control of the general population—be it terrorism, economic recession, or war. In the South especially, there is a perception that there are only two races: white and black. People who do not fit into that construct remain unseen and unmentioned, even in “progressive” circles, making it easy for them to be misunderstood and targeted when Americans look for someone to blame for their problems.

In our commitment to dismantle racism and sexism in all their forms, the Women’s Project seeks to extend our work beyond traditional thinking by addressing all forms of racism, including how it works against people who do not fit into the black/white paradigm and how it plays out in conflicts between differing groups of color. Just as we don’t believe in forcing women to “rank” their oppressions, our goal is not to prove that all people of color have been “equally” oppressed, nor is it meant to fuel competition over

what group is “more oppressed.” Instead, we hope that greater understanding between diverse groups of color and white allies can lead to new strategies and progress towards eliminating racism and white supremacy in all their forms.

This issue of *Transformation* addresses race from both within and outside of the black/white paradigm. Angeline Echeverría and Judy Matsuoka talk specifically about the ways that Latinos and Asian and Pacific Islanders play into racial politics in the South. Amy Edgington writes about growing up as a white person in the South and being forced to re-examine her thinking about race once confronted by groups who were not black or white. In an excerpt from the journal of Southerners on New Ground, Wendi O’Neal and Pam McMichael address how people of color can work to overcome internalized oppression.

We’ve also included excerpts from a people’s timeline to Arkansas history and a reading list with books by and about diverse groups of color for further learning. It is our hope that we can continue to address the issues raised in this *Transformation* throughout our work to dismantle racism and other oppressions. ■

The Border Crossed Us: Latinos and Race in the South

Angeline Echeverría

Honestly, there's no such thing as a Hispanic, Latino or Latina. Chilean culture has very little in common with that of Mexico. It is not until a person from Latin America comes to the US that s/he encounters the labels "Latino" and "Hispanic." Latinos and Hispanics in the US have roots in parts of the Caribbean, South, Central, and North America and, depending on who you talk to, Spain. There is no one race that we share. Latinos may look black, white, indigenous (Native Caribbean or American, a.k.a. Indian), Asian, or just about any combination of racial backgrounds one can imagine. Different Latin American countries have different racial and ethnic compositions based on their history of conquest and immigration. Argentina and Chile, for example, have a reputation for being "white" countries, because of their large European immigrant populations; other South American countries, like Bolivia and Peru, are largely indigenous; and countries like Cuba and Brazil have large African-descended populations.

Any of the following women could consider themselves "Latina": a second generation white-skinned Cuban-American (like me), a recently immigrated indigenous Honduran citizen, and a Chicana (Mexican-American) whose family has lived in Arizona since it was part of Mexico. (Contrary to popular belief, all of the Latinos in the US are not here due to immigration; parts or all of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Texas have been Mexican territory in the past. US claims to the land were enforced

through the Mexican-American War and other state-sanctioned and/or individual acts of violence).

Generally, the only thing "Latinas" might share would be the Spanish language, but even that is not a given. The Honduran woman may speak an indigenous language and have little to no knowledge of Spanish. The Chicana might only speak English or "spanglish." Brazilians are also

Contrary to popular belief, all of the Latinos in the US are not here due to immigration; parts or all of California, Arizona, New Mexico, Nevada, Utah, Colorado, Wyoming and Texas have all been Mexican territory in the past.

often considered Latino, even though Portuguese is Brazil's national language.

So, why write this article if there's no such thing as a Latino anyway? Although race, class, and other factors divide Latinos and the category is invented, we still live our lives under this label, impacted by the generalizations made about Latinos as a people. We present a different challenge to the black/white racial paradigm—one that progressive people in Arkansas (and the South as a whole) must grapple with as the Latino population continues to

grow here and throughout the South. The fact that Latino is an ethnic and not a racial classification further complicates matters. Although Latinos are largely seen as non-white "people of color," 38,463 of the 86,866 Latinos in Arkansas identified racially as white in the 2000 Census. When Latinos identify racially as white, it serves to inflate statistics that indicate a white majority in the US, whether or not their interests are reflected in the interests of the non-Hispanic white (a.k.a. Anglo) community.

Although many Latinos experience racism based on skin color, white-skinned Latinos experience racism that is based more on culture—and may have the opportunity to "pass." Latin American countries have their own unique histories of racism and white supremacy, so Latino immigrants may bring pressure to look, act, and identify as "white" from their home countries. This pressure from home countries, coupled with the white supremacy that permeates US culture, impacts why some Latinos who may not look "white" by US standards would choose to call themselves white when forced to call themselves *something* (like on the Census). As progressive groups work to dismantle racism and oppression against people of color, they typically define people of color as people of African, Asian, Latino, and indigenous descent. Including Latinos in this model challenges us by including people who may have varying degrees of white-skin privilege into the "people of color" category. It also forces us to look at the hidden ways that racism works to dismantle non-Anglo cultures and stratify them along color lines.

In addition to the 38,463 Latinos who identified as white, a larger

group (39,080) rejected all the given racial categories in favor of "some other race." Mexican-Americans often refer to themselves as "*la raza*" which literally means, "the race," due to their *mestizo* (mixed indigenous, European, and less often recognized African) heritage. The National Council of *La Raza* is one of the largest and most well-known Latino civil rights organizations in the country.

In many Latin American countries, race is a more fluid concept than it is in the US. For example, a popular Cuban expression is, *Si no tiene de Congo tiene de Carabali*, meaning that if one doesn't have blood from one part of Africa, s/he (no matter how white s/he looks) has blood from another African region. This attitude is very different from the historical rule in the US that one drop of black blood is enough to "taint" someone racially. Consequently, Latinos who would never come close to "qualifying" under the one-drop rule still might identify themselves racially as white or prefer not to identify racially at all. There are a million different ways to refer to skin color in Spanish, and the language reflects nuances in shade and identity that cannot be captured under the "concrete" racial categories used by the Census, or by the black/white analysis of race most prevalent in the South. The understanding of race varies as much among Latinos as it does among any group and reflects the unique manifestations of white supremacy in Latin culture (both within and outside of the US). The fact that many Latinos cannot choose any of the given racial categories challenges the very notion of race

as a valid form of classification. The idea of seeing Hispanic as its own race, however, flattens the diverse racial heritage of people of Latin descent and fails to address the power dynamics of race between and within different Latino ethnic groups.

Although Hispanic is not a race, the fact that it's treated as such affects much of how racism plays out in our lives. More and more Latino immigrants are finding their way to the Southeast where employers welcome them as a cheap, docile workforce. Our association with immigrants affects all Latinos, whether or not we



The field of farmwork reflects the parallels between exploitation of African-Americans and Latino immigrants. (Illustration by Maria Okie-Baum, courtesy of Student Action with Farmworkers.)

have immigrated in our lifetime. Just like other immigrant groups, Latinos become the victims of hate crimes and are often blamed for "taking jobs from Americans" or "being threats to national security." Since September 11th, many Latinos have been harassed and victimized for fitting the so-called Arab profile. Any group associated with immigrants is subject to having their loyalty and claims to an American identity challenged in times of crisis, just as people of Middle Eastern descent and Muslims found themselves questioned and vilified post-911. This anti-immigrant sentiment is expressly

racist because, in this "nation of immigrants," only groups of color are never allowed to become truly "American."

Oftentimes, due to language and other barriers, Latino immigrants and migrants find work in low-paying jobs that have historically been occupied by African-Americans. Searching for cheap housing, immigrants may also move into low income Black neighborhoods. A lack of cultural understanding between these two groups often results in conflict where people of color are pitted against each other for scarce resources and opportunities that really shouldn't be scarce in the first place.

One of the most evident ways that the current exploitation of Latinos directly reflects the historical and continued exploitation of African-Americans is in the field of farmwork. Throughout the Southeast today, a majority Latino workforce is responsible for agricultural production that African slaves completed prior to the Civil War. Through the H2A Guest worker program, growers are able to import temporary workers directly from Mexico. These workers have permission to work only in agriculture, one of the most poorly compensated and dangerous occupations in the country. They are allowed to work for only one employer and are expressly forbidden from any type of labor organizing while in the US.

The parallels between the exploitation of Latino immigrants and African-Americans reflect the need for diverse groups of people of

The parallels between the exploitation of Latino immigrants and African-Americans reflect the need for diverse groups of people of

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Between Black and White: Asians and Pacific Islanders in the South

Judy Matsuoka

Changing Demographics

Folks act like Asians and Pacific Islanders are brand new additions to our Southern communities. We forget that there have been Asian Pacific Americans in the South for many years--although our presence, as well as the presence of Native Americans, didn't change the perception of race as a black/white dichotomy. For example, Filipino sailors settled communities in Louisiana in the 1700s, Indian sailors on slave ships were sold into slavery by their shipmates, and Chinese railroad workers were brought to the South as cheap labor after the end of slavery and the completion of the Transcontinental Railroad. What's happening that *is* new is that Asians and Pacific Islanders are becoming more numerous, diverse and less segregated, invisible and controlled as in earlier years.

No, Really. What are you? Where are you from?

According to the 2000 census, Asian Pacific Americans (APA) are the fastest growing demographic group in the United States and certainly in the South. We are essentially multi-cultural, marked by extreme internal diversity as our families (this generation or 10 generations ago) came from over

Much divides us
but what ties us
Asian Pacific
Americans together
is racism.

46 different countries ranging from Nepal to Singapore, Pakistan to Korea, Malaysia to Vietnam, Guam to Bangladesh. It is important to remember that there are no Asians in Asia. There are no Pacific Islanders in the Pacific. It is only here that we become Asians or Pacific Islanders. And most of us do not have a sense of identity as Asian Pacific Americans--until we become politicized by the experience of racism.

We do not have the same skin tones, hair colors or eye shapes. Asian and Pacific Islanders reflect a wide mixture of racial and ethnic groups that reflect immigration, imperialism and colonization. We are not united by a common religion—we are Catholic, Buddhist, Confucian, Protestant, Hindu, Muslim, Jewish, Shinto, Sikh and so on. We do not have a common language or culture—although our cultures are different from the cultures of our ancestry (e.g. Japanese American culture is unique—neither Japanese nor mainstream American). We do not even have a common history in the US, and we are divided by our histories of oppressing and being oppressed by each other in our ancestral countries.

Much divides us but what ties us APAs together is racism. While Asian Pacific Americans report a high level of personal experience with discrimination, second only to African Americans in some surveys, very few white or black Americans report viewing Asian Pacific Americans as targets of racial discrimination.

We APAs recognize racism by the myths and the stereotypes, the subtle acts of discrimination and

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harassment, and realize that we share a common identity as Asian Pacific Americans in the hate violence directed against us. The racism we experience is often cloaked as anti-immigrant sentiment and backlash against international events. It is important that progressives understand the different forms that racism takes and the devastation that it creates. It is also important that as we look at racism and the experiences of different groups that we not construct a hierarchy of oppression which pits people of color against people of color. The question is not who suffered the most but how do we use our new learning to dismantle racism regardless of its form.

In this land of European immigrants, we Asian Pacific Americans are seen as a race of permanent aliens or immigrants regardless how many generations our families may have lived in the US. And racism has worked to keep us as aliens—without a history in America, seen as not “real” Americans, and continually viewed as not really belonging. To avoid the “problems” presented by free African Americans in the South during Reconstruction, Asian immigration was strictly controlled. Asian immigrants could not be-

come naturalized citizens until the 1940s and 1950s, which prevented Asians from challenging the status quo by voting, serving on juries, or running for office. In places with sizable APA communities, public schools were segregated and there was considerable institutionalized housing and job discrimination. Severe immigration restrictions, which had been in place since the 1870s, were not lifted until 1965.

Our association with immigrants affects all Asian Pacific Americans, whether newly arrived or 10th generation. We are blamed for taking jobs from Americans in retail, health care, and manufacturing. The prevailing perception that we are unalterably loyal to and informed about political and corporate policies of the collective countries of our ancestries blames us for corporate America's decision to move factories to Asia, where Asians, instead of working class African Americans and whites, can be exploited.

Finally, perceived as aliens, we encounter not only domestic stereotypes, but international racial prejudice as well. These

stereotypes have unfortunately become tied to fears about national security and international conflicts, old and new. As a result, we endure racial profiling, discrimination and violence such as the case against Wen Ho Lee, the harassment of Chinese restaurants during the spy plane incident, and the fatal shooting of a Sikh gas station owner and the deliberate hit and run attack on a female Pakistani pedestrian following September 11th.

Is Yellow Black or White? Being APA in the South

In the 21st century, with American demographics changing dramatically, we need to break out of the rigid black/white paradigm and include the diverse voices of other people of color in understanding race and racism. Unless we do so, potential allies will be missed and institutionalized racism will continue to strengthen and evolve.

The current racial paradigm in the South is often expressed as "you're either black or you're not" or "you're either white or you're not." For Asian Pacific Americans in the South, our racial

identity as APAs is discounted. Instead a situational identity is being imposed on us.

We are seen as either "white enough" or "black enough" to be included or excluded. We are "white enough" to live in some white neighborhoods. We are "black enough" to be excluded from top positions in management. We are racially triangulated, shunted back and forth between black and white positions, but always to enforce the status quo of white superiority and black inferiority.

The primary use of our "white enough" status is to be pitted against African Americans in the attempt to maintain white supremacy. We are characterized as "model minorities," so any APA achievement may be used to demonstrate the existence of the imaginary level playing field. And if there is a level playing field, it is thought, then African Americans must blame themselves, not institutionalized racism, for their social condition.

But often Asian Pacific Americans are not aliens, not model minorities, but just invisible. And we are invisible by both white and black Americans. We are often told that our issues are not of importance because there aren't enough of us or that the inclusion of our issues would divert attention from more pressing (to others) concerns. Reading scores, HIV infection rates, domestic violence statistics, poverty and other social indicators are typically reported in "Black," "White" and "Other" categories. On those occasions we are visible, our actions are scrutinized to see if we are closer to black or white. "Why are you opening stores in the African American neighborhood?" Why



The Japanese-American owner of this store had to go to great lengths to prove he was a "real" American in 1942.

(Image courtesy of Owens Valley History <http://www.owensvalleyhistory.com>).

are you sitting with white people?" "Why do you go to a Korean church? This is America and you should try to fit in."

US history is studded with examples of exploitation of poor whites and people of color. We no longer have to steal Africans from their lands to work on land stolen from Native Americans. We now have the capacity to exploit working people in their own lands. We now have the capacity to export our toxic waste to pollute the air, water and soil of countries populated by people of color. We now have the capacity to export our media images of women and people of color around the world. As progressives, we need to work to bring people of color, women and poor people together across the barriers that serve only to protect white capitalist privilege. We need to work together across race, ethnicity and class to revision the United States along anti-racist, anti-sexist and anti-imperialist lines. The presence and issues of Asian Pacific Americans provides an opportunity to link local organizing with global organizing to dismantle oppression for women and people of color around the world. ■

Congratulations

Felicia!

Women's Project staff member Felicia Davidson was married to Richard Richardson on May 12th. Congratulations, Mr. and Mrs. Richardson!

Connecting the Dots

Amy Edgington

I grew up in Little Rock during the eras of Jim Crow segregation and the Civil Rights movement. For me, understanding racism initially meant moving from a white-centered point of view to include the experiences of African Americans. I had much to learn about our history together, but the consequences of that history felt intimate to me. I had been advantaged in every way--materially, socially, educationally, politically--by my whiteness. These privileges were the direct legacy of a society that had enabled white people to profit from slavery and state-enforced segregation at the expense of Black people.

I also learned that, contrary to what I had been taught in school, there is no biological basis for dividing human beings into races. Instead, race is a powerful social construct that includes elements of shared culture, experience, history and language. The boundaries of racial identity may be chosen as a resource for pride, community and survival, but when they are imposed by force in order to exclude people from their fair share of economic and political power, race becomes racism.

Recently, historians who have explored the origins of white identity in the U.S. have talked about how successive waves of European immigrants have been subjected at first to racial stereotypes and discrimination. Gradually however, many European immigrants and their descendants adopted racist views towards African-Americans as a way to fit in.

For them, becoming American meant becoming "white," and being "white" was defined as being "not black."

It is a definition guaranteed to sow hostility between people of color, since it seems to hold out the possibility of being included in the privileged boundaries of whiteness to everyone except African Americans. It also makes it seem as if racism is something that can only ever be authentically experienced by people of African descent. And last of all it seems to offer the vain reverse hope that by outdoing the Americanism of white Americans, a person of color might escape the scourge of racism.

Nevertheless, the privileges of whiteness are extended to people of color whose ancestors were not African only rarely, minimally and provisionally, in a way that undermines alliances between people of color but never challenges the mastery of European Americans. Why aren't all people who are "not black" offered the choice of becoming "white" the way European immigrants were? How do people of color who are not African American experience racism? My continuing effort to answer these questions gives me a more complex picture of racism, white privilege, and American history.

African Americans experienced a uniquely intimate and brutal history of ownership by European Americans. Because of class inequality only a minority of whites ever owned slaves, but generally "whiteness" evolved to define

who could become a master and who could be enslaved. The rights of the master included:

- the right of property ownership;
- the control of labor and its profits;
- the right to kidnap, imprison, rape, torture and kill;
- the control of boundaries, borders and movement;
- the right to impose or deny education, religion, sexuality, reproduction, kinship, nourishment, clothing, shelter, health, standards of beauty, culture, language, history, and visibility.

When I look at the way all people of color have been treated in this country (or by this country) I see these “white powers” being exercised again and again, although each group’s experience and resistance is unique.

The African slave trade was not the first manifestation of white power: conquest, slavery and genocide of Indian peoples and the theft of their land came with the Europeans to this hemisphere. The theft continued with the conquest of Mexico, which included what we now call the Western States, and which calls into question who the real illegal immigrants are in those lands.

The indentured labor of Chinese immigrants under harsh, prison-like conditions built the railroad systems that consolidated the political and economic power of the white elite in the U.S. Yet, for most of our history, people of Asian descent were explicitly denied the right to become citizens. Even citizenship gave no protection to Japanese Americans who were placed in internment camps during World War II.

As the U.S. grew powerful and

wealthy from cheap labor and conquered resources the government used its economic and military might to enforce an explicit policy of white entitlement (“Manifest Destiny”), which dominated and exploited Mexico, Central America, the Caribbean and South America. The U.S. used the same power and justifications to seize and colonize Hawaii, the Philippines, Guam, Puerto Rico, and other Pacific and Caribbean islands.

Racism has always provided a shortcut through reality for white people, a way to barrel through other people’s cultures, languages, and viewpoints...

White supremacy evolved to define who could own and master not just people’s bodies, but also their labor, their land and its resources. It is a system centered on protecting property rights and maximizing profits by any means necessary, whether through slavery, indentured labor, *braceros* harvesting Arkansas tomatoes, or *maquiladora* factories across the border in Mexico.

Moving beyond the Black/White paradigm has given me a way to connect the dots between racism and genocide, militarism, colonialism, imperialism, environmental pillage, capitalism and globalization, between the white plantation overseer, the Klansman, the “Ugly American” tourist, Nike sweatshops, police brutality, prisons for profit, the World Bank

and the School of the Americas.

I have begun to understand that racism, which I grew up thinking of as a Southern regional moral issue, was always global (just think of the trans-Atlantic slave trade), no matter how local it seemed; and dismantling white supremacy requires profound systematic economic and political changes, not just personal changes in attitude and behavior.

Racism has always provided a shortcut through reality for white people, a way to barrel through other people’s cultures, languages, and viewpoints, while remaining largely unaware not only of the richness and variety we are trampling, but of our own sense of entitlement and superiority. We lump together those we believe we have been taught to exploit and “master,” not those we regard as equals. We have no trouble thinking of the French as distinctly different from the English, but most Americans would not be aware of any differences between Mexicans and Guatemalans.

Even in our anti-racist work white people must be aware that when we use terms like “people of color,” “Hispanics,” “Middle Easterners,” or “Asian Americans,” we may be imposing categories that have not been chosen by the people we are trying to identify with these labels. In our eagerness to build coalitions we may unwittingly continue to over-simplify, erase and dominate.

Coalitions between equals take time, work, understanding and respect. No shortcuts allowed. They are time-consuming, messy, noisy, hilarious, furious, intoxicating, hungry, powerful and unstoppable. O brave new world, that has such people—together—in it! ■

Race

Wendi O'Neal and Pam McMichael

(excerpt from the Journal of Southerners on New Ground)

Race is a central thread that continues to divide, that frames every aspect of our lives and that presents a strategic, critical block to people coming together. Therefore, understanding race is a strategic, critical key to dismantling systems of oppression across the board.

If we only address racism as treating people nicely, then the systemic nature of racism is maintained. We have to actively and consistently challenge white supremacy. All of us have a stake in overturning racism because everyone's human potential is limited by racism.

We think the following conversations have to enter regularly, intentionally and in depth to help move the goals of anti-racist work, our own and yours, forward:

- We must be able to label racist behavior as racist when we see it.
- We have to talk about the history of enslavement in this country, the emotional and psychological devastation of enslavement but also how enslavement was

about a global economy that still works to the disadvantage of people of color.

- We have to talk about the role of patriarchy and capitalism in maintaining chattel slavery, and the role of capitalism in the global economy.
- We have to talk about the dynamics of the relationships among people of color and white people living in the same land of such destruction.
- We have to talk about white privilege and white supremacy and the impact on everyone's daily lives.
- We have to get honest about the implications in ways that move us through guilt and fear and anger to redemption and changed ways.

Action Steps to Fight Racism:

Get Schooled:



"As people of color, we need to...understand that anti-immigrant sentiment is racist..."

(Illustration by Wen-Ti Tsen from The Asian American Comic Book, copyright © 1991 by Asian American Resource Workshop and Wen-Ti Tsen.)

We all need to seek out opportunities to better understand racism and learn ways to dismantle it. The more we learn about domination, who benefits, who loses and why, the more we can understand what each of us would gain by living in a world free from racism.

As people of color, we need this power analysis for movement to action and for throwing off internalized oppression. We receive the same racist messages as white people do about ourselves and each other. While we do not have institutional power to be racist, if we are not actively challenging racism we are supporting white supremacy. We need to seek out opportunities to better understand how we may have internalized racism and learn ways to decolonize our minds, bodies, and spirits.

As people of color we need to get schooled about horizontal hostility and understand that anti-immigrant sentiment is racist. Whoever we are, we can learn about colonized people around the world and Black, Asian/Asian Pacific Islander, Latina/o and Native people. We need to seek out each

other's stories.

We think of trainings as one small step in becoming an anti-racist activist. It can't be the only thing we do to fight racism.

Listen:

As people of color in the United States, we have not been taught our own histories in a racist school system. We also have not learned about each other's histories. We cannot expect instant trust and alliance among each other. We earn trust by being there for each other's struggles.

We must also hear each other when we are challenged by other people of color as promoting racist ideas. When a Haitian farmworker says to a Black American, "Your privilege as an American citizen helps maintain my invisibility and the invisibility of my struggle for justice in the global economy" or when a Black person says to a Latino immigrant, "You need to understand the complexity of what it means to be a US citizen in Black skin and the complexity of our history in the US," it's time for us to listen to each other. We have to build solidarity in spite of complex relationships to power, and figure out what those complex relationships to power mean in determining action that is mutually beneficial.

Talk:

As people of color we must seek converts from internalized racism and horizontal hostility. We cannot afford to buy into the pathology of racism. We must love ourselves in spite of white supremacy and we must share that self-love with our communities. It is important that we affirm and support each other by speaking out

against racism, but we must also challenge each other on our internalized racism and horizontal hostility.

Don't Go it Alone:

As people of color, we cannot pretend that racism doesn't affect us. If we are isolated we need to seek support, both for maintaining sanity and to find collective power.

Don't just accept racist behavior—find others who believe as you do and organize collectively to fight racism.

Act. Put your body in the path of racism:

Learning, listening and talking are for naught if we don't put the things we are learning into action. Racism is so pernicious and pervasive that it can feel overwhelming. It is a construct that was built and as such can be dismantled. We must find our voices and use them.

Join the Women's Project in Creating a Hate-Free Arkansas!

The Hate-Free Arkansas Campaign is a traveling exhibit that includes nearly 300 banners commemorating the lives of Arkansans who have been victimized by bias and hate. If you are interested in helping to organize a media event in your community to raise awareness about bias and hate in Arkansas, contact the Women's Project for more information.

Continued from page 3...

color to work together against white supremacy and the systems of domination that seek to divide us in our quest for justice. Just as the Women's Project seeks to go beyond the idea of one dominant oppression to incorporate a multi-dimensional approach to social change, we must also seek to expand our analysis of racism to incorporate more voices of people who are not black or white, whether we have an accurate name for them or not.

Transformation

Published four times a year by the Women's Project, 2224 Main Street, Little Rock, Arkansas 72206
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2002 The Women's Project

A PEOPLE'S TIMELINE TO ARKANSAS HISTORY

Excerpted from complete timeline by Amy Edgington

1000 B.C Indians in southern and eastern Arkansas have begun to construct large permanent villages with burial mounds.

1541 De Soto's expedition arrives in Arkansas. They find large settlements of Indians living in city-states with temple mounds constructed around central plazas. Population estimate: 75,000.

1673 Explorers Joliet and Marquette arrive in Arkansas, finding an already greatly reduced Indian population due to drought and European diseases. Population estimate: 15,000.

1682 Explorer LaSalle takes possession of Louisiana (which includes Arkansas) for France.

1686 Henri de Tonty establishes Arkansas Post as a fur trading station. British and French agents seeking Indian slaves for the plantations arrive along with trappers.

1721 La Harpe explores the Arkansas River. John Law establishes the first European settlement at Arkansas Post. The settlement is abandoned in 1723, but re-established by the French in 1731.

1763 France cedes Louisiana Territory to Spain.

1787 Future president Andrew Jackson begins his career of speculation in Indian lands and military campaigns against the Indians. Bands of Cherokee, Creek and other eastern tribes cross the Mississippi into Arkansas, fleeing the warfare.

1798 A Spanish census of Arkansas Post lists 393 inhabitants, 56 of whom were Black slaves.

1800 Napoleon forces Spain to return Louisiana Territory to the French.

1803-1805 The United States acquires Arkansas as part of the Louisiana Purchase.

1808-1835 The Cherokee and Quapaw are removed to reservations, but are soon forced to sell all their remaining lands to the US government and move to Indian Territory (Oklahoma).

1836 Arkansas Territory becomes a state. In the 1830s land grants and sales increase dramatically and the population triples by 1840. 20% of the population are Black slaves.

1842-1844 Arkansas passes laws prohibiting the immigration of free Blacks into the state, unless brought in by citizens as laborers. Free Blacks living in the state are required to prove they arrived before March 1, 1843.

1850-1860 Cotton cultivation is firmly established in the lowland areas, where 80% of the Black slaves are held. Plantation owners dominate the state's politics.

1859 The State Legislature passes a measure requiring all free Blacks to leave the state by January 1860 or face enslavement.

1861-1864 Arkansas secedes from the United States and is embroiled in a Civil War.

1865-1874 The 13th, 14th and 15th amendments to the Constitution abolish slavery, establish the citizenship of

African Americans, and enfranchise African American males. Reconstruction Republican government in Arkansas brings the election of a few African-Americans in Arkansas. Violence against freed Blacks begins immediately, culminating in the rule by terror of the Ku Klux Klan through beating, burning, lynching and rape.

1870 Chinese laborers are invited into the South by white landowners to replace slave labor without being a threat to the white political power base. (Only "free whites" and "African aliens" have the right to become naturalized citizens under the 1870 Nationality Act.) Most soon flee the plantations, but some set up small businesses.

1888 Democrats enact a series of laws effectively disenfranchising most Black voters and many poor whites, to prevent any coalition between African Americans and white farmers and laborers.

1891 In spite of the 1875 Civil Rights Act, the Arkansas legislature easily passes the first of many "Jim Crow" laws legalizing segregation in public facilities, transportation and education, though 12 Black legislators still sit in the General Assembly.

1900 Foreign-born citizens represent 5 percent of the population of Little Rock, Fort Smith and Hot Springs.

1902 State colleges for Blacks are forced to switch from a classical curriculum to a trade curriculum.

1905 Black farmers are warned by a group of whites called the "Lonoke Country Club" to vacate their farms because, "This is white man country." Threats of violence occur throughout the state, including one against 17 Mexican workers employed at a fruit farm in Horatio. Harvest of fruit and vegetable crops will continue to depend on migrant labor into the next century.

1915 When wood veneer mills in Arkansas begin to lay off workers, threatening notices appear demanding that Black workers quit, so that white workers can keep their jobs.

1919 Blacks in Elaine form a chapter of the Progressive Farmers and Household Union of America, hire a lawyer, and attempt to sue white landowners under federal peonage statutes. The deputy sheriff and a railroad agent open fire on a Union meeting at a Black church. When Blacks return fire, a posse is organized to arrest union members. When Blacks resisted, 500 troops were sent from Little Rock. 25-100 Blacks (possibly many more) are killed, and hundreds arrested. 5 whites die.

1917-1919 Black resistance to racism increases following the end of World War I, and whites respond with mob violence.

1920's The Ku Klux Klan, newly revitalized, encourages attacks on Blacks, Jews, Catholics, foreigners, radicals, bootleggers, gamblers and fornicators.

1927 Denied access to a 17 year-old Black suspect in the murder of a young white girl, a white mob in Little Rock lynches another Black suspect. For 2 days the mob terrorizes the Black community.

1938 Roosevelt's New Deal programs, designed to aid the depression economy, wind up helping large planters in Arkansas the most. Black families received relief grants half as large as white families. Black men in Arkansas were excluded from the CCC and usually from the WPA. When WPA wages are lowered, Black men protesting at the Little Rock office are clubbed and arrested.

1941 A wave of anti-Japanese prejudice grips Arkansas following Pearl Harbor. War bonds are sold in Jonesboro by "Slap a Jap" clubs.

1942 Americans of Japanese ancestry on the West Coast are forcibly relocated to internment camps, including camps in Rohwer (Desha County) and Jerome (Chicot County). Act 47, in 1943, prohibits persons of Japanese ancestry from owning property in Arkansas. The state Attorney General directs officials not to issue birth certificates to children-born in the camps. The Arkansas Medical Association prohibits Arkansas doctors from treating camp residents. Probably no more than 6 Japanese families remained in Arkansas at the end of the war. In contrast many German and some Italian prisoners of war were made welcome and many stayed on.

1940-1943 L.C. Bates begins publishing the first statewide Black newspaper, the State Press. Although there are 900 teaching vacancies in state schools, districts refuse to apply for federal assistance because they do not want to share the funds with Black schools.

1945 State laws finally allow Blacks to vote in primaries, but poll taxes and intimidation still present major barriers. Susie Morris, a Black teacher at Little Rock's Dunbar High, wins a federal decision, granting her equal pay with white teachers. She is immediately fired.

1948 The University of Arkansas admits the first Black students, Silas Hunt to law school and Edith Jones to medical school.

1954 In *Brown vs. the Board of Education*, the Supreme Court strikes down the practice of "separate but equal" segregated education. Fayetteville schools integrate with no reaction from state officials. When attempts to integrate the Hoxie school system are met with threats of violence, federal officials become involved in Arkansas desegregation for the first time. Segregationist Jim Johnson proposes Amendment 44, nullifying the Brown decision as a violation of "state's rights." It passes and remains part of the Arkansas Constitution until 1990.

1957 Nine Black children in Little Rock, supported by the NAACP president Daisy Bates, attempt to integrate Central High School. As mobs gather at the school, Faubus sends the Arkansas National Guard to bar the students' entry. Blacks all over the city are harassed severely. Eisenhower sends federal troops to enforce the court ordered desegregation, but quickly turns the protection of the Black students back over to the federalized Guard, who sympathize with the segregationists.

1961 Freedom Riders are arrested for attempting to integrate the Little Rock bus depot. The State Capitol cafeteria remains segregated despite protests. Students from Philander Smith and Pine Bluff sit-in at segregated lunch counters in Arkansas cities. Boycotts are held in Pine Bluff and elsewhere.

1962 The Supreme Court overturns Arkansas' legislative districts, which favored whites over Blacks.

Transformation...

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1964 Congress passes the Civil Rights Act ending segregation in all public facilities. Amendment 51 to the State constitution ends poll taxes.

1970-1980 As Blacks become increasing unwilling to submit to racism, violence breaks out sporadically in Delta towns, and 2 Black churches are burned in Texarkana. Discrimination suits are filed against many major employers. Little Rock begins busing in an attempt to achieve integration in spite of segregated housing patterns in the city. Due to white flight, the school district is 64% Black by 1981.

1972 Dr. Jerry Jewell becomes the first Black person elected to the state Senate since Reconstruction.

1973-1975 As the Vietnam War winds down, refugees are brought to Fort Chaffee near Fort Smith. Despite racism, many Southeast Asians stay to work in the chicken and egg processing industry. The oil embargo in the Middle East brings hardship to Arkansas farmers and anti-Arab prejudice rises.

1978 Fort Smith press stirs up racist sentiment against Cuban refugees housed by the federal government at Fort Chaffee.

1980s Filipino nurses are invited to Arkansas to ease a severe nursing crisis. Arkansas industries are among the first affected by the global-wide hunt for cheaper labor, and plants close around the state. White supremacist groups find a haven in Northwest Arkansas.

1990s Arkansas legislators oppose comprehensive civil rights and hate crimes legislation. Racial tension increases in Northwest Arkansas, where many workers from Mexico and Central America work in the chicken processing industry. Economic segregation and oppression continue to limit opportunities for African Americans.

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