

A HISTORICAL VIEW TO THE CONCEPT OF RACISM

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Abstract

When looking at the historical process, intercommunal conflicts are unavoidable practically everywhere in the world, and this process has occurred in America, which is home to many distinct communities. On the basis of these conflicts; there are reasons such as language, religion, race, cultural difference, economy. These causes persist as a social problem, as do a slew of other offensive and degrading practices that some populations are still subjected to. These activities, which manifest as racism, discrimination, and otherization, establish a battleground throughout time and give rise to a slew of new phenomena. In this context, the aim of this study is to bring an analytical view to the concept of Racism in the History of American Literature. For this, initially, the term racism will be defined and supported with quotations by providing information about it. Racism is a complicated phenomena that is not only related to race, but also involves numerous aspects and activities that provoke many arguments. Following that, information about the historical process of racism will be provided, as well as racial discriminatory practices.

Key Words: Race, Discrimination, Racism, Otherization, American Literature

IRKÇILIK KAVRAMINA TARİHSEL BİR BAKIŞ

Özet

Tarihi süreç incelendiğinde dünyanın hemen her yerinde olduğu gibi birbirinden farklı pek çok topluma ev sahipliği yapan Amerika'da toplumlar arası çatışmaların yaşanması kaçınılmaz olmuştur. Yaşanan bu çatışmaların temelinde; dil, din, ırk, kültür farklılığı, ekonomi gibi sebepler vardır. Bu sebepler günümüzde bile bazı toplulukların maruz kaldıkları can sıkıcı, insan onurunu zedeleyici pek çok uygulama olarak toplumsal birer problem olarak varlığını devam ettirmektedir. Irkçılık, ayrımcılık ve ötekileştirme olarak ortaya çıkan bu uygulamalar zamanla bir mücadele alanı oluştururken aynı zamanda pek çok olgunun da ortaya çıkmasına neden olur. Bu bağlamda, bu çalışmanın amacı Amerikan Edebiyatı Tarihi'nde Irkçılık kavramına analitik bir bakış getirmektir. Bunun için de öncelikle sosyolojik bir olgu olarak karşımıza çıkan hiç şüphesiz sadece ırk ile ilgili olmayıp birçok unsur ve pratiği içinde barındıran, pek çok tartışmaya neden olan, karmaşık bir olgu olan ırkçılık terimi tanımlanacak ve bunun hakkında bilgi verilerek alıntılarla desteklenecektir. Daha sonra ırkçılığın tarihsel süreci hakkında bilgi verilecek ve ırk ayrımcılığı uygulamalarına değinilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Irk, ayrımcılık, ırkçılık, ötekileştirme, Amerikan Edebiyatı

1. INTRODUCTION

Racism is a political ideology that has significant ties to Modernism as well as being a capitalist idea that originated primarily in political spheres at the end of 18th century. Race studies, which developed on a scientific basis, have been decisive in the emergence of the idea of racism, and studies on racism have gained weight especially in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the 20th century, as the orientation to genetic sciences

increased, the concept of race began to lose its scientific character. The pure race discourse (the concept that accepts those living in the region from India to Western Europe as a common race) in Germany, anti-Semitism, and the transformation of what happened before and during WWII into a policy of social destruction are examples of the ideological dimensions that the concept of race can reach. As a result, both the scientific legitimacy of the idea of race and the experience of the Second World War led us to believe that racism had largely vanished after WWII.

Racism was first used in Western world as a term in 1930s. It was accepted as a concept in the first sense of the 18th and 19th centuries. Racism was supposed to be obsolete in the 1930s, because it was initially defined as a way of thinking that establishes hierarchical relationships between human groups by referring to biological traits, as well as the entire set of attitudes and behaviors revealed by this way of thinking. It was predicted that Racism ended when the concept of Race, which describes biological and physical characteristics, lost its validity. However, some developments in Europe and the United States of America at the end of the 1960s led to ideas that racism did not end, on the contrary, it continued by changing its shape (Barker, 1980: 80-87). The fact that the local community and the migrating groups preferred to live in separate communities instead of living together in the migrations between countries has brought the issue of racism back to the agenda. To give an example of this situation, the efforts of political parties and politicians in France, Germany and other European countries to prevent immigrant groups from joining to society shows that racism continues even today.

Although the term of race appears to be related to racism, it is more related to acts of separation and exclusion. However, the term of race has only been one of the tools used for this purpose. As a matter of fact, this does not eliminate the importance of race in terms of racism. Since race is a convenient concept in terms of establishing insurmountable barriers, it characterizes differences arising from nature. Thus, nature is considered as the most important element that puts insurmountable obstacles that people faced. In this sense, it will be useful to focus on the term of race first. Because racism is a concept that arose from the concept of race, it would be incorrect to discuss racism without first looking at what race is and what race studies are (Aşar, 2009: 9).

The concept of race has long been a contentious one, as its legitimacy has shifted in tandem with scientific advancements. Before examining racism, it would be correct to give information about the term of race. Since it is an ongoing controversial term, both the social and historical burden of this concept creates debates about the scientific objectivity of it (Aşar, 2009:12).

The first use of the concept of race, which was used in the meanings of "ancestry" and "generation" in the early times, dates back to the 16th century. However, its meaning has changed over time, and it has been used to describe groups that have common physical characteristics.

The studies on race states that it has always been used to characterize groups with some common characteristics. Despite the discussions, it can be said that the concept has an unchanging feature. In historical order, these features have been

ancestry, physical visibility, and genetic traits in common. When we take the historical process into the consideration, we see that the period from the 17th to the 20th century focused on the groupings of racial scientific studies and was used to divide human groups into different groups according to certain properties. The period which race was used to qualify physical and visible characteristics was the period when scientific race studies were most intense. By situation, it can be concluded: The concept of race shows that it is used to express groups of people who have common physical and biological characteristics (Boas, 1940: 14). In addition, race is defined by anthropologists and biologists as a group of people who have acquired certain or distinct physical characteristics as a result of biological inheritance (Wells, 1984: 33).

As stated above, race is a concept whose scientific validity and usage is controversial. Because it has been used as a basis to legitimize inequalities from the very first moment it emerged. "Race", which was originally a classification category, lost its scientific innocence when these classifications were used as a criterion for establishing relationships between human groups. For this reason, it would be appropriate to say that "race" is a socially constructed concept rather than being biological and anthropological. Because skin color is not enough to distinguish a certain group, criteria such as blood type or skull shape were used as a tool to differentiate races.

The classification of people dates back to before the emergence of concept of "race". As an example;

"People are divided into four groups in the paintings on the tomb walls of the eighteenth dynasty of the Egyptians. Egyptians (rot) painted in dark red, Asians (namu) with a yellow beard and a thick beard, arched nose, blacks with fleece hair (nashu), and whites with narrow noses, light eyes, yellow beards and tall whites (Temahu)." (Özbek, 1984: 13)

Similarly, the Chinese classified people according to their skin color as pale violet, flesh color, white and black (Özbek, 1984: 14). These examples show that there has always been a tendency to classify people according to their visible characteristics, and people have been aware of the existence of races since ancient times.

The word race was used in the sense of generation and ancestry before gaining its current meaning. According to Huxley, "race" is a word of Hebrew and Western origin and has passed into Western languages from these languages (Huxley, 1939: 3). It was first used to describe ancestral descendants, especially for animals. When we take some publications into consideration in the 1600s, it is seen that while race is used in the sense of "human race", human species, on the other hand, it is used to describe human societies with certain physiological characteristics (Huxley, 1939: 3).

Race emerged in the English language at the beginning of the sixteenth century and is used; "...in the sense of collectively denoting the various groups that make up the populations of the newly formed national states and the visible qualities supposed to represent the nation" (Miles, 2000: 47). In this meaning, race emerged in its previous

usage as a concept referring to historical continuity. Race has historically been used to describe people who have continuity, sharing the same origin.

However, after a while, the meaning of race began to change. While the use of race to define human ancestry has declined, the concept of human communities with particular physiological characteristics has begun to gain ground (Şenel, 1984: 58). The reason for this change is the increase in classification studies, the use of race in terms of species and subspecies, and the confusion created by this.

Three important historical developments can be mentioned that led to the understanding of human diversity of race. The emergence of slavery in order to meet the demand for labor due to geographical discoveries, the establishment of colonies in the discovered lands, and the developments in the industry (Malik, 1996: 231; Miles, 2000: 268).

From the end of the 15th century, through the development of maritime and geographical discoveries, Europeans had the opportunity to explore America, distant parts of Asia and Africa. In the places they discovered, Europeans encountered communities with very different physiological and cultural and social characteristics from their own. In addition, not only did they meet, but also the Europeans settled in the regions they discovered and began to live with people who were different from themselves. Europeans did not choose the way to live together with people who were different from them, on the contrary, they drew boundaries. They have marginalized the different groups by gathering them under racial categories. In addition to the prejudices from the past against different communities, the inequality conditions created by colonialism also have an effect on this. In addition to the scholars who argue that different groups of people were racialized in order to legitimize slavery in that period (Smedley, 1992: 283), there are also those who argue that race was not specifically invented to justify the slave trade (Bernasconi, 2015: 42). It is certain that the idea of race was not a prerequisite for slavery, but it directly led to the spread of slavery. The encounter of Europeans with people who are very different from themselves has created a reactivity in them, therefore the urge to protect themselves. Although they have an idea about the people they describe as "other" through travelers and traders, it has been focused on the problem of whether other communities are human as a result of directly encountering the "other" in daily life.

2. RACISM

The term racism, which appears as a sociological phenomenon, is undoubtedly a complex concept that is not only about race, but also contains many elements and practices, causing many discussions. Although it is used together with many other similar social phenomena such as discrimination, ownership, self-defense against various fears, regionalism, tribalism, xenophobia, it is necessary to handle racism, which is based on race, in a different way. Because of racism, which is based on race, it is clear that it is a different and more radical phenomenon than these concepts. Accordingly, if the definition of racism is to be made, considering all the fields of science that this concept is related to will provide a more accurate definition (Edis, 2015:49).

Although biology and anthropology come to the fore in explaining the concept of race and racism, it is seen that a controversial feature has emerged for both fields of science. It is a well-known fact that the concepts of race and racism have been used sociologically since the emergence of biology and anthropology as sciences until today. In fact, the inability to make a general definition of racism and similar concepts is due to the fact that each field of science has different methods as well as the concept itself. In this sense, it is possible to make the theoretical definition of racism in many ways by making use of other branches of science or facts. Şenel, for example, discusses how each ideology approaches the concept of racism uniquely. Accordingly, racism, in the religious sense, is the duty of spreading religion and civilization that God gave to the white man. In scientific sense, it is the hereditary inequality of blood ties and races. In a psychological sense, it is the instinctive formation of race consciousness. In sociological sense, it is the explanation of all social events that around the racial focus. In the philosophical sense, it is the effort to explain with teachings that life is a war that can take the form of the strong exploiting, eating and destroying the weak, and that the laws of man protecting the weak will contradict this natural law (Şenel , 1984: 70).

Whatever theory is taken as a basis, what is done will not go beyond the definition effort, it is seen that each theory has its share of truth according to its own view. Because, even if the field of study is the field of science, blindly attaching to a point of view or adopting it; while eliminating objectivity, it can cause the principle of scientificity to be ignored. From this point of view, in social sciences, some theories that deal with social phenomena lead individuals to negative or wrong results; It is an inevitable consequence of subjective science. Because when the history of science is examined, it is seen that many subjective studies have been done in order to express the existence of race in the field of race.

The concept of race was explained by various classifications based on hair color, hair style, skin color, body structure and geography. However, after the various advances in science and technique, it is seen that the skull shape and brain structure began to be examined, and the head structure was used as a criterion in determining the race. This branch of science, also known as craniology, tries to determine the shape of the head, the outer and inner dimensions of the skull, the area covered by the brain, the jaw structure by making various measurements and to make certain inferences as a result of these measurements. When the studies of scientists who are interested in this field of science are examined, it is seen that very interesting results have been reached and information that can be considered as subjective scientificity and that does not fit with reality (Edis, 2015:50).

Morton (1799-1851), American natural historian and staunch advocate of slavery, one of the leading names in craniology by comparing a large number of human skulls that he collected from different races from all over the world with those of animals, concludes that the human species came from a multi-origin structure. According to this conclusion that he reached, "Indians are prone to agriculture, maritime and are revengeful. Black people, who have a cheerful, flexible and lazy disposition, are in the lowest rung of the races" (Şenel, 1984:36). In this study, Morton, who distinguishes races from each other, states that one is superior to the other, and

especially shows blacks in the lowest category, presents sociological and scientific evidence to support the racism which was practiced in the United States.

If racism is observed in a society, it is not unreasonable to conclude that one of the society's communities devalues the other. Because Morton's statement as a scientist that blacks are on the lowest rung of the races shows that it is not a judgment formed by the opinion of a single person. It may also be the product of social pressure that the blacks who were used as slaves during Morton's lifetime and who were subjected to all kinds of torture and humiliation were further humiliated or expressed that they deserve such behavior. As a result, it is impossible to discuss the rights of a person who has been ridiculed, neglected, or even dismissed as a non-human being, and no one will protest to him being forced to labor in the most grueling conditions.

The marriages of Indians, who are characterized as indolent, wicked, gloomy, timid, and liars, are claimed to be lacking a sacred identity (Gosset, 1997: 12). Food, drunkenness, idol worship, and lewdness are depicted as the some interests of the Indians. It is also stated that; "What is to be expected of such a people so thick-headed that while the Spaniards are at war with them, they try not to strike their swords on their heads, lest they become dull?" (Gosset, 1997: 12). A community, which is described with an inhuman and racist attitude, is devalued and humiliated in the sociological sense and is faced with practices that do not suit humanity; proven by many unfortunate cases in human history.

While 18th and 19th century American history is researched, it is understood that racism is not limited to skin color, culture or language; It is seen that it affects many areas of social life. Because while the Indians were systematically exterminated and blacks were enslaved, there was also racism against migrant workers in the workplaces. Moreover, people of all colors had their share of the racist treatment of migrant workers, including poor whites. Especially, it was possible to say that the Chinese, who constitute the most crowded migrant worker group in the working area, faced racism at least as much as the Blacks and Indians. Just like in the case of Blacks and Indians, the Aryan aristocracy and biased scientific approaches had a great influence on the origin of racism against the Chinese. It is quite remarkable that Bayard Taylor (1825-1878), who was frequently featured in the press both as a poet and as a literary critic, showed the Chinese as the lowest morality on earth in his travel notes to India, China and Japan in 1855. Stating that even touching them was enough to make people dirty, Taylor's solution was "not to let them settle in America" (Taylor, 1855: 354). On the one hand, Taylor used these statements to proclaim the Chinese as the enemy; on the other side, Nobel Laureate and English poet/novelist Rudyard Kipling (1865-1936) claimed, "They are stomachless" (Şenel, 1984:82). The insulting expressions and attitudes towards Chinese have no basis and they are sole racism (Edis, 2015: 55).

It is seen that such guiding and subjective approaches, which are not the result of any scientific evaluation and allow racism, are also made by politicians and diplomats from time to time. As an instance, Benjamin Franklin (1706-1790), who was one of the important figures of American history, made racial discrimination, which was completely incompatible with his reputation and scientific identity, by stating that black

people are "an animal that eats excessively but works very little" (Özbek, 1984: 99). That this view was made by a person like Benjamin Franklin who had various achievements in the scientific field and who was in a respected position in the fields of philosophy and politics; causes racism to become widespread and taken for granted in society. However, after Benjamin Franklin's appearance, it is seen that many people took a similar approach and tried to justify their approaches with scientific knowledge.

Apart from the studies to legitimize the term of racism, there are also more objective and scientific studies. In this respect, examining the term of racism and its change from the first moment it emerged to the present day will contribute to an objective assessment of racism. Examining modernism, capitalism, and the dominant culture in this country, which is a superpower of the world, which created the conditions for the emergence of this concept, will also be useful in order to reveal the distinctive features of the concept.

It is a well-known fact that human nature has a tendency to dominate more or less and to benefit. Because this situation seems to be a phenomenon as old as human history and it will exist forever. First of all, it is seen that the desire for power and domination, which should be perceived as biologically based, is sometimes revealed in various doses and in various ways. These desires, which sustain their existence from the first age communities to the modern societies of our age and are getting more and more intense with each passing day; it is more political, social and economic based. Because, it is seen that the issues such as being rich, living a comfortable life, having a good status and prestige, with the emergence of capitalism and imperialism, divided almost all humanity into two as those who serve and those who rule. As a result of this separation, those who hold power go so far as not to give the right to live to others, marginalizing others because they think they are privileged; leads to the emergence of the phenomenon called racism.

The phenomenon of race, which has been used as a basis for efforts to legitimize inequalities from the first moment it emerged, has also lost its scientific innocence since it is used as a discriminating classification criterion in the establishment of relations between human groups. For this reason, it would be appropriate to say that race is a socially constructed term rather than a biological and anthropological one. It is because the efforts of people belonging to a certain community to classify other people date back to before the emergence of the term of race. Although it is stated that such classifications are as old as the history of humanity, the oldest documents are reached through the pictures drawn on the tomb walls of the 18th dynasty of the Egyptians. According to these descriptions, people are "Egyptians painted in dark red color (rot), Asians with yellow and thick beards (namu), black people with fleece hair (nashu) and white people with narrow noses, light eyes, yellow beard and tall whites (temahu)" (Özbek, 1984: 96). It is quite remarkable that the Chinese describe people as "pale violet, flesh color, white and black" (Şenel, 1984: 18) according to their skin color, similar to the Egyptians. This is an important sign that people have been conscious of the concept of race since the ancient times. However, it would be more accurate to say that these classifications and descriptions point to an awareness of the concept of 'race' rather than being a doctrine of racism. Accordingly, it would not be wrong to say that the use of the concept of race as a criterion for discrimination, which was also expressed

as a classification category by the evolutionary biologist Dobzhansky, "pointing to the two biological and anthropological dimensions of race" (1937: 77), corresponds to the modern times.

The first age communities, where global migration and population movements were not seen much, had a traditional lifestyle closed to the outside world; in this sense, it enables them to have general rules that regulate social relations. In this respect, it is possible to think that these rules, which cover all the dynamics of the society, both have a protective nature and prevent the display of unwelcome behaviors, which also prevents discrimination. But over time, this situation changes when people leave their places and start entering other people's living spaces due to various reasons.

Swedish biologist Carl Linnaeus (1707-1778) was the first scientist to treat the concept of race as a sociological phenomenon, although it is not scientific, and to classify it according to race. Linnaeus divides people into four groups according to skin color: *Homo sapiens americanus* (American), *europaeus* (European), *asiaticus* (Asian), and *afēr/albescens* African (Şenel, 1984: 6). Although Linnaeus' classification of geographical regions was based on information from travelers and merchants, it represents a significant step toward comprehending human diversity. After classifying people into races, Linnaeus, who also examined cultural differences and differences in character stated that; "The American Indians were red-skinned, straight-haired; Europeans are white; When classifying Africans as people of black color,...By linking races with the traditional thoughts of Westerners about other peoples, he defines Europeans active, skilful; Asians as harsh, arrogant, stingy; He evaluates the Americans as being skilful but lazy" (Şenel, 1984: 6).

After Linnaeus, who served the development of racist thought with these comments on the concept of race, there has been a great increase in studies on race. In addition to the biased scientific studies that led to an increase in racism in this period, it is possible to mention a few historical developments:

- ✓ As a result of technological and intellectual developments, the liberation movements that started in the colonies at the beginning of the century and as a result many uprisings.
- ✓ The emergence of the need to connect the colonies, which rose up with the desire for freedom, to their places with stronger ties.
- ✓ Latin America's independence.
- ✓ Respectively, the abolition of slavery in England, France and America.

Among all these developments that led to the increase of racism, it is seen that there has been a great increase in the use of the concept of race, especially after the abolition of slavery in America. In addition to slavery, it should also be mentioned nationalist initiatives. This constitutes the definition of the other indirectly. In other words, defining the concept of nation as a whole and specifying certain frameworks of this definition causes the other, that is, those who are different, to be confined to certain limits. As a result of defining the concept of nation in this way and drawing its theoretical framework in the world, while race discourses strengthen, universal views begin to decline.

While all this is happening, in studies on race, the idea of race being built on differences; it prompts scientists to make new classifications, look for new and valid categories, and find other differences. In this sense, it can be said that the aim of scholars who study race is to find criteria that will reveal the differences between human groups. In addition, the existence of diversity is noteworthy in that it shows that there are significant differences within racial groups. Because these studies are not limited to races that are completely separated from each other; it is seen that the white race is also tried to be classified within itself.

One of these distinctions, which started to be made in Europe, is made by the famous French diplomat Comte de Gobineau, who left a mark on the 19th century. Gobineau, who is thought to set the stage for racism in the period of Adolf Hitler with his *Essays on the Equality of Human Races* (1853-1855), tries to find the reasons why great civilizations melted and disappeared in the pot of time. According to Gobineau, who stated that "religious beliefs gradually weakened and disappeared, traditions were forgotten, cultural degeneration, bad administration, luxury and a magnificent life" (Özbek, 1984: 99) should not be held responsible for the collapse of great civilizations, the main reason for these collapses is caused by genetic differences of the races.

Gobineau does not attribute the emergence and development of a civilization to either climate or environmental conditions. According to him, the main determinant variable is the structural features of the races. Gobineau, who is arguing that European civilization was built by the Germanic race, he points out that Europeans are an extension of the superior Aryan race. However, while making this claim, Gobineau seems to ignore the fact that there is no biological Aryan race. Because the scientific studies on; "this term, which only expresses a cultural and linguistic value" (Özbek, 1984: 99); shows that such a tribe lived in the Ambala region of India. Accordingly, Gobineau's claim that all civilizations were founded by whites, based on the epic Rigveda, which was written in the Aryan language in 2000 BC and mentions the superior abilities of the Aryan society, is inconsistent with scientific reality. It is because the famous Italian anthropologist Mario Cappieri stated that; "In India, II. Aryans, who had no contribution to the civilization created in thousands of cities such as Harappa, Mohenjodaro, and Sanhudaro, lived a primitive life in a semi-nomadic state and it has been written that they frequently attacked large residential areas" (Özbek, 1984: 99). Although we do not have any documents proving the existence of the Aryan race today, except for a few written documents, Gobineau's assertion of these claims is nothing but the reflections of 'aristocratic racism'. Because, according to aristocratic racists, who accept that rulers are always noble and argue that other people are weak and in need of being ruled, people's ability to become a state and develop civilization depends on the amount of Aryan race that they have.

In the middle of the 20th century, the uncertainty that arose as a result of many individual opinions about the concept of race was tried to be overcome by a commission formed by anthropologists and biologists. At the end of the four meetings, a statement called 'Four Statements on the Race Question' is published. In order to explain cultural differences, instead of the term of race, the concept of 'ethnic group', which does not have a social and historical meaning as much as race, and is thought to cause less difficulty in explaining differences, is recommended. In addition, in this statement, it is

claimed that the term of race does not have any validity for humans and has only a biological value. However, despite these statements, research and discussions on the scientificity of the race continue. In these studies on race and racism, it is seen that two approaches come to the fore. The first of these understandings is based on the existence of the term of race and the need to rank the races in a subordinate/superior hierarchy. The second understanding, developed against this understanding that gives a real dimension to racism, is based on the assumption that racism is a phenomenon independent of race and stems from the differences brought about by culture and living conditions (Edis, 2015: 67-68).

Considering that every society is the common product of many elements, especially physical conditions, cultural elements, researching human nature together with environmental and cultural effects; it will provide a better understanding of the phenomenon of racism. In this respect, it is very important that many scientists such as Margaret Mead, Franz Boas, Edward Sapir, Ruth and Benedict develop a perspective that puts cultural differences before racial differences. However, thanks to both these perspectives and scientific studies, the idea that racism is not a concept that emerges based on race is more accepted in today's world. However, the fact that the phenomenon of racism has moved away from being racial does not mean that racism has completely disappeared. Even when science is at the point of ignoring the term of race, it is seen that racism evolves and continues to exist in accordance with the age and conditions.

Throughout history, it has been seen that people with dominant human dignity, conscience and moral values have come up against those who defend the phenomenon of racism and those who try to implement racism in many societies. In the history of humanity, these struggles, which are sometimes continued with silence, sometimes with writing and sometimes with war, cannot go beyond being a regional problem at the beginning. However, in a world where nothing stays the same and change and transformation manifests itself in all areas, the struggles waged in the context of racism also change and reach universal dimensions with the contributions of science, communication and technology. Because the struggles of the blacks who oppose racism in America evolved in this way and started to be carried out on a multidimensional and systematic axis in which universal rights are demanded from small actions over time.

The first organized struggle of blacks against racism in America took place during the period also known as the Harlem Renaissance. In this period including the years 1913-1930, the Blacks; they try to make their voices heard by coming together with the unifying language of art, music and literature. However, Harlem, perceived as black fashion by whites, is not as effective as expected and racist practices targeting blacks continue. After Harlem, which did not meet the expectations of the Blacks, it is observed that various movements gained strength and the struggles intensified in the 1950s. These struggles, which turned into a show of violence, reached their climax with the Watts riots in 1965.

3. CONCLUSION

Considering the studies and examples, it can be said as follows. The phenomenon of racism, which is expressed as discrimination today, continues its

existence today as an extension of the slavery period. As it is known, as a result of long struggles, slavery was abolished in 1865. However, the abolition of slavery did not bring these struggles to an end, but also caused more intense struggles to begin. Because to carry the legal rights of blacks to the field of practice; the struggles of the whites to maintain a situation similar to the slavery period intensify to the extent of conflict and violence. It is a known fact that every change leads to another change.

In this context, the abolition of slavery starts the struggle of the whites who do not want to lose their slaves and the blacks who are freed from slavery. Moreover, the physical slavery practiced by whites changes shape and reappears with different practices under the name of racism. In response to this transformation of slavery, blacks choose to continue their struggle with social, cultural and artistic revolts. These revolts, which first started with music, art and literature, later gave way to rebellions in which violence, destruction and pain were experienced. This is a period in which the struggle of color, language, religion, culture and gender differences, in which many developments occur in the world, is given in various ways.

Despite the point reached by scientific research, the continuation of racism in various fields and in various forms; it showed that racism is not just a simple phenomenon built on 'genes', but has expanded its sphere of influence over time. The fact that the term of racism has such a variable structure and that it constantly expands its area of existence in order to maintain its existence necessitates further examination of racism. Because the meaning of the term of racism is expanded in this way, it also means that it loses its distinctive features. For example, all kinds of descriptive claims about women, workers, nations are also called racism. In fact, such extensions of meaning are nothing but an effort to bring racism to a more acceptable point. In order for the term of racism, which has been identified with xenophobia and racism in the historical process, to regain these defining features, it is necessary to get rid of these redundancies and to re-investigate the historical conditions in which the concept of racism emerged.

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