"That Applies to My People Too": A Discourse Analysis of the Radical White Press in the Original Rainbow Coalition

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I use discourse analysis to investigate the white press of the original Rainbow Coalition, founded by the Illinois Chapter of the Black Panther Party, to dissect how radical media is used as a platform to build coalitions, and debate the role of allies. Borrowing from Viraj Patel's intersectional approach to allyship, which suggests that one's cross-cutting identities creates situationally-specific roles for allies, I add a communicative perspective to understand how allies can effectively represent and practice allyship using mass communication. In doing so, I break down how whiteness is represented in radical media to understand if it's an inherently negative concept.

Allyship is an under-theorized and under-researched concept, but provides a useful framework to understand how to build coalitions and relationships because of its focus on power and difference. The concept of being an ally, or allyship, specifically applies to a dominant group that is working to end a system of oppression that grants their social group greater privilege and power in society (Broido 2000; Patel 2011). With this definition, we can view allyship as a character trait that is fundamentally related to communication practice. Allyship is a way to communicate across lines of power and difference that centers attention on the privileges, entitlements, and ideologies activists bring to coalitional politics. Allies commit to act and to communicate in ways that reinforce their relationships with each other.

Research on allyship suggests that the more an individual understands the structural and institutional dimensions of inequality and oppression, the more likely they will agree with statements about their group's role in creating inequality and oppressive conditions, and the more likely they will act to support less privileged groups (Bishop 2002; Brodio 2000; Goodman 2000; Reason, Millar, and Scales 2005). These actions include listening, joining collective actions, providing time and financial support, and using one's privilege to amplify the work of less privileged groups (Bishop 2002).

Becoming, and then committing to be an ally, is a process of raising awareness on power, self, and others. However, how this is done in practice is missed by the current literature on allyship, which measure allyship as a static character trait, an attitude, or property of one's consciousness. While this research helps with understanding the attitudes of allies, I propose that it is more productive to view allyship as a relational variable that shifts in meaning, is contextual, and is a practice that includes layers of reflexivity and communication (i.e. intra- and interpersonal communication, mass communication, etc.). To make this case, I borrow Patel's (2010) intersectional approach to allyship, which suggests that one's cross-cutting social identities create situationally-specific roles for allies. To Patel's approach I add a communicative perspective to understand how allies can effectively represent and practice allyship using mass communication.

To begin to study allyship from a communicative perspective I use a case study approach to investigate the relationship between radical media, racial meaning, and allyship. My case focuses on the radical white press of the original Rainbow Coalition. Founded, in Chicago, in early 1969 by Fred Hampton and Robert Lee III of the Black Panther Party, the original Rainbow Coalition offered a support network for likeminded radical organizations fighting poverty in Chicago. While similar coalitions arose around the U.S. during this period, the coalition that emerged in Chicago had more structure (Williams 2013; Rice 1998). Williams labels the original Rainbow Coalition as the "first of its kind" because it was designed and organized by African American youth (2013, 126). The coalition is an ideal case because it built cross-racial and cross-class unity in a city sharply divided and segregated by politics, race, and class. The coalition offered their communities a vision on how to 'organize your own' through providing social service and education programs.

Studying the white press of the Rainbow Coalition provides race and media scholars an opportunity to dissect how radical media can be used as a platform to build coalitions, and debate the role of allies in coalitions. In doing so, I untangle a tension within whiteness studies regarding the multiplicity of whiteness and strategies of representation (Hughey 2010; Winant 2004). Can whiteness be a positive construct, especially that which manifests in radical media, or is whiteness inherently negative? How can white individuals construct a radically egalitarian and oppositional racial identity to support cross-racial coalition? These questions center whiteness in its historicity, its role in historical and present-day oppressions, and in its possibility to radicalize and racialize consciousness. To illustrate these connections, the paper begins with a review of literature on allyship and whiteness studies to explore the constraints of whiteness. From there, I review

literature on communication theory and radical media to layout the role of media in movements. After setting the context for the analysis, I describe my case—the original Rainbow Coalition—then, use discourse analysis to investigate the coalition's white press outlets.

Making allies white
When theorizing allyship as practice it's more productive to view allyship relationally, not only as a character trait. As Patel (2011) points out, the degree of allyship manifested by an individual or organization is dependent on the complex web of one's social identities and their corresponding positions on the social hierarchy. Thus, how allyship is developed, expressed, and practiced relates to an individual's intersecting social identities, namely race, gender, and class. In other words, each social identity is imbedded into social formations that produce different experiences of oppression and disempowerment. These different experiences of oppression condition how groups view coalitional politics (Squires 2002), and is why coalitions between people of color, or between people of color and white individuals, cannot be taken-for-granted.

Patel's framework points to a continuum of allyship that exists in practice. Members of more privileged groups may experience a degree of oppression, and through these experiences have opportunities to gain awareness and knowledge that leads to becoming a stronger ally. For example, Frankenberg (1993) finds that white activists come to understand their role in systems of racial oppression by first recognizing their own class oppression. Research on allyship has focused on finding the tipping point in activists, particularly young white men and women. These studies find that education, having diverse experiences, being open to new ideas, consuming a variety of information, and having confidence in one's ability to create change help white individuals see their role in oppression, as well as see how ending systems of oppression benefit their lives, which are two key traits of a white ally (Brodio 2000). While these studies on allyship provide a useful entry into understanding the concept, what's missing is a more robust description on how allyship is expressed and practiced; meaning, how is it effectively communicated?

Research from critical race theory provides some clues to how allyship is expressed and practiced. Critical race scholars take white activists to task for their misguided approach to coalitional work with people of color (Hughey 2010; Frankenberg 1993; Winant 2004). Overall, the picture of white activists from scholarship is bleak; they're presumptuous know-it-alls who are generally uncomfortable talking about race with people of color (Hughey 2010). When they do talk about race, white individuals become overly apologetic, guilt-ridden, and cynical, which translates into a lot of rhetoric and little action (Bonilla-Silva 2003). What the critical race literature also shows is that whiteness is a malleable construct without a singular meaning. Indeed, whiteness is an invisible privilege (McIntosh 1988); an unmarked racial norm (Du Bois 1999/1920; Hill 2009; Moore 2007); a negative identity, defining itself against the racial other (Ferguson 2014; Hughey 2010); an articulation of a positionality that sits atop the racial hierarchy (Bonilla-Silva 1997); a field of practice (Emirbayer and Desmond 2015), and a racial ideology that is also adaptable, fluid (Carbado 2013; Collins 2015; Winant 2004). Undoubtedly, this wide range of scholarship doesn't have clear borders and the various currents on understanding whiteness often merge. What's important to takeaway is that there are many ways to understand whiteness, and how to theorize the relationship between whiteness and allyship.

Current literature on allyship misses the unique challenges faced by individuals shedding an internalized, often unconscious racial identity, that marks interactions between potential allies. Any of the critical race frameworks cited above can be used to fill this gap. However, I find it more productive to view white racial meaning as an ideology because doing so centers attention on the contextual nature of racial identities (Hall 1997). Hughey debates whether whiteness should be understood as a "constantly morphing identity refracted by context," or whether whiteness is really

fractured along political lines that position some whites as overt and covert racists, and other whites as practicing anti-racist politics (2010, 1291). Hughey argues that although whiteness may be articulated differently by white individuals depending on their cross-cutting identities, a dominant form of whiteness emerges nonetheless. Hughey finds that hegemonic whiteness is the "reproduction of, and appeal to, racist, essentialist, and reactionary *inter*- and *intra*-racial distinctions" (1292). To find these distinctions, Hughey compares the racial discourse used by anti-racist activists and white supremacists to uncover two elements of hegemonic whiteness: 1) whites organize 'white' as fundamentally unique and superior to 'non-white;' and 2) whites marginalize other white individuals who fail to meet their expectations of whiteness. Thus, Hughey's findings suggest that research on allyship is implausible and naïve. However, I counter by proposing that we take a deeper look at the expression and practice of white allies in history, as well as develop clearer analytical lines around the concept of allyship as a communication practice. To do so, I use a communicative perspective to understand how allyship is related to the encoding/decoding process, and the channels in which it circulates.

Communicative approach to allyship: understanding content
To create clearer analytical lines around allyship, I draw from Hall's (1973) "encoding/decoding" framework, as well as Hall's (1986) understanding of hegemony. In the previous section, I suggest that becoming an ally, and practicing allyship, is related to one's cross-cutting social identities. Here I suggest that being an ally also relates to how one represents themselves as an ally. This notion might seem obvious, but understanding the nuance of representation is complicated by how hegemony operates in society. Hall (1986, 1997) writes that hegemony is a type of soft-power that depends on winning consent from the public. For Hall, securing hegemony is always contested on multiple fronts: political, cultural, economic; and that the ideas and practices that become hegemonic become structured into many social formations. There is also a degree of adaptability to hegemonic ideas and practices. Hall suggests that members of hegemonic groups often co-opt, or make compromises with marginalized groups seeking more recognition in society to sustain their power.

Within Hall's understanding of hegemony is the idea of active citizens, and active audiences. Hall (1973) argues that audiences encode and decode messages unevenly; that there are layers to interpretation (1986), and that hegemonic meanings are decoded and often resisted by audiences through rearticulation (1986, 1997). Therefore, the preferred meaning encoded into a text, and the decoding of such text is not fixed, nor can it be predicted. With these observations, Hall (1973, 1986) leaves open the potential for more nuanced, negotiated, or oppositional interpretations of texts by audiences. However, despite the agency Hall provides to audiences, the critical race literature makes clear that the vast majority of white individuals operate "inside the dominant codes" when encoding/decoding racial meaning (1973, 9). Even as white individuals gain awareness and knowledge on structural and institutional forms of oppression, and start to think and see like an ally, critical race literature suggests that this understanding often leads to unproductive communication between allies.

Bishop (2002) observes a need for white allies to differentiate themselves from the white majority, and the history of white racism. But as white allies attempt to differentiate themselves from their white peers and history, white allies often come across as arrogant, out of touch, domineering, child-like, fragile, or buffoonish. Many scholars label this condition 'white guilt,' which is possessed by many white individuals (Bishop 2002; Bonilla-Silva 2003; Frankenberg 1993; Hughey 2010). While there are other causes of dissension between allies, a major tension between allies appears when white activists cannot adequately find a productive way to rearticulate guilt and shame (Reason, Millar, and Scales 2005). As a condition, 'white guilt' shrouds the encoding/decoding process around awkward questions, choice vocabulary, excessive moralizing, disempowerment, passivity,

and no action.

If we pair Hall's work on encoding/decoding with the literature on allyship and whiteness, we observe a three-step process of reflexivity required by allies. First, allyship literature suggests that allies become reflexive about one's collective identity, its history, privileges, and role in oppression. Second, once an ally begins to think critically about their collective identity, it's essential for them to identify the nervous, awkward, and uncomfortable energy exposed by this reflexivity. Third, once allies become critically aware of their emotional state, it's important to use this energy to rearticulate hegemonic codes productively, which is crucial to building relationships across lines of power and difference (Bishop 2002). In other words, Hall's framework suggests that white individuals trying to be allies need to carefully think through ways to encode/decode messages to potential allies in ways that builds their authority over racial and class issues.

Hall's encoding/decoding framework can also serve as an analytical tool to help understand media content produced by, and for, allies. I use critical race theory as the yardstick to evaluate the content, which is also my link to theory: what strategies of representation effectively encode media content with meaning useful to allies? Understanding how hegemony operates, what codes are dominant, why, and with what effect, are questions allies need to ask when choosing how to effectively encode their values and commitments as allies.

Communicative approach to allyship: understanding practice
When using forms of mass communication to represent their commitments, it's important for allies to consider circulation as part of the practice of being an ally. Hall et al. (1978) observes that the form through which content travels, as well as where the content travels, influences its reception and the conditions in which content is rearticulated. Allies produce media that can be theorized several ways. However, whether it is called radical media (Downing 1984), citizens media (Rodriguez 2001), or alternative media (Atton 2007), what matters is that these forms of media exist to challenge hegemonic media and their representations.

Downey and Fenton contend that despite its limited impact on mainstream political opinion, radical media offers "the possibility that production could be organized differently, in the interests of the producing/experiencing subjects rather than profit…[that] takes the form of counter-production, of an alternative media practice that intervenes in the contemporary dominant public sphere" (2003, 193). Without digging into the complexities of counterpublic theory (see Asen 2000 and Fraser 1990), what is important to grasp here is that ally media operates between different spheres of publicity: the dominant public sphere from which these media producers became subjects, and must differentiate themselves from, as well as multiple alternative spheres that they seek entry into as allies. Indeed, Downey and Fenton suggest that negotiating the competing orientations of different publics is closer to work of a translator, rather than an arbiter.

A key characteristic of an effective translator is the ability to convey nuance, and to be flexible to multiple meanings carried in a code. As suggested by Downy and Fenton, to be effective, allies must transverse the "arena of discursive contestation;" a space where oppositional and hegemonic groups duel over meanings (39). Allies must effectively circulate nuanced messages to competing publics, which can contradict their commitment as allies when meaning is not encoded or decoded appropriately. As suggested by Downey and Fenton, routines can emerge based on the democratically-operated, non-hierarchical organizations that produce radical media to ensure a measure of message consistency. Radical media in practice, according to Downing (1984), is produced by non-professionals who gather information from personal experience, eye witness accounts, and non-expert sources. Framing devices are geared toward needs and interests of people and communities, not the marketplace. Editorial decisions, particularly their gatekeeping role, focus

on issues that receive little attention by media in the dominant domain.

However, the extent to which mainstream and radical media practices differ is debated, and is a key question taken up by several scholars in an edited book by Atton (2015). Overall, they find little difference between media forms. While Atton (2015) finds that radical media has yet to achieve its democratic potential, my concern in this paper is not to understand structure and routines per say, but to establish a framework to theorize the role of ally media in social movements. My goal here is to understand how circulation structures the role of allies as translators in a way that can build their authority over racial and class issues.

For example, Squires' (2002) work suggests that *The Black Panther* newspaper served as a symbolic frontline in black communities by amplifying voices of residents who moved in and out of multiple orientations to civil society. As a newspaper, it did more than report news, but drew a discourse of militant opposition to racial and class oppression. This discourse tapped into a mélange of symbols, labels, imagery, and styles from multiple spheres that were used to rearticulate dominant meanings about race and class. As Fanon (1967) argues, and the Panthers demonstrate, labeling police 'pigs,' demanding 'black power,' and using the raised fist are not only expressions of people building a collective identity to resist oppression, but are part of a discursive repertoire that transforms a traumatized 'triply conscious' black subject into one who truly see themselves and conditions in which they live.

When we unite the work of radical media scholars, critical race theorists, and literature on allyship, we observe that in the case of the Panthers the work of an ally is to effectively translate the totality of their militant discourse to each other, other allied groups, and the dominant white majority. As a translator, allies commit to capture the essence of this discourse in a way that doesn't compromise its radicalism, nor center attention on the role of the ally. Therefore, it becomes essential for allies that produce media to understand not just how to appropriately encode/decode meaning, but to think through the routine of translating content to specific audiences.

Methodology
To investigate the relationship between radical media, racial meaning, and allyship, this study undertakes a discourse analysis of the newspapers published by two white-led organizations who worked in the anti-poverty movement that arose in the late 1960s in Chicago. Discourse analysis is ideally suited to place texts into the cultural and political context in which they operate (Van Dijk 1993). Gee suggests that discourse analysis renders meaningful an individual's "socially situated identity," the type of person one seeks to embody, and brings to the foreground the "socially situated activities" that language helps to constitute (1999, 22). Discourse analysis is used to answer the following questions:

- To what extent does the radical media produced by white allies in the Rainbow Coalition represent their commitments as allies, particularly representations that reinforce counter-hegemonic identities and values?
- To what extent do the newspapers provide useful information to readers and staff about inter-racial and intra-racial relationships in representations of coalition activities?
- What patterns of information collection are practiced by the newspapers, particularly as it relates to communities they serve and their relationship to the state?
- What patterns of information collection distinguish the work of these newspapers from mainstream journalism?

The questions provide a fuller accounting on how radical media can be used as a platform that bridges racial difference by investigating its content (RQ1 and 2), as well as its practices (RQ3 and

4).

While the questions on practice do not investigate the routines of gatekeeping, information gathering and sourcing, the questions help to examine the translation work conducted by the newspapers—a practice that emerges when information circulates between allies. A more complete account of the relationship between allyship, media content, and circulation would focus analysis on all practices that emerge, and chart the entire media ecology of the Rainbow Coalition. However, the goal of this paper is to take an initial step in this direction by focusing on media content, and how commitments of allies can be effectively represented and circulated by radical press.

The Case: The Rainbow Coalition
The most committed groups that formed the Rainbow Coalition were the Illinois chapter of the Black Panther Party, the Young Lords Organization—a primarily Latino/a organization— as well as two organizations from primarily white communities: the Young Patriots Organization and Rising up Angry. The formation of the Rainbow Coalition was announced at a press conference on April 4, 1969, a year after the assassination of the Martin Luther King. But to know that the Rainbow Coalition was formed at this event, a reader would have to pick up a movement newspaper. *The Chicago Tribune*, in their evening edition for April 4th, did not publish the name of the organizations involved in the press conference, choosing instead to label them as "black and white street gangs" (Chicago Tribune, 1969). At the press conference members of the coalition asked their communities to remain nonviolent during memorial services for King. They also announced the formation of a cross-racial coalition to fight poverty, police violence, and political corruption in Chicago by asking their communities to abandon petty fights about turf, race, gender—and fight the power structure; "the real enemy."

The newspapers of the white-allied groups in the coalition, *The New Patriot* (NP) and *Rising up Angry* (RUA) were mainly distributed in Chicago, IL; however, both papers had a small national subscription base. Both newspapers are found in the Countercultural Publications of the 1960s collection in the Wisconsin History Society. *The New Patriot* published about twice a month from 1969 to 1973, and missed several issues due to financial trouble. *Rising up Angry* regularly published twice a month from 1969 to 1974. The staff size of each newspapers varied, but on average each paper had a staff of five to 15 volunteers who reported on local, national, and international affairs. The newspapers also provided space for cultural critiques, opinion-editorials, letters from readers, as well as interviews of movement activists. Decisions on what and how to publish material were made by the organization's editorial board, which was comprised of mostly white men, but both organizations included some women in leadership positions (Rice 1998).

This study analyzes only articles that focus on one or more of the following issues: poverty, corruption, community news, racism, and feminism. Thus, for example, a story on the Vietnam War might talk about political corruption, but since political corruption is not the focus of the article it would not be included in the analysis. In total, I analyze 90 articles published in RUA and 20 articles published in the NP. The articles selected for analysis highlight the role of radical media in showcasing how these issues influence white communities, the importance of destroying and rebuilding a white identity, and the role of white allies.

Committed allies, reinforcing counter-hegemonic identities and values
Both RUA and the NP reported stories that expressed commitments as allies by looking inward and by tapping into themes that helped readers reflect on the role of white individuals in systems of oppression. Doing so helped the papers sustain the militancy and radicalism of counter-hegemonic identities and values. Three themes emerged in the texts to sustain counter-hegemonic identities and values: 1) white revolutionary role models; 2) shared experiences as working class and poor whites;

and 3) 'revolutionary friendship.' Through these themes, the RUA and the NP represented the multiple identities assigned to, and ascribed by, white individuals, as well as the conflicting power relations that an individual can possess at any given moment (Carbado 2013). In addition, these three themes represent calls for redistribution, not just of materials, but also the wealth of privilege, entitlement, and skin.

A theme of 'white revolutionary role models' is amplified in the RUA and the NP. The editorial staffs of each newspaper bemoan the dearth of white revolutionary activists in popular culture. While the editorial staffs are careful to note that revolutionary consciousness in popular white culture has been historically unpopular, there are some examples of white revolutionary activists to highlight. Profiles of historical figures in RUA and the NP, help community members identify the features of revolutionary role models. For instance, the NP profiles white revolutionary activists, individuals like Helen Keller, John Brown, and Eugene Debs, as examples on why these figures were important in fights against slavery, racism, unregulated capitalism, and corruption (New Patriot, 1970a; New Patriot, 1970b). RUA published similar profiles of revolutionary role models, and also highlighted the actions of robin hood-like outlaws, particularly bank robbers of the 1920s and 1930s who broke unjust laws to survive. Articles in RUA contrast the behavior of outlaws, represented as selfless, heroic, oppressed individuals tired of getting pushed around—to gangsters; represented as greedy violent con-men (Rising up Angry, 1969a; Rising up Angry, 1973). In another article published by RUA, titled "Gang Bopping," readers learn that "white kids don't have a symbol yet, no revolutionary heroes of our own. Just a creep shoved on us like John Wayne and bubblegum singers. So we feel a little uptight" (Rising up Angry, 1971a). The takeaway to these articles emphasizes the theme of 'revolutionary role models:' white activists need to be more creative about where to look for political inspiration.

The second theme that looked inward, and helped sustained commitments as allies involved creating 'shared experiences as working class and poor whites.' The newspapers shared experiences of 'un-freedom' to explore how capitalism and white racism mutually reinforces their subjugation. News coverage on poverty, police brutality, urban renewal programs, lack of access to services and jobs became vehicles for sharing experiences of their living conditions. This coverage represented a radical class and racial consciousness to readership. In a story titled "The Black Panthers," RUA writes "Most whites are not free. They are just a little slower to realize it, because they've been told that when [other] people are kept down (like the Vietnamese and the Blacks) they're better off. Whites are beginning to understand that isn't true" (Rising up Angry, 1969b).

In an article published by the NP, titled "Voices from Chicago," a young woman interviewed about racism in her workplace explains "I was so preoccupied hating the blacks who were just products of white tokenism and I never stopped to think that the people who gave me this sort of crumby deal weren't black…they were white" (New Patriot, 1970). She goes on to say that "it doesn't matter about the job anymore. What does matter is the way both white and black people are maneuvered into racial tensions by those at the top who are operating behind the scenes." The young women's story, as well as the other voices, which included an interview about housing conditions and police brutality, captures the experiences of white individuals who navigate the complex racial and class environment of Chicago and come to understand themselves as part of a racial and class collective identity.

A final theme, 'revolutionary friendships,' sustains the radicalism of counter-hegemonic identities and values by identifying the actions and attitudes of white allies in the Rainbow Coalitions. The theme of 'revolutionary friendships' can be broken down into three sub-themes: 1) Liberate minds and bodies; 2) Liberate turf; and 3) liberate communities. Both newspapers published articles that offered examples and recommendations on how to harness, what Barvosa-Carter (2001) labels, the

'creative energy' that emerges between activists from different backgrounds. To start acting like an ally, readers need to liberate their minds and bodies by learning about individual and institutional racism, class tensions within their communities, and their conflicting class and racial identities. For example, in an article published by RUA, titled "Rising up Angry with Huey P. Newton," RUA editors asked Newton, the Defense Minister of the Black Panther Party, about working with white activists. Newton states that *everyone,* but white individuals in particular, "must deal with our racism, our sexist attitudes, our individualism, and we must build our programs to meet the people's needs" (Rising up Angry, 1971b). To do so, the editorial staff of RUA suggests that readers reflect on their racial and class privileges, and to give back to communities by volunteering time or money to community organizations. In another article published by RUA, a staff writer suggests that effective allies should avoid excessive moralizing, and to not give up on people who "feel a little silly about how they didn't see it sooner, so they're a little hard on some of the brothers and sisters who aren't hip to the revolutionary things yet…Every day we hear a brother or sister say 'so and so is not for it. We can't get to him or her.' Well that's wrong, it's too early to write off anybody" (Rising up Angry, 1971b).

Supporting counter-hegemonic identities and values also involves liberating turf from gang violence. Both newspapers report on the problem of gang violence, but RUA does so more consistently. An article that captures the passion and commitment of RUA to ending violence, titled "All People's Turf," states:

> "To make all turf controlled by the people…we start with the liberation of our turf…liberate the playlots, parks, corners, and beaches. No more being run out by the pigs at their will, no more being run out and being forced to hassle other people in other neighborhoods who face the same things…We fight each other when in fact, we face the same conditions, the same problems, and have the same hopes and desires…Now a certain group, black, white, or Latin, may control a certain neighborhood. As long as they are moving to do so in a people-type fashion, in a revolutionary way, they will not be uptight about someone from another group…coming into the neighborhood" (Rising up Angry, 1969c).

As seen in the example above, liberating turf stands as an action that can spatially organize coalition. To organize their own communities, as well as to contribute to the work of their coalitional partners, RUA and the NP help community members reinvent how they view their local environment, and relationship to space.

The final sub-theme, 'liberate communities,' is typically found in articles about police brutality, gang violence, and urban renewal. To liberate white communities means to provide support to community service providers, and to spread the word on how community members can liberate their mind, body, and turf. In an article titled, "Why is there a Rising up Angry," a staff member writes about the anger, hopelessness, and growing radical consciousness that finds its political expression as coalitional politics between racially-defined actors who find inspiration in each other's struggle (Rising up Angry, 1972). Inspiration is derived through militant rhetoric, and more importantly through actions such as organizing legal, health, welfare, education, and other services in communities. These services provided meeting places where members of the Rainbow Coalition could recruit members. It is also through these services that white members of the Rainbow Coalition talked with black and brown individuals about corruption, poverty, racism; the need to liberate communities, and found that "yeah, that applies to my people too" (Rising up Angry,1972). The theme of "revolutionary friendship" is thus counter-hegemonic values becoming material, which is composed of discrete actions of becoming (liberating mind and body) and belonging (liberating turf and communities); its product being a white collective identity that is contrived

outside the dominant history and culture of the U.S. The themes of 'shared experience' and 'revolutionary role models,' form the interpretative basis from which these actions of 'revolutionary friendship' are evaluated. Next, we turn to answering how the newspapers informed their readers about the challenges to building 'revolutionary friendships' that cross racial lines.

Building relationships across racial lines
RUA and the NP provided readers and staff with useful information about the challenges to building intra- and inter-racial relationships. This information emerged in three dominant themes about cross-racial politics: 1) stigmatized bodies; 2) reactionary attitudes of communities; and 3) shared vision. The themes involved look outward, toward building relationships across racial lines.

The theme of 'stigmatized bodies' is useful to understanding challenges to building cross-racial relationships. The newspapers draw attention to the stigma attached to the bodies of people of color and poor white individuals, who are viewed as untrustworthy, criminals, and drug users by dominant society. In articles on community news, racism, and poverty RUA and the NP presents information on how this stigma leads to unfair treatment in public and private life. RUA and the NP report how stigmatization results in poor treatment from landlords who don't fix apartment units, or communicate with tenants, because of their class and racial make-up. Poor treatment by business owners is also common to racially and economically marked people. In an article titled, "Gang Busters", the staff writer suggests that the stigmatization of young white bodies, and bodies of color results in their criminalization in the eyes of law enforcement officials (Rising up Angry, 1969d). The writer notes that people of color face the most repression; but young working-class whites are not immune from unjust and abusive treatment. The mark of class and race on bodies, according to this writer, leads to death, injury, jail, and a long journey through the court system. The writer suggests that the stigma is internalized by community members, used to rationalize violence against other groups, and leads individuals to believe that their group is the only victim of government repression.

In articles that highlight the theme of 'reactionary communities,' RUA provides a few ideas on how to reduce violence: dealing with male chauvinism, direct action against reactionaries, and encouraging empathy through storytelling. In an article, titled "Dealing with Male Chauvinism," RUA defines the reactionary attitudes of men that discourage coalition, "I'm a man—I'll kill anyone that messes with me, except a policeman. Brothers are ready to fight, ready to kill each other, over slights on each other's manhood" (Rising up Angry, 1971c). Like other articles that report on the reactionary attitudes of their communities, the author asks readers to help young men think about the example they are setting for their children, as well as reflect on their language use, and beliefs, about women and other groups. Another article that represents the theme 'reactionary communities,' informs readers about area gang violence and likely causes—poverty, male chauvinism, racism— then advocates trying to build empathy around a shared enemy: corrupt government and business officials. The key to building empathy is understanding the difference between revolutionary and reactionary attitudes: revolutionary acts are for the people; reactionary acts are for "the pigs," who don't make life better. RUA writes:

> "We need a revolution that will make life better for the people who have similar needs and desires. We all get screwed by the ruling class…sometimes a fight, making us deal with each other, brings us closer together…We [just need to] understand the difference between revolutionary grease and reactionary grease, between revolutionary hippies and reactionary hippies, between revolutionary blacks and reactionary blacks, between revolutionary latins and reactionary latins. We are revolutionary first. There will be no freedom for anyone unless we dig that" (Rising up Angry, 1971a).

To RUA, being revolutionary is synonymous with acting for the people, which includes building empathy based on their shared oppression by 'the ruling class.' Conflict becomes flashpoints of contention in which revolutionary actors help to diffuse through building empathy around a shared enemy. In short, the theme of 'reactionary communities' presents information on how to disrupt male chauvinism, use direct action, and build empathy to reduce violence and lay down the condition needed for people to build revolutionary friendships. After these friendships are built, constructing a vision for the future between racial groups becomes easier.

The final theme that represents the challenges to cross-racial coalition work is building a shared vision between communities of color and poor white communities. An article published by the NP, titled "The Right of Revolution" is representative of this theme (New Patriot, 1970b). The writer unpacks the history of revolutionary rhetoric used by revolutionary movements since 1776, and concludes that lack of knowledge on this rhetoric limits the ability to build a shared vision. "American revolutionary rhetoric has been popular with uneducated poor men as with articulate spokesmen, with Marxists and non-Marxists, with Negroes as with Whites." The writer doesn't want to be uncritical about the past, and notes the gap between rhetoric and action that many white activists bring to revolutionary movements. To this point the writer quips, "But if there is a danger in romanticizing the past by fabricating a radicalism that was not there, it is equally misleading to suppose that there was no American radicalism prior to the formation of an industrial proletariat or the advent of Marxist theory." Indeed, the writers asks readers to bring a critical eye to revolutionary movements "insisting that only radicalism [can] make real the rhetoric of 1776." Revolutionary rhetoric becomes a vehicle that drives white individuals and people of color closer together. This shared rhetoric creates a shared language, and a way to think about the future, together.

RUA often discussed the challenges of creating a shared vision in articles that highlights the theme of 'reactionary communities:' drug abuse, women's health, education, police brutality, and gang culture. Typically, these articles start with local news—for instance, the RUA reporting on overdoes in their community, and where and how drug users can get medical treatment (Rising up Angry, 1969e). After presenting local news, the writers cover how these topics reinforce reactionary attitudes in communities. Usually near the end of the articles, the authors describe how laws on drugs, women's health, etc. are set-up to work against communities. Articles on drug abuse, for example, end by offering solutions to unjust drug laws that target poor white individuals and people of color. The authors also use these topics to propose solutions that can unite people from different communities, as seen in this quote: "So think it out brothers and sisters. We've got work to do, and we still need to relax now and then. But we aren't going no-where strung out and hassling each other. Get high on the people and smack the enemy" (Rising up Angry, 1969e). In other words, drug abuse, and the reactionary attitude it fosters in communities, is an opportunity for activists to cohere around a shared vision of the future in which drug abuse and unjust laws do not exist. The project can be completed through will and unity of the people, which is difficult due to the poor conditions of their communities. Next, we turn to how the newspapers imagine the communities it serves, and its relationship to the government.

Translating community relations
In the articles analyzed for this study, both newspapers effectively translate nuances about the relationship between the communities they serve and the state. Communities are represented as victims of state repression, who because of their victimization become sources of power and change. These themes effectively translate the nuances in the relationship between poor communities of color, poor white communities, and state institutions, namely the criminal justice system and state welfare programs, and helps to reinforce the radical nature of militant discourse in

a way that does not center attention on the role of allies.

Articles in RUA and the NP represent state structures as unwilling to redress the grievances of communities. In an article RUA published about the career of Renault Robinson, a black Chicago police officer, Robinson speaks about years of racial abuse he witnessed on the job, stating that "a lot of white cops don't want change, they don't want reform. Change to them means they can't take their jollies out on blacks, Latins, and poor whites" (Rising up Angry, 1973b). An article about social services in RUA is more to the point: "We say no more to a government that is unresponsive to our needs. No more to a government that will cut most of the meaningful social programs and then add more to the billion-dollar defense. And no more to a government that is based on corruption and greed, willing to destroy other nations for the benefit of a few rich corporations" (Rising up Angry, 1973c). Thus, RUA and NP translates the nuanced picture of communities as victims by foregrounding the distrust, and lack of legitimacy communities have toward state institutions.

The newspapers also represented a nuanced view of the capabilities of communities. What's needed is a political program with the right services, in the right communities, with the right direction to tease out the revolutionary power of communities. For instance, on the opening of a health clinic, the writer starts by describing women being forced into making health decisions by male doctors, and the "lack of respect for the woman, a second-class citizen especially brown and black women. Population experts don't give a shit if they kill us, as long as less babies are born" (Rising up Angry, 1970). The healthcare clinics profiled by RUA provides services to the people, mostly for free. RUA also profiles other social service programs that are managed by organizations in the Rainbow Coalition, which are "doing something the system was supposed to be doing. They [the Rainbow Coalition] talk about the liberation of all oppressed people regardless of race or color. This really blows the Pigs' minds, because it's true and it takes beautiful people like them to make us realize it's time to stop these insane killings and point the barrel of the gun the opposite way" (Rising up Angry, 1970). Thus, the newspapers imagine that the Rainbow Coalition is filling a gap in their communities that has been created by ineffectual state institutions. Filling the gap left by the state builds capabilities in communities, readying them for 'the revolutionary struggle.'
Communities are represented not just as victims, but as bases of revolutionary power. To release this power, political groups need to strengthen their communities by providing education and social service programs. In other words. what's translated is the location of communities as outside mainstream civil society. As such, political groups need to help communities build their own civic institutions, survival strategies, and responses to an oppressive state. Indeed, the newspapers imagine their communities as fundamentally counter to the state, but because of racism and a lack of class consciousness, the revolutionary energy of communities remains latent.

Demarcating lines between the radical and mainstream press
The newspapers view their relationship to mainstream journalism as oppositional, and tap into codes that represent insider knowledge of communities. Labeling mainstream journalism as 'false,' 'racist,' 'and part of the pig structure,' RUA and the NP provide readers with stories that go un- or under-reported about poor communities. The newspapers also present stories that correct the record of mainstream journalism.

RUA and the NP published hard news to readers that went un- or under-reported by established journalists in their community news sections. These hard news articles present unframed, straight forward information; often in the form of how-to guides. These articles covered five themes: 1) drug abuse advisories; 2) abortion rights; 3) gun safety; 4) how-to spot police; and 5) the stone grease grapevine. For example, the RUA published articles about gun safety that covered how to clean,

handle, and shoot firearms. These articles also present information on gun rights and how to legally own weapons. Articles on how-to spot police followed a similar format. RUA published articles on how-to spot undercover police officers, informants, and other "pig agents," alongside information on privacy rights.

The "Stone Grease Grapevine" perhaps best represents the insider authority of these newspapers. Published by RUA, the Grapevine presented an assortment of information, nothing longer than 300 words, about public life and experiences from communities across Chicagoland, the Midwest, and the world. Some news stories published on the grapevine were written by community members, other stories were formatted as letters to the editor, while some stories were written by staff. An array of topics was covered: stories about successful political actions, truces between gangs and clubs, day-to-day activities of activists, the struggles of being a single parent, experiences of implicit and explicit racism—all provided readers an insider view of their community, and used relatable codes that expressed authority over racial and class issues.

The NP published a similar community message board, but also reserved space for local artists to share their poems, short stories, political cartoons, and drawings. At times these sections served as opportunities to correct false information about their communities published by mainstream news outlets. Other times the newspapers published fuller articles that corrected false and misleading reporting about gang violence, protests, and police involved shootings conducted by mainstream news. The newspapers' position as insider establishes their authority to question how information is gathered by mainstream journalists, and their motivations.

Defining counter-hegemony within fractured identities
The radical white press of the original Rainbow Coalition constructs authority over racial and class issues by using radical media to tap into counter-hegemonic, revolutionary, and radically-egalitarian themes. These themes help us understand the role of allies in coalitions, as well as the relationship between the encoding/decoding process, circulation, and allyship. Key to representing commitments as allies is tapping into themes that rearticulate white racial meaning productively. The rearticulation looks inward and outward, recognizes structural and institutional systems of oppression, and taps into themes that communicate counter-hegemonic identities and values. Doing so, helps the papers build commitments as allies by focusing on building intra-racial (RQ1) and cross-racial solidarities (RQ2). The newspapers also work effectively as translators who effectively convey the nuance of community relationships (RQ3) and interests (RQ4) to competing publics. The nuanced information represented insider knowledge on the nature of oppressive conditions, and responses to it.

What gets lost by Hughey in his critique of Winant's notion of an adaptive, contextual, and fractured whiteness is a clear understanding of the process of hegemony, and the relationship between power and subordination. Hughey supports Ferguson's (1998) conception of hegemony as "not psychological or moralistic in character, but structural and epistemological" and as forces that do not create "single unitary subjects of ideology" (44). However, what is less clear in Hughey's analysis of hegemonic whiteness is how hegemony is multilayered, actively won and challenged, and sometimes lost. Ferguson suggests that hegemony fractures the relationship between subject, ideology, and consciousness to produce identities "that change places and relative ideological weight as identities are formed, adjusted, or destroyed, and as power relationships contextually or historically change" (81). Ferguson suggests that the variability in awareness to power produces a continuum; one end labeled *contradictory consciousness*, defined as politically passive, non-reflexive, ambivalent toward power; the other end labeled *critical consciousness*—defined as politically active, reflexive, understands power in its complexity. Everything up to the point of critical consciousness on this continuum supports the status quo to a degree; as individuals move

closer to contradictory consciousness on the continuum the more they become ambivalent or hostile to thoughts of social change. Thus, Ferguson's analysis of hegemony suggests that white individuals can become allies if they become critically aware of power, self, and others, which is what RUA and NP represented.
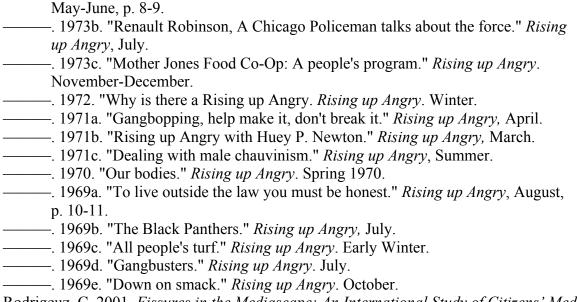
As shown in this study, when white individuals organized Rising up Angry and the Young Patriots they were influenced by the social justice movements occurring around them and took steps to critically interpret and racialize the meaning of their white racial identity. The newspapers reimagined a white racial identity grounded in class, and in doing so, marked the oppressive nature of whiteness and the revolutionary potential of their material circumstance as a raced group. This identity informed a critical consciousness that opened lines of inquiry into the nature of oppression, corruption, and poverty, and positioned the white press of the Rainbow Coalition as insiders to poor white communities. The RUA and NP not only show how to represent their allyship effectively, but also how to imagine a *counter*-hegemonic whiteness, one that represents pride in a shared tradition of opposing systems of oppression by highlighting their own conditions of un-freedom.

As shown in this study, radical media has the potential to become a mechanism that orientates white allies toward a critical consciousness. The RUA and NP produces a radical journalism in a context bound by neighborhood geography, material circumstances of these geographies, and the historically-rooted political identities built on shared experiences and values that arise from these communities. The newspapers envision that these shared experiences rooted in geography create commitments between communities of color and poor white communities. A shared culture between communities of color and poor white communities forms around similar experiences of violence, poverty, and corruption that informs a code of conduct, customs, practices, and ways to see and think about political-economic oppression. There is nothing that stands outside of this cultural context; no generalized agent of the community, or democracy; no unmarked objective standpoint. In other words, RUA and the NP project an authority on racial and class issues crafted from their membership in the communities. The insider position of RUA and the NP produced an authority because they tell stories about their communities that tap into deeply rooted thematic elements of oppression; themes that all racial groups and working classes have experienced through U.S. history.

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