

## ***The Right to Dream* Study Guide**

### **PLEASE READ THIS IMPORTANT INFORMATION**

*The Right to Dream* is Raymond/Ruby's story, a young African American growing up in Mississippi on the brink of the American Civil Rights movement. Early on, Raymond/Ruby feels the daily impact of racism and then is introduced to leaders like Rosa Parks and Martin Luther King, Jr., showing him/her that something different may be possible for blacks in America. Dedicated to joining these leaders, Raymond/Ruby receives a scholarship to attend Tougaloo College. Raymond/Ruby begins his/her involvement in the movement when s/he leads a sit-in at a local lunch counter. S/he then becomes a part of SNCC (the Student Non-Violent Coordinating Committee) and is a participant in the voter registration drive, the March on Washington, Freedom Summer and the March from Selma to Montgomery.

Raymond/Ruby's experiences reflect much of the world of the American south of that time: both the personal and collective struggle for a voice; the everyday adversity created by the Ku Klux Klan and white supremacists; the conflicts within the movement as well as those outside it; the achievements as well as the tragedies. Raymond/Ruby offers a personal inside view of a tumultuous and challenging period of American history.

Living Voices strives to recreate historical periods with as much authentic detail as possible. We believe that by allowing audiences to experience history as participants, they will better understand the choices individuals made during that time. *The Right to Dream* presented us with a particular challenge: the use of racial epithets as was common in Mississippi during this era. Though the word "nigger" is kept to a minimum (we do not wish to desensitize audiences to this word), it is present within the program.

Please contact us if you need any clarification or information about the content of *The Right to Dream*.

Thank you,  
Rachael McClinton  
Artistic Director  
Living Voices  
206-328-0798  
livingvoices@livingvoices.org  
[www.livingvoices.org](http://www.livingvoices.org)

**Objective:** Through the viewing of and participation in the live presentation of *The Right to Dream*, as well as the use of this packet for pre and post performance exploration, students will gain a greater understanding of the American civil rights movement, the African American experience from Reconstruction through the 1960's, and the importance of all citizens having a voice in their own government. Students then will be able to draw parallels between this movement and other historical events, particularly the other major social movements of the 20<sup>th</sup> century.

### Story synopsis

There are two nearly identical versions of *The Right to Dream*: in one, the main character is a young man named Raymond; in the other, a young woman named Ruby. Differences between the two versions of this show are minimal.

Raymond/Ruby Hollis is a young African-American born in a small town in Mississippi just after World War II. His/her father fought in the war and was awarded for his valor on the battlefield. While in the Army, Mr. Hollis meets his wife, a nurse. But when Mr. Hollis returns to Mississippi, he is treated as a second class citizen and shown no respect for his service to his country. Mrs. Hollis, unable to work as a nurse, takes a job as a maid.

Raymond/Ruby excels in school even though the facilities granted to black students are poor in comparison to the white schools. Raymond/Ruby must walk the long distance to school or ride an old broken-down bus that the black families bought, since the state wouldn't provide the money for a new bus for black students. Still, Raymond/Ruby is able to become class president and succeed in his/her studies. S/he meets his/her first best friend, Jack/Jackie, a white boy/girl who lives next door to the house where Mrs. Hollis works. The two best friends spend all their time together. One day Mrs. Hollis takes the children to the movies. Raymond/Ruby sees Jack/Jackie in the theater and runs in. The theater owner quickly throws Raymond/Ruby out. Mrs. Hollis explains to Raymond/Ruby that s/he can only sit in the balcony because s/he is black. Mrs. Hollis is forced to find other work, and Raymond/Ruby is not allowed to play with Jack/Jackie again.

Raymond/Ruby and Cousin Tony hear about the Bus Boycott in Montgomery. After seeing Martin Luther King at a rally Raymond/Ruby decides s/he wants to be a political leader. Raymond/Ruby and Tony are able to get into the best black colleges in the country: Tony goes to Morehouse and Raymond/Ruby to Tougaloo.

Raymond/Ruby and other Tougaloo students stage their first sit-in. They are brutally attacked by the police and other patrons. One of Raymond/Ruby's friends is blinded in the fighting. Raymond/Ruby is not sure s/he can continue to lead in this kind of danger—but after encouragement from Mr. Hollis, Raymond/Ruby dedicates him/herself to SNCC and the civil rights movement. Later, on a visit home, Mrs. Hollis warns Raymond/Ruby that certain white leaders in town know what s/he's doing. After a threat from the Sheriff that is directed at Mrs. Hollis, Raymond/Ruby decides to return to school and distance him/herself from the family.

Raymond/Ruby helps lead the voter registration drive in Mississippi. The effort experiences a temporary setback when parents of the teenage volunteers keep them away for fear of their safety, but Raymond/Ruby is re-energized by the March on Washington. SNCC is told to refrain from unapproved protesting by the planners of the march. However, after Dr. King's speech, the entire SNCC delegation sings "We Shall Overcome"—even though they were denied permission to sing the song.

Raymond/Ruby and the workers are shocked when four little girls are killed in a church bombing in Alabama. Raymond/Ruby dedicates him/herself to Bob Moses' plan of a freedom election. 80,000 African-Americans vote for the first time in a mock election designed to show that black people could

and should vote. SNCC then plans Freedom Summer. Faced with great danger, Raymond/Ruby and the other workers spend the summer helping blacks in Mississippi register to vote. Three workers, Schwerner, Cheney and Goodman, disappear and are later found dead.

After graduating from Tougaloo, Raymond/Ruby joins Tony in Alabama to help with the voter drive in that state. Police in Selma kill a man named Jimmy Lee Jackson when he tries to protect his mother from being beaten, and Raymond/Ruby and Tony join the march from Selma to Montgomery in protest of this violence. State troopers meet the marchers at a bridge outside of Selma and attack. Tony is seriously wounded, and both he and Raymond/Ruby are nearly killed by an angry sheriff. Days later, protesters are given permission to cross the bridge, and Mr. Hollis surprises Raymond/Ruby by joining the march. Together they walk from Selma to Montgomery and hear Martin Luther King speak on the steps of the capitol. When Mr. Hollis returns home, he is met by the Klan and killed.

Not long after the march, President Johnson ends voter discrimination by signing the Voting Rights Act of 1965. Now able to be a candidate for the town council, Raymond/Ruby dedicates his/her life to leadership in achieving equal rights for all.

### What are rights?

**Human rights** are rights that belong to individuals simply for being human. Human rights are inherent and automatic: they do not have to be bought, earned or given. They are universal: all human beings are entitled to equality, regardless of race, gender, religion, political or other opinion, national or social origin. Human rights are indivisible: all human beings are entitled to freedom, security and decent standards of living at the same time. Human rights are inalienable: no one has the right to take away or deprive another person of their human rights for any reason. People still have human rights even when governments or others violate or do not acknowledge them. Included in human rights is the expectation that each individual has responsibilities to respect the human rights of others.

**Civil rights** are the personal and property rights recognized by governments and guaranteed by constitutions and laws. Civil and political rights are freedom-oriented and include the rights to life, liberty, privacy and security of the individual; the right to own property; freedom from torture and slavery; freedom of speech, press and religion; and freedom of association and assembly. These rights ensure that all citizens receive equal protection under the law and equal opportunity to enjoy the privileges of citizenship regardless of race, gender, religion, or any other arbitrary characteristics.

**Economic and social rights** are security-oriented rights, which call for a standard of living adequate for the health and well-being of the individual and family, including the rights to work, education, a reasonable standard of living, food, shelter and health care.

**Environmental, cultural and developmental rights**, or collective rights, include the rights to live in a healthful and balanced environment that is clean and protected from destruction, the right to share in the earth's resources, and rights to cultural, political, social and economic development and self-determination.

Links:

<http://memory.loc.gov/const/bor.html>

The Bill of Rights

<http://memory.loc.gov/const/amend.html>

Other Amendments to the Constitution

<http://www.un.org/rights/50/decla.htm>

the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights

<http://www.usinfo.state.gov/usa/infousa/laws/majorlaw/civilr19.htm>

<http://www.congresslink.org/civil/esscon.html>

The Civil Rights Act of 1964

### **From Terror to Triumph: Historical Overview**

By Ronald L. F. Davis, Ph. D.

Source: <http://www.jimcrowhistory.org/history/overview.htm>

*NOTE: Please visit this website for in-depth essays on the following topics*

### **Creating Jim Crow**

The term Jim Crow originated in a song performed by Daddy Rice, a white minstrel show entertainer in the 1830s. Rice covered his face with charcoal to resemble a black man, and then sang and danced a routine in caricature of a silly black person. By the 1850s, this Jim Crow character, one of several stereotypical images of black inferiority in the nation's popular culture, was a standard act in the minstrel shows of the day. How it became a term synonymous with the brutal segregation and disfranchisement of African Americans in the late nineteenth-century is unclear. What is clear, however, is that by 1900, the term was generally identified with those racist laws and actions that deprived African Americans of their civil rights by defining blacks as inferior to whites, as members of a caste of subordinate people.

The emergence of segregation in the South actually began immediately after the Civil War when the formerly enslaved people acted quickly to establish their own churches and schools separate from whites. At the same time, most southern states tried to limit the economic and physical freedom of the formerly enslaved by adopting laws known as Black Codes. These early legal attempts at white-imposed segregation and discrimination were short-lived. During the period of Congressional Reconstruction, which lasted from 1866 to 1876, the federal government declared illegal all such acts of legal discrimination against African Americans. Moreover, the passage of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, along with the two Civil Rights Acts of 1866 and 1875 and the various Enforcement Acts of the early 1870s, curtailed the ability of southern whites to formally deprive blacks of their civil rights.

As a result African Americans were able to make great progress in building their own institutions, passing civil rights laws, and electing officials to public office. In response to these achievements, southern whites launched a vicious, illegal war against southern blacks and their white Republican allies. In most places, whites carried out this war in the late 1860s and early 1870s under the cover of secret organizations such as the Ku Klux Klan. Thousands of African Americans were killed, brutalized, and terrorized in these bloody years. The federal government attempted to stop the bloodshed by sending in troops and holding investigations, but its efforts were far too limited.

When the Compromise of 1877 gave the presidency to Republican Rutherford B. Hayes in return for his promise to end Reconstruction, the federal government essentially abandoned all efforts at protecting the civil rights of southern blacks. It was not long before a stepped-up reign of white terror erupted in the South. The decade of the 1880s was characterized by mob lynchings, a vicious system of convict prison farms and chain gangs, the horribly debilitating debt peonage of sharecropping, the imposition of a legal color line in race relations, and a variety of laws that blatantly discriminated against blacks.

Some southern states, for example, moved to legally impose segregation on public transportation, especially on trains. Blacks were required to sit in a special car reserved for blacks known as "The Jim Crow Car," even if they had bought first-class tickets. Some states also passed so-called miscegenation laws banning interracial marriages. These bans were, in the opinion of some historians, the "ultimate segregation laws." They clearly announced that blacks were so inferior to whites that any

mixing of the two threatened the very survival of the superior white race. Almost all southern states passed statutes restricting suffrage in the years from 1871 to 1889, including poll taxes in some cases. And the effects were devastating: over half the blacks voting in Georgia and South Carolina in 1880, for example, had vanished from the polls in 1888. Of those who did vote, many of their ballots were stolen, misdirected to opposing candidates, or simply not counted.

In the 1890s, starting with Mississippi, most southern states began more systematically to disfranchise black males by imposing voter registration restrictions, such as literacy tests, poll taxes, and the white primary. These new rules of the political game were used by white registrars to deny voting privileges to blacks at the registration place rather than at the ballot box, which had previously been done by means of fraud and force. By 1910, every state of the former Confederacy had adopted laws that segregated all aspects of life (especially schools and public places) wherein blacks and whites might socially mingle or come into contact.

The impetus for this new, legally-enforced caste order of southern life was indeed complex. Many lower-class whites, for example, hoped to wrest political power from merchants and large landowners who controlled the vote of their indebted black tenants by taking away black suffrage. Some whites also feared a new generation of so-called "uppity" blacks, men and women born after slavery who wanted their full rights as American citizens. At the same time there appeared throughout America the new pseudo-science of eugenics that reinforced the racist views of black inferiority. Finally, many southern whites feared that the federal government might intervene in southern politics if the violence and fraud continued. They believed that by legally ending suffrage for blacks, the violence would also end. Even some blacks supported this idea and were willing to sacrifice their right to vote in return for an end to the terror.

In the end, black resistance to segregation was difficult because the system of land tenancy, known as sharecropping, left most blacks economically dependent upon planter-landlords and merchant suppliers. Also, the white terror at the hands of lynch mobs threatened all members of the black family--adults and children alike. This reality made it nearly impossible for blacks to stand up to Jim Crow because such actions might bring down the wrath of the white mob on one's parents, brothers, spouse, and children. Few black families, moreover, were economically well off enough to buck the local white power structure of banks, merchants, and landlords. To put it succinctly: impoverished and often illiterate southern blacks were in a weak position in the 1890s for confronting the racist culture of Jim Crow.

White terror did not end--as some blacks had hoped--with the disfranchisement of southern black men. To enforce the new legal order of segregation, southern whites often resorted to even more brutalizing acts of mob terror, including race riots and ritualized lynching, than had been practiced even by the old Klan of the 1870s. Some historians see this extremely brutal and near epidemic commitment to white supremacy as breaking with the South's more laissez-faire and paternalistic past. Others view this "new order" as a more rigid continuation of the "cult of whiteness" at work in the South since the end of the Civil War. Both perspectives agree, however, that the 1890s ushered in a more formally racist South--one in which white supremacists used law and mob terror to deprive blacks of the vote and to define them in life and popular culture as an inferior people.

### **Surviving Jim Crow**

The Supreme Court's sanctioning of segregation (by upholding the "separate but equal" language in state laws) in the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case in 1896 and the refusal of the federal government to enact anti-lynching laws meant that black Americans were left to their own devices for surviving Jim Crow. In most cases, southern blacks tried to avoid engaging whites as much as possible as the best means of avoiding their wrath. These efforts at avoiding whites meant supporting their own schools and community-based support groups as much as possible.

In the 1860s and early 1870s, many southern blacks actually preferred segregated schools, especially their all-black colleges, as a means of local autonomy and independence--even though they had little choice in the matter after 1890. Many of these colleges became the primary centers of black resistance to Jim Crow, although their administrators and staff frequently differed over how best to make their stand. At the primary and secondary school levels, truly heroic efforts were made by impoverished black teachers to educate their pupils, usually in face of white resistance that often included violence. Whites were generally so opposed to black education that many states in the South refused to build black public high schools until the twentieth-century. Despite the repression, the literacy rate of blacks nearly doubled from 1880 to 1930, rising from less than 45 percent to 77 percent--an incredible climb from the less than 7 percent who were literate in 1865.

Additionally, southern blacks survived the demeaning character of Jim Crow by organizing self-help associations that functioned as parallel institutions to those in the white community, ranging from lodges and social clubs to life insurance programs and volunteer fire departments. By 1910, a wide range of segregated black institutions in southern communities served as refuges and safe harbors from white terror and violence; these social clubs and lodges enabled a small, middle-class of prosperous black participants to live in dignity and with self-respect.

For the vast majority of southern blacks, the terror of Jim Crow meant that they were forced to live "behind the veil," in the words of the black intellectual, W.E.B. Du Bois. In dealing with whites, most southern blacks were forced to adopt accommodationist and appeasement tactics that played out in complicated ways across the region. Scholars refer to these tactics as "dissembling," or a psychological ploy in which blacks assumed positions and the appearances of non-confrontation. Sometimes it meant shuffling and feigning irresponsibility, and sometimes it meant turning the other cheek and walking away. Almost always these appeasement stances meant adhering to a demeaning racial etiquette.

Black customers were almost never served first in stores when white customers were present, seldom allowed to try on clothing in white businesses, and typically forced to wait patiently to be spoken to by white store clerks rather than to dare address them directly. Nor were adult African Americans afforded terms of respect, such as "Mister," "Mrs.," or "Miss." Instead, they endured words such as "boy," "girl," "uncle," "auntie," and often "nigger."

When among themselves, African Americans resisted these insults by mocking whites in song, jokes, and stories. They would even sing these songs of mockery as they worked when whites were present. This reflected a long history of "putting on the man" or playing Sambo, in order to manipulate white masters and better control the otherwise powerless situation of their lives in slavery. Tragically, many southern whites came to expect this type of docile behavior from all blacks, demanding it during and after slavery under the threat of violence. This Sambo character (an innately barbaric, passive, cheerful, childish, lazy, and submissive black) was commonly accepted as reality in both the southern and northern states.

Over time, this Sambo-type image was immortalized in literature and film of the period, usually in the character of Uncle Tom, Uncle Remus, Jim Crow and "Old Black Joe." D.W. Griffith's classic silent film "The Birth of a Nation," released in 1915, depicts elected black congressmen during Reconstruction as ape-like characters, eating bananas on the floor of Congress. This image was further repeated in white-produced movies with black film actors often cast as a lazy, submissive, and innately docile character who spoke in the same manner as did black slaves when in the presence of their masters or in the company of whites. That is, taking a posture of docility, holding their head down, and smiling all the time with their hat in their hands when talking to whites. In short, African Americans were forced to assume a multitude of personalities in order to cope with Jim Crow.

## Resisting Jim Crow

For most southern blacks, Jim Crow was not an easy or acceptable condition for them to tolerate, nor was it always possible for them to avoid whites. For thousands and indeed tens of thousands of African Americans, Jim Crow was met with resistance and determination to win back the civil rights that had been stolen from them after 1876. Often this resistance took the form of individual acts of defiance, and often it took the form of organized challenges. It is impossible to know, for example, how many of the nearly 4,000 (recorded) African Americans lynched (mutilated and burned alive) from 1882 to 1968, were men and women who had challenged Jim Crow by some overt act of defiance. Studies by Ida B. Wells-Barnett, the great anti-lynching crusader in the early twentieth-century, suggest that most of the lynch victims were random subjects of white rage. Clearly this was the case in the bloody urban riots in which mobs of whites swooped down on black neighborhoods, burning and killing any blacks who crossed their enraged paths. Numerous victims were lynched on trumped up charges, such as the case depicted in Harper Lee's novel, *To Kill A Mockingbird*.

It seems quite likely, however, that many of the black victims of mob violence had affronted whites by some form of unacceptable behavior that possibly included acts of defiance. One such case involved Ida B. Wells-Barnett's murdered friends in Memphis, whose only crime was that of owning a prosperous grocery store. Almost all blacks knew that to stand out in any way as anything but a shuffling "darkey" amounted to an attack on white supremacy. That is why even some prosperous blacks in some communities lived in unpainted houses, owned run-down and unpainted stores and businesses, and avoided new carriages and automobiles. More than a few black newspapers editors, church leaders, and civil rights' advocates narrowly escaped the lynch mobs, whose members wanted them dead because of their outspoken defiance of Jim Crow. Ida B. Wells-Barnett had to flee Memphis, for example, because she dared to speak out in condemnation of the murders. How many others of the lynched were men and women like Wells-Barnett will probably never be known.

By 1905, the issue of how to most effectively deal with Jim Crow came to a head in the debate between the followers of Booker T. Washington and W.E.B. Du Bois. Washington, who was born in slavery, believed that accepting segregation for the time being and working hard at farming and in community-based support groups would best enable southern blacks to avoid the violence and terror all around them. He supported and helped found schools and colleges (Tuskegee Institute), often funded by white philanthropists, which educated blacks in agriculture and trained black vocational teachers. Such tactics, Washington argued, would in time bring a measure of economic security and eventually a middle-class basis for challenging disfranchisement and the terror of Jim Crow.

William Edward Burghardt Du Bois, on the other hand, a Harvard-educated, New England-born intellectual, found Washington's appeasement strategy of dealing with whites unacceptable. Although he clearly understood that blacks were powerless to end segregation immediately, he strongly believed that African Americans should insist upon all their Constitutional rights as American citizens. He advocated efforts, among other things, to educate a talented elite of black Americans to lead the masses in political and economic resistance to Jim Crow.

Du Bois broke openly with Washington in 1903, with the publication of his book, *The Souls of Black Folk*, which included an essay highly critical of Washington. The split became nearly irreparable when he founded, along with William Monroe Trotter (a long-time and vehement critic of Washington) the Niagara Movement, which advocated vigilant protest and activism in place of Washington's gradualism and appeasement. Although the Niagara movement floundered within a few years, it helped set the stage for the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), an interracial organization that emerged in 1909/1910, and became the principal voice advocating legal resistance to segregation, disfranchisement, and lynching in the nation. In the 1920s, it conducted scores of lawsuits at the local level in defense of black civil liberties and civil rights, and it also lobbied Congress to pass a federal anti-lynching bill. Although it never achieved a federal anti-lynching law, its constant vigilance and exposure of lynching helped to greatly reduce the number of incidents by 1940.

In the 1930s, the NAACP, under its leader Walter White and the head of its legal department, Charles Hamilton Houston, began to focus more of its attention on a campaign to challenge segregation and disfranchisement in the United States Supreme Court. Ultimately, the Association's constant agitation, unstinting legal investigations, and numerous court litigations at all levels of the legal system resulted in the overthrowing of segregation in public schools in 1954 by the Supreme Court in the landmark case of *Brown v. the Topeka Board of Education*. This decision not only reversed the Court's support for the "separate but equal" doctrine, it also opened the floodgates through which a sea of civil rights litigation and legislation flowed over the nation in the 1950s and 1960s.

Joining with the NAACP in contesting Jim Crow in the 1920s and 1930s were an array of political organizations like the National Urban League, the National Negro Congress, and more radical groups such as the Communist Party. In the latter case, the Communist Party gained significant support in the black community for its energetic defense in the 1930s of the Scottsboro Boys by the party's League of Struggle for Negro Rights. This case, which involved the trumped up convictions of nine black youths falsely accused of assaulting two white women, attracted many unemployed workers to the party in the 1930s. Some rural African Americans also joined the socialist backed Southern Tenant Farmers' Union in the 1930s in defense of their economic rights in the plantation districts of the South.

In addition to the organized, political, and personal resistance to Jim Crow, African Americans attacked white supremacy in non-political but defiant cultural expressions. The new musical forms of ragtime and jazz, presented an in-your-face side of black culture that had grown up largely in the shadow of segregation and Jim Crow. The distinctive richness of jazz syncopation and its adaptation of African and plantation-based rhythms to European harmony defied white expectations and the stereotypes presented in the so-called "coon songs" of the Jim Crow minstrel shows. Both musical forms expressed the joyful exuberance of a complex and sophisticated black culture based in the urban centers, especially New Orleans, of the American South.

Alongside the blues and jazz, a tradition of black protest literature also shouted loudly in defiance of white supremacy. This literary movement of resistance had begun in the previous century but reached its fullest expression in the Harlem Renaissance of the 1920s. Based in Harlem, New York, which was the "New World" (along with Chicago) for thousands of black migrants from the South, the Renaissance featured a "New Negro" poetry and literature that emphasized self-respect and defiance. Its greatest artists explicitly expressed the deepest feelings of African Americans about racism, segregation, and discrimination. The essays, poems, and novels of the Harlem Renaissance rejected sentimentality, romanticism, and escapism to focus directly on the root causes of the crippling plight of black America: white racism.

### **Escaping Jim Crow**

On a day-to-day level, many southern blacks resisted Jim Crow by hoping for the day when they could escape the Jim Crow South--much as their ancestors had used the Underground Railroad to escape slavery by going to the North. Thousands of blacks had indeed left for Kansas and Oklahoma in the 1880s and the 1890s. The movement to Kansas became known as the "Kansas Exodus," and even today there exist several nearly all-black towns in the state. Thousands of other black sharecroppers moved to southern towns and cities in the 1880s and 1890s. Some African Americans even tried to establish all-black towns within the South, like Mound Bayou in the Mississippi delta, in hopes of completely isolating themselves from whites altogether while staying in the region of their births. But the vast majority of black migrants from the South traveled to eastern and mid-western cities and towns, beginning in the 1890s. In a three-year span from 1916 to 1919, in what has been called the "Great Migration," over half a million blacks fled the South. Another million left in the 1920s. During the Great Depression, when black sharecroppers were turned off the land, thousands of them joined relatives and friends in Chicago, Detroit, Pittsburgh, New York, and Los Angeles.

Many of these black migrants were pushed out of the South by a series of natural disasters, such as floods and the boll weevil scourge which devastated cotton crops from Texas to Georgia. Other were

pulled to the North by the opportunity for jobs created by the labor shortage during World War I and the cut-off of European immigration to the U. S. in the 1920s. But it was also the years of pent up anger and smoldering rage that propelled southern blacks to leave the land of Jim Crow laws and lynchings at their first opportunity. Although escaping to northern and midwestern cities did bring an end to the most overt forms of Jim Crow for southern blacks, the North was not a "promised land," one completely free of racial strife. Many white city dwellers bitterly resented the influx of blacks, and violent race riots erupted all over the nation from 1890 to 1945. Major ones occurred in East St. Louis, Houston, Chicago, and Tulsa in the years 1917 through 1921. In nearly every case black people defended themselves and their families against roving mobs of white racists.

In the cities of the North, the NAACP and the National Urban League, both interracial groups, worked to integrate blacks into the economic mainstream of American life. A third organization, the largest mass movement among blacks prior to the Civil Rights Movement of the 1950s and 1960s, the Universal Negro Improvement Association and African Communities League, was less concerned with integration than with economic development. An admirer of Booker T. Washington, the UNIA founder, Marcus Garvey, advocated self-help and black autonomy over integration. He also launched a movement to send blacks to Africa that attracted the interest of thousands of African Americans, including many who had moved to Oklahoma and Kansas in the 1880s and 1890s.

Much of the desire to flee the South and to resist segregation legally and politically had resulted from the experience of African-American soldiers in World War I. Young black soldiers home from Europe found Jim Crow especially grueling, and many of them joined their neighbors and relatives who had moved to northern cities during and before the war, enticed by jobs in the war industries. A similar pattern occurred after World War II, when over a million and a half African Americans left the South for eastern and midwestern cities and the west coast.

Most importantly, black Americans in the 1940s refused to accept a segregated military or lack of access by blacks to government jobs in the war industries. The African-American leader A. Philip Randolph threatened in 1941 to lead 50,000 blacks in a non-violent "March on Washington D.C." to secure fair employment in the war industries. President Franklin Roosevelt responded by opening the defense industries to equal employment, monitored by the Fair Employment Practices Agency. Northern blacks were attracted to the Democratic Party in the 1930s and 1940s because of FDR's support for labor, the various welfare benefit programs that aided impoverished blacks, and Eleanor Roosevelt's advocacy for civil rights. This switch in political parties represented a monumental shift from the party of Lincoln to the party of FDR, and it laid the political ground for challenging Jim Crow in the 1950s.

### **The Transition from Segregation to Civil Rights**

The new militancy of black Americans in the post war era ushered in the transition from segregation to civil rights. The NAACP had supported numerous legal battles from the 1920s forward--usually local litigation and investigations of lynching, challenging the unequal facilities of state institutions and laying down thereby a body of legal precedent used by the courts in the 1950s. In 1944, the Supreme Court struck down the white primary, a measure used to exclude blacks from the Democratic Party primaries in the South. The number of southern, African Americans registered to vote rose from 150,000 in 1940 to more than a million by 1952.

The transition was complete when the NAACP lawyers convinced the Supreme Court to reverse the doctrine of "separate but equal" in education. Other court cases followed, along with ground-breaking federal legislation, and waves of protests by black and white activists determined to implement the Court's rulings and to end segregation and disfranchisement. This activism became known as the Civil Rights Movement, and the era is frequently called the "Second Reconstruction" because it effectively completed the Civil Rights revolution begun by Congress and embodied in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments passed in the decade after the Civil War.

This incredibly successful challenge to Jim Crow coincided with the de-colonization of non-white nations throughout the world. It was no accident that the great African-American leader of the Civil Rights Movement in the 1950s, Martin Luther King Jr., drew his greatest inspiration from the non-violent tactics espoused by Mahatma Gandhi, the leader of India's independence from Great Britain.

With the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act of 1965, legalized segregation and the disfranchisement of African Americans was finally ended. It had taken almost one hundred years of resistance to terror and discrimination to achieve what had been promised to African Americans at the end of the Civil War. The struggle from terror to triumph had not been an easy victory, but it was a war valiantly fought--and it was a war in which justice ultimately prevailed.

In fact, so dead is the historical meaning of the word Jim Crow that the average college student today is unaware of its significance. According to a survey of students in American history classes at a major university, less than 20 percent recognized the word at all. And most of them have only a vague notion that the word once had something to do with segregation.

Yet, if Jim Crow is legally buried, the belief in white superiority and the legacy of segregation and racial discrimination still lives on in the hearts, minds, and actions of many Americans. The recurrent outbreaks of race riots in American cities are telling reminders that voting rights and integration of public schools represent only part of the solution to the problem of race in America. Indeed, the lack of equal access by African Americans to adequate and rewarding jobs, quality education, and affordable housing strongly suggests to many observers that the spirit of Jim Crow still haunts the social and economic landscape of the American nation.

### **Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee 1960-66**

Source: <http://www.ibiblio.org/sncc/index.html>

**SNCC timeline:** <http://www.ibiblio.org/sncc/timeline.html>

### ***Sit-ins***

The first sit-in on February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina, is said to have been the catalyst for an entire movement, including the birth of SNCC. Roommates Joseph McNeil and Izell Blair, and Franklin McCain and David Richmond, students at predominately black North Carolina Agricultural and Technical College, were the participants. They planned the night before, purchased some small things at the Woolworth's store in Greensboro, and then sat down at the lunch counter reserved for whites.

They received rather little reaction and remained for an hour until the store closed. They recruited more students, and the next morning thirty students occupied the lunch counter for about two hours, attracting the attention of local reporters. The day after that, protesters filled almost all sixty-six places at the lunch counter. After a week of escalation including a telephone bomb threat, the store manager temporarily closed the store.

Though the Greensboro sit-ins had been temporarily discontinued, the idea had spread to other students across the state. Over the next week, sit-ins occurred in the North Carolina cities of Winston-Salem, Durham, Raleigh, Charlotte, Fayetteville, High Point, Elizabeth City and Concord. On February 10, Hampton, Virginia became the first city outside of North Carolina to experience a sit-in, and by the end of the month, sit-ins had occurred in more than thirty communities in seven states. By the end of April, sit-ins had reached every southern state and attracted a total of perhaps as many as 50,000 students.

Most of these sit-ins were characterized by strict discipline on the part of the protesters, minimizing physical assaults. However, several outbreaks of violence occurred when the protests involved high

school students. The first of such events took place February 16, 1960, when hundreds of black and white high school students fought each other after a sit-in.

These sit-ins thrust black student leaders into the spotlight, a position for which they were often unprepared. Thus, Ella Baker, of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, wanted to bring sit-in protesters together for a conference "to share experience gained in recent protest demonstrations and to help chart future goals for effective action," according to the letter she sent to black student leaders. The conference was held in Raleigh at Shaw University on April 16, 1960; and from this, a comparatively insignificant SNCC was born.

### ***Freedom Rides***

During the Freedom Rides, SNCC members rode buses through the deep southern states where discrimination and segregation were most prominent.

The concept originated in the 1940's with CORE, a non-violent group out of Chicago trying to end racial discrimination. In 1947, responding to a Supreme Court decision outlawing discrimination in interstate travel, CORE sponsored a Freedom Ride that they called a "Journey of Reconciliation." They rode buses throughout much of the upper south and established that most people would not create incident for those choosing to sit where they pleased.

### **The First Ride**

A 1961 Supreme Court decision to end desegregation not only in travel, but also in bus terminal facilities, prompted a new set of Freedom Rides and SNCC's involvement. In 1961 a group of seven black and six white people, including John Lewis, left Washington, D.C. for New Orleans on two buses, a Trailways bus and a Greyhound bus. The group made it through Virginia and North Carolina without incident.

At the Greyhound bus station in Rock Hill, South Carolina, the group encountered violence. A mob of twenty attacked the group, and John Lewis was the first to be hit as he approached the white waiting room. Police eventually interfered and the group was allowed access to the white waiting room. The journey continued to Georgia. After leaving Atlanta, the Greyhound bus was stopped as it entered Alabama. A mob surrounded the bus, the tires were slashed, and the bus was set on fire. The bus was burned to the ground, but the group took another bus and continued the rides.

Meanwhile, the Trailways bus arrived in Anniston, Alabama where the driver would not continue until the group sat segregated. A violent group boarded the bus and beat the African-Americans sitting in the front, causing several injuries until the group was forced to the back of the bus. A mob carrying iron pipes greeted them on arrival in Birmingham, Alabama. Many were battered, knocked unconscious and hospitalized. The group gathered the next day and prepared to head on to Montgomery, but no bus would take them. A mob gathered as they waited in the white waiting room, and finally the group decided to fly back to New Orleans, ending the first ride.

### **The Rides Continue**

SNCC was determined to continue the rides to prove that violence could not stop them. SNCC, along with the Nashville Student Movement, organized a group that met in Nashville, determined to go on to Birmingham and Montgomery, then on to Mississippi and New Orleans. Some members of the first ride, including John Lewis, were involved in this ride.

The group of eight African-Americans and two whites was arrested in Birmingham and spent the night in jail. They were literally driven out of town by the Police Chief "Bull" O'Connor, who left the group stranded on the Tennessee border. The group returned to Birmingham and sang freedom songs outside the terminal.

While this was going on, President John F. Kennedy was concerned about the violence and bus burning that had occurred during the first Freedom Ride the previous week. He telephoned the governor of Alabama and insisted that it was the government's responsibility to guarantee safe passage of interstate travelers. A bus with police and helicopter escort was then sent to Birmingham to take the Freedom Rides on to Montgomery. Once the group arrived in Montgomery however, the protection disappeared and more violence ensued. A crowd of three hundred gathered. Approximately twenty-five of them armed with clubs and sticks began beating the newsmen and cameramen.

James Zwerg, a young white man, was beaten to the ground and never attempted to defend himself, even as his face was stomped into the ground. The mob turned its attention to the rest of the riders and everyone was beaten. After what has been reported as anywhere from five to twenty minutes, police came and used tear gas to break up the crowd, which had grown to a thousand. The riders, after being hospitalized and seeking refuge in the homes of local black people, gathered at Ralph Abernathy's First Baptist Church in Montgomery. Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. flew in and spoke to a crowd of twelve hundred. President Kennedy called the situation "a source of deepest concern."

With a renewed sense of faith and purpose, the freedom riders continued, escorted by national guardsmen. In Jackson, Mississippi, the group was arrested for using white restrooms and waiting rooms. They spent the night in jail. Over the next several months, riders continued to journey to Jackson, in attempt to desegregate the facilities there. The Freedom Rides had been successful in the Upper south but were halted in the Deep South, leaving the riders wounded but determined.

### ***Freedom Ballot***

SNCC members viewed gaining the right to vote as a significant move towards racial equality in the South. If blacks had the power of the vote, SNCC felt they would have influence over many important aspects of southern politics. SNCC organized the Freedom Ballot in the fall of 1963 in the state of Mississippi, where racial discrimination was the strongest and black voting power was the weakest. The Freedom Ballot was a mock election to get the vote for poor southern blacks.

The campaign was a statewide attempt to demonstrate the discrimination poor blacks faced in politics. There were two volunteer candidates, Aaron Henry, a black NAACP leader from Clarksdale, and Edwin King, a white man well known in the state for his active involvement in the civil rights movement. The Freedom Ballot platform called for an end to segregation, fair employment, better schools and a guaranteed right to vote.

Students from Stanford and Yale came to work on the Freedom Ballot, joining forty SNCC members. Many of the white northern students were attacked and beaten by Mississippi whites, calling them "outside agitators." Despite some arrests of campaign workers and protests of whites, the Freedom Ballot was a success. Nearly 80,000 blacks came out to vote, four times the number of blacks registered to vote in the state. Bob Moses said that the Freedom Ballot had shown what SNCC had hoped it would show, that Blacks would vote if given the opportunity.

### ***Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party***

The Freedom Ballot set the stage for the Mississippi Summer Project, organized primarily by Bob Moses. SNCC worked hard in the winter and spring of 1963-64 preparing for the project, which was an

urgent call to action for students in Mississippi to challenge and overcome the white racism in the state of Mississippi.

In the prospectus circulated to college campuses that summer, the mission was stated: "...As the winds of change grow stronger, the threatened political elite of Mississippi becomes more intransigent and fanatical...Negro efforts to win the right to vote cannot succeed...without a nationwide mobilization of support. A program is planned for this summer which will involve the massive participation of Americans dedicated to the elimination of racial oppression..."

The Mississippi Summer Project had three goals: registering voters, operating Freedom Schools, and organizing the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) precincts. One strategy of the project was to hold Freedom Days every two or three weeks. On Freedom Day, SNCC gathered black people together to collectively try to register to vote. However, SNCC faced the challenge of overcoming intimidation by whites, as several people had been killed on Freedom Days across the state.

The Freedom Schools helped the Freedom Days succeed. These schools taught children, many of who couldn't yet read or write, to stand up and demand their freedom. The children returned home and told their parents about the Freedom Days and convinced them to register for freedom.

Attempts to get people to attend MFPD meetings also suffered from intimidation by whites. Three men associated with the Freedom Democratic Party disappeared that summer. They turned up dead with fatal gunshot wounds--one with blows that crushed many of his bones. When asked by the media if she thought something positive would come from the triple assassination, Rita Schwerner, a member of CORE working out of Washington, said, "That is up to the people of the United States."

SNCC's reacted to the deaths with a renewed sense of dedication. Their goal was to take the MFPD to the Democratic National convention that summer in Atlantic City, to the "elected representatives of the United States." SNCC wanted the MFPD to represent Mississippi rather than the state's current delegation.

The MFPD had worked long and hard to prove that they were morally and politically entitled to the seats, but the Democratic Party was not convinced. They offered a compromise of two non-voting seats next to the regular Mississippi delegates. After much deliberation that involved Martin Luther King's support of the compromise, SNCC refused the Democratic Party's offer. SNCC and the MFPD were there to gain voting seats and since that could not be accomplished, they left the convention defeated but proud.

### ***March on Washington***

SNCC played a key role in the 1963 March on Washington where Martin Luther King, Jr. gave his famous "I have a dream" speech. A crowd of 200,000 people gathered around the Lincoln memorial in August 1963 to hear speeches by leaders of civil rights organizations, such as John Lewis. However, Lewis' speech sent a different message than King's speech. While both leaders embraced a desegregated society with equal rights for all, Lewis felt the federal government wasn't doing enough. While others seemed to be celebrating at the march, Lewis was angry and the speech he had prepared reflected it. He was so angry that several civil rights leaders and the Catholic Archbishop participating in the event coerced Lewis into moderating his speech.

Even the "toned-down" speech was not the celebration of the Kennedy administration's role in the movement that the prior speeches had been. Many were surprised by his speech, when so many considered the Kennedy administration receptive to the Civil Rights movement and the key sponsor of civil rights legislation. During Lewis' experience growing up in Alabama and as a SNCC activist, he had

been beaten and jailed several times; and he knew there were members of SNCC and many other African-Americans still fighting on the front lines in the Deep South.

More than any other Civil Rights group, SNCC was critical of the federal government's role in the movement. While the members of the administration celebrated and cheered at the march, SNCC members felt the federal government was much quieter Deep South, where racism was barely tempered. Lewis was angry at the administration's policy of minimum interference and allowing the nation to focus attention away from the violence and crimes against human rights going on in Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, and the rest of the South.

With this in mind, John Lewis took the stand and gave his speech to crowd:

*"We march today for jobs and freedom, but we have nothing to be proud of, for hundreds and thousands of our brothers are not here--for they have no money for their transportation, for they are receiving starvation wages...or no wages at all. In good conscience, we cannot support the administration's civil rights bill.*

*This bill will not protect young children and old women from police dogs and fire hoses when engaging in peaceful demonstrations. This bill will not protect the citizens of Danville, Virginia who must live in constant fear in a police state. This bill will not protect the hundreds of people who have been arrested on trumped-up charges like those in Americus, Georgia, where four young men are in jail, facing a death penalty, for engaging in peaceful protest.*

*I want to know, which side is the federal government on? The revolution is a serious one. Mr. Kennedy is trying to take the revolution out of the streets and put it in the courts. Listen Mr. Kennedy, the black masses are on the march for jobs and for freedom, and we must say to the politicians that there won't be a 'cooling-off period.'"*

## **Nonviolence**

SNCC's original statement of purpose established nonviolence as the driving philosophy behind the organization. However, things were never that simple. In the early days, during the period of the sit-in movement, nonviolent action was strictly enforced, particularly for public demonstrations, as it was key to the movement's success.

To rally support from whites and blacks outside the movement, the sit-ins needed to create a distinct impression of moral superiority. One of the best ways to do this was to meet the harsh violence of the white man with pacifism. Some members expanded this philosophy to their daily lives, believing that just carrying a gun for self-defense was hostile.

The philosophy of nonviolence hit shakier ground when SNCC began its period of community organization in the South, having to face continual threats of perhaps deadly violence from whites. On many occasions SNCC offices were sprayed with bullets or torched by local white men. In 1963 Bob Moses and Jimmy Travis, SNCC workers trying to encourage black voters to register, were shot at while driving near Greenwood, Mississippi. Travis was hit and nearly died.

A majority of SNCC workers were beaten and thrown in prison at least once during their work with the organization. As a result, once strict guidelines of nonviolence were relaxed and members were unofficially permitted to carry guns for self defense. However, the principle was still adhered to publicly, as it remained an effective means of protest. Eventually whites began to understand the tactic, and nonviolence became less powerful. Whites began to realize SNCC's peaceful responses to violent oppression were key to gaining support for their cause.

If there was no more public violence for SNCC to rise above, SNCC's message would be weakened. Thus, protesters were no longer beaten publicly. Instead they were attacked and beaten behind closed doors where newspaper reporters and television cameras could not reach. As southern whites intended, discrete violent oppression began to destroy the image of martyr that SNCC had carefully constructed through nonviolent protest. During this time, SNCC stopped sponsoring regular seminars on nonviolence and continued them only infrequently until 1964.

Soon after, the Harlem Riots took place. It was the first urban race riot, and brought the topic of black-initiated violence into public debate. Such actions were no longer assumed to be counter productive. This event, and eventually the rise of black power, led to the fall of nonviolence in SNCC.

### ***Black Power***

Black Power was the guiding philosophy of SNCC in its later years. It began to develop and take hold sometime after 1964, and came to prominence in 1966 when Stokely Carmichael became head of the organization.

The goal of Black Power was to empower and create a strong racial identity for African-Americans. It glorified shared qualities such as dialect, physical attributes, and history. Black Power also encouraged a separation from white society, saying black people should write their own histories and form their own institutions, like credit unions and political parties. This empowered African-Americans by promoting feelings of beauty and self-worth and showing that they were strong enough to thrive without the support of white institutions.

The Black Power movement was controversial because it was considered anti-white. However, Black Power acknowledged that some white people had helped African-Americans to secure the right to vote, organize, protest and hand out leaflets. Conversely, Black Power said was now time for black people to fight for themselves. It was important to the African-American sense of self-worth at the time to see that justice could be sought and oppression fought without the assistance of whites.

African-Americans also needed an environment in which they could freely express their frustration with the current system of oppression. According to the philosophy of Black Power, this could environment did not exist in the presence of whites partly due to a long and continuing history of oppression.

### ***White Liberalism***

Early in SNCC's history a rift began to form between the organization and its white liberal support. When SNCC initially began its program of sit-ins and other forms of nonviolent protest, they hoped it would create such a compelling image of violent oppression that northern white liberals would become incensed by the situation and take immediate and decisive action.

Instead, SNCC's actions were met with \$5 and \$10 checks, and an occasional lawsuit on their behalf. This gave rise to resentment from SNCC members who felt while they were in the field risking their lives, their white support was patting itself on the back for its philanthropy and not risking anything.

White people who were working on the front lines were also out of favor with black SNCC workers. The white members did not pay the same price for their actions as the black members: during protests they were less likely to be beaten, and even in death they received preferential treatment. If a white member was killed alongside a black member the white member would be mourned throughout the country while the black member was often forgotten or ignored.

Furthermore, the presence of white support complicated the organization's message. In order to rouse a larger number of black people to action, SNCC needed to create a simple and clearly defined enemy--in this case racist white America. The presence of whites who appeared supportive complicated the issue and made SNCC's movement harder to sell to the black public.

### ***Feminism***

Many people feel that SNCC opened the door for the feminist movement, as it first established many of the principles later use by feminists. SNCC sought to change society by creating alternative institutions, instead of altering the existing ones. It rallied the oppressed by glorifying their qualities, and it viewed prejudice, in the form of racism or sexism, as a core social problem.

However, SNCC provided more than a model for the feminist movement. In 1964, the organization published a position paper that described the situation that women faced within SNCC itself, demonstrating an awareness of the problem before it was fashionable. The paper listed numerous situations where female members were placed in positions below their skill level, while less qualified males were placed above them. The paper compared the male oppression of women to the white oppression of blacks.

Despite this paper, or perhaps because of it, women did hold prominent positions in SNCC--providing further examples for the feminist movement. Many of the leaders of the local SNCC projects were women, and in the 1965 election, all of the black Freedom Democratic Party Congressional candidates from Mississippi were women.

### ***Vietnam***

SNCC formally came out against the Vietnam War in the beginning of 1966 as a result of pressure from northern supporters and from members working on the southern projects.

In one instance, the McComb, Mississippi project went as far as releasing its own antiwar pamphlet. Such events may have pushed SNCC towards releasing an official opinion, but the murder of Sammy Younge was the catalyst. Younge was a SNCC worker and a Tuskegee Institute student who lost his kidney in Vietnam. He was murdered by a white gas station attendant for trying to use the white restroom.

Prior to the war's escalation in 1965 SNCC had very little to say about the U.S. government's foreign policy. Soon, however, SNCC began to feel that African-Americans were just one of many groups around the world under the boot of U.S. government oppression. As a result, members of SNCC began to identify with the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Both African-Americans and the Vietnamese people were poor and non-white, and SNCC felt the United States had demonstrated a distinct lack of respect for the lives of both groups.

SNCC linked the ruthless bombing of Vietnamese citizens to the U.S. government's frequent failure to bring the murderers of black people to justice. Also, the destruction of Vietnamese village life in the name of "pacification" was comparable to the destruction of African culture during the period of slavery. Thus, SNCC challenged the U.S. government's "benevolent intentions." The group did not believe that the government would create a truly democratic society with free elections abroad, when such rights and structures were not provided for a large percentage of the population at home.

## INTEGRATION ACTIVITIES

The following activities are designed and adaptable for students of all levels, in accordance with the Washington State standards for history and social studies. They aim to explore the issues and events of this production through a dynamic, hands-on approach. Students may address the following topics and questions through any of the suggested mediums or a combination of them:

*Writing:* write a story, a poem, a report, an article, a scene, a play, a song, a caption

*Art:* draw or paint a picture; create a collage, a sculpture, a comic strip; take a photograph; make a video

*Drama:* create a still image, a dance or movement activity, a series of images, an improvisation, a scene, a play

*Discussion:* partner or small group talk, oral report or presentation

1. Supplement a specific scene in the script with work in another medium.
2. Supplement a specific image from the video with work in another medium.
3. Interview a character from the piece.
4. Research historical documents to find a real person's description of an experience from Raymond/Ruby's story (i.e. working with SNCC, experiencing Jim Crow laws). Share what you learn.
5. Read and explore selections from other fictional or first person perspectives (see bibliography for suggestions).
6. Re-create a scene from the piece from another character's point of view.
7. Research another event in history and how it is related to this one.
8. Explore how the experiences of African Americans in the civil rights movement are/were similar to or different from other minority groups seeking their rights, either in the United States or elsewhere.
9. Compare/contrast the civil rights movement with another social movement (for example, the women's suffrage movement, the farm worker's movement, the Native American Power movement, the women's liberation movement, the Vietnam or Iraq war protests, etc.)
10. Choose a part of Raymond/Ruby's story that you'd like to know more about and research it. Share what you learn.
11. Explore the core questions of Citizenship Curriculum of the Freedom Schools:
  - What does the majority culture have that we want?
  - What does the majority culture have that we don't want?
  - What do we have that we want to keep?
12. Imagine you could get in touch with Raymond/Ruby. What would you want to tell or show him/her about the future?
13. How did watching *The Right to Dream* make you feel?

**Supplemental drama activities:**

*Role-on-the-wall:* a character is represented in the form of an outline of a person, on which the group writes or draws information about that character: on the inside of the figure is written what the character thinks or feels about herself; on the outside, how she appears or how others perceive her. This activity can be repeated for multiple characters, including other fictional or real-life people. This activity can be used as a jumping point for further discussion and exploration of character choices, motivation, perceptions and prejudices.

*Still images/tableaux:* Image work can be used to explore any theme, idea or topic. It can be literal or symbolic, can depict actual events from the piece or imaginary ones, and can also focus on different points of view. Students may then select characters from the images to interview or scenes to bring to life or explore further in other ways.

*Voices in the Head:* students form two lines facing each other to make a path for Raymond/Ruby as s/he leaves for college or to join SNCC. As s/he passes through (played by the teacher, a student or series of students), students creating the path offer a piece of advice. Alternately, or in addition, they may speak as his/her family, friends, acquaintances or personal thoughts and feelings.

***Forum Theatre:***

- a. In partners or small groups, students share personal experiences of prejudice or discrimination.
- b. For each personal story, students work separately to create their image of the situation (images may be visual or dramatic). The images are then shown to the whole group to compare and discuss.
- c. Situations are selected and played as improvisations, in which other members of the group can freeze the scene at a crucial moment, take on the role of the main character and experiment with different ways the scene could have happened.