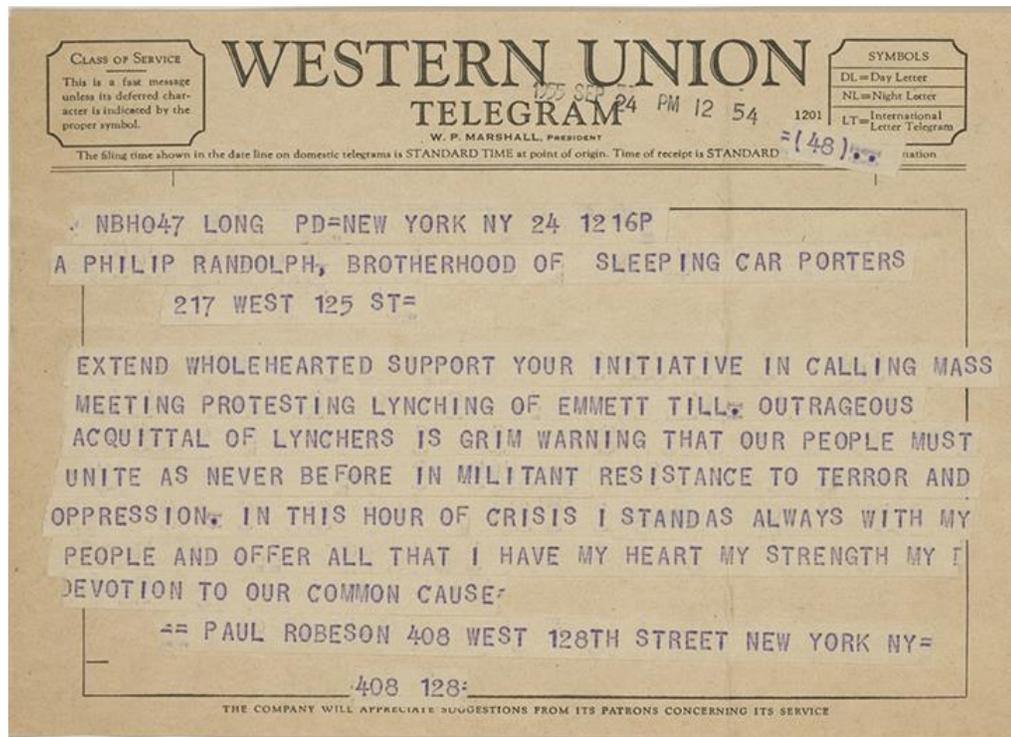


## Inquiry Design Model (IDM) Blueprint™

<b>Compelling Question</b>	How has the struggle against racism changed and stayed the same in the past 50 years?	
<b>Standards and Practices</b>	<p>Kansas: 2-Individuals have rights and responsibilities. 3-Societies are shaped by the identities, beliefs, and practices of individuals and groups.</p> <p>Missouri: 1-1: B. Explain connections between historical context and peoples' perspectives at the time in United States history. 5-3: C. Explain the motivation for social and political reforms and their impact on the ability of individuals and groups to realize the promise of American ideals.</p>	
<b>Staging the Question</b>	Deaths. Racism. Civil Unrest. There were many similarities and differences between the events of 1968 and the events of 2020 that shaped two Civil Rights Movements. Consider those similarities and differences as you complete this inquiry.	
<b>Supporting Question 1</b>	<b>Supporting Question 2</b>	<b>Supporting Question 3</b>
What events incited mass movements for civil rights activism in 1968 and 2020?	What external factors shaped the protests, riots, and responses in 1968 and 2020?	How did ideas of racism and the push for racial justice change between 1968 and 2020?
<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	<b>Formative Performance Task</b>	<b>Formative Performance Task</b>
Create a visual organizer showing the events that led to activism in 1968 and 2020	Create a list of factors that shaped life in the 1968 and in 2020, including current events, technology, and social issues	Compare and contrast similarities and difference between the two summers of protest in 1968 and 2020
<b>Featured Sources</b>	<b>Featured Sources</b>	<b>Featured Sources</b>
Secondary source materials describing the events of the 1960s and 2020.	Articles describing role of television news and social media.	Sources describing events that led the public to protest.
<b>Summative Performance Task</b>	<b>Argument</b>	Construct an argument that uses specific evidence to answer the question, "How has the struggle against racism changed and stayed the same in the past 50 years?"
	<b>Extension</b>	Use a graphic organizer to identify similarities and differences between the struggles of 1968 and 2020, with different sections for social, political, and legal issues.
<b>Taking Informed Action</b>	<p>Understand: How should we talk about the changes in the Civil Rights struggle between the 1960s and the 2020s?</p> <p>Assess: Determine the most crucial similarity and most surprisingly difference between the two struggles.</p> <p>Act: Based on these insights, create a script for a TikTok video or other bit of short form social media that would educate viewers about the similarities and differences between the different Civil Rights Movements.</p>	

## Text and Article Sources

### Telegram from Paul Robeson to A. Phillip Randolph



Library of Congress.

Using a telegram – a fast and stable form of communication at the time – activist and musician Paul Robeson (1898-1976) communicated his concerns about the all-White jury that acquitted the men accused of killing Emmett Till (1941-1955). Just 14, Till was visiting extended family in Mississippi when he was brutally murdered and his body dumped in a river. The killers were motivated by a rumor that Till had whistled at a White woman. After being found not guilty and with jeopardy attached, the murderers confessed to the crime in an issue of nationally-published magazine.

A. Philip Randolph (1889-1979) organized and led The Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, a significant Black labor group with considerable economic and political influence.

334 Auburn Ave., N.E.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303  
404-522-1420

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# NEWS

## Southern Christian Leadership Conference

Martin Luther King Jr., *President*

Junius Griffin, *Director of Public Relations*

FOR RELEASE: IMMEDIATE

### DR. KING ANNOUNCES NEW CIVIL RIGHTS ACTION

Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. has announced a dramatic new action program to make the nation "face the fact that the Negro is powerless and that it is absolutely necessary for him to amass political and economic power to reach his legitimate goals."

He warned that the white backlash and public criticism will never stop the Civil Rights Movement. "Our Movement is the most militant and most effective in contemporary struggles." Dr. King said after meeting in Atlanta last week with top advisers of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference.

He called for non-violent demonstrations across the land to demand massive political, economic and educational measures for Negroes and all other poor people.

SCLC is organizing an urgent program to:

1. unite all concerned groups to organize the poor "to reform society in order to realize economic and social justice." This includes demands to pass the A. Phillip Randolph Freedom Budget, with a guaranteed annual income and spending of many billions of dollars a year to raise the economic level of all poor people to American standards of dignity and prosperity. The Freedom Budget also provides for proper minimum wages, public works and medical care for all.

2. seek meaningful training and education programs for all youth to give them the opportunity denied them by their impoverished environments. These must begin

(More)

on a massive scale for Negro youth.

3. work for the "political reformation of the South" where racism is not only increasing but spreading over the entire nation. Negroes must participate in the political and social life in proportion to their numbers, North and South.

Dr. King further said that though the expense of the Freedom Budget and other programs might conflict with the war budget, this "is not an argument for postponing racial justice--it is an argument for ending the war."

Dr. King declined to repudiate certain civil rights organizations, saying, "We are not interested in furthering any divisions in the Civil Rights Movement, either with those who advocate less militancy or those who feel they are more militant. We stand confidently on our record of accomplishments and hope to convince all that the methods we advocate are the surest road to freedom and human dignity."

The SCLC President and Nobel Peace Prize winner added that "connotations of violence and separatism attached to the 'Black Power' slogan must be resolutely opposed" by SCLC. "The non-violent movement has never resorted to violence or separatism," he said. "We are justified, therefore, in reaffirming adherence to our founding principles on both moral and practical grounds."

From Civil Rights Movement Archive, CRMVet.org

NEWS RELEASE # 8  
STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE  
6 RAYMOND STREET, NW February 20, 1964  
ATLANTA, GEORGIA 30014

KKK WHIP NEGRO MAN

NATCHEZ, MISSISSIPPI - An elderly Negro man who was stripped and beaten by hooded members of the Ku Klux Klan late Saturday night, February 15, has received further threats on his life.

Archie Curtis, 60, a Natchez undertaker, said he was lured to a deserted section of the city by an unidentified caller who told him a woman was dying of a heart attack.

Curtis was given directions to a deserted road and was told a man "with a lantern" would guide him to the stricken woman's home.

When the undertaker - who also operates an ambulance service - arrived at the road, he and his companion were ordered at pistol point to leave their car.

They were blindfolded and taken to Duck Pond Road where they were asked to show their NAACP membership cards and NAACP membership lists. They had neither. The Klan members told Curtis he was "a NAACP nigger."

Both Negroes were forced to strip and were beaten with a strap.

Robert Moses, head of Mississippi voter registration for the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and Director of the Council of Federated Organizations (COFO), protested the beatings in a telegram to Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy.

"We demand immediate action by the Federal government to protect Negro citizens," Moses told Kennedy.

Moses said Curtis' beating was the fourth in the past ten days. A Negro was forced to strip and was soaked in motor oil before being beaten in nearby Amite County, scene of the fatal shooting of Louis Allen on February 1, Moses said. Another Negro was shot and killed in Tallatchie County by policemen on February 13.

## Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee Press Release, 1966.

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE!  
March 22, 1967

STUDENT NONVIOLENT COORDINATING COMMITTEE  
360 Nelson St. S.W.  
Atlanta, Georgia 30313  
Phone: 404 688 0331

### THOMAS WANSLEY: A BLACK BROTHER "LYNCHED!"

In Lynchburg, Virginia, on March 18th, Thomas Wansley, a black brother jailed more than 4 years and on "Death Row" for 18 months, was again "lynched" a third time by the white jury, judge, entire court, newspapers and citizens of Lynchburg. The "great white pioneering fathers" could not have chosen a better name for their plantation-like town. As if to fulfill a prophecy, Lynchburg has become the scene of many trials, or mis-trials, which resulted in black men being executed for suppositively raping white women and white men set free for raping black women and little girls. In Lynchburg, black men are legally lynched while white men are set free or given the mildest of "sentences." The 4 year ordeal of Thomas Wansley is a case in point of Lynchburg "southern justice."

In 1962, Wansley was accused of raping 2 women, one Japanese, the other white, along with robbery of \$1.39. Twice, Wansley was tried for these 2 alleged rapes and robbery, twice he was sentenced to death by electric chair. His attorney, who appealed the convictions each time, has been duly smeared by the white newspapers of Lynchburg in their attempts to convince the white townsfolk that Atty. Kuntsler is or was connected to so-called "Communist-front" groups. Not only did the Japanese woman admit that she had freely engaged in sexual relations many times, but she also left the state and refused to return for the trial. The other alleged victim, a 59 year old white spinster, whom the courts portrayed as a super-pious "chaste and virginal" little lady "on her way to prayer meeting," did not identify Wansley before his arrest, and could not identify him during the first trial. Of course, the Lynchburg papers had already printed his picture and accused him of the crime beforehand. During the second trial, her memory was greatly improved, since she was then able to "positively" identify Wansley as her attacker.

These two trials span a period of 4 years, it has been a long 4 year ordeal for Wansley, who has lived day-today in prison with the electric chair never far away. During those 4 years, concerned people the world over have protested by sending telegrams and letters not only to the American government, but also to the United Nations--messages which formally accuse the United States of violating the U.N. Charter on Human Rights. A Wansley Protest Movement was organized in Lynchburg which received the support of thousands.

On March 18th, 1967, a third trial was held in Lynchburg for Thomas Wansley. In spite of proof which indicated false evidence, coaching of state witnesses, and outright prejudice of the all-white jurors against Wansley and his lawyer, the jury again found him guilty on all counts. Recognizing the national and international furor which resulted from the first two trials, this time he was not sentenced to death, but "only" given two life sentences--to run consecutively, one after the other.

Lynchburg "justice" is determined to "lynch" Thomas Wansley, and "get this Nigger." But black folk there do not intend to let this case go un-noticed, and allow "Charlie" to keep lynching our men. As the Japanese woman goes about her life somewhere in Hawaii and the "virgin" white spinster attends her prayer meetings, Lynchburg whites and their cousins across the country had better take notice that black people will not tolerate any more of their nonsense in the courts. An appeal has been filed by Wansley's lawyer to carry this case to a higher court, if this appeal is denied, and if justice does not result from another trial, this may well be a signal to our black brothers and sisters everywhere that "the time is near at hand." As James Baldwin so appropriately quoted in one of his most famous works, "God Gave Noah the Rainbow Sign, No More Water, The Fire Next Time."

SNCC COMMUNICATIONS DEPT.

From Civil Rights Movement Archive, CRMVet.org

**When the Revolution Was Televised: Martin Luther King Jr. was a master television producer, but the networks had anarrow view of what the black struggle for equality could look like.**

**By Alexis C. Madrigal.**

Television loved Martin Luther King Jr.

“The civil-rights revolution in the South began when a man and the eye of the television film camera came together, giving the camera a focal point for events breaking from state to state, and the man, Martin Luther King Jr., high exposure on television sets from coast to coast,” wrote the journalists Robert Donovan and Ray Scherer in their history of television news, *Unsilent Revolution*.

Why did the TV news networks become “the chosen instrument of the revolution,” as NBC News’ Washington bureau chief, Bill Monroe, put it?

In most popular discussions, the answer is cinematic and comforting: Brave white Northern journalists charged into the South, making common cause with black activists to expose the racial injustice of Jim Crow simply because that was the right thing to do.

In this story, the invention of television was all it took to tear down the walls of segregation, another inevitable point in that arc that bends to justice; Americans merely needed to see what was really going on and the country came to a moral reckoning. In this story, the South was a place apart, different from the rest of the country in the virulence of its white supremacy. In this story, Martin Luther King Jr. is a beloved figure whom the majority of white Americans both believed and revered.

No piece of the popular narrative escapes close scrutiny fully intact. King has been (rightly) lionized in the decades since his death, but he was a polarizing figure to the white audiences who encountered him in the years after the 1955 Montgomery Bus Boycott. By 1966, 63 percent of the country had a negative view of King, according to Gallup polling at the time.

Racism was not only present in the former Confederacy. Yes, in the South, oppression was written into law and deepened by local violent traditions. But when black migrants went north and west, what they found was all too familiar. Black people were forced into cramped, run-down residential districts by restrictive covenants, “steering” by realtors, mobs of angry white people, and the impossibility of securing mortgages at the same cost as white people. State-sponsored violence against black people took different forms, but it did not stop at the Mason-Dixon Line. Urban police departments inspired fear and anger in all the cities where large numbers of migrants settled. It was not only backward white folks in Selma who saw racial hierarchy as a key component of American culture.

And yet, there is no doubt that television news did help the civil-rights cause, helping activists and politicians push key legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and the Voting Rights Act in 1965. More recent (and honest) research about how this really happened reveals the genius of

King, the institutional imperatives and racial tropes that guided coverage, and the enduring limits to racial equality in every part of the nation.

Martin Luther King Jr. was an excellent television producer. He had a keen sense of drama, the use of celebrity, and television's desire for villains and heroes. The organization he cofounded, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference, became the most successful civil-rights organization of the era by combining mass protests and media savvy.

In 1955, as black citizens in Montgomery, Alabama, prepared themselves for the bus boycott, Martin Luther King Jr. gave a speech to a huge crowd of the Montgomery Improvement Association, the umbrella group for their organizing efforts that preceded the SCLC. A local white cameraman, Laurens Pierce, who would go on to a celebrated career, filmed the speech. Then, Ralph Abernathy went on stage to read the boycott resolution, and it appears Pierce, or the other journalists, tried to slip out.

I'm sorry that some members of the press have dismissed themselves, because there are some things in here I'd really want them to have," Abernathy said to applause. "I certainly hope, I certainly hope that the television man will come back. You know, it isn't fair to get part of it. I want you to get all of it."

Abernathy and King understood the medium and the role that the press could play, if they chose to highlight the injustices of Jim Crow. But they were not naïve: They knew that the country had never taken black people's word for the horrors that they had endured. It would not be enough to talk about the black experience of America. White Americans, through their televisions, would have to see, with their own eyes, some of those horrors enacted.

Julian Bond, reflecting on the era in which he'd helped run press relations for the SCLC, was unflinching in his assessment of media's structural imperatives. "What the media craved was a steady diet of bold mass action campaigns in the streets, ideally faced by violent white resistance, which could dramatize the issues at stake and make good print or electronic copy," Bond wrote.

"Indeed it was Little Rock [Arkansas]—even more than Montgomery—that established the key conventions for successful Movement coverage during the southern campaign," Bond wrote. The school-desegregation campaign in the city centered on nine brave black children who enrolled in Little Rock Central High School. This precipitated an armed showdown between different parts of the government, eventually forcing President Dwight Eisenhower to send in federal troops to secure the students' rights.

"The Little Rock crisis was made for television. It had drama, tension, and the ever-present whiff of real and threatened violence, all concentrated into a manageable geographic area and relatively brief time frame," Bond wrote. "The other classic set-piece confrontations of the southern Movement—Ole Miss, Birmingham, Tuscaloosa, and Selma—would all follow much the same pattern."

King himself was rarely so direct in public. Privately was another matter. In the Birmingham jail cell, he wrote a different letter from the famous one republished in this magazine. This one was to Andrew Young, a key SCLC organizer in Birmingham, giving him specific directions on how to create what the media scholar Sasha Torres calls “movement-generated content for the press” through a series of actions designed to hold the media’s attention. King closed his note saying, “In a crisis, we must have a sense of drama.”

Only in the aftermath of a sheriff’s posse’s brutal repression of Selma marchers in March of 1965 did King lay out the strategy that underlay the moral dramas he’d been creating in America. “We are here to say to the white men that we no longer will let them use clubs on us in the dark corners,” King said. “We’re going to make them do it in the glaring light of television.”

The TV news industry King encountered was nothing like the one we know today. Most obviously, there were only three networks—CBS, NBC, and ABC. We call them networks for a reason. Their nodes were local, semi-independent affiliates in cities across the country. In the early days of television, from the late 1940s to the mid-1950s, television was not spread evenly across the nation; there were no broadcast towers in Mississippi, Arkansas, or South Carolina until 1953. But as King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference prepared to boycott buses in Montgomery in 1955, the phenomenon of TV was nationalizing. Less than 1 percent of households had a TV in 1946. By 1962, 90 percent did. As America’s living rooms rapidly filled with the glowing screens, the industry’s profits followed a similarly incredible growth trajectory. TV stations and networks generated \$2 million in revenue in 1947. By 1962, they made \$1.3 billion in profit.

The key to the profitability was that the networks could plausibly claim to reach, roughly, the whole country. As Facebook and Google now control audiences at scale, leading to massive profits, back then, it was the television networks who commanded the attention of the nation.

To maximize profits, they had to maintain that national audience, and the emerging national battle over the civil-rights movement threatened the cohesiveness of the networks. Most prominently, southern audiences often reacted negatively to news coverage about the civil-rights movement. A Louisiana group called Monitor South was organizing local stations in the South to reject race-focused documentaries and news coverage of the civil-rights movement. The group also demanded equal time “to rebut any false political propaganda that serves the communist racial ideology.”

If the big networks began to regularly lose the southern stations during their evening broadcasts, they would fracture their audience and special claims to national importance.

On the other hand, there were forces working for activists on the ground. For one, television newsrooms wanted to be taken seriously as news-gathering operations, as detailed in Christine Acham’s book, *Revolution Televised*. They didn’t just tell you what someone else reported, but were out there bringing you the news on the scene. Acham quotes a New York Times reporter who covered television saying that “for television[civil rights] was a story that finally proved the value of TV news gathering as opposed to mere news dissemination.”

To gather news for TV required journalists to be on the ground, with cameras and glaring lights. This served to protect, to a limited degree, the civil-rights protesters, which was another reason that the SCLC had courted TV coverage.

“Nationally broadcast television news served the movement in two crucial if contradictory ways: On one hand, it needed to modulate segregationist violence against civil-rights workers in the field,” writes Sasha Torres in her book, *Black, White, and in Color: Television and Black Civil Rights*. “On the other [hand], it captured and amplified the violence that movement demonstrations occasionally sought, replacing it within a national, rather than regional, context, in which it carried very different meanings.”

For southern segregationists, the violence was a way to keep the status quo, the white-supremacist order. People outside the region saw paramilitary cruelty. “The official agents of the state charged with maintaining segregation had, since Reconstruction, been closely allied with white racial terrorists of the unofficial kind; many were themselves Klan members,” Torres continues. “The quite reliable tendency of southern police to privilege local custom over federal law both fascinated and appalled northern news workers; their film became visible evidence for the movement in its case against the South.”

The reporters out in the field also became subject to violence by the same forces that were attacking civil-rights demonstrators. When Dan Rather was covering the attempted enrollment of a black student at the University of Mississippi in 1962, he reported seeing a sign at a motel that read, “No dogs, niggers, or reporters allowed.” Rather described the tactics that were required to report on the violent white mobs, who wanted the TV cameras’ lights off, so they could do the dirty work of black suppression off the record and in the dark. “Whenever anyone turned on a light—which meant every time we needed to film—one or more bullets would attempt to knock it out. We had to film and move. Film and move,” Rather recalled.

Torres cites a journalist recalling that the networks were given nicknames by segregationists: “the Nigger Broadcasting Company (NBC), the Communist Broadcasting System (CBS), or the Asshole Broadcasting Company (ABC).”

John Lewis describes arriving into town on a bus during a Freedom Ride and encountering an angry mob, who chose as their first victims the press. “They had baseball bats, lead pipes, chains, bricks, sticks—every conceivable weapon or instrument that could be used as a weapon. I thought it was my last demonstration, really. I’d never seen anything like that. They were looking for blood,” Lewis recalled. “First they jumped on the press. If you had a pencil and a pad, or camera, you were in real trouble ... then ... they turned on us.”

Segregationists even attacked the television infrastructure. In one incident, when an NBC news show had come to Montgomery to film an interview with King, local saboteurs knocked the local TV affiliate offline for the duration of the program with a carefully planned attack on a transmitter.

Thus, the reporters had to make common cause with civil-rights protesters. The enemies of their enemy became their friends.

Back in New York, the corporate chiefs of the big networks were faced with some stark choices. They had news-gathering operations that were earning credibility and accolades for the networks, but they also had the potential for breakaway southern stations and the milquetoast requirements of their program sponsors. They needed a national consensus on race in America.

Television executives had their own reasons for letting the journalists go deep into the South to cover King and his colleagues, especially after the election of John F. Kennedy in 1960. Despite their new economic clout, the networks faced President John F. Kennedy's tough Federal Communications Commission chair, Newton Minow, who had described their offerings as a "vast wasteland."

As Minow recalled in 2011, broadcasters were required to "serve the public interest in return for their free and exclusive use of the publicly owned airwaves." The networks were also rocked (sort of hilariously) by scandals centered on the wrestling-like choreography of quiz shows and payola on teen music programs.

Not unlike tech-industry executives after being flogged in Congress, television-network bigwigs felt the need to show that they did have the public interest in their hearts. "For news workers, civil-rights reporting promised—and delivered—precisely the cultural capital the new medium needed ... Coverage of the movement allowed network news not only to report, but also to intervene in, national culture and political discourse," Torres wrote.

The power of television was not just in New York reporters producing reports for white northern audiences. Local southern TV reporters could end up on national TV, if they found a good civil-rights story. So, they did cover the movement, unlike most local newspapers. That coverage then boomeranged back via national broadcasts to black people across the South. "The capacity to see themselves—both figuratively and literally—as political actors was something long denied black activists in the South, where local papers generally refused to cover black protest," Torres wrote.

And so it was that, in the words of the historian J. Fred MacDonald in his book, *Blacks and White TV*, "More powerfully than literature, more effectively than radio, television communicated a single, nationally acceptable message with regard to the civil-rights issue."

But what was that "single, nationally acceptable message"?

In his 1997 essay, "Remembering Civil Rights: Television, Memory, and the '60s," the media scholar Herman Gray lays out his theory of what was acceptable to show on network news. "Black people portrayed in news coverage of the civil-rights and Black Power movements appeared either as decent but aggrieved blacks who simply wanted to become a part of the American dream, or as threats to the very notion of citizenship and nation."

Think about the canonical moving pictures of the civil-rights movement. Black people being dragged in the streets. Black people being hit by police fire hoses. Black people chased by white men on horseback. Martin Luther King Jr. saying, “I have a dream.” Black people pulled from lunch counters. Black people walking bravely through mobs of screaming white people. White people watching these things in their living rooms. It would be an understatement to say that there was a limited range to what network news was willing to show about the conditions that obtained for black Americans. This became especially clear as leaders outside the SCLC began to agitate for freedom in other ways as the Black Power movement grew.

Television created a new idealized figure, the “civil-rights subject,” whom Gray called “an exemplar of citizenship and responsibility—success, mobility, hard work, sacrifice, individualism.” This was the only person who was, according to the media scholar Niko Bodroghkozy, “the worthy beneficiary of the civil-rights movement.”

“Within the American discourse of race, the civil-rights subject performs important cultural work since it helps construct the mythic terms through which many Americans can believe that our nation has now transcended racism,” Gray wrote. Enlightened white people hand out justice. Worthy black people receive it gratefully.

Bodroghkozy’s book, *Equal Time*, explores how television news strained to always show black and white people together. “African Americans may have been the key drivers of the revolution in race politics,” she writes, “but network television insisted on situating whites, if not at the very center of the narrative, then right alongside worthy black ‘civil-rights subjects.’”

Network TV searched exhaustively for “moderate” white southerners whom they could pair with footage of aggrieved and abused black people. No civil rights group that was labeled “militant” could appear in a positive light, and even a group like the NAACP could find itself under such a cloud of suspicion of radicalism. “Network news tended to prefer representations of southern blacks as either paragons of respectability and potential and of demonstrable achievement or as silenced objects of mistreatment whose cause needed to be championed by enlightened whites,” wrote Bodroghkozy.

The TV press, as the scholar Jenny Walker argues, got it wrong twice, beatifying the early civil-rights leaders while vilifying the later ones. That has led to a false discontinuity in the broader view of black freedom struggles. In her essay “A Media-Made Movement?” she shows that in the early years of the southern civil-rights movement, news reporters ignored violence or potential for violence by black people as well. The television networks wanted saints, not people who might react in self-defense to the brutalization of their friends and families. Popular history has labeled the eras of King and the Panthers as two totally separate domains, but Walker argues that’s just what people saw on TV.

In part, that’s because many of the goals of the networks’ coverage of the civil-rights movement had been accomplished by the mid-’60s. They had used the struggle to gain respectability for their news departments, and solidify their national audiences. And, their own needs met, they did not continue, en masse, supporting those protesting for full citizenship and equality. It wasn’t

the medium of television that supported the goals of King and the SCLC, but a particular set of journalists and executives at a particular time with their own narratives about what was enough justice for black Americans.

“Network television provisionally embraced integrationist civil rights, as long as whiteness and white people (at least non-southern and non-rural) were neither marginalized nor discomforted, and as long as white political elites in Washington remained supportive,” concluded Bodroghkozy.

The “nationally acceptable message” about civil rights was that the suffering of black people made for good television if it was violent enough. The “nationally acceptable message” was that white people would choose when to grant a little freedom to benighted black people. What was not acceptable was black people demanding power by any means necessary.

***The Atlantic, April 1, 2018.***

## **I Needed to Lead My City. But I Needed to Apologize First.**

By Levar Stoney. Mr. Stoney is the mayor of Richmond, Va.

As I stepped outside City Hall, several thousand people were waiting for me. They were shouting and cursing and calling me every name but “child of God.” They were calling for my resignation.

I had invited them.

It was about a year ago in Richmond, Va., several months before I had been re-elected. The night before, police assigned to patrol the area around the Lee Circle — home to Richmond’s towering monument to Confederate Gen. Robert E. Lee — had released tear gas into what had been to that point a peaceful demonstration, following several days of sometimes violent protest in the streets of our city in the aftermath of George Floyd’s murder. It didn’t matter that the tear gas, as we later learned, had been used unintentionally.

It was wrong.

To me, it was a violation of the social contract and a breach of trust by those assigned to protect us, occurring at the worst possible time. As the leader of my city, I needed to let people know that it was unacceptable. I needed to apologize.

Surrounded by protesters with just a handful of staffers and the police chief at the time, we stayed for more than an hour as the crowd pressed and surged and vented its anger, most of my words being drowned out or shouted down, even with a bullhorn. At one point, someone threw a bag of feces that landed at my feet.

It was clear that the hostility was not just about what had happened the night before. There was a lot of pain on display. Pain from being marginalized, ignored and hurt by the system. Anger and fear, fueled the destabilizing uncertainty of the pandemic, and by a reawakening that the institutions we are supposed to trust to keep us safe have a history of victimizing people of color.

There are two epidemics in America: Covid-19 and racism. One is now 14 months old, the other over 400 years old. Both are lethal. I knew I wasn’t going to be able to cure those issues that day.

My election in 2016 as the youngest mayor in the history of the city marked a generational shift in leadership. I had run on a platform committed to creating an inclusive and welcoming city where your God-given talents could thrive. But I was also aware that Richmond was still grappling with its long and shameful history with race; from the buying and selling of human beings as the second largest slave-trading hub in the antebellum South, through the Civil War as the capital of the Confederacy, and the ensuing Lost Cause mythology, symbolized by monuments and enshrined by Jim Crow.

Over the years, Richmond largely avoided the violence that had accompanied protests in other cities over injustice, and instead maintained an uneasy coexistence with inequity. But as the documented record of lethal encounters with the police among people of color has risen in the national consciousness, the fabric of trust that had been carefully stitched together between these communities and their police departments had begun to tear. After the incident at the circle, it needed to be stitched back together.

The only thing I could think to do, with the protesters on the steps of City Hall, was to march with them, if they'd have me. So that's what we did. A diverse mix of citizens made our way from Capitol Square to the Lee Monument in a spirit of unity, peace and shared grief. I had run around the circle many times during the city's annual Monument Avenue 10K, but as a Black man I never had a desire or reason to set foot inside it.

Upon reaching the pedestal of the 60-foot-tall bronze and granite centerpiece to the Lost Cause, now adorned with graffiti and draped with demonstrators, I realized just how imposing and intimidating it must have been to previous generations of people who looked like me. Like the rest of the Confederate icons that defined Monument Avenue, it cast a long, dark shadow over our city. First erected in 1890, as part of a real estate development on the outskirts of downtown, the actual purpose was pure Jim Crow — to put Black people in their place. And that place never included the chair behind the desk in the mayor's office.

Democrats had worked for several years to see a law passed in the Virginia General Assembly that finally granted localities the authority to determine the fate of Confederate statuary, which state code had protected under the definition of "war memorials." The new law was due to take effect July 1, 2020. But as the protests continued throughout June, the monuments remained flash points for violent demonstration and a public safety risk. Protesters had already toppled several of them, including a life-size figure of Jefferson Davis. In Portsmouth, a demonstrator was seriously injured when a dismantled monument crashed onto his head. After all the pain these symbols had inflicted on our people, I did not want to risk a life being lost. They needed to come down.

My office had been warned by the city attorney not to take any action until the Richmond City Council had proceeded in accordance with the ordinance, which prescribed a 30-day process. I was also advised by my own legal team that I was risking legal action personally.

But on July 1, I acted. On live television, we watched a 100-ton crane lift Stonewall Jackson from his pedestal. Cheers erupted from hundreds who had gathered in the rain to witness its removal. Like other residents in our city that day, I cried. Over the next week, contractors removed 14 pieces of Confederate iconography throughout the city.

In the three weeks that followed, protests were largely peaceful and the city experienced no significant incidents of violence. My office received hundreds of calls; many praising the decision, but also scores objecting to what we had done and a number leveling personal threats, some profane, or hurling racist slurs. These threats had been preceded by a group of around 200 protesters, some of them armed, who had shown up outside my apartment

one night, defacing the building and demanding I come outside to address a list of demands that included defunding the police.

Today, only the Lee Monument, which is owned by the Commonwealth of Virginia and whose removal order by Gov. Ralph Northam is being challenged in court, remains on Monument Avenue. The bronze figures of Jackson, Davis, J.E.B. Stuart, and Matthew Fontaine Maury are gone; only their pedestals remain. Also remaining on the avenue is the monument to the Richmond native and tennis legend Arthur Ashe. Erected after much controversy in 1996, his statue represents the only true champion on that block.

But while most of the monuments are gone, and protests have largely diminished, much of the work to ensure that Black Lives Matter remains, in our city and across America. It had begun long before the tragedy of George Floyd, or the shootings of Ahmaud Arbery, or Breonna Taylor. Last summer, we heard the outcry of Americans of all races and backgrounds demanding justice, and the pain and trauma of the last 400 years was palpable. So where do we go?

The year 2020 was one of reckoning. Like many cities across the country, we held a mirror up to ourselves and asked whether we approved of the reflection staring back. We didn't. But amid this reckoning, as we emerge from the Covid-19 pandemic, we have a chance for atonement. Less than a week after the last city-owned monument on the avenue came down, we announced the formation of a community task force to reimagine policing. We are creating a civilian review board to ensure accountability among our officers. Our new police chief embraces the idea that our goal is not policing, but public safety, and that we must ensure that the same department that shows up in the West End of our city also shows up in the East End.

But recovery also means looking at all the systems that have historically worked against, rather than for, people of color, be it housing or education. Over the next four years, I recognize that we must empower communities experiencing injustice by removing barriers to success and opportunity.

We now have a responsibility to erect new monuments to the diversity, inclusivity and equity we celebrate as values in our city — and I as mayor must lead the charge. That means new schools and community centers and parks. Affordable housing and eviction diversion. Economic opportunity through jobs for returning citizens or guaranteed income for families living on the margins. This is my job over the next four years.

Richmond is no longer the capital of the Confederacy. The Lost Cause has lost. But becoming a capital of Compassion and Justice is now the challenge before us and every city and town that experienced unrest in America. A summer of protests inspired change, a just guilty verdict in Minneapolis brought temporary peace, and maybe even hope. It is not enough. Delivering justice, actually healing and atoning, requires coming together to do the hard work. It takes time. It demands we listen. And for me, last summer, it required an invitation and an apology.

**Read This Powerful Statement From Darnella Frazier, Who Filmed George Floyd's Murder.**  
By Joe Hernandez.



This image from a police body camera shows bystanders including Darnella Frazier (third from right) as Derek Chauvin, who was a police officer at the time, pressed his knee on George Floyd's neck in Minneapolis. Minneapolis Police Department /AP

Darnella Frazier, who was 17 when she recorded George Floyd's murder in Minneapolis last year in a clip that would go viral and become a key piece of evidence against his killer, says she's proud of what she did even though it changed the course of her life.

In an Instagram post Tuesday — the first anniversary of Floyd's murder by then-Minneapolis police officer Derek Chauvin — the young Black woman acknowledged her role in documenting the killing, which set off global protests for racial justice and police reform.

"Even though this was a traumatic life-changing experience for me, I'm proud of myself. If it weren't for my video, the world wouldn't have known the truth. I own that. My video didn't save George Floyd, but it put his murderer away and off the streets," Frazier, 18, said.

In April, a Minneapolis jury found Chauvin guilty of second-degree murder and other charges after he knelt on Floyd's neck for nine minutes and 29 seconds. Chauvin is scheduled to be sentenced next month.

Frazier testified at Chauvin's trial and described the scene outside Cup Foods, where she had gone with her 9-year-old cousin before stopping to record Floyd's arrest. Frazier drew praise for capturing the killing on tape.

But the past year was also tough on her. Frazier said in the Instagram post that she had to leave her home because it was "no longer safe" and live in hotels while "looking over our back every day in the process." Reporters routinely knocked on her door, she said. The trauma made Frazier "shake so bad at night my mom had to rock me to sleep."

Frazier said Floyd's killing and the aftermath changed how she views the world.

"It made me realize how dangerous it is to be Black in America," Frazier said. "We shouldn't have to walk on eggshells around police officers, the same people that are supposed to protect and serve. We are looked at as thugs, animals, and criminals, all because of the color of our skin."

Read the full statement here:

"A year ago, today I witnessed a murder. The victim's name was George Floyd. Although this wasn't the first time, I've seen a black man get killed at the hands of the police, this is the first time I witnessed it happen in front of me. Right in front of my eyes, a few feet away. I didn't know this man from a can of paint, but I knew his life mattered. I knew that he was in pain. I knew that he was another black man in danger with no power. I was only 17 at the time, just a normal day for me walking my 9-year-old cousin to the corner store, not even prepared for what I was about to see, not even knowing my life was going to change on this exact day in those exact moments... it did. It changed me. It changed how I viewed life. It made me realize how dangerous it is to be Black in America. We shouldn't have to walk on eggshells around police officers, the same people that are supposed to protect and serve. We are looked at as thugs, animals, and criminals, all because of the color of our skin. Why are Black people the only ones viewed this way when every race has some type of wrongdoing? None of us are to judge. We are all human. I am 18 now and I still hold the weight and trauma of what I witnessed a year ago. It's a little easier now, but I'm not who I used to be. A part of my childhood was taken from me. My 9-year-old cousin who witnessed the same thing I did got a part of her childhood taken from her. Having to up and leave because my home was no longer safe, waking up to reporters at my door, closing my eyes at night only to see a man who is brown like me, lifeless on the ground. I couldn't sleep properly for weeks. I used to shake so bad at night my mom had to rock me to sleep. Hopping from hotel to hotel because we didn't have a home and looking over our back every day in the process. Having panic and anxiety attacks every time I seen a police car, not knowing who to trust because a lot of people are evil with bad intentions. I hold that weight. A lot of people call me a hero even though I don't see myself as one. I was just in the right place at the right time. Behind this smile, behind these awards, behind the publicity, I'm a girl trying to heal from something I am reminded of every day. Everyone talks about the girl who recorded George Floyd's death, but to actually be her is a different story. Not only did this affect me, my family

too. We all experienced change. My mom the most. I strive every day to be strong for her because she was strong for me when I couldn't be strong for myself. Even though this was a traumatic life-changing experience for me, I'm proud of myself. If it weren't for my video, the world wouldn't have known the truth. I own that. My video didn't save George Floyd, but it put his murderer away and off the streets. You can view George Floyd anyway you choose to view him, despite his past, because don't we all have one? He was a loved one, someone's son, someone's father, someone's brother, and someone's friend. We the people won't take the blame, you won't keep pointing fingers at us as if it's our fault, As if we are criminals. I don't think people understand how serious death is...that person is never coming back. These officers shouldn't get to decide if someone gets to live or not. It's time these officers start getting held accountable. Murdering people and abusing your power while doing it is not doing your job. It shouldn't have to take people to actually go through something to understand it's not ok. It's called having a heart and understanding right from wrong. George Floyd, I can't express enough how I wish things could have went different, but I want you to know you will always be in my heart. I'll always remember this day because of you. May your soul rest in peace. May you rest in the most beautiful roses."

NPR.Org, May 26, 2021

**Americans think social media can help build movements, but can also be a distraction**  
By Brooke Auxier and Colleen McClain



Demonstrators live-stream a protest in Chicago on June 1, 2020. (Javage Logan/Xinhua via Getty)

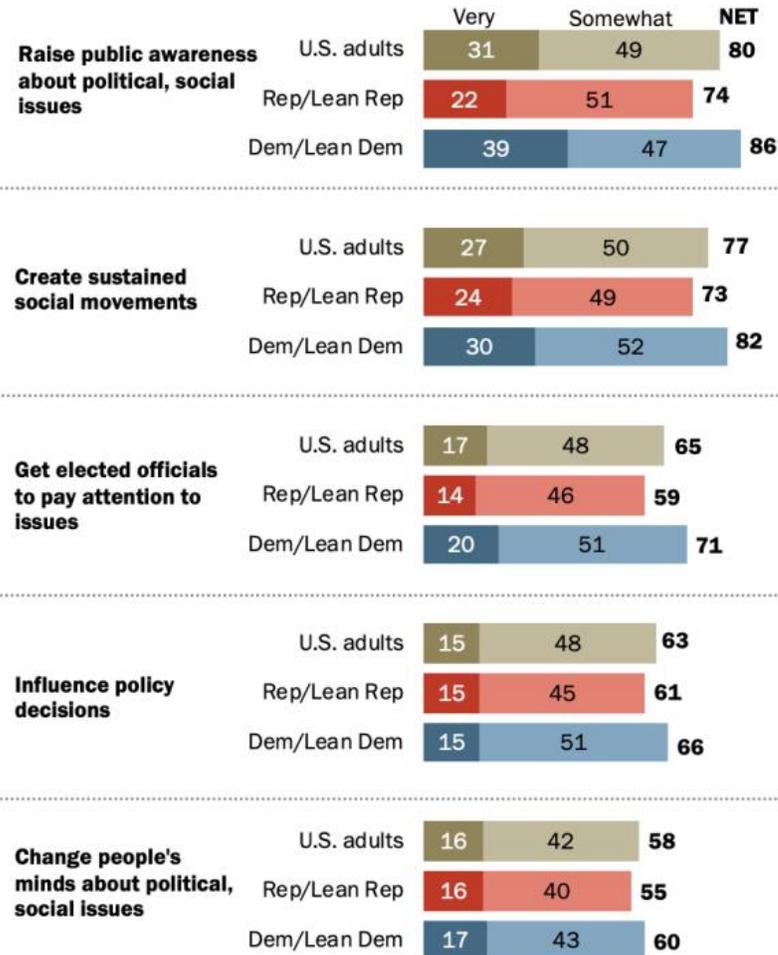
Social media platforms are important for political and social activists. But while most Americans believe these platforms are an effective tool for raising awareness and creating sustained movements, majorities also believe they are a distraction and lull people into believing they are making a difference when they're not, according to a new Pew Research Center survey.

Overall, eight-in-ten Americans say social media platforms are very (31%) or somewhat (49%) effective for raising public awareness about political or social issues, according to the survey of U.S. adults conducted July 13-19. A similar share (77%) believes these platforms are at least somewhat effective for creating sustained social movements.

Smaller shares – though still majorities – say social media are at least somewhat effective in getting elected officials to pay attention to issues (65%), influencing policy decisions (63%) or changing people's minds about political or social issues (58%).

## Majorities of Democrats, Republicans say social media platforms are effective for raising awareness about issues, creating sustained movements

*% of U.S. adults who say social media are **very** or **somewhat** effective as a way to ...*



Note: Those who did not give an answer or who gave other responses are not shown. Figures may not add to subtotals due to rounding. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 13-19, 2020.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Across political parties, more describe these platforms as effective rather than ineffective when it comes to achieving these goals. Still, there are some partisan differences.

Democrats and independents who lean Democratic are more likely than Republicans and Republican leaners to say social media sites are at least somewhat effective as a way to raise public awareness about political or social issues (86% vs. 74%), create sustained social movements (82% vs. 73%) and get elected officials to pay attention to issues (71% vs. 59%).

Partisan gaps are more modest when it comes to these platforms' effectiveness at influencing policy or changing people's minds.

Democrats also stand out as seeing social media platforms as very effective for raising awareness: 39% of Democrats say social media are very effective at this, compared with 22% of Republicans.

While younger Americans are more likely than their older counterparts to use some social media platforms, there are few age-related differences in views of these sites' effectiveness for political engagement – and party differences persist even among younger adults for some goals. For example, 87% of Democrats ages 18 to 29 say social media sites are at least somewhat effective for raising awareness, compared with 76% of Republicans in the same age group. Democrats ages 18 to 29 are also more likely than their Republican counterparts to say these sites are at least somewhat effective at creating sustained social movements (84% vs. 74%) and getting elected officials to pay attention to issues (72% vs. 60%).

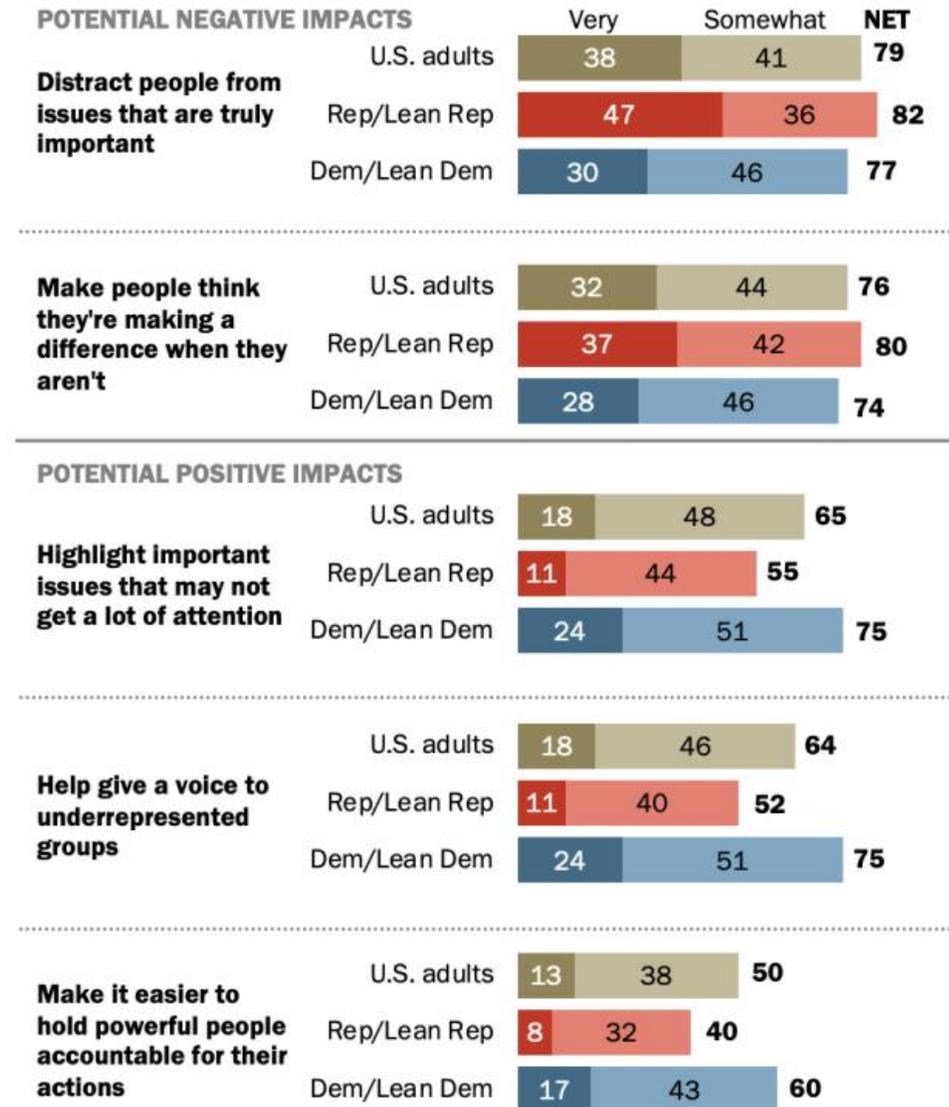
Leading up to the presidential election, social media platforms have played a role in raising awareness about voting issues, spreading information about the presidential candidates and allowing users to engage in online activism and campaigning. But when asked about social media's broader impact on political discourse, there are some signs that Americans think these platforms can have both positive and negative effects.

On the more positive side, about two-thirds of Americans say the statements "social media highlight important issues that might not get a lot of attention otherwise" (65%) and "social media help give a voice to underrepresented groups" (64%) describe social media very or somewhat well. Half of Americans also say the statement "social media make it easier to hold powerful people accountable for their actions" describes these platforms at least somewhat well.

But even larger shares of the public think these platforms are distractions and that people may be engaging in "slacktivism" – a term critics have used to describe activism online. Roughly eight-in-ten Americans (79%) say the statement "social media distract people from issues that are truly important" describes social media very or somewhat well, while a similar share (76%) say the same about the statement "social media make people think they are making a difference when they really aren't."

## Democrats far more likely than Republicans to say social media highlight important issues, but both sides agree these sites are a distraction

*% of U.S. adults who say the following statements describe social media very or somewhat well*



Note: Those who did not give an answer or who gave other responses are not shown. Figures may not add to subtotals due to rounding.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted July 13-19, 2020.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER

Democrats are more likely than Republicans to see positive impacts of social media. For instance, three-quarters of Democrats say the statement “social media highlight important issues that may not get a lot of attention otherwise” describes these platforms at least somewhat well,

compared with 55% of Republicans. Democrats are also more likely than Republicans to say these platforms help give a voice to underrepresented groups (75% vs.52%) and make it easier to hold powerful people accountable for their actions (60% vs.40%).

By comparison, there is more partisan agreement when it comes to some negative aspects of using social media platforms for political engagement. However, Republicans are a bit more likely than Democrats to believe that social media distract people from issues that are truly important (82% vs. 77%) or make people think they are making a difference when they really aren't (80% vs. 74%).

Younger Americans tend to have a more positive outlook about the societal impact of social media. But as with political engagement, partisan differences still exist within the youngest age group. For instance, 70% of Democrats ages 18 to 29 say social media make it easier to hold powerful people accountable for their actions, compared with 49% of Republicans in the same age group. Young Democrats are also more likely than their GOP counterparts to say social media help give a voice to underrepresented groups (82% vs. 63%) and highlight important issues that might not otherwise get attention (79% vs. 64%).

Americans' views on some of these issues are statistically unchanged since 2018, the last time the Center asked these questions. For example, there has been no notable change in people's views about social media helping to give a voice to underrepresented groups, highlighting important issues and distracting people from important issues.

Still, there has been modest change when it comes to the perception that social media make it easier to hold powerful people accountable for their actions. Half of Americans now say this, down from 56% in 2018. At the same time, there has been an uptick in the share of Americans who say social media platforms are making people think they are making a difference when they really aren't, from 71% in 2018 to 76% in the new survey.

Some of these changes persist when looking at partisan affiliation. The share of Republicans who say social media make it easier to hold powerful people accountable for their actions has dropped from 51% in 2018 to 40% today, while views are unchanged among Democrats. Meanwhile, Democrats have become slightly more likely to say social media make people think they are making a difference when they really aren't (+7 percentage points), while Republican views are more consistent across years.

Pew Research Center, September 9, 2020.

Photograph Sources

**Bruce R. Watkins Leads March on Interstate 70 after the Assassination of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in 1968.**



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