

SELMA



Selma Online Teaching Guide

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Grade Level

7th to 12th Grade

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Downloadable PDF

Support for teachers facilitating in-classroom learning based on the Selma curriculum.
Freely available to the public via download from the Selma Online website: www.selmaonline.org

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Section One: How to Use This Guide

Selma Online highlights the events in Selma, Alabama, during the voting rights movement of the 1960s as a turning point in the longer history of voting rights in the United States. These materials examine Selma's legacy for improving civic engagement and strengthening our democracy and aim to assist the study of history in our schools. The platform's guided story experience along with this teacher's guide offer a variety of entry points for students and teachers to explore this critical moment in the modern civil rights era and in American democracy.

Online, the guided story section provides students with self-paced learning experiences. We expect that teachers will use the materials in this guide in many different ways--and have different amounts of time to spend on it--so we've made the materials as flexible as possible.

We encourage teachers to begin with a review of **Preparing to Teach the Civil Rights Movement** in **Section Two. Section Three: Before Viewing** will help to contextualize the voting rights movement in Selma through a timeline of events, key sites during the movement, and explore why the Black Belt Alabama city of Selma was the ideal backdrop for activism in the early 1960s.

Whether a user is accessing print resources or viewing film clips from Ava DuVernay's 2014 motion picture *Selma* or Teaching Tolerance's documentary *Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot*, Sections Four and Five provide text-dependent questions, graphic organizers, and classroom activities to assist understanding the people and groups, strategies and tactics, and laws and constitutional developments important to the voting rights movement historically and today.

The student activists in Selma are inspiring. We hope their stories motivate today's students to care about voting and to see a place for themselves as active members of a diverse democracy. That's why we've included a culminating project called **Do Something**. We believe that, no matter how little time classrooms have, teachers will find a way to engage students with a civic action project in their community.

Essential Questions

These overarching Essential Understandings are designed for ongoing discussion and thought:

- Does voting matter? Why were black citizens throughout the South ready to risk their lives to secure their right to vote?
- What are some reasons people don't or can't exercise the right to vote today?
- What is significant about the right to vote? In what ways have students made a difference in the right to vote historically, and what can they do today?
- What does it take to solve and heal deeply ingrained injustice?

- Is the right to vote still secure? How might current campaigns in the United States learn from Selma and its aftermath?

Learner Objectives

- Students will be able to describe the legal and extra-legal obstacles black American citizens faced in attempting to vote.
- Students will be able to explain the significance of the right to vote.
- Students will be able to identify the organized efforts used to achieve passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965.
- Students will be able to describe the legal and extra-legal obstacles to voting that continue today.
- Students will understand that even young people have the power to make a difference in the world.
- Students will be able to evaluate the constructed and contested nature of democracy and voting rights in the United States and apply that understanding in examining democratic change using a global perspective.

Section Two: Preparing to Teach the Civil Rights Movement

The events that took place from 1963 to 1965 in Selma, Alabama raise issues that remain relevant today: the use of the n-word, the misuse of police power, the power of symbols to intimidate, the effectiveness of popular movements.

Teaching about racial injustice and the civil rights movement means talking about race and racism, not simply as remnants of a long-gone past, but as real forces operating in the world today.

Race is, more than anything, a social construct that nevertheless shapes our experiences and has real impacts, from the smallest interpersonal interactions to the largest institutional arrangements. Many teachers believe ignoring race--adopting a "colorblind" stance--is the best way to overcome its negative power. Yet it's important for teachers to examine the ways that race influences their classrooms every day. Linda Darling-Hammond, Stanford education professor emerita, has argued that, in schools, teachers and students routinely make assumptions about each other on the basis of race. "Those are all assumptions that can be tested, debunked and reframed," she says, "but you can't get there without understanding that race is part of the context."

We must talk about race to help students understand the civil rights movement. Learning occurs through a process of assimilating knowledge into existing beliefs about the world. Unexplored and unacknowledged background ideas or assumptions too easily create emotional obstacles to student learning. This is particularly true when teaching about race and racism. As Spelman College president emerita Beverly Daniel Tatum writes: "If not addressed, these emotional responses can result in student resistance to oppression-related content areas. Such resistance can ultimately interfere with the cognitive understanding and mastery of the material. This resistance and potential interference is particularly common when specifically addressing issues of race and racism." If we don't talk about race and racism when we talk about the civil rights movement, we deprive students of the opportunity to understand much of American history.

Talking about race and racism means reaching outside the context of the civil rights movement. It is a disservice to students to encourage them to think that racism is a remnant of a distant historical era. In addition, we risk alienating students of color who know all too well the continued effects of race and racism.

Many teachers, wanting to avoid discomfort or conflict, avoid open conversations about race in their classrooms; however, racial justice and civil rights work are historically messy and for many they are uncomfortable. It is imperative that teachers find ways to make the classroom a space where messy and kind conversations about race can happen.

These essential questions about racial identity can help open up the discussion.

- How does my race influence who I am?
- How are my experiences similar to and different from those of people from other racial backgrounds?
- What kinds of bias and privilege do individuals and groups experience because of their race?
- What can we do to address racial prejudice and advocate for racial justice?

Set clear guidelines for discussion. Involve students in the process. Ask them what community agreements they need to have to be able to express their ideas and to be heard. Include conversations about whiteness. Too often teachers discuss race without making whiteness, white fragility, and white privilege visible and subject to investigation. Investigate the complex role white allies played during the civil right movements as allies instead of saviors. White allies continue to play a critical role standing in solidarity with black activists.

The civil rights movement provides a relevant and historically appropriate opportunity to talk openly with students about the ways discrimination and privilege have shaped and continue to shape American society. Social justice-driven educators prioritize critical student engagement, analysis, and voice, and allow for deep exploration of issues. Teachers who tackle talking about race as a component of that study also see students who are more fully engaged and who gain a deeper understanding of the civil rights movement and its context.

Keep in Mind

- Acknowledge the importance of race in your students' lives.
- Dispel ideas about a biological basis for race and explore discourses in the sciences on genetics and the human genome.
- Brush up on the history of race as a social construct used as a means of social control.
- Create a classroom environment open to dialogue by setting clear communication guidelines.
- Identify common roadblocks to productive discussion.
- Recognize that disparities exist but need to not persist.
- Speak from your own experience. (Use "I.")
- Create opportunities for students to speak from their own experience.

Teaching the civil rights movement should empower students to become great citizens. These instructional practices help accomplish that.

- Educate for Empowerment
- Know How to Talk about Race
- Capture the Unseen
- Resist Telling a Simple Story
- Connect to the Present: the use of the n-word, the misuse of police power, the power of symbols to intimidate, the effectiveness of popular movements

Section Three: Before Viewing

About the Voting Rights Movement

The events depicted in the Paramount Pictures movie *Selma* and Teaching Tolerance’s documentary film *Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot* are part of a larger history of oppression and resistance that can be traced to the founding of colonial societies in what is now the United States. The original, indigenous peoples of the region governed themselves by a variety of political systems. The Iroquois Confederacy, founded in 1142, is the oldest living participatory democracy on earth. Some elements of the Iroquois Great Law of Peace would influence the creation of the United States as a constitutional republic in 1787. But when it came to the franchise, the framers of the U.S. Constitution left it to the states to decide who had the right to vote. At first, all states gave the right to vote to property-owning white males, while many states enfranchised all adult white males. New Jersey allowed some property-owning women to vote before removing that right in 1807, while free African American property owners could vote in North Carolina until 1835. By the time of the Civil War (1861) the right to vote was *guaranteed* to all white male citizens and to a small number of African American men in the five Northern states. In New York, black men alone needed to own \$250 of property. However, most state constitutions, North and South, explicitly denied African Americans and women the right to vote.

Explore further: Terri Hansen, “How the Iroquois Great Law of Peace Shaped U.S. Democracy”. Native Voices Website, Dec. 13, 2018 <http://www.pbs.org/native-america/blogs/native-voices/how-the-iroquois-great-law-of-peace-shaped-us-democracy/>

Emancipation in 1865, through Reconstruction (1865-1877), Redemption (1877-1890), and Jim Crow (1877-1965)

Section Three provides students exposure to the historical context of, first, the expansion of voting rights to African American men during Reconstruction (1865-1877) and, secondly, the systematic removal of those rights in the South by the early 1900s, at a time when 90 percent of African Americans still lived in the region. Women’s struggle for the vote coincided with the debates about African Americans and the franchise. But when women in the U.S. earned the right to vote with the Nineteenth Amendment in 1920, most southern black women were kept from the ballot box by the same laws and customs that denied the right to vote to most black men.

History of voting rights after 1865

After the Civil War, Congress passed, and the required number of states ratified, three changes to the Constitution: the 13th, 14th and 15th Amendments. Collectively, these have become known as the Reconstruction Amendments because they became law during the post-Civil War period called Reconstruction. These amendments served two main purposes: to establish the

terms under which the seceded states of the Confederacy would return to the Union, and to extend freedom and full citizenship to the Americans of African descent who had been held in slavery.

On paper, these amendments promised full equality.

Amendment XIII

Section 1. Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, except as a punishment for crime whereof the party shall have been duly convicted, shall exist within the United States, or any place subject to their jurisdiction.

Section 2. Congress shall have power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Ratified December 6, 1865

The 13th Amendment abolished, forever, the system of chattel slavery that had existed in the United States and that had previously been allowed under the Constitution. Upon taking effect, enslaved persons became freed people, but what that meant exactly was unclear. Were they citizens? Did they have the same freedoms as other Americans? Could they vote?

Amendment XIV

Section 1. All persons born or naturalized in the United States, and subject to the jurisdiction thereof, are citizens of the United States and of the State wherein they reside. No State shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any State deprive any person of life, liberty, or property, without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the laws.

Ratified July 9, 1868

The 14th Amendment settled the question of citizenship for freed Americans of African descent: if they were born in the United States, they were “natural-born” citizens. States were forbidden to abridge their “privileges and immunities.” And, with the “due process” and “equal protection” clauses, freed Americans of African descent were promised legal treatment equal to everyone else.

Three other sections of the amendment cleared up other post-war matters by negating the three-fifths clause of the Constitution and allowing formerly slave-holding states to have representation in Congress proportional to the full population of the state. States that denied the vote to the newly freed black men, however, would not enjoy the increased number of representatives. Finally, the amendment disqualified ex-Confederates from holding office and repudiated the Confederate debt.

Amendment XV

Section 1. The right of citizens of the United States to vote shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or by any State on account of race, color, or previous condition of servitude.

Section 2. The Congress shall have the power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.

Ratified February 3, 1870

Finally, with the addition of the 15th Amendment, all questions about the rights of black men were clarified. Race, color or previous enslavement could not be used by states to deprive any male over the age of 21 the right to vote. While the Reconstruction Acts of 1867 enlisted federal troops in the occupied former Confederate states to register black men to vote, the 15th Amendment effectively nationalized voting rights for African American men.

Stop and Talk

Before moving on, use these Text-Dependent Questions to help students think about and consider each of the Reconstruction Amendments.

- What does each amendment say?
- How does each amendment change the Constitution?
- Why was each amendment enacted? Why is each important? What rights does each guarantee to Americans of African descent?
- What provisions does each amendment make for enforcement of its guarantees? Who has the power to enforce the amendment? How?

Reconstruction and Broken Promises

The Reconstruction Amendments brought a glimpse of freedom and equal citizenship rights within a multi-racial American democracy. More than 2,000 black men were elected to office, and African American legislators helped write new state constitutions. In Washington, DC, two black men served in the Senate while fourteen served in the House of Representatives. All represented southern states.

But the promise of full political equality was short-lived. White supremacists and ex-Confederates used a combination of means to re-establish their power in the South. By the mid-1870s, the federal government lost interest in rebuilding the South or protecting the rights of the former slaves. In 1877, Reconstruction was effectively over, but this did not end African American efforts to exercise their voting rights as guaranteed by the Fifteenth amendment.

Between 1877 and 1901, a further six African Americans were elected to the U. S. House, despite widespread intimidation of black voters. George White of North Carolina was the last to leave in 1901 after most southern states erected legal barriers to African Americans attempting to vote.

During this era, sometimes referred to as the “Nadir” in African American history, black people lost the right to travel freely, to use public transportation or to attend integrated schools. Most importantly, legally imposed poll taxes and literacy tests largely prevented black men from successfully exercising their constitutional right to vote.

The Ku Klux Klan, formed by Confederate veterans, used terrorism and violence to maintain white supremacy. But it was not the only group responsible for white supremacist mob violence. Between 1885 and 1901 alone, more than 2,000 African Americans were lynched (captured, sometimes tortured, and murdered) by individuals and groups who devalued black humanity. Significantly these lynchings were rarely punished by local and state laws. Local and state governments often colluded with lynch mobs.

By the early 20th century, a brutal and degrading system of segregation had taken root throughout the South. “Jim Crow” laws required black people to use separate facilities in every aspect of life from schools to restaurants to rest rooms.

The Supreme Court approved Jim Crow segregation in the 1896 case of *Plessy v. Ferguson*, when it ruled that separate facilities were legal as long as they were equal. The ruling gave the green light to Southern legislatures to enact laws and uphold policies to enforce white supremacy. In practice, separate was very rarely equal.

The rollback of voting rights began in southern states in the late 1860s and 1870s and was supported by U.S. Supreme Court decisions. Florida initiated felony disfranchisement in 1868, using the criminal justice system to target African Americans, incarcerate them, and strip them of their voting rights. In the 1890s and early 1900s, the Southern states passed laws or revised their constitutions in ways that made it virtually impossible for black men—and later, black women—to vote. More than that, the informal system of white supremacy made it dangerous to try.

In the first half of the 20th century, for most black people in the South, voting was a dangerous business. Elaborate regulations limited black voting, and anyone who tried to defy the system was punished, often brutally.

Attacks on black voters were common, but they were not the only tactic used to keep African Americans away from the polls. Building on the poll tax imposed by Georgia in 1868, in the 1890s and early 1900s southern states began requiring voters to pay poll taxes that kept the rural poor, black and white, disenfranchised. In some states “Grandfather clauses” exempted white voters whose ancestors had voted prior to the Civil War from the literacy and civics tests that black would-be voters were required to take. Registrars—who were always white—applied the tests arbitrarily and unequally and were not required to explain why someone attempting to register might be rejected.

A minority of African Americans continued to resist voter suppression. In the 1930s the Dallas County Voters League held voting rights classes in Selma, while the Communist Party USA was active in registering African Americans laborers in Birmingham and sharecroppers in the Black Belt. During World War II, the NAACP and other African American-led civil rights groups campaigned in many southern communities to advance black voting rights. This was known as the “Double V” campaign: V for victory against white supremacists abroad (Nazi Germany) and white supremacy at home (Jim Crow). In the upper south states (North Carolina, Tennessee) and even in deep South cities (Atlanta, Birmingham), African American voting grew after World War II. But in rural, majority African American “black belt” communities like Selma and Dallas County, Jim Crow continued to rule at the ballot box.

Black Voter Registration In The South 1940-2000

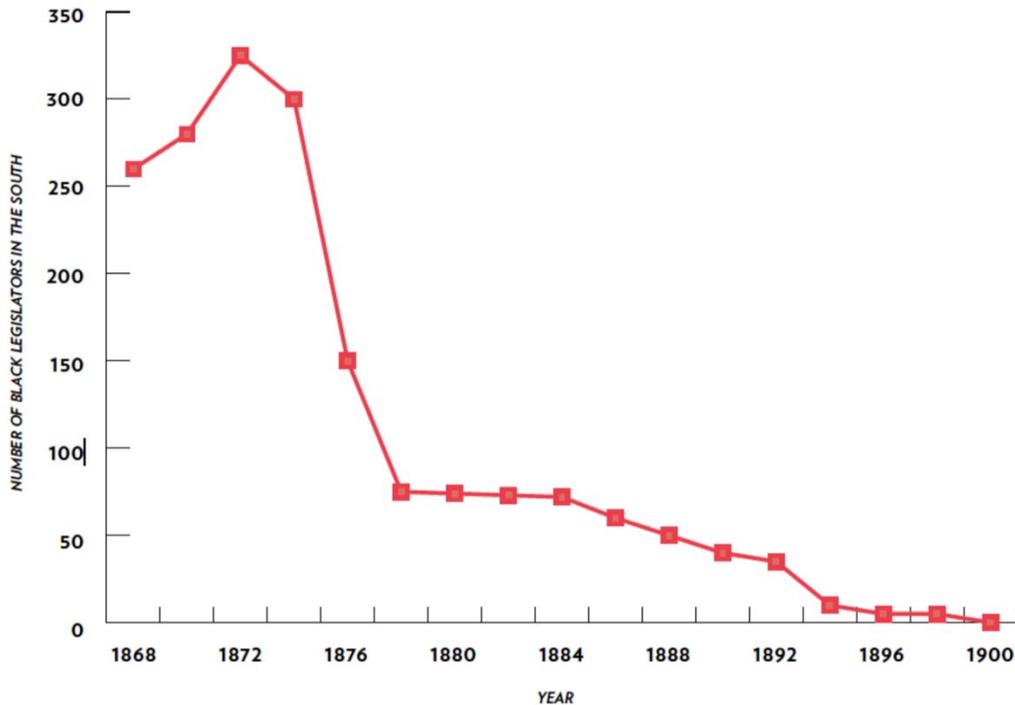
Estimated percentage of voting-age blacks registered													
State	1940	1947	1952	1960	1962	1964	1968	1976	1980	1982	1984	1996	2000
Alabama	0.4	1.2	5.0	13.7	13.4	23.0	56.7	58.4	55.8	69.7	74.0	69.2	72.0
Arkansas	1.5	17.3	27.0	37.3	34.0	49.3	67.5	94.0	57.2	63.9	67.2	65.8	60.0
Florida	5.7	15.4	33.0	38.9	36.8	63.8	62.1	61.1	58.3	59.7	63.4	53.1	52.7
Georgia	3.0	18.8	23.0	29.3	26.7	44.0	56.1	74.8	48.6	50.4	57.9	64.6	66.3
Louisiana	0.5	2.6	25.0	30.9	27.8	32.0	59.3	63.0	60.7	61.1	65.7	71.9	73.5
Mississippi	0.4	0.9	4.0	5.2	5.3	6.7	54.4	60.7	62.3	64.2	77.1	67.4	73.7
North Carolina	7.1	15.2	18.0	38.1	35.8	46.8	55.3	54.8	51.3	50.9	65.4	65.5	62.9
South Carolina	0.8	13.0	20.0	15.6	22.9	38.7	50.8	56.5	53.7	53.9	58.5	64.3	68.6
Tennessee	6.5	25.8	27.0	58.9	49.8	69.4	72.8	66.4	64.0	66.1	69.9	65.7	64.9
Texas	5.6	18.5	31.0	34.9	37.3	57.7	83.1	65.0	56.0	49.5	71.5	63.2	69.5
Virginia	4.1	13.2	16.0	22.8	24.0	45.7	58.4	54.7	53.2	49.5	62.3	64.0	58.0
Average	3.0	12.0	20.0	29.1	29.4	43.1	62.0	63.1	55.8	56.5	66.2	64.1	65.0

Source: 2000, U.S. Census Bureau. Current Population Survey, Documents P20-504 and P20-542.

In Selma and Dallas County, Alabama, local officials made it inconvenient and difficult to register to vote. The office was open only during business hours on the first and third Monday of each month. New registrants needed someone already registered to vouch for them, and registered voters were limited in the number of people for whom they could vouch each year.

Economic intimidation was also used against black voters; just trying to register could mean losing a job, having a loan called in or being evicted from a home. In Selma, employees of a local nursing home were fired in 1963 for trying to register to vote. In many towns, newspapers printed the names of all voter applicants, which made the job of intimidation even easier for groups like the White Citizens' Council.

Black Legislators in the South: 1868-1900



Stop and Talk

Before moving on, use these Text-Dependent Questions to help students think about and consider the effects the Reconstruction Amendments had on access to voting.

- Why wasn't the Constitution enough to protect African Americans' voting rights?
- The 15th Amendment says that voting could not be restricted because of race. How did Southern states prevent Americans of African descent from exercising their right to vote?
- When did the number of black legislators reach its peak? Based on what you've learned about U.S. history, can you explain the trend depicted in the graph?
- When did the number of black legislators begin to fall? What might account for that decrease?
- Make a prediction for the data for the next ten years after the last date on the chart. Explain your prediction.
- What aided or limited the expansion of voting rights and voter participation during the 1930s and 1940s?

Timeline of Events

1963	
February	The local African American voting rights group, the Dallas County Voters League invite Bernard Lafayette, from the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC), to organize youth in Selma, Alabama.
September	Members of the Ku Klux Klan bomb Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church, killing four girls.
September/ October	Ninety miles south of Birmingham, teens in Selma react to the bombing of the 16th Street Baptist Church by protesting at Carter's Drug Store. Willie Robinson is beaten and four students are arrested.
October 7	Freedom Day--an all-out effort to register Selma's African American voters--leads to arrests and brutal use of force by Sheriff Jim Clark.
Late 1963	In response to the 16th Street Baptist Church bombing, Diane Nash and James Bevel of SNCC and SCLC and James Orange of SCLC plan the Alabama Project, a voting rights campaign. Future US. Congressman, John Lewis, is among the young activists who join the project.
1964	
June	Voting Rights activists led by Fannie Lou Hamer and assisted by SNCC launch a major voting rights project in Mississippi. They also form the Mississippi Freedom Democratic Party (MFDP) to represent black voters excluded from the official, all-white, state Democratic party. Three young civil rights workers, James Chaney, Andrew Goodman, and Mickey Schwerner, disappear after being arrested by Philadelphia, Mississippi police.
July 2	President Lyndon B. Johnson signs the Civil Rights Act of 1964 into law.
July 9 --- August	Alabama State Circuit Court Judge James Hare issues an injunction that forbids three or more people from publicly meeting in Selma in support of civil rights. The injunction violates a 1958 US Supreme Court decision guaranteeing such protests under the First Amendment's right of association and the Fourteenth Amendment's due process clause. The murdered bodies of Chaney, Goodman, and Schwerner are found near Philadelphia. At the Democratic National Convention, President Lyndon Johnson blocks Ms. Hamer's efforts to seat the MFDP as official delegates.
Late 1964	Because of brutal suppression of SNCC activists by Sheriff Clark and his men, the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) invites the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. to come to Selma and highlight the denial of voting rights.

1965	
January 2	Over 700 people defy Judge Hare's injunction by attending a mass meeting at Brown Chapel, where Dr. King speaks.
January 18	Three hundred people, half of them high school students, attend a morning song service. Marches begin when the voter registration office opens.
January 19	Sheriff Clark beats and arrests Amelia Boynton, a founder of the DCVL and a key Selma organizer.
January 19-21	Activists, including children, continue to march despite the sheriff's tactics, such as the use of cattle prods.
January 22	More than 100 black teachers join the movement, marching from Clark Elementary School to the Selma courthouse. After being beaten back by club-wielding officers, they return to Brown Chapel, where 300 students greet them jubilantly.
January 25-29	Every day, hundreds of black voter registration applicants wait at the courthouse; mass arrests follow.
February 1	Dr. King and Ralph Abernathy, who has been helping King organize nonviolent protest campaigns since 1955, lead an adult march from Brown Chapel to the Selma courthouse. Both are arrested.
February 2-3	More than 2,000 civil rights protesters have been arrested in Selma since January 18.
February 4	President Johnson issues a statement in support of voting rights.
February 5	C.T. Vivian--a member of the SCLC's executive staff--leads a group of adult activists to the courthouse; they are arrested. Following the adults' arrests, 450 students approach the courthouse and are arrested as well. In Dallas and Perry counties, 3,850 civil rights activists have been arrested to date. Dr. King and Ralph Abernathy are released on bail.
February 9	Dr. King meets with President Johnson, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey and Attorney General Nicholas B. Katzenbach in Washington, D.C. President Johnson promises voting legislation soon.
February 10	With leaders in jail, students have begun self-organizing. One hundred and sixty protest at the courthouse where Sheriff Clark's men, using batons and cattle prods, force the young marchers out of town and down isolated country roads.
February 15	Voter registration offices are open for the last time in February; 1,500 activists participate in the largest march to date in Selma.

February 18	<p>In the nearby city of Marion, in Perry County, state troopers join Sheriff Clark's men and swarm the town. They arrest SCLC's James Orange for "contributing to the delinquency of minors" by encouraging students to march and sing freedom songs.</p> <p>Civil rights supporters plan a short nighttime march to sing to Reverend Orange in jail. Police and state troopers attack and pursue fleeing marchers, including Jimmie Lee Jackson, into Mack's Cafe.</p> <p>Jackson is shot by state trooper Jim Fowler and brought to Good Samaritan Hospital in Selma.</p>
February 26	Jimmie Lee Jackson dies in Selma.
March 3	<p>R.B. Hudson High School students boycott classes to attend Jimmie Lee Jackson's funeral service. Dr. King's sermon points at police brutality and the timidity of the federal government.</p> <p>Dr. King announces the plan to bring the issue to Governor George Wallace's doorstep with a march from Selma to Montgomery.</p> <p>Governor Wallace orders state troopers to prevent the march.</p>
March 6	Concerned White Citizens of Alabama, a group led by Reverend Joseph Ellwanger of Birmingham, marches in support of civil rights, the first pro-civil rights action taken by white activists in the area.
March 7	<p>Over 600 protesters, led by John Lewis (SNCC) and Hosea Williams (SCLC), leave Brown Chapel and cross the Edmund Pettus Bridge. At the far side, they are met by 50 riot-gearred state troopers on horseback, along with Sheriff Clark's deputies and several dozen of his "posse."</p> <p>As the marchers kneel to pray, the troopers charge into the crowd, clubbing people and firing tear gas. Nationwide coverage of what becomes known as Bloody Sunday focuses the eyes of the nation--and political leaders in Washington, D.C.--on Selma.</p> <p>Dr. King issues a nationwide call for people of conscience to come to Selma and march on March 9.</p>
March 8	<p>SCLC lawyers file a motion before U.S. District Court Judge Frank Johnson in Montgomery to prevent the state of Alabama from blocking the march.</p> <p>SNCC, the DCVL and the SCLC put pressure on the U.S. Department of Justice and the White House to protect the march and to support a strong and rigorous voting rights bill. Supporters around the country demonstrate in support of the Selma activists.</p> <p>In Selma, thousands of activists flood Brown Chapel. State troopers mass in the city as well.</p>

March 9	<p>Judge Johnson has issued an injunction against the march, which Dr. King decides to obey. Dr. King leads 2,000 people to the Edmund Pettus Bridge, kneels to pray, and turns the march around. This event was known as "Turnaround Tuesday."</p> <p>That night, three ministers who have traveled to Selma to support the movement are attacked. Minister James Reeb is the most seriously injured.</p>
March 10	<p>News of the attack on James Reeb prompts more voting rights demonstrations around the country. Pressure mounts on Washington, D.C.</p> <p>Selma police surround the George Washington Carver Homes to contain marchers. Protesters dub the police line the "Berlin Wall," after the barrier erected in 1960s Germany between pro-Western and pro-Soviet Union sectors of Berlin.</p> <p>Judge Johnson begins hearings to decide whether to allow the march.</p>
March 11	James Reeb dies of his wounds.
March 15	President Johnson addresses the nation and a joint session of Congress to propose a sweeping voting rights act.
March 17	Judge Johnson rules in favor of the marchers and orders Governor Wallace to protect the march to the capital.
March 21	Thousands of marchers depart from Brown Chapel in Selma headed for Montgomery and planning to stop at campsites along the way.
March 25	<p>In the final four miles of the march, the group swells to 25,000 people. Montgomery is eerily quiet: Governor Wallace has urged white people to stay home, proclaiming a "danger holiday" for the state's white female employees.</p> <p>Dr. King delivers his "Our God is Marching On (How Long Not Long)" address from atop a flatbed truck in front of the capitol steps.</p> <p>Later that night, Viola Liuzzo, a white civil rights activist, is killed by members of the Ku Klux Klan after leaving the protest.</p>
August 6	President Johnson signs the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The Act forbids literacy tests; empowers the U.S. Department of Justice and federal courts to monitor problem jurisdictions; and, most importantly, requires jurisdictions with a history of discrimination to receive federal approval before they can make any changes in voting procedures or requirements.

December	The number of registered black voters in Dallas County has risen from 383 before passage of the Voting Rights Act to about 9,000--slightly more than half the black voting age population. Across the South, the number of black voters rises to approximately 250,000 by the end of the year.
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Why Selma?

1963, Selma, Alabama

Jim Crow has ruled here for over 70 years. Despite some notable judicial and legal victories, segregation remains deeply embedded throughout the small towns and cities of the South. Selma, Alabama, is one such place.

In Selma, as in other communities, people are organizing. The Dallas County Voters League (DCVL) --first founded in the 1920s--encourages black citizens to register to vote, but fear keeps most would-be registrants at home. The DCVL invites the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) to help organize. SNCC focuses on organizing high school students. When Martin Luther King and SCLC arrive in 1965 Selma will no longer be a little-known city in Alabama. As the nation watches, it will become a key battleground in the struggle for voting equality.

But why Selma? Black and white students still attend separate schools, and most public places remain segregated even after the Civil Rights Act of 1964 is passed. Selma has a locally organized civil rights movement, led largely by the DCVL; a history of student demonstrations, thanks to SNCC; and the city's black leaders are ready to welcome outside assistance from the SCLC, led by Rev. Martin Luther King, Jr., who has just earned the Nobel Peace Prize for his leadership of the civil rights movement. Most importantly, the brutal tactics of Dallas County Sheriff Jim Clark guarantee arrests that will attract the national spotlight.

The Places

- 16th Street Baptist Church. A church in Birmingham, Alabama, that served as a hub of activity during mass anti-segregation demonstrations in 1963, including the Birmingham Children's Crusade. In September of that year, members of the Ku Klux Klan planted a bomb in the basement, killing four girls, Addie Mae Collins, Cynthia Wesley, Carole Robertson and Denise McNair.
- Black Belt. The rich soil of the Black Belt drew cotton planters--and their enslaved workforce--to the region before the Civil War. After the war and into the 20th century, the sharecropping system that replaced the plantation system kept the largely black population mired in poverty.
- Brown Chapel. One of the Selma churches that allowed activists to hold mass meetings during the voting rights campaign, including rallies led by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
- Dallas County Courthouse. The site of the registrar's office and the only place where residents of Dallas County could register to vote on one of the two days each month it was open.

- Edmund Pettus Bridge. A bridge that crosses the Alabama River, over which U.S. Highway 80 runs, connecting Selma to Montgomery. The bridge, like nearly all public construction projects or official memorials in the black belt, is named for a Confederate general and Democratic defender of white supremacy.
- George Washington Carver Homes. A public housing project in Selma for many black residents; the Carver Homes became a staging area for demonstrations.
- Good Samaritan Hospital. This facility operated by the Roman Catholic church was Selma's black hospital, even though all hospitals were legally integrated by the 1964 Civil Rights Act. Jimmie Lee Jackson was taken there, 30 miles from where he was shot because he was turned away from the nearby Perry County Hospital. Doctors and nurses at Good Samaritan also treated people injured on Bloody Sunday.
- Marion, Alabama. Located in the Black Belt, the county seat for Perry County had its own groups and activists like Jimmie Lee Jackson, working for voting rights.
- Montgomery, Alabama. Located 54 miles east of Selma, the capital city was where Governor George Wallace lived and worked.
- R.B. Hudson High School. In Selma's segregated school system, R.B. Hudson was the black high school attended by many of the student activists.
- River Road. On February 10, 1965, Sheriff Jim Clark's officers violently forced young demonstrators down this road for two miles to stop them from protesting.
- Selma, Alabama. Located in the middle of Alabama's Black Belt, this was the largest city in Dallas County and also the county seat.
- U.S. Highway 80. The road connecting Selma to Montgomery and the route for the 54-mile Selma-to-Montgomery March.

Section Four: During Viewing

The Groups

Pro-Voting Rights Groups

The Dallas County Voters League, a local group led mainly by Selma teachers, worked to encourage black citizens to register to vote and held classes to prepare them for the literacy and civics tests. It was founded in the 1920s. The DVLC is a good example of what many historians call the “Long Civil Rights Movement,” the small and courageous groups of women and men who continued to demand equal rights despite the dominance of Jim Crow.

The Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC), whose first president was Martin Luther King Jr., grew out of the success of the 1954 Montgomery Bus Boycott. The group worked to support and direct opposition to segregation by collaborating closely with Christian churches.

The Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC) organized students to take direct action such as sit-ins, freedom rides and voter registration drives to bring an end to segregation. A major civil rights organization, SNCC was formed in 1960 after the student-led sit-in movement to integrate lunch counters that began in Greensboro, North Carolina, and spread throughout the South. SNCC attracted activists from across the country. Some supported King and SCLC, others thought that progress in racial equality was too slow. Although most members were African American, SNCC also included white allies opposed to racism.

Anti-Voting Rights Groups

The Ku Klux Klan first emerged during Reconstruction as a vigilante group that used horrific violence to intimidate and control Southern blacks. The white supremacist group arose again during the 1950s and 1960s. Members used violence—including bombings and murder—in a campaign of terror against supporters of the civil rights movement.

The White Citizens’ Council consisted of white leaders (e.g., bankers, newspaper editors, politicians and business owners) who banded together throughout the South to resist desegregation after the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education* decision. Called the “uptown Klan” by Supreme Court Justice Thurgood Marshall, the members used their economic and political power to enforce white supremacy and oppose integration under the slogan “Never!”

Local Government

Local politicians and officials in Selma are all white. They oppose equal voting rights. They are supported by Alabama Governor George Wallace, who encourages local officials like Sheriff Clark and Judge Hare to harass and stymie the civil rights movement.

Federal Government

The Federal Government mediates between the supporters and opponents of equal voting rights, but generally supports the principle of voting equality. John Doar, who leads the Department of Justice's Civil Rights Division, works closely with civil rights groups to uphold their constitutional right to protest and to vote. Doar's boss, President Lyndon Johnson, shares these goals, but some in SNCC and SCLC distrust him because of his close relationship with segregationists in the Senate. They also distrust J. Edgar Hoover, Director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation, who keeps files and wiretaps on movement activists he views as "subversives."

The People

Teenagers take center stage in the voting rights movement, but they are not alone. Local residents, state and federal officials and people across the nation all play a part in this story.

★ = appears in Ava DuVernay's *Selma* (2015)

- ★ Al Lingo (Colonel), director of Alabama State Highway Patrol]
- ★ Amelia Boynton, civil rights activist, leader
- of Dallas County Voters League (DCVL)
- ★ Andrew Young, SCLC leader, minister, ally of MLK
- ★ Annie Lee Cooper, Selma citizen denied the right to vote
- Avery Williams, Selma student
- ★ Bayard Rustin, longtime political strategist to MLK
- Bernard Lafayette, youth organizer with the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)
- Bettie Mae Fikes, Selma student
- ★ C.T. Vivian, minister, civil rights activist, member of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC)
- Charles Bonner, Selma student
- Charles Mauldin, Selma student, president of the Dallas County Youth Voter's League
- Clark Olsen, minister from Berkeley, California
- Cleo Hobbs, Selma student
- ★ Coretta Scott King, activist and spouse of Martin Luther King, Jr.
- ★ Diane Nash, civil rights activist, a founder of SNCC
- ★ Frank M. Johnson Jr., U.S. District Court Judge
- ★ Fred Gray, attorney representing SCLC
- ★ Frederick D. Reese, Selma teacher, president of the Black Teachers' Association, president of the DCVL
- ★ George Wallace, governor of Alabama
- Hazel Chatmon, Selma student
- Henry Allen, Selma student
- ★ Hosea Williams, civil rights activist with the SCLC
- ★ J. Edgar Hoover, director of the Federal Bureau of Investigation
- ★ James Bevel, civil rights activist with the SCLC
- ★ James Fowler, Alabama state trooper who shot Jimmie Lee Jackson
- James Hare, Alabama circuit court judge
- ★ James Reeb, minister from Boston, Massachusetts

- James Orange, civil rights activist with the SCLC
- ★ Jim Clark, sheriff of Dallas County
- ★ Jimmie Lee Jackson, church deacon from Marion, Alabama
- Joanne Blackmon, Selma student
- John Cloud, leader of the Alabama State Troopers
- John Doar, Assistant Attorney General for Civil Rights
- ★ John Lewis, civil rights activist, chair of SNCC
- Joseph T. Smitherman, mayor of Selma
- Lawrence Huggins, Selma football coach and teacher
- Lee White, advisor to President Lyndon B. Johnson
- Lynda Blackmon, Selma student
- ★ Lyndon B. Johnson, president of the United States
- ★ Malcolm X, African American leader and Islamic minister
- Margaret Moore, Selma teacher and member of DCVL
- ★ Martin Luther King Jr., leader of the SCLC
- ★ Ralph Abernathy, SCLC minister
- Sarah Craig, Selma teacher
- Sheyann Webb, Selma elementary student
- Terry Shaw, Selma student
- ★ Viola Liuzzo, Michigan supporter of voting rights who traveled to Selma and was murdered by the KKK
- Walter Turner, clerk to Judge Johnson
- Willie Robinson, Selma student
- Wilson Baker, Selma director of public safety

Strategies and Tactics

Too often, stories of the civil rights movement spotlight one or two important leaders and key events. But the real story of the movement is more complicated, involving many leaders and many events. Even a single event, like the Selma voting rights movement, had many moving parts.

After becoming familiar with the people, places and events of Selma, use this graphic organizer to identify other important elements of the story. Record details for each category as you watch *Selma* film clips and explore the Guided Story. Continue adding details as you explore other areas of *Selma Online*.

Leaders	
Groups	
Events	
Historical Context	
Opposition	
Tactics	

Sometimes it seems that courageous and charismatic leaders like Martin Luther King, Jr. and Malcolm X single-handedly achieved the gains of the civil rights movement. The truth, though, is that the movement involved many people, each of whom took risks and demonstrated courage. And George Wallace and Sheriff Clark weren't the only opponents. Large numbers of people opposed change.

Use this graphic organizer to identify who's who--names, roles, groups, positions of participants.

	Students	Teachers	Local (Selma)	State/National
Supporter of the Movement				
Opponent of the Movement				

Organizing

Action takes hard work, often out of the spotlight. Without activists and organizations keeping people informed, working out strategies and logistics, and going door-to-door, very little gets accomplished.

Action takes courage, too. James L. Farmer Jr., a civil rights activist and founder of the Congress on Racial Equality (CORE), said, “Anyone who said he wasn’t afraid during the civil rights movement was either a liar or without imagination. I was scared all the time. My hands didn’t shake, but inside I was shaking.”

Groups in social movements share goals, tactics and often dangers, but—by bringing people together—they can help overcome the inner shaking.

In Selma, three groups—the Dallas County Voters League (DCVL), the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC) and the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (SNCC)—all worked to gain the vote. Who they were, and how they planned to achieve success differed.

Use this graphic organizer to look at each organization in terms of who they were, what they sought to achieve, the tactics they used and the risks they faced.

	DCVL	SCLC	SNCC
Who			
Goals			
Tactics			
Dangers			

Stop and Talk

Before moving on, use these Text-Dependent Questions to help students think about and consider organizing strategies and tactics.

1. What are some examples of nonviolent strategies employed during the voting rights movement? *[Answers will vary and may include: protests, marches, sit-ins, prayer meetings, mass demonstrations, mass arrests.]*
2. What philosophical arguments support a nonviolent strategy? *[Answers will vary and may include: Nonviolent strategy seeks to build friendship and find common ground. Nonviolent strategy relies on education and reforming. Nonviolent strategy aims to repair broken systems and correct injustice not defeat people. Nonviolent strategy was used to dismantle the American narrative/stereotype of black people as violent criminals and deserving of separate and unequal treatment. Nonviolence sought a visual confrontation with the forces of oppression to compel the nation’s conscience. Nonviolence and the politics of respectability that accompanied it was designed to obliterate the notion that black people deserved what they got. Nonviolence was crafted to flip the script that portrayed whites as*

civilized, blacks as barbaric; whites as peaceful, blacks as violent. Nonviolence was designed to counter the enormous firepower (weaponry, police, National Guard) that the oppressors wielded.]

3. What leaders and groups were supporters of and involved in the voting rights movement in Selma? [*Answers will vary and may include: SCLC, SNCC, DCVL, MLK, John Doar, NAACP, Coretta Scott King*]
4. What methods did these leaders and groups use to organize people in Selma? [*These leaders and groups used mass meetings, scheduled marches, organized protests, prayer meetings, soliciting media attention, voter registration education, nonviolent protest and mass arrest.*]
5. What leaders and groups posed obstacles to the voting rights movement? [*The White Citizens Council, the KKK, Alabama state officials who believed in segregation, Sheriff Jim Clark, at times LBJ and the FBI posed obstacles to the voting rights movement.*]
6. What methods did opposition groups use to prevent African Americans from voting? [*Literacy Tests and Poll Taxes. Limited access to the courthouse to register to vote: open only 2 days a month. Opposition groups like the White Citizens Council and the KKK used violence and intimidation to prevent African Americans from voting.*]
7. What risks did civil rights activists face in resisting opposition? [*Answers will vary and may include: civil rights activists faced economic extortion (loss of business loans), loss of employment, harassment, intimidation, pressure on family members, arrest, physical harm, and death.*]

Laws & Constitution

The Voting Rights Act of 1965

In spite of the fact that the 15th Amendment was intended to guarantee African American men the right to vote, states—particularly Southern states—had found ways to circumvent the law. Poll taxes, grandfather clauses, literacy and civics tests, as well as violence, made it virtually impossible for many black Americans to exercise their right to vote. Civil rights activists had challenged these restrictions in court, but in 1965, Congress determined that these case-by-case lawsuits were ineffective. A comprehensive federal law was needed.

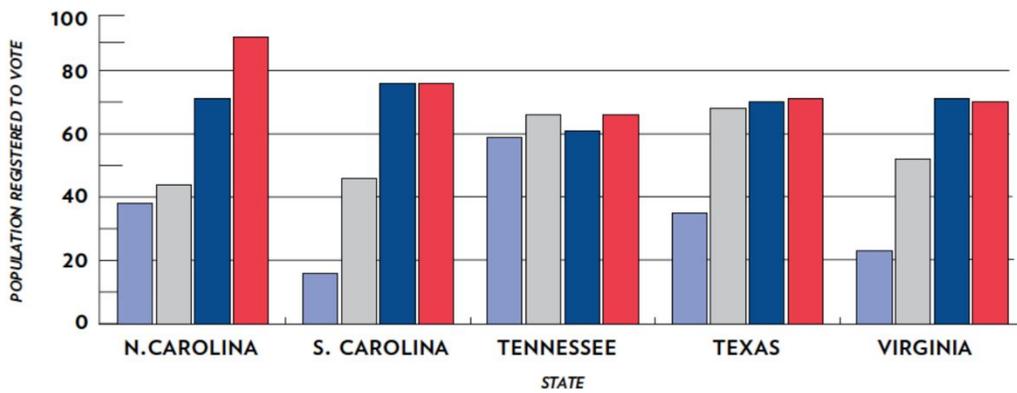
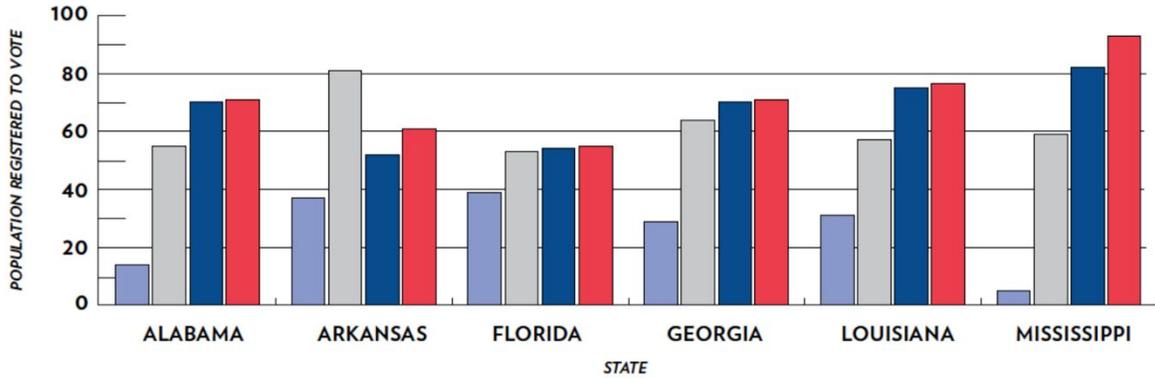
The passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 includes several key points.

- No requirement or procedure may be used to deny the vote to any citizen of the United States based on race.
- No “test” (e.g., literacy or civics tests) or “device” (e.g., grandfather clause, which the Supreme Court declared unconstitutional in 1915) may be used as a prerequisite for voting.
- States and localities that most severely restricted voting rights before this 1965 law will now require special attention. The Voting Rights Act identified these as states that used any “test or device” to limit voting based on race or color on November 1, 1964, or places where less than 50 percent of people of voting age were registered to vote on November 1, 1964.
- When one of the states or localities requiring special attention wants to change voter qualifications or voting procedures, it needs the federal court in DC or the U.S. Department of Justice approval to do so.

- Federal examiners and observers may, at the request of the U.S. attorney general, oversee voter registration, voting and vote-counting sites.

The impact of the Voting Rights Act: What Happened after 1965?

Growing Ranks of Registered Voters



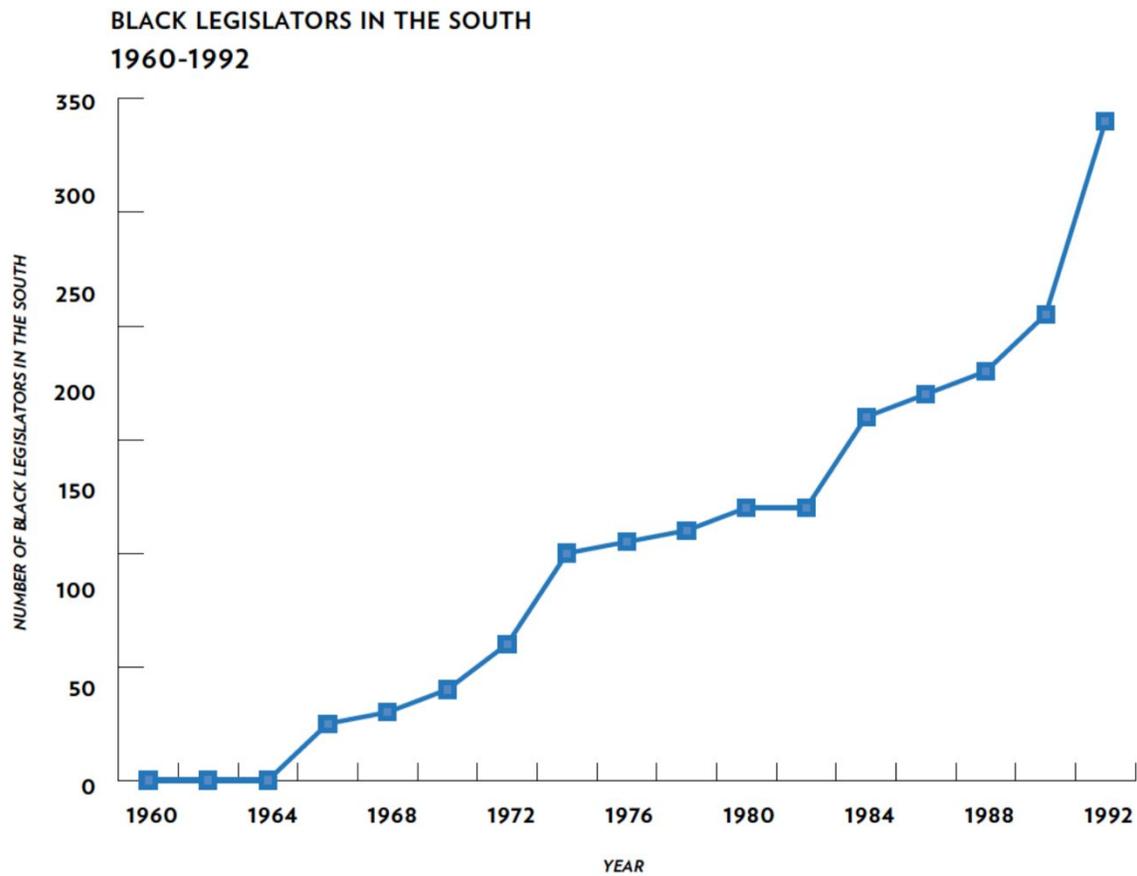
% OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION 1960*
 % OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION 1971*
 % OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION 2008**
 % OF REGISTERED VOTERS IN BLACK VOTING-AGE POPULATION 2012***

*Source: Farngher et al. (2005). Out of Many: A History of the American People. (Upper Saddle River, NJ), p. 892.
 **Source: Table 4b. Reported Voting and Registration of the Voting-Age Population, by Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin, for States, November 2008. Link through: www.census.gov/hhes/www/indianyouth/voting/publications/p20/2008/tables.html
 ***Source: Table 4b. Reported Voting and Registration of the Voting-Age Population, by Sex, Race and Hispanic Origin, for States, November 2012. Link through: www.census.gov/hhes/www/indianyouth/voting/publications/p20/2012/tables.html

Use the graphs to answer these questions.

- What do the states shown have in common? Why are these states included in this graph and not others?
- What trends do you see between 1960 and 1971? Between 1971 and 2008? Between 2008 and 2012? What do you think accounts for each change?
- Are there exceptions to the trend? What might account for these?

Expanding Numbers of Black Legislators in the South



Use the graph to answer these questions

- What story does this graph tell?
- Based on what you've learned about U.S. history, can you explain the trend depicted on the graph?
- Write a sentence to describe the data captured in this graph. What story does this graph tell?
- When did the number of elected black legislators begin to rise? What might account for that increase?

The Voting Rights Act 1965 - 2019

Congress tried to eliminate voting discrimination through three different civil rights acts passed between 1957 and 1964, but they all proved ineffective. Under these laws, the U.S. Department of Justice (DOJ) had to bring individual lawsuits to prove that a locality's practice was discriminatory. If the DOJ succeeded, local officials would simply put a new obstacle into place, forcing the DOJ to go back to court and start all over again. The process was painfully slow and disjointed.

Schemes like those in Dallas County that discriminated against black voters could be found throughout the South in 1964, despite being illegal. One of the great accomplishments of the Selma movement was to make it clear to policymakers in Washington that the existing laws didn't work. If they wanted to end discrimination, more had to be done.

The Voting Rights Act of 1965 was different from previous laws. First, it affirmed the right to vote throughout the nation and outlawed practices that kept black people from voting. In addition to these provisions that applied everywhere, the Act included special rules for states and localities that had a history of voter discrimination.

Places covered by the special provisions were not allowed to make any changes that affected voting without "preclearance" from the U.S. attorney general or the U.S. District Court for the District of Columbia. And the burden of proving that the change wouldn't have a discriminatory effect was on the jurisdiction, not the DOJ. In addition, the attorney general could dispatch federal examiners to oversee voter registration and federal observers to monitor the polls on election days.

What places were subject to these provisions? According to the law, any jurisdiction that had used a "test or device" to restrict registration or where less than 50 percent of eligible voters were registered to vote. Nine entire states—Alabama, Alaska, Arizona, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, South Carolina, Texas and Virginia—qualified for the special treatment, as did parts of California, Florida, New York, Michigan, North Carolina and South Dakota.

These provisions stood—and were strengthened by Congress on five occasions between 1970 and 2006—until 2013, when the *Shelby County v. Holder* case came before the U.S. Supreme Court. In the *Shelby County* case, the court ruled that it was no longer fair to require these jurisdictions to submit proposed changes to their voting procedures to the DOJ for its approval. The reason? The court said that the preclearance requirement of the Voting Rights Act had accomplished its purpose as evidenced by the fact that black citizens in the South were now registered and voted at the same rates as white citizens. As Chief Justice John Roberts put it: "Our country has changed, and while any racial discrimination in voting is too much, Congress must ensure that the legislation it passes to remedy that problem speaks to current conditions."

The court's ruling, however, was not a unanimous one. It was split 5 to 4. The four justices who disagreed with the majority's decision said that the Voting Rights Act's preclearance requirement was the reason that Southern states had made progress and that it was still necessary to prevent voting discrimination. "Throwing out preclearance when it has worked and is continuing to work to stop discriminatory changes is like throwing away your umbrella in a rainstorm because you are not getting wet," Justice Ruth Bader Ginsburg wrote in her dissenting opinion.

The impact of the Supreme Court decision on the power of the Act to protect voting rights remains to be seen. We know from history that the right to vote both expands and declines. Women property owners in 1776-1807, free African American male property owners in North Carolina before the 1830s, and black adult males in the Reconstruction South all gained the right to

vote--before it was taken away from them. What is happening today? Is the right to vote being strengthened, as in the 1960s? Or is it under attack?

Voting Rights Today

- Why was the federal government unable to effectively protect the right to vote before the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act?
- How does the Voting Rights Act compare to the 15th Amendment? What's similar and what's different?
- What did it mean to be subject to "preclearance"? What jurisdictions were affected?
- **What additional threats to the Voting Rights Act are present today?**

Stop and Talk

Use these Text-Dependent Questions to help students review what they know about Voting Rights historically and today.

1. Which Amendments are referred to as the Reconstruction Amendments and how did each extend freedom and citizenship to African Americans who had been enslaved? [*The 13th, the 14th and the 15th Amendments are referred to as the Reconstruction Amendments. The 13th abolishes chattel slavery and says there can be no "involuntary servitude" except as punishment for a crime. The 14th establishes citizenship to anyone born in the United States. It says they are a citizen of both the nation and the state they live in. The 15th gives the right to vote to citizens of the United States and states that that right cannot be denied on the basis of race, color or previous condition of servitude.*]
2. What provisions does each Reconstruction Amendment make for enforcement of its guarantees? Who has the power to enforce? How? [*Congress was given the power to pass legislation to enforce the 13th Amendment. No specific provisions were included to enforce the definition of citizenship or the limits on state power. Under the supremacy clause, questions about these would be left to the supreme court for Amendment 14. And the 15th is enforced by congress. Congress was given the power to pass legislation to enforce the amendment.*]
3. What is the relationship between voting and democracy, specifically "majority rule?" [*Answers will vary and may include: in order for democracy to be successful, all people have to be able to exercise their right to vote in order to determine "majority rule."*]
4. When in U.S. history has there been large numbers of Black legislators? What has led to increase(s)? What has led to decrease(s)? [*During Reconstruction and after the passage of the 15th Amendment, the number of black legislators reached its peak. The number fell sharply after 1877, when federal troops were withdrawn from the South and Reconstruction ended. After Jim Crow laws and legal segregation went into effect, the number fell to zero.*]
5. How does the U.S. Constitution guarantee the right to vote for all citizens? [*The 15th Amendment guarantees the right to vote for all citizens, and Congress has the power to pass legislation to enforce the amendment.*]
6. How has race been used to grant and/or restrict the right to vote? [*Answers will vary and may include; from slavery to Jim Crow laws and segregation, African American citizenship was denied as a way to restrict the right to vote.*]

Section Five: Watching Selma

- SNCC Field Notes: <https://www.crmvet.org/docs/selmdocs.htm>

Watch and Respond

There are twelve video scenes in the Selma Online platform that are being shown with permission of the award-winning Paramount Pictures movie *Selma* (2014) and director Ava DuVernay. Each scene will enable students to focus on different perspectives about the struggle for voting rights. Encourage students to think about movements for social change and voting rights using the following questions and issues that *Selma* addresses.

- What does *Selma* tell us about how major social and political change happens?
- What role do federal and local government officials play?
- What is the role of grass-roots groups?
- Who opposes equal voting rights and why?
- What is the relationship between those who hold power, like the president, and supporters of equal voting rights?
- What is the relationship between those who hold power, like the president and opponents of equal voting rights?

Twelve Decision Point Scenes from Selma

Scene	POV	Synopsis	TDQs	What more do I want to know? What new questions do I have?
Scene 1. Starting a Fuss: Annie Lee Cooper	Annie Lee Cooper	The scene shows Cooper’s determination to vote and the decision-making choices this requires. She learns that her actions will be made known to her employer, who might punish her for “starting a fuss.” After a previous rejection, she has learned the preamble to the constitution and the number of county judges. Cooper--portrayed by Oprah Winfrey-- is following the rules and the Alabama constitution. But in Selma those rules are arbitrary and at the whim of white officials who can ask her to name each of them. As the registrar says of her	Given the threats to her livelihood, why did Annie Lee Cooper persist in seeking the vote? How do we ensure employees are not subject to employer bias? What do you do when the rules are unfair?	

		application, "it's right when I say it's right."		
Scene 2. Making a Difference: Martin Luther King, Jr. and Voting Rights Act v. Lyndon Baines Johnson's Great Society	LBJ, MLK, Diane Nash	The Oval Office conversation between MLK and LBJ shows their differences in strategy after the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act. This allows students to examine the respective powers of the presidency and pressure groups/movements for change. Some parts of the movie dealing with LBJ are controversial, but I think this one can be used to tease out important questions.	Why does LBJ prioritize the Great Society? Why does MLK prioritize Voting Rights? What are their respective constituencies? How does each man attempt to influence the other? Why, after the meeting, does King want to "test the waters" in Selma? King's SCLC allies are skeptical; what does Diane Nash mean when saying, Selma is "the next great battle"?	
Scene 3. Strategy and Tactics: SCLC v. SNCC	SCLC/SNCC	The Brown Chapel discussion between SCLC and SNCC enables debate of their different perspectives and strategies.	Given the lessons of Montgomery, Albany, etc. what strategy and tactics will bring attention to the problem in Selma? What role does Sheriff Clark play in setting the stage for a VRM? What risks are involved to demonstrators? How are SNCC and SCLC similar in their appeals? How are they contradictory? Why does King describe Selma as "the perfect stage" [34.17]?	
Scene 4. Friends and Foes: Trusting Malcolm X	Coretta Scott King/MLK	Can Malcolm X be trusted when he comes to Selma?	How does LBJ feel about Malcolm X? CSK is more trusting of Malcolm X than MLK. Why?	

			<p>Why do many people position MLK and Malcolm X as opposites?</p> <p>How are they similar? How might the image of Malcolm X further the voting rights cause? How might his image damage it?</p>	
<p>Scene 5. How to Write a Bill? Debating the VRA</p>	<p>MLK, Bevel, LBJ, others</p>	<p>This scene examines the details and mechanics of what should go in a Voting Rights Bill. But as the veteran civil rights activist Bayard Rustin says, the key is “tactics.” How are both issues important in getting voting rights passed?</p>	<p>What goes into a voting rights bill? What is the impact of poll taxes, voting vouchers?</p>	
<p>Scene 6. MLK asks LBJ to Support the March</p>	<p>MLK and LBJ</p>	<p>King and LBJ disagree on the need for a march from Selma to Montgomery. LBJ’s assistant warns Andrew Young and Bayard Rustin about “credible threats” to assassinate King.</p>	<p>Why does King propose a march? Why does LBJ resist? LBJ wants MLK to “meet me halfway.” Why? Why doesn’t MLK compromise or offer “quid pro quo”?</p>	
<p>Scene 7. Marching for the Vote</p>	<p>John Lewis, James Forman</p>	<p>John Lewis and James Forman disagree about SNCC participating in the march.</p>	<p>Why does Forman oppose the March? Why does Lewis support it?</p>	
<p>Scene 8. MLK Calls for Clergy and Activists to Come to Selma</p>	<p>Reeb, Liuzzo, LBJ.</p>	<p>MLK issues the call to people of faith to converge on Selma “to join us on Tuesday in our peaceful, nonviolent march for freedom,” James Reeb, Viola Liuzzo, and many others heed the call. The SCLC appeals Wallace’s attempt to block the March, and Judge Frank Johnson will not review until a hearing. The march is illegal, despite thousands heading south on a moral crusade.</p>	<p>Why do people travel to Selma from across the United States? For those who did not have the means to travel to Selma, how might they have helped the cause at home? How does the arrival of these “outsiders” —black and white— make a difference to how LBJ and others view the Selma protests?</p>	

			Who were their allies in Selma, AL?	
Scene 9. Turnaround Tuesday: Tactics v the Constitution	MLK, marchers	This slightly longer scene will enable the students to unwrap and understand what appears to be a confusing decision: a march has been planned and the troopers leave a path open to King and the protestors, but King kneels then leads his followers back to Brown Chapel. It shows the important role of federal judges like Frank Johnson, and the tactical downsides of King disobeying a federal order. King was negotiating with Colonel Al Lingo of the Alabama State Highway Patrol, through a federal mediator, Leroy Collins—who does not appear in the film.	Should MLK accept LBJ's/John Doar's offer? Is it riskier to obey/disobey Judge Johnson? Why are SNCC members angry at King on Turnaround Tuesday? Does MLK persuade the students that the Turnaround was justified? What message does MLK's action send to LBJ/Judge Johnson? If you were on the march, would you have supported King's decision to turnaround?	
Scene 10. LBJ, George, Wallace, and the nation	LBJ, Wallace	The White House scene between LBJ and Wallace and LBJ's efforts to get Wallace on board.	What tactics does LBJ use to get Wallace on board to support the march/come out for voting rights? Why does Wallace refuse? In his speech to Congress and the nation, how far has LBJ come in meeting King's demands from Scene 2? Why might some activists (e.g. in SNCC) be skeptical that LBJ can deliver? Why does LBJ mention Reeb's sacrifice, but not Jimmie Lee Jackson?	
Scene 11. The power of the presidency.	LBJ	LBJ addresses Congress and the Nation on Voting Rights.	LBJ says: "There is no Negro problem. There is no Southern problem. There is no Northern problem. There	

			is only an American problem." Why does LBJ make this argument? Why is it important that LBJ says: "We Shall Overcome" in his address to Congress?	
Scene 12. The March to Montgomery.	MLK	MLK addresses the Selma to Montgomery marchers.	For copyright reasons, the film Selma could not use the actual speech King delivered at Montgomery. The original speech is here: https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/address-conclusion-selma-montgomery-march How do the speeches compare?	

Selma: Movies as History

Some historians, members of LBJ's administration, and even some civil rights veterans have taken issue with the portrayal of LBJ in *Selma*, the movie, as stalling King's demands for a Voting Rights Act. Others believe that the movie gets most of the history right. They argue that *Selma* conveys the essential truth of the civil rights movement, particularly the central role of African Americans in driving and shaping the movement for change.

Selma also shows the complexity of the civil rights movement. Among other issues, it shows:

- the tactical divisions of SNCC (grass roots organizing and raising black consciousness) v. SCLC (negotiating with the white power structure and raising white consciousness).
- the importance of SCLC's other charismatic leaders like CT Vivian and James Bevel. It's not just Martin Luther King.
- the role of women activists and leaders like Amelia Boynton, Diane Nash, and Coretta Scott King.
- the importance of challenges to the goal of integration: see SNCC's Jim Forman and Malcolm X.
- how local people like Jimmy Lee Jackson and Annie Lee Cooper played central roles in a national story.
- how a local event in Selma sparked a national movement, inspiring thousands of Americans from different backgrounds to support the protests, some even traveling long distances—tragically in the cases of James Reeb and Viola Liuzzo.

But no movie can show everything. There are limits to *Selma*. For example, it doesn't show the role of local high school students in the 1963 and 1964 protests in Selma that can be seen in the Teaching Tolerance documentary, *Bridge to the Ballot*.

Read these four perspectives on *Selma*:

Historians' perspectives.

***Selma* captures the essential truth of the civil rights movement:**

<https://www.npr.org/sections/codeswitch/2015/01/10/376081786/selma-backlash-misses-the-point>

***Selma* is weakened by historical inaccuracies:**

<https://www.thedailybeast.com/dr-king-goes-to-hollywood-the-flawed-history-of-selma>

Student Activity #1

- After reading each of the two historians' perspectives, make a list of facts, using exact words the authors use.
- Then, create a t-chart with words from each article that depict the same fact or event. For example, you might write *mocked* in one column and *portrayed* in the other. Have each student independently complete a t-chart.
- As a class, define and discuss *tone* and *charged* as these ideas apply to word choice. Then, ask students to discuss in their groups what biases they identify in the two articles based on the tone and charge of the words. Consider these questions:
 - What are the facts?
 - What are words or phrases that stick out to you as "charged"?

- o What is the tone of the piece?
- o What are the writers communicating about their point of view?
- Ask students, “How do we figure out what really happened?” “Why is it important to be aware of both points of view?” and “Are some people accused of using ‘charged’ language more often than others?” Discuss as a group or have students write their responses.

Activists’ perspectives

“Now if you follow politics and you know anything about President Johnson, there’s got to be things you don’t like. But one of the things you cannot dislike is Johnson’s attitude toward voting rights. He’s the best civil rights president we have ever had in this country. There’s nobody better than Lyndon Johnson. And to say in this movie [*Selma*] that he played a bad role in the struggle for voting rights is just a terrible, terrible mistake.”

Julian Bond. Founder of SNCC.

<https://www.pri.org/stories/2015-08-18/one-his-final-interviews-julian-bond-looked-back-and-forward-civil-rights-us>

“The movie “Selma” is a work of art. It conveys the inner significance of the ongoing struggle for human dignity in America, a cornerstone of our identity as a nation. It breaks through our too-often bored and uninformed perception of our history, and it confronts us with the real human drama our nation struggled to face 50 years ago.... Don't get me wrong, in my view, Johnson is one of this country's great presidents, but he did not direct the civil rights movement.”

Congressman John Lewis. SNCC activist at Selma.

<http://www.latimes.com/nation/la-oe-lewis-selma-movie-20150119-story.html>

Student Activity #2

After reading each activist point of view, think about and discuss (or have students write about) these overarching questions.

1. Does everyone have an equal responsibility to stand up to injustice?
2. What is necessary for collective action to successfully defeat injustice?
3. What are the enduring struggles for justice throughout history?
4. How have people survived and overcome when their rights have been denied?

Challenge Exercise

Choose one of the points of view below and create a news story from their perspective.

Selma weakened by errors v. *Selma* captures the truth,
Julian Bond v. John Lewis

Answer these questions to prepare and organize your writing.

1. What are ALL the facts in this story?
2. What is your POV?
3. What facts are you going to include? Why?
4. What facts might you exclude? Why?
5. What are some charged words you might use to describe your event with your bias

Section Six: Do Something

The Vote Today

In 1965, students in Selma, Alabama stood up for the right to vote. Youth played active roles throughout the civil rights movement. They walked through hostile mobs to integrate all-white schools in Little Rock, Arkansas and elsewhere. College students in Greensboro, North Carolina, started the lunch counter sit-ins that quickly spread across the South. Students from all over boarded buses to the Deep South to participate in the Freedom Rides and traveled to Mississippi to register black voters during Freedom Summer in 1964.

What new issues do we face today? What would you be willing to march for?

Voting in Your Community

Find out how today's voting issues play out in your community. Research current voter participation in your local and state communities to find out more about turnout, participation, what's involved in registering and voting and whether or not voting reforms are being proposed.

Voter Turnout

How engaged are voters in your state and community? Use online resources, like your state's website or the [U.S. Census Bureau](#), to find out. [The United States Election Project](#), where there's a link to each state's 2016 general and 2018 midterm election voter turnout results. Find the date for each item in your state and record them in this chart.

State	
Overall Turnout	
Women	
Men	
18-29 year olds	
Over 30 years old	
White	
Black	
Hispanic	

Asian	
-------	--

How would you describe voter turnout in your state?

Voter Suppression or Voter Fraud

What are the rules and regulations in your state? Is there a move to make voting more accessible or one to make it more restrictive? Are there concerns about voter integrity, either through people voting illegally, bad counting practices, inaccurate voting machines, poll closings?

Visit Vote411.org and click on "state and topic" to research details for your state. Visit the Brennan Center for Justice to find out about student voting. Record your findings in the chart. Visit YouthRights.org to learn more about a movement to lower the voting age from 18 to 16.

State	
Absentee Voting	
Early Voting	
Eligibility	
Voting Registration	
ID Requirements	
Voting Machines	
Student Voting	
Registration of High School Seniors	

What does your state do well? What would you like to see improved in your state?

Voter Disenfranchisement

What are the rules in your state about felon disenfranchisement? [The Sentencing Project](#) and [FairVote](#) provide state-by-state information. Record what you find.

State	
Disenfranchisement Yes or No?	
When can vote be recovered?	
How many people disenfranchised?	
Who is most affected? Is there a racial disparity?	

How does disenfranchisement in your state affect voting?

Determine Your Impact

Use these questions to consider what kind of impact you want to have.

- What specific element of voter participation concerns you the most?
- What groups of people can you influence?
- What knowledge, skills and talents do you bring to organizing, civic engagement and social activism?

Also ask

- Do too few eligible voters bother to go to the polls in your community?
- Are young people interested in political issues?
- Have new rules been established that make it harder for people to register to vote?

Consider

- Who could be an ally?
- What resources are necessary?
- Where's the megaphone? What channels of communication are available?

Prepare for Action

Most likely, similar to the students in Selma, Alabama, you are recognizing there is room for improvement as well as thinking about ways to create a healthier democracy. Even if students can't vote yet, there are things they can do. Remember, the students in Selma were in their teens--and the voting age was 21 in 1965.

Invite students to choose from this list of projects or create a new idea for how to improve voter registration or voter turnout in your community.

- Publish a public service announcement on social media channels.
- Write letters to local elected officials asking for their attention to voter participation.
- Write and perform a skit designed to teach your community about the importance of voting.

- Create a flyer that supplies voting information to members of the community.
- Create a public mural reflecting the importance of voting rights.
- Create a community bulletin board with information and directions on how to register to vote.
- Organize a neighborhood voter registration day to help unregistered members of the community register to vote.
- Organize a local march to raise awareness about local political issues, election candidates and voter registration.
- Check to see if there is a local chapter of the League of Women Voters.
- Host a showing of *Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot* and facilitate community discussion after the film.
- Conduct interviews and record personal experiences focused on voting. Then, present the information to a larger audience.
- Plan and deliver an online campaign around voting and voting rights.

Do Something

Once students have chosen from the list of projects--or created an action not on the list--plan and implement the action. Direct the project toward solving an identified problem related to voting and voting rights in your local or state community. Identify the problem and help students apply academic, social and personal skills to garner real results. When individuals are empowered to think about their communities through a social justice lens, they may spot areas of need that they--or others in the community--hadn't before considered. Encourage students to consider their role in society, promote positive group interactions, problem solve and work toward conflict resolution.

Students should drive most of the Do Something task, but some logistical issues may need to be given advanced attention once projects have been defined. First,

1. Inventory the multiple projects students are tackling.
2. Then, prepare a list of local organizations, school clubs and parent committees that could partner with students in the task. Are other members of the school community engaged in other types of service learning projects that would be complementary to this effort with whom students could partner?
3. Consider transportation needs. Will the chosen task require students to travel off campus, need chaperones, involve permission of any kind from guardians? Make sure all necessary authorizations from families and administration are secured.
4. Look for allies and partners. Are there interdisciplinary academic objectives the project(s) meet? Collaborate with colleagues to create cross discipline connections.
5. Think about the community most affected by the project students have developed. Read about how service learning can challenge prejudices about people or groups in need: [Service Learning and Prejudice Reduction](#)

Next, introduce project processes to students. To start,

1. Decide ahead of time how many hours/days out of class you and your students are realistically able to put toward this task. Let students know this time constraint from the start.

2. Second, provide students with information about supplies, work schedules and due dates. Use a rubric to define expectations and project components and to clarify how you will assess student work. Perhaps use this [rubric](#) from Teaching Tolerance.
3. Provide class time for discussions--within and across projects--and reflective writing throughout the process. Group dialogue will help students identify specific objectives and clarify their goals as well as didactically adjust expectations, and the collaboration will underscore the interconnectedness and importance of each individual project.
4. Lastly, define "community partners." Help students realize that partners may be the people they are working to help or organizations already facilitating work in this area. Using the word "partner" helps prevent stereotypes about and encourages learning from the people students may serve. Encourage students to add to this list as necessary.

Then, get out of the way, and turn it over to the students to lead! Student steps will vary depending on project, so flexibility will be imperative. Organize class time to support multiple projects simultaneously. Then guide students to

1. Determine intended audience and method(s) of communication. Create a list of to-dos for creating and disseminating information.
2. Assign individual roles and responsibilities.
3. Identify and contact community resources.
4. Review what was learned about voting in your community and leverage the data collected.
5. Share what they're working on with their school and online community.

While students work, be sure to

1. Establish a "research corner" (symbolic or literal) where students and retreat to investigate new questions as they work.
2. Schedule time to meet with each group to discuss progress.
3. Institute intergroup check ins. Opportunities for students to troubleshoot roadblocks in their processes together. Step aside, and let students lead these sessions.
4. Support each project as needed. Brag to your school and online community about what students are doing.

Reflection

Use journal writing or [Talking Circles](#) to facilitate student reflection both during and after the Do Something Action. Consider these questions

- What did you learn about our community through this process?
- What did you learn about yourself?
- Would you consider yourself effective in your efforts? Why or why not?
- What about the Do Something stands out for you? What was fulfilling/rewarding? What was frustrating?

Section Seven: Related Resources

This section suggests additional readings and external sources (limited to a manageable number) for educators who want to continue reading and learning.

Books

Voting Rights Issues Before 1945

Alexander Keyssar. *The Right to Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in the United States* (2001).

Michael Waldman. *The Fight to Vote* (2016).

The Civil Rights Movement and Selma

David Garrow. *Protest at Selma: Martin Luther King, Jr., and the Voting Rights Act of 1965* (2015).

John Lewis. *March. Books One-Three.* (2013-2016). [Graphic History]

John Lewis. *Walking with the Wind: A Memoir of the Movement* (1998).

Gary May. *Bending Toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy* (2014).

Diane McWhorter. *A Dream of Freedom: The Civil Rights Movement from 1954 to 1968* (2004). Scholastic: age 10-15

Sheyann Webb, Rachel West Nelson, and Frank Sikora. *Selma, Lord, Selma: Girlhood Memories of the Civil-Rights Days* (1997).

Perspective of young Selma students who took part in the Selma protests.

Voting Rights Issues Since Selma

Gary May. *Bending Toward Justice: The Voting Rights Act and the Transformation of American Democracy* (2014).

Ari Berman. *Give Us the Ballot: The Modern Struggle for Voting Rights in America* (2015).

Carol Anderson. *One Person, No Vote: How Voter Suppression is Destroying Our Democracy* (2018).

Video Resources

Selma: The Bridge to the Ballot: Produced by Southern Poverty Law Center/Teaching Tolerance, it examines the Selma campaign through a documentary film focusing on the perspective of young Selma students
<https://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources/film-kits/selma-the-bridge-to-the-ballot>

America's Civil Rights Movement: A Time for Justice: In *A Time for Justice*, four-time Academy Award-winning filmmaker Charles Guggenheim captures the spirit of the civil rights movement through historical footage and the voices of those who participated in the struggle.

www.tolerance.org/kit/america-s-civil-rights-movement-time-justice

Mighty Times: The Children's March

This special teacher's edition of the Academy Award-winning documentary film, along with accompanying resources, tells the heroic story of the young people in Birmingham, Alabama, who brought segregation to its knees.

www.tolerance.org/kit/mighty-times-childrens-march

Eyes on the Prize. Award-Winning Documentary of the civil rights movement, produced by Henry Hampton for Blackside Productions in 1987. <http://www.blacksidemediacom.com/> Episode 6: Bridge to Freedom deals with Voting Rights and the Selma campaign.

Digital Resources

Civil Rights Movement Veterans Website

<https://www.crmvet.org/docs/selmdocs.htm> Contains a wide range of primary sources, documents, and perspectives on the Selma campaign from the perspective of civil rights groups.

SNCC Digital Gateway. <https://snccdigital.org> A visually stunning and thoroughly researched guide to the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, with documentary materials, interviews, audio and visual materials.

Voting Rights Websites

<https://www.headcount.org>

<https://www.rockthevote.org>

<https://www.aauw.org/resource/organize-a-voter-registration-drive/>

<https://www.lwv.org>

<https://www.naacp.org/campaigns/voter-registration/>

<https://www.ourhomes-ourvotes.org>

<https://electiontools.org>

<https://www.electoralintegrityproject.com/>

<https://www.brennancenter.org/issues/voting-rights-elections>

<http://www.fairvote.org>

<https://www.sentencingproject.org/>

<http://www.electproject.org/>

<https://www.census.gov/topics/public-sector/voting.html>

Lessons on Voting

Expanding Voting Rights, Grades 6-12

A series of five lessons that trace the complicated historical process that led to the passage of the Voting Rights Act, 1965 and beyond.

www.tolerance.org/lesson/expanding-voting-rights

Before Rosa Parks: Frances Watkins Harper, Grades 6-12

In this lesson, students will: analyze Frances Watkins Harper's rhetorical strategies, such as tone, emotional appeal and descriptive language; consider the post-Civil War culture in U.S. history, particularly as it affected blacks and women; and explore the racial dynamics of the women's suffrage movement.

www.tolerance.org/lesson/rosa-parks-frances-watkins-harper

Who's Voting Now? Grades 9-12

Students compare and contrast the 1965 Voting Rights Act and the 1990 Individuals with Disabilities Education Act.

www.tolerance.org/activity/whos-voting-now

An Historic Vote, Grades 9-12

This lesson is designed to shed light on the historical significance of the 2008 election of President Barack Obama and to help students learn more about the struggle for a people's right to vote.

www.tolerance.org/lesson/historic-vote

Student Texts

The texts on tolerance.org encourage students to question common understandings, consider multiple viewpoints, analyze and critique power relationships and act to change unfair and unequal conditions. Register at <https://www.tolerance.org/classroom-resources/texts>. The following texts from the Perspectives Central Text Anthology can be used to extend student learning about multiple issues related to voting rights. Use these texts to teach in more depth about the 1965 voting rights movement.

"Registering to Vote" (Theresa Burroughs and Toni Love via StoryCorps)

"Confrontation at the Bridge" (Jacob Lawrence)

"Testimony Before the Credentials Committee at the 1964 Democratic Convention"
(Fannie Lou Hamer)

Use these texts to connect the voting rights movement of 1965 to the women's movement.

"1920: Women Get the Vote" (Sam Roberts)

"The Awakening" (Henry Mayer)

"Declaration of Sentiments, Seneca Falls Conference, 1848" (Elizabeth Cady Stanton)
Susan B. Anthony (Alexandra Wallner)

Use these texts to connect the 1965 voting rights movement to current voting rights issues.

"Gay Marriage" (Steve Sack)

"Can I See Some ID?" (Patricia Smith)

The N-Word

Straight Talk About the N-Word

www.tolerance.org/magazine/number-40-fall-2011/feature/straight-talk-about-n-word

Toolkit for "Straight Talk About the N-Word"

www.tolerance.org/toolkit/portfolio-activity-straight-talk-about-n-word

The N-Word: Connected Through Historical Disconnect?

www.tolerance.org/blog/n-word-connected-through-historical-disconnect

Exploring the Power of the N-Word

www.tolerance.org/blog/exploring-power-n-word

Answer Keys

Strategies and Tactics

<p>LEADERS</p>	<p>Lyndon B. Johnson Martin Luther King, Jr. James Bevel Diane Nash Hosea Williams James Orange</p>	<p>Bernard Lafayette John Lewis Rev. F.D. Reese Amelia Boynton Margaret Moore Rev. C.T. Vivian</p>
<p>GROUPS</p>	<p>(National) Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee, Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Local) Dallas County Voters</p>	<p>League, Marion Civic League, Selma Teachers' Association, congregations and leadership of Brown, Tabernacle and First Baptist churches, Hudson High football team</p>
<p>EVENTS</p>	<p>Teachers' March Murder of Jimmie Lee Jackson Murder of James Ray LBJ speech announcing Voting Rights Act Bloody Sunday</p>	<p>Turnaround Tuesday Selma to Montgomery March Demonstration at Capitol passage of the Voting Rights Act, August 1965</p>
<p>HISTORICAL CONTEXT</p>	<p>15th Amendment Jim Crow laws poll tax, literacy tests, grandfather clause White Supremacy in the Black Belt of Alabama Birmingham Campaign</p>	<p>16th Street Baptist Church bombing Brown 1954, Montgomery Bus Boycott 1955-56, Freedom Rides 1961, Mississippi Freedom Summer, Civil Rights Act, 1964</p>
<p>OPPOSITION</p>	<p>Violence, intimidation George Wallace's "segregation now, segregation forever" stance Sheriff Jim Clark and his "posse"</p>	<p>Judge Hare's injunctions forbidding meetings of three or more people White Citizens Council, Ku Klux Klan</p>
<p>TACTICS</p>	<p>voter registration, youth organizing, sit-ins, mass demonstrations, peaceful marches—daily, to Montgomery, prayer meetings, mass arrests</p>	<p>Goals: register voters, gain national attention, urge federal gov't to enforce the 15th Amendment by passing legislation.</p>

STRATEGY 3	STUDENTS	TEACHERS	LOCAL (SELMA)	STATE/NATIONAL
SUPPORTER OF THE MOVEMENT	Charles Bonner Charles Mauldin Lynda Blackmon Joanne Blackmon Avery Williams Hazel Chatmon Willie Robinson Bettie Fikes Henry Allen Terry Shaw	Frederick Reese Margaret Moore Sarah Craig Lawrence Huggins	Amelia Boynton Jimmie Lee Jackson	James Reeb John Lewis Hosea Williams C.T. Vivian Martin Luther King, Jr. Diane Nash James Bevel Bernard Lafayette Lyndon B. Johnson Frank Johnson Clark Olsen
OPPONENT OF THE MOVEMENT			Sheriff Jim Clark Judge James Hare Mayor Joseph T. Smitherman Chief Wilson Baker	George Wallace

Organizing

GROUPS AT WORK IN THE VOTING RIGHTS MOVEMENT			
	DCVL	SCLC	SNCC
WHO	people in and around Dallas County mostly teachers	Governed by an elected board and made up of an organization of affiliates mostly churches and religious organizations	Grassroots organization made up of college students and unpaid volunteers
GOALS	provide community services, citizenship education and register black selma residents to vote	Draw national attention to put pressure on lawmakers to change federal law	organize local young adults and college students to help register residents to vote
TACTICS	voter registration, education	Nonviolent protest, speeches, mass arrests, demonstrations, media attention	Nonviolent protest, sit-ins, demonstrations, arrests
DANGERS	Loss of employment, harassment, intimidation, Arrest, physical harm		

TEACHING GUIDE EXERCISE

Debating the Issue: Students are to read both POVs and discuss the arguments made by both sides.

- **POV: Voter ID is needed to prevent election fraud**
- <https://www.nationalreview.com/2017/08/election-fraud-registered-voters-outnumber-eligible-voters-462-counties/>
- **POV: Voter ID laws restrict access to the ballot**
- <http://www.motherjones.com/politics/2016/10/colorblind-justice-john-roberts-voting-rights-north-carolina>