Civil Rights are not a luxury but essential to the lives of people of whatever age, race, gender, or economic circumstance. Civil Rights history begins with questions of identity and membership and moves to an understanding of the role of citizen, the fragility of democracy, the ways of prejudices, and the dangers of resolving complex problems by dividing the world into *us* and *them* and then blaming *them* for the ills of the society. It is a history that also raises profound questions of right and wrong, of guilt and responsibility. Inequality abounds in virtually every economic and social sphere, and too many members of racial and ethnic minority groups live in a reality where opportunity remains color-coded.

*The Struggle for Membership in the United States* is a three-week residency leadership institute with a civil rights and social justice focus divided into weekly themes to increase students understanding of democracy as it relates to whose freedom is worthy of protection, who is entitled to justice, what “equal” has meant throughout U.S. history and the role civil society plays in meeting the challenges of minority-majority tension in the modern nation. Each week’s topic lays groundwork for discussions in subsequent weeks, and includes lectures, panels, site visits, films, field trips, cultural activities, and other events that intensify awareness and add perspective and depth to the topics. Through various methodologies, students will explore the ways in which individuals have fought for freedom in the U.S. and endeavors to protect freedom, create justice and ensure equality for all.

The specific goals of the Program are to:

1. Illuminate historical/political roots of democracy and their impact on citizenship and current socio-economic issues through a variety of lens.

2. Develop leadership potential, a commitment to community service and action.

3. Encourage participants to reflect on their direct program experiences (field trips cultural outings) and make connections between these experiences and the theoretical (lectures, panels) assignments.

4. Create a leadership/engagement tool kit for continued personal growth and group discussion.

**Required Readings:**

Howard Zinn, A People’s History of the United States, 1980, pp. 68 and 72.

Willy S. Leventhal, editor, The Children Coming On...A Retrospective of the Montgomery Bus Boycott, Black Belt Press, 1998

Note: Participants will receive selections by January 1, 2016.

Institute Objectives:

1. Participants will be able to identify, describe and explain the significance of values and beliefs central to United States identity and how identity changes over time;

2. Participants will be able to describe the cycle of the social movements from emergence to mobilization through its peak and decline;

3. Participants will be able to apply a model of strategic analysis to the Montgomery Bus Boycott, including such factors as underlying socioeconomic processes, indigenous organizational strength, expanding political opportunities and cognitive liberation;

4. Participants will be able to describe how individuals are recruited, motivated, and retained by social movements (and why they may exist);

5. Participants will be able to explain the importance of organizations, resources, and ideology to social movements;

6. Participants will be able to describe the background of some persistent alternatives facing African American communities and their impact on the movement, including integration vs. segregation; nonviolence vs. meeting violence with force in self-defense, mutuality vs. self-sufficiency;

7. Participants will be able to explain the importance of allies to social movements, with illustrations from the Montgomery Bus Boycott and apply this concept to their lives.

8. Participants will maintain a reflection journal in which they will record and reflect their daily experiences to develop their final presentation and leadership tool kit.

Course Requirements:

1. **Attendance:** In order to stay in tune with the direction and scope of the course, attendance is mandatory and verified at each meeting.

2. **Oral Participation:** Throughout the institute, it is important that views and ideas be openly discussed and analyzed to determine their merit, relevance, and effectiveness. Therefore, it is imperative that everyone participate in discussions.

3. **Reactions Papers:** Participants will write at least 2 short (1-2 pages) reaction papers as assigned.
4. **Leadership Sessions:** Leadership sessions will prepare participants for their increasing engagement in a diverse society and world by studying three topics within the context of race and ethnicity: experience, identity, aspiration, and United States pluralism and the pursuit of justice. Training materials for use at their home campus will be provided to each participant. The training and resource materials will assist the participants to gain critical group facilitation skills and tack back to their home campus the ability to co-facilitate peer group discussions that have the potential for effecting change through improved race, gender, class, etc. relations and other key leadership skills.

5. **Reflection Sessions:** Participants will weekly to reflect on information (new, surprising, reinforced or that ran counter to what they knew; questions they have or want to explore in further depth. Each participant will keep a reflection journal in which they will record and reflect on their daily experiences for weekly sessions and final presentation.

9. **Required and Recommended Readings:** All participants are responsible for reading the required readings. Recommended readings are included to supplement and broaden viewpoints and will be available and related to our required readings.

10. **Final Presentation:** Before the A-Keep Board and Institute Sponsors participants will present a summary of their learning in a panel format. Once the panelists have been heard, the participants will engage in a discussion, reacting to the reflections they heard, what was consistent or different from what they learned and felt, and what they see as opportunities to continue their learning and leadership development.
Course Outline and Partial/Suggested Readings to date:

Week I – Course Overview: Course description, requirements, objectives, readings.

Finding Membership in a More Perfect Union

Required Reading:

- Founding Documents
  - The Declaration of Independence (US 1776)
  - The Bill of Rights
  - The Constitution of the United States

Recommended resources:

- Manning Marable, *Race, Reform and Rebellion*, Chapter 1, “Prologue: The Legacy of the First Reconstruction,” pp. 3-12

Section Two: Reconstruction and Reaction: the Aftermath of Slavery and the Dawn of Segregation,

- Chapter 8: *A Voice from the South*” Anna Julia Cooper (1892), pp. 167-172
- Chapter 11: Booker I. Washington and the Politics of Accommodation, pp.181-197
- Chapter 14: Ida B. Wells-Barnett, Crusader for Justice, pp. 209-211
- Chapter 15: W.E.B. Du Bois, pp.212-226

Week II – The “Ism’s,” Democracy and Citizenship

Recommended resource:

  - Prologue: Mr. E. D. Nixon, pp 10 – 14
  - Chapter 6: “The masses and the classes,” pp 45-49
WEEK III - Voices from the Bottom and We’re the Ones We’ve Been Waiting For

Recommended resource:

Frederick Douglas, *What to the Slave is the 4th of July*, July 5, 1852

**PARTIAL SUGGESTED SPEAKERS/PANELISTS**

1. **Mary Ann Neeley**, Montgomery’s Historian has authored three books on Montgomery’s history. She will present the history of Montgomery before and during the Confederacy, conduct the walking tour of the new city and the Confederacy and accompany us on the River Boat ride where she will give historical context to the river and shoreline (if this comes into fruition).

2. **Dr. Tara White, Ph.D.** was the recipient of the 1st Ph.D. in Public History from Middle Tennessee. Her research fields include public history, southern history and African American women’s history. As a public historian she has actively researched, interpreted, and managed history organizations for more than fifteen years.
   
   **Presentation: The Rise of Black Professional Leadership.**

3. **Attorney Fred Gray**, attorney for Rosa Parks, Martin Luther King and the Montgomery Improvement Association will talk about the writing of his Book, “Busride to Justice.”
   
   **Panelist: Faces and Voices of the Modern Civil Rights Movement**

4. **Vanzetta Penn McPherson**, a native Montgomerian, was appointed U.S. Magistrate Judge for the Middle District of Alabama in 1992; she retired from the bench in 2006. Prior to the appointment, she practiced law in Montgomery, Ala., for 15 years, focusing on family law in the state courts and constitutional litigation in the federal courts. She now writes a bi-monthly column in the OpEd section of the Montgomery Advertiser.
   
   **Panelist: Faces and Voices of the Modern Civil Rights Movement**

5. **Dr. Richard Bailey** is an Alabama historian and a retired research and writing specialist for Air University Press at Maxwell Air Force Base in Montgomery. His book, *Neither Carpetbaggers Nor Scalawags*, is a study of the leadership role which black officeholders played in Alabama during the period of Reconstruction. Not looking for personal advantages (Northern carpetbaggers) nor seeking to ride the backs of the Republicans in power (Southern scalawags), black leaders, according to Bailey, were concerned with developing an educational, economic and social existence for their people. With the help of sympathetic whites--the biracial aspect of the book--blacks assumed positions of political, religious, and educational leadership. Between 1867 and 1884, 108 African Americans represented Alabama as lawmakers. In an interview, Bailey said that in this period blacks in Alabama were able to establish banks, schools, labor unions, and newspapers.
   
   **Presentation: Reconstructing the New South**

6. **Mary Bauer** guides the SPLC’s legal advocacy and its public policy and legislative reform efforts. Bauer has directed groundbreaking lawsuits aimed at enforcing the rights of immigrants, foreign guestworkers and migrant farmworkers. She has testified before Congress on issues involving the exploitation of migrant workers and is the author or co-author of three SPLC reports that gained national attention – *Close to Slavery: Guestworker Programs in the United States* (2007), *Under Siege: Life for Low-Income Latinos in the South* (2009) and *Injustice on Our Plates: Immigrant Women in the U.S. Food Industry* (2010).
   
   **Presentation:**

   **Historical debates surrounding immigration to the U.S.**

7. **Joseph McCall** is an instructor in the Department of History and the first-ever non-tenure track faculty member recipient of the Troy University Faculty Council’s Excellence Award. It is given to one who demonstrates excellence in teaching, research, and service to the university. Joe McCall is a doctoral candidate in American History at Auburn University. While at Auburn, he instituted a tutorial program for World History undergraduates and was awarded a fellowship with Auburn’s Biggio Center for the Enhancement of Teaching and Learning. He served as the Director of Student Life at the Wellington School in Columbus, Ohio and is currently writing his dissertation on an environmental history of the Appalachian Trail while teaching full-time at Troy. McCall and his son hiked the trail in 1996, and then, ten years later in 2006, they met for another trek in Singapore, going by bus, boat and train around the world for more than four months. They journeyed through Malaysia, Thailand, Vietnam, China, Russia, and Eastern Europe, ending in Italy and Ireland.
   
   **Presentation: “Membership and Class: Poverty and Inequality in the U.S.”**
8. Alabama State University Panel: “Alabama State and HBCU’s Historic Role in the African American Community.”
The panel will be composed of the Dr. Janice Franklin, Dean of the Library and Director of the National Center for the Study of Human and Civil rights; Dr. Howard Robinson, Coordinator of Archives and Special Collections; Dr. Dorothy Autrey, Chair/Professor of History and Political Science and Program Chair for The National Center for the Study of Civil Rights; and Dr. Alma Freeman, retired English Professor and University Alum.

9. Jerome Gray, former field director for the Alabama Democratic Conference did more for racial equality at the ballot box than thousands of vocal protesters. He did it by using the court system instead of the streets to work toward single member voting districts as well as black registrars and black poll workers. Each of the legal challenges ended successfully.
Panelist: “Role of local community institutions in challenging racism.”

10. Sophia Bracy Harris was among the first Black students to integrate her Alabama high school, which led to the firebombing of her family’s home and her lifelong commitment to social justice activism. Since 1972, Sophia has led the Federation of Child Care Centers of Alabama (FOCAL), whose combination of training, organizing and advocacy is designed to improve the quality of child care and to build the leadership of child care providers and parents in low-income communities. Along with influencing state policy on child care delivery, under Sophia’s leadership, FOCAL has forged statewide collaborations to address tax reform, transportation and constitutional reform. Sophia was one of the recipients of the McArthur “Genius” Award in 1991.
Panel: Engagement of resident in community organizing and policy development.

11. Kimble Forrister joined Arise in 1991 as state coordinator. A native of Nashville, Tenn., he worked in urban ministry in the Northeast in the 1970s, completed an M.Div. at Princeton Theological Seminary, and served as Southeast Regional Organizer at Bread for the World for nine years in the 1980s.
Panel: Engagement of resident in community organizing and policy development.

12. Faith Cooper is the executive director of the Central Alabama Fair Housing Center (CAFHC) in Montgomery. CAFHC provides fair housing services in a 29 county region of central Alabama. The Center assists residents encountering housing discrimination in rental housing, sales, lending, or insurance. CAFHC conducts fair housing educational programs throughout the region and administers the only fair housing testing program in central Alabama. Faith has served as CAFHC’s director since its creation in 1995. She is a graduate of the University of Virginia School Law.
Panel: Engagement of resident in community organizing and policy development.

13. Randall Williams is the editor-in-chief of NewSouth Books, which he co-founded with publisher Suzanne La Rosa in 2000. He is responsible for the acquisitions, editorial, and production parts of NewSouth’s publishing program. Since publishing his first book in 1989, he has published or co-published more than 400 titles, more than any other trade book publisher in Alabama history. Though he now reads mostly manuscripts and galleys, he has always loved books.
Panel: The Role of local community institutions in challenging racism.

14. Isabel Rubio is the founder of the Hispanic Interest Coalition of Alabama (HICA) and serves as its Executive Director. Originally from Mississippi, she came to Birmingham in the mid1990s and became a social worker at University of Alabama Birmingham. She, along with Lisa Theus, who was then language services coordinator at the Jefferson County Department of Health, saw a need to offer more services to the increasing Hispanic population. HICA partners with more than 30 area organizations, such as the American Red Cross, Collat Jewish Family Services, Girls, Inc., the YMCA and the YWCA. The Rubios are quite a team, supporting each other’s efforts and together making a difference for many Hispanic families in our area.
Panel: Community and Civic Engagement segment.