

Struggles before *Brown*: Early Civil Rights Protests and Their Significance Today

By Jean Van Delinder*

*Associate Professor of Sociology
Oklahoma State University

Detailed Table of Contents

Acknowledgements

Part I: OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

Chapter 1: Introduction and Overview (36 pages)

Introduction

1. Master Narrative and Civil Rights Protest
2. From Master Narrative to Border Campaign: Employing Ideal Types

Border Campaign, Ideal Types and Interpretive Analysis

1. The Neglected Centrality of Border Protests
2. Historically Situated Activism
3. Ideal Types
4. Agency and Value-Rational Action

Social Action and Racial Segregation

Borders and the Civil Rights Movement: Incorporating Kansas and Oklahoma

1. Intersection of Biography, History, Social Structure and Culture
2. American Cultural Values of Liberty
3. Borders of the Civil Rights Movement – Kansas and Oklahoma

Figure 1

Figure 2

Figure 3

Part II: EPISODES OF FORGOTTEN CIVIL RIGHTS ACTIVISM

Chapter 2: Before Brown: Protest and School Desegregation in Kansas 1880-1941 (36 pages)

Introduction

The “Black Bourgeoisie” and Racial Segregation

Along the Color Line

School Segregation in Kansas 1861-1879

The Political Impact of the "Exoduster" Movement

Restructuring of Public Schools After 1879 and Legal Challenges in Ottawa and Independence

Real Estate Speculation and Race: Topeka 1890-1910

Challenges to Topeka’s Racial Status Quo: 1910-1930

Challenges to contingencies

High School Segregation

Boswell Junior High: The Graham Case: 1940-1941

Conclusions: Tentative Beginnings

Insights from the Border Campaign in understanding social action antecedents

The Role of Elites in Facilitating Social Movements

Chapter 3: “Invisibility Blues”: Black Women and the Public Sphere in Guthrie, Oklahoma, 1890-1910 (30 pages)

Introduction

Race, Gender and Women’s Historical Agency

Race, Gender, Class and Activism in Oklahoma

The Public Library Movement and Racial Segregation

Judith Carter Horton and the Founding of Guthrie’s Excelsior Library

Race, Class, Gender and the Civil Rights Movement

Conclusions

Gender and social movements

Chapter 4: “Going where we could not”: Race, gender, class and religion in Merriam, Kansas 1948-1949 (37 pages)

Introduction

Border Campaign: time, place and rhythm of action

Career Activist

***De Facto* School Segregation in South Park**

Walker Walk-Outs

Race, gender, class and Religion: Jews and Civil Rights Struggles

Conclusions

Chapter 5: Behind the Brown Case: 1946-1952 (27 pages)

Introduction

Rising expectations and social unrest

Challenges to Segregated Public Accommodations: 1944-1948

“Separate schools are here to stay”: Challenges to Elementary School Segregation in

Topeka: 1948-1950

The *Brown* “story”

The *Brown* plaintiffs

Conclusions

Local initiatives in social movements.

Civil rights struggles in the Midwest

Chapter 6: “Standing up in the heartland”: The Oklahoma City

Lunch counter sit-ins: 1957-1964 (24 pages)

Introduction

Economic boycotts and the Rise of Consumer Society

Gender, Leadership and Innovative Organizational Tactics

Racial Segregation in 1950s Oklahoma City

Conclusions

Comparisons with “later” sit-ins: Greensboro, North Carolina 1960

Master Narrative and Border Campaign Analyses of Social Movements

Part III IMPLICATIONS FOR THE ANALYSIS OF SOCIAL MOVEMENTS

Chapter 7: Current Debates in Theories of Social Movements (30 pages)

Introduction

Race and the Sociological Imagination

“The Personal is Political”

Culture and social movements

Pre-Existing Protest Traditions

The Historical Situation

Civil Rights Leadership and Collective Action

Postmodern Social Action and the Case of the Career Activist

Chapter 8: Summary and Conclusions (39 pages)

Introduction

The Border Campaign Type

The Concepts of the Type

- (1) Campaign
- (2) Career Activist
- (3) Social Domans
- (4) Targets
- (5) Underlying Logic

Hypothesizing Causes and Effects of Border Campaign Tendencies

Directions for Research: Montgomery and Birmingham Reconsidered

- (1) “The Black Women Did it”: The Women who started the Montgomery Bus Boycott
- (2) Birmingham, Alabama :Obscure Beginnings 1956-62

What happened to *Brown*?

Post-Brown Challenges in Topeka

Conclusion: Future Directions for Social Movement Research

References

Index

Chapter One: Introduction and Overview

The success of any great moral enterprise does not depend upon numbers.

William Lloyd Garrison, Abolitionist Editor¹

Introduction

The recent 50th anniversary of the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* landmark Supreme Court decision against school segregation brings to mind a puzzling question: Why Kansas? Why and how did this non-slaveholding state located on the western border of the South have a system of racial segregation in the first place? Obviously, racism is not endemic to the South. And, though it is troubling that in the nine states of the former Confederacy there was a coercive line of separation (i.e., a fixed color line) between blacks and whites codified by law and sustained by social custom, it is not totally illogical given their terrible history of slavery. But how does this explain the existence of a line of racial separation, a color line, in borders states like Kansas, where slavery never existed? What effect, if any, did this have on subsequent challenges to change it? These are some of the questions that come to mind while we, as Americans, are still trying to come to terms with the institution of racial segregation fifty years after it was declared unconstitutional by the *Brown v. Board* decision.

These questions open us up to the enormous complexity of human behavior. To obtain answers, they call on us to probe nothing less than the forces deriving from social structure, from culture, from the agency of individuals, and from the momentary phenomena occurring within

¹ *Life of William Lloyd Garrison, 1885-1889.*

particular situations. My response is to come forward with a methodology--the Web and Part/Whole Approach (Phillips, 2001; Phillips, Kincaid and Scheff, eds., 2002; Phillips, ed., 2007; Phillips and Johnston, 2007)--which builds on the broad orientation of C. Wright Mills' *The Sociological Imagination* (1959). It is a methodology which follows the scientific ideal of opening up to such a wide range of forces, assuming that they are all relevant to these questions. By so doing, I am also invoking a methodology that bridges sociology's many specialized and sub-specialized areas, one that can address not only diverse social movements but also the diversity of substantive and applied problems throughout the social sciences.

This book approaches civil rights protest not as a uniquely southern problem, but as an American problem. How can we as Americans reconcile our cherished cultural values of liberty, equality and freedom with the legal sanction of slavery and the later institution of racial segregation? We all know that the Civil War terminated slavery in the South and that the southern civil rights movement eventually removed racial segregation; this book does not attempt to address those questions. What it does address, though, is how racial segregation was challenged in areas where racial separation was not built on the ruins of slavery. This less overt type of segregation was nevertheless just as racist resulting in segregation that was either *de jure* as found in seventeen states (Texas, Oklahoma, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, Virginia, West Virginia, Maryland, and Delaware) or permissive segregation statutes as found in four states (Kansas, Arizona, New Mexico, and Wyoming) (White 1994:15). This book concerns itself with two Border States, Kansas and Oklahoma, both situated next to each other but wedged between the south and the west, representing a mix of the south, north and west. The ambivalence of northern and western attitudes toward racial exclusion is reflected in the limited, permissive segregation experienced in Kansas while Oklahoma had the more hegemonic, pervasive *de jure* segregation found in the southern regions. Although legitimated by different legal statutes, the color line in places like Topeka, Kansas and Guthrie, Oklahoma is nevertheless very different than in places like Birmingham, Alabama or Greenwood, Mississippi. This book seeks to answers to questions such as "What is the regional variance in challenges to the color line?" Though Oklahoma shared *de jure* segregation with its southern neighbors, its civil rights protest is rarely included as "significant." Campaigns for racial justice in Oklahoma include a sit-in protests organized in the late 1950s that became a model for the better known 1960 Greensboro, North Carolina sit-ins. This raises another question this book seeks to answer: "Why have these challenges become obscured by the better known ones of the civil rights movement?"

Prior to the 1954 *Brown* case in Topeka, Kansas, there were eleven other challenges to Kansas school segregation reviewed by the Kansas State Supreme Court between 1881 and 1949 (Wilson, 1994). As discussed in the succeeding chapters, these suits all involved plaintiffs who were suing local school districts on behalf of their minor children in order to obtain equal access to a school system funded by their tax dollars.

Similarly, in early twentieth century Guthrie, Oklahoma, African Americans used their legal status as tax payers to protest having to pay for a new public library they could not use (Van Delinder, 2002). Like school segregation, lack of access to public libraries was just another obstacle African Americans faced in Oklahoma where "the minority educational system suffered abysmally" (Robbins, 2000:38). This challenge was also gendered because as a cultural institution, libraries were a public space where women could go unattended by a male companion. It should come as no surprise that this challenge is led by an African American woman, Judith Carter Horton, who had come to Oklahoma Territory seeking work as a teacher

after working her way through Oberlin College in 1891. Standing just four feet and ten inches, Horton overshadows others by her determination to obtain racial justice. In the late 1950s, this time twenty miles south of Guthrie in Oklahoma City, another African American woman, Clara Luper, organized lunch counter sit-ins using young people, ranging in age from six to fifteen (Reese, 2003:328). Luper's channeling direct action through the NAACP Youth Council would later be the model used in Greensboro, North Carolina in February, 1960, which is usually credited as the "start" of the student sit-in movement.

Though many of these episodes are not unknown to civil rights scholars, they have been shunted to the side in many civil rights narratives because they "did not have a mass base" (Morris, 1984:193). Civil rights scholars have assessed these early protests, sit-ins, public boycotts and school desegregation attempts as lacking in organizational structure and not relevant to the political process model of black insurgency (McAdam, 1982; Morris, 1984). These incidents are not unknown, they are just forgotten.

Studying these neglected protests makes possible an enhanced understanding not only of civil rights activism but also demonstrates the general utility of studying the way individual action is carried out within specific social situations. As Maines (2001:3) reminds us, "[h]uman behavior must occur somewhere, and if that behavior is overtly social then it occurs with someone in a cultural, institutional, gendered, national, racial, economic, and/or historical context." After Maines, this book takes into account these multiple aspects of social behavior in analyzing social action.

This book discusses "forgotten" civil rights protest, that is, those borderline areas of the civil rights movement, both geographically and theoretically, which have been unappreciated, understudied and thrust to the side in the overall narrative of the Civil Rights Movement. Studying this type of protest helps to illustrate how individuals embedded in specific situations are also linked to social structure without forgetting that individuals and society are inseparable.

The "Master Narrative" and Civil Rights Protest

One problem in studying forgotten civil rights protest is the lack of a coherent framework connecting the foundational, but seemingly disparate situational protests of the earlier era, with the better known mass mobilizations in the later era. One obstacle to making this connection is the predominance of the historical narrative or "'Master Narrative' of the civil rights movement" (Payne and Green, 2003:1-9). This "dominant narrative" (Hall, 2005:1234) is an idealized version of the civil rights movement as a series of protests progressing gradually against Southern oppression, the fateful intervention of charismatic leaders, like Martin Luther King, Jr., providing inspiration for mass activism. According to the Master Narrative, these events caused the Federal government to realize that racial prejudice and discrimination was a national dilemma and morally in the context of American democratic values (Payne and Green, 2003:143).

This narrative posits the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* landmark Supreme Court decision as the inspiration for the sudden appearance of radicalized protest, thus consigning pre-Brown protest as less essential to understanding the civil rights movement. This post-*Brown* dominance obscures the activism behind this landmark decision in places like Topeka, Kansas. The Master Narrative also only considers civil rights protest as mass protests against the Southern comprehensive "tripartite system of domination" used to control blacks "economically, politically, and personally" (Morris, 1984:1).

This study takes issue with the way civil rights protest is characterized in the Master Narrative, since it renders invisible the struggles of ordinary people. The Master Narrative simplifies and ignores many types of social action by ignoring the complicated relationships between agency, culture, social structure and situations in social movements. When focusing on the civil rights movement, it posits the 1954 *Brown v. Board of Education of Topeka* landmark Supreme Court decision as the single most important agent of change and the inspiration for the sudden appearance of radicalized protest. It emphasizes the types of protest supporting racial integration, the objective goal of the civil rights movement. It frames the discourse on civil rights protest by focusing on spectacular events, trivializing activism occurring on its edge. Challenging this Master Narrative brings human agency back into focus by examining the stories of 'ordinary people' who by undertaking 'everyday resistance' brought about social change.

From Master Narrative to Border Campaign: Employing Ideal Types

The study links the agency of ordinary people to social action through the conversion of the Master Narrative into an ideal type which is contrasted with a second ideal type, Border Campaign. After Weber, ideal types are methodological logics of action incorporating subjective meaning (agency to social action) to objective realities. This is accomplished by dividing structure into institutions (political, economic) and culture (ideas, belief systems). Unlike the one dimensional and specific concepts employed by the Master Narrative, ideal types are multi-dimensional and general. Ideal types help to maintain conceptual uniformity when confronted with cases of data heterogeneity and nonlinear causality (Weber 1964).

In this study, the Master Narrative ideal type represents the conventional understanding of social movements in general and the typical narrative understanding of the civil rights movement in particular. This ideal type emphasizes homogeneity of data, a linear causality of action that is instrumentally rational; agency is referred to in terms of "oversocialized" or exceptional individuals who concert their efforts through structural political and economic institutions. This type focuses on social movements utilizing formal organizations and charismatic leadership directed toward specific, material goals. So, as the conventional understanding of social movements, the Master Narrative obscures social action that is not spectacular. As a narrative, the Master Narrative emphasizes linkages between significant historical events in the story of the civil rights movement.

In contrast to the Master Narrative there is the second ideal type, Border Campaign. This ideal type emphasizes heterogeneity of data, a non-linear causality of action that is value rational rather than instrumentally rational; or, action that is understood in terms of individual and subjective values rather than generalized, objective goals. Border Campaign complicates the ways in which agency and identity are operationalized within social movements. Assuming that neither agency nor structure is totally consistent, the Border Campaign type emphasizes their interplay; this helps to differentiate a wider range of associations between groups of actors (the degree of social interaction) from either the orderly or contradictory part of the social structure (the degree of system integration) (Archer 1996). In this way, the Border Campaign assumes that a dynamic and oftentimes even contradictory relationship exists between agency and structure in social movements. It takes into account incongruities underlying ideas embedded in cultural systems and their causal consensus or influence on people's actions (socio-cultural interaction).

The Border Campaign ideal type complicates our understanding of the cultural dynamics of racial segregation. It emphasizes discrete units of civil rights protest directed toward subjective (value rational) intermediary goals consistent with a specific time and place. It brings

into focus those types of actions which help to create a better immediate reality while knowing they are not going to fundamentally transform the overall structure of racial injustice. For example, in the early twentieth century African Americans in Kansas were more likely to agitate in support of racial segregation as a way to gain control of their children's education by insisting that only black teachers be employed in segregated schools. The Master Narrative casts aside this type of protest as not being consistent with the goal of integration, a long term objective of the civil rights movement. When this same data is analyzed by the Border Campaign, this type of protest comes into focus as being characteristic of a specific region and time; integration threatened the power of black status groups benefiting from segregation such as teachers, doctors, lawyers and other professionals whose livelihood rested on the black community not having access to goods and services in the white community.

Border Campaign focuses on generalities between the disparate actions in social movements without surrendering their distinctiveness. It is also a way to study forgotten civil rights action apart from the goals that evolved later in the broader civil rights movement. More generally, it provides a way to study social movements as long-term aggregates of discrete protest units rather than viewed in relationship to higher-level (i.e., more abstract) goals. Whereas the later civil rights movement challenged everything related to segregation, including its ideological foundations, forgotten civil rights protest had a much more limited repertoire of action focusing on short-term goals related to a specific time and place.

In summary, by comparing Master Narrative and Border Campaign brings into focus 1) disparate actions of individuals, 2) how distinct actions coalesce into collective action; and, finally 3) how action is mediated by ideas embedded in cultural systems highlighting the dynamic interplay between agency and structure. By paying closer attention to how it intersects varying dimensions of agency and structure action is no longer one-dimensional and static. In effect, the Master Narrative works as a social movement "master frame" that is fixed by an "overarching ideational and interpretive anchoring of subsequent interpretations" (Snow and Benford 1992:144). The Master Narrative constrains how events are interpreted and eventually written as social movement narratives, constraining them as being largely a political mass-based movement between two groups of observable antagonists: African Americans and white racists. Through comparison of the Master Narrative and Border Campaign ideal types we can come to a better understanding of forgotten civil rights activism as outlined below:

- Though the origin of national school desegregation is situated in Topeka, Kansas, near the geographical center of the United States, there has been little attention paid to the community level actions that brought about racial desegregation in that city. What is the relationship of school desegregation in Kansas to other challenges to school segregation? Why has this activism been forgotten? What was the relationship of this pre-*Brown* school desegregation era to the later mass mobilizations of the post-*Brown* era?
- Second, sit-ins began in Wichita, Kansas on July 19, 1958 and a month later in Oklahoma City, Oklahoma. Without external support, the local NAACP Youth Councils in Wichita and Oklahoma City disrupted lunch counters after negotiations to integrate them breakdown. The local youth councils were recognized for their efforts to at the 51st Conference of the NAACP held in 1960, which the Greensboro youths attended. In Oklahoma City the sit-ins would continue on as forgotten civil rights protest until July 1964. Why has this precursor to the 1960 Student Sit-In movement been overlooked? What can we learn about the difficulties in sustaining protest that is applicable to other social movements?

- Third, the birth of mass mobilizations in Montgomery, Alabama in 1955 and Birmingham, Alabama, represent the mixture of a pre-existing protest tradition that co-existed with the mass mobilization protest tradition. The dramatic events surrounding the Montgomery Bus Boycott and the near-riots in Birmingham eight years later have eclipsed the agency of people like Jo Ann Robinson and the contributions of the Women's Political Council organized in Montgomery in 1946 and the efforts of labor-activist E.D. Nixon in Birmingham dating back to the 1930s. Both Robinson and Nixon continued their efforts during the mass-mobilization era but the significance of their agency has been obscured by the importance of charismatic leadership outlined in the master narrative. What can we learn about the contributions of other types of leadership not specified in the Master Narrative?

All of these 'border' episodes are striking testaments to the power of marginal civil rights protests. Certainly not all of them were "mass mobilizations" in any strict sense, concerned with the large-scale organization of people and resources to take action against racial segregation. How then might they be understood? It is our thesis that, for all the understandable interest, focusing only on the dramatic "mass mobilization" aspects of the civil rights movement stands as an obstacle to recognizing the full range of *civil rights* tensions between the established social order of racial segregation and the countercultural demands challenging it. These tensions are particularly disparate in the pre-mass mobilization era, roughly the first half of the twentieth century. The heterogeneity of these pre- or early civil rights actions have rendered them relatively invisible as protest, since they did not fall under established sets of rules used to study the civil rights movement. In this introduction, we describe the alternative approach that this book takes to exploring those tensions, to better understand not only the early civil rights era, but also the mass mobilization era of the civil rights movement in general.

By dating significant civil rights protest to the mid-1950s, the Master Narrative of the civil rights movement obscures how by the middle of the twentieth century, racial segregation was being directly challenged by "ordinary people" in American society. That these struggles are largely lost from view is partially due to a few primarily symbolic national racial initiatives occurring at this time that are often mentioned as important "precursors" to the modern civil rights movement (Dalifume, 1968). Even before the United States officially entered World War II in December 1941, the March on Washington Movement (MOWM) was being organized as a national collective protest against racial segregation in the military and by discriminatory hiring practices by civilian defense contractors. Organized by the national labor leader A. Philip Randolph, head of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, the MOWM was conceived as a mass demonstration against the hypocrisy of racial inequality, especially in a democracy gearing up to fight a war to eliminate tyranny and oppression. This looming political embarrassment was circumvented when President Franklin Delano Roosevelt signed Executive Order #8802, forbidding racial discrimination by civilian defense contractors.²

Though the MOWM was a non-event since it did not actually occur, it was to be an important model for future civil rights mass mobilizations captured by the Master Narrative of the modern civil rights era (Dalifume 1968). It also provided a model by which to analyze the role of the federal government in handling racial contention by trying to defuse it and thereby

² This Order also established the Fair Employment Practices Committee (FEPC) as a regulatory agency to investigate charges of racial discrimination.

avoid a national crisis, yet at the same time keeping change to a minimum (Lawson 1998:4). This is illustrated by President Harry S. Truman's official desegregation of the peacetime army in 1948, which had already seen black and white Americans fighting side by side in World War II. That same year, under the guise of states' rights, racial issues split the Democratic Party, threatening Truman's re-election. Clearly, well before the mid-1950s, the issue of race had emerged in American political consciousness; everywhere people were being forced to choose sides.

But the national debate over racial justice is not just a matter of "black and white," "for" or "against" racial equality, it was complicated by political, economic, and social considerations including individual determinism, state's rights, the role of the federal government in local affairs, funding of public schools, employment opportunities, job protections, who lived next door to you, where your children went to school and who were their friends. By the end of the 1940s, the ideology of racial equality was slowly emerging as a broad cultural goal in American society. However, given the permeation of "separate but equal" or "Jim Crow" segregation, codified either by law or custom, the institutional means to achieve the cultural goal of racial equality was severely limited. What was the gap between cultural goals and institutional means in the early civil rights era? How was this gap narrowed by the first national victory for more racial inclusion: school desegregation culminating in the *Brown* decision? Though the Master Narrative of the modern civil rights gives it 'Big Event' status, it also trivializes it by exhaustively studying it as a watershed moment, largely ignoring how its slow progression to national significance was sustained through the everyday resistance of ordinary people.

Border Campaign, Ideal Types And Interpretive Analysis

This book examines these and other questions posed by the Border Campaign and left unanswered by the Master Narrative. To assist us in this problem, we've identified three crucial categories that remain uncomplicated in Master Narrative that Border Campaign seeks to answer about social movements: 1) human agency; 2) the social relationship between agency and structure; and, 3) the mediating role of cultural systems (beliefs, values, language). The Master Narrative reduces these relationships to a simpler form, conflating them into a single person, leader or event; this is in contrast to the Border Campaign which complicates them by analytically separating agency from structure as being mediated by cultural belief systems. Each of these categories will be discussed in more detail below, but first it is necessary to get behind the singularities of the Master Narrative which treats social movements in terms of overarching conceptualizations or as "big events," oversimplifying their relationship to pre-existing protest traditions. In each case, we posit how we use Border Campaign as an alternative to Master Narrative to study forgotten civil rights action.

The Neglected Centrality of Border Protests

As a sensitizing measure of the problematic nature of the civil rights Master Narrative, we now review some key narratives contained in the Master Narrative of the civil rights movement: the 1954 *Brown* decision (school desegregation); the 1960 Student Sit-In Movement; and, the Montgomery and Birmingham mass mobilizations.

- Topeka, Kansas, is the home of the landmark 1954 Supreme Court case *Brown v. Board of Education*. This case begins in September of 1950, when Oliver Brown takes his young daughter Linda by the hand, walking her the short distance from their house to

Sumner Elementary School in an attempt to enroll her for the coming term. Although the Brown family lived near the school, and Linda was the correct age to attend elementary school, she was not eligible to attend Sumner because of her race. Instead, Oliver Brown was directed to return his daughter to the Monroe School, almost twenty blocks away. It was the school designated for African Americans living in that particular neighborhood. Oliver Brown sought to redress the injustice of segregated schools in Topeka and the rest of the nation by managing to convince twelve other parents to join him in a lawsuit, eventually enlisting the aid of the national NAACP.

- The sit-in movement started on February 1, 1960 in Greensboro, North Carolina by four college students. The actions of these students ignited the sit-in movement and the birth of SNCC (Student Non-Violent Coordinator Committee).
- The mass mobilizations of Montgomery and Birmingham, Alabama are characteristic of civil rights protest and offer a benchmark of what the civil rights movement is all about.

In the Master Narrative, the watershed event is the 1954 *Brown v. Board* case and is used as a demarcation point in the civil rights movement (Bloom, 1987; Blumberg, 1984; Branch, 1988; Brenner, 1994; Chafe, 1980; Dalifume, 1968; Greenberg, 1994; Klarman, 1994, 2004; Kluger, 1976; Lawson 1991). In the Border Campaign, the actions leading up to the *Brown* case, rather than the *Brown* case itself is thrust into the foreground. Much of the material discussed in the subsequent chapters focuses on the Midwest, not the South, an overlooked site of racial unrest by the Master Narrative. Two of the cases, Montgomery and Birmingham, are “familiar geographical signposts of civil rights demonstrations” which “derive their greatest importance as places that molded the critical national debate on ending racial discrimination” (Lawson 1998:4). However, like the antecedents of the *Brown* decision, the contributory events in Montgomery and Birmingham have been subsumed into the singularity of the Master Narrative. Rigid conceptions of what constitutes ‘civil rights protest’ have rendered the Midwest cases imperceptible or if noticed at all, to be dismissed as borderline; the Southern ones judged indistinguishable and not clearly belonging to one or other of two categories of civil rights protest. What can we learn from these “borderline” cases? What is a Border Campaign?

By studying forgotten civil rights activism, we expand our understanding of the regional variation of civil rights activism. This analysis draws on the voluminous literature on the origins, history and significance of the civil rights movement.³ This literature depicts the South as the only location with a “race problem.” Rigid conceptions of what constitutes ‘civil rights protest’ have rendered non-southern cases imperceptible or if noticed at all, to be dismissed as borderline; the Southern ones judged as indistinguishable. Defining the civil rights movement exclusively in terms of a single region (the South) in a single time period (late 1950s and 1960s), sociologists have constructed oversimplified explanations that misses the significance of space, timing and cultural differences in collective action. The case studies discussed in this book

³ Studies on the civil rights movement include studies with a “top down” approach, asking questions about how national organizations brought change into local communities (Lawson 1991). The second type focuses on in-depth discussions of the local community such as William Chafe’s *Civilities and Civil Liberties* (1980) on Greensboro, North Carolina; David Colburn’s *Racial Change and Community Crisis* (1985) on St. Augustine, Florida; and, Robert Norell’s *Reaping the Whirlwind* (1985) on Tuskegee, Alabama. The third type includes interactive studies connecting local and national issues related to social and political factors. Contributing to this latter approach are sociologists Doug McAdam (1982) *Political Process and the Development of Black Insurgency*; Aldon Morris (1984) *The Origins of the Civil Rights Movement: Black Communities Organizing for Change*. See also Killian (1984), White (1964), Smith and Killian (1958), Meier and Rudwick 1973), Killian and Smith (1960), and Oberschall (1973,1989).

(boycotts, school desegregation and sit-ins) occurred in border state communities that anticipated national events such as the 1954 *Brown* case and the 1960 student sit-in movement. This borderland region is a place where race relations were defined more ambiguously than they were in the South.

For example, the Kansas color line was more permeable, reflecting its moral ambiguity toward monitoring race by incorporating a mix of social practices that were sometimes surprisingly racially inclusive as well as more conventionally exclusive (Kluger 1975:371). The decision to segregate public education was left up to local school boards in cities that had a population of at least 15,000.⁴ If a local community decided to segregate their schools, as Topeka did, only segregated elementary schools were permitted by law.⁵ Marginality also created uncertainty in knowing where and how the color line was drawn. For instance, one white woman growing up in Topeka, Kansas in the 1940s was never quite sure when to invite her African American school friends to her social functions.⁶ Though she interacted with them daily at school, she felt pressured to confine her interracial school relationships to the school building itself.

Though it is tempting to assume Kansas' permissive segregation statutes meant it was more progressive in terms of racial equality. However, the specificity of limiting segregation to certain cities was also related to its cost to taxpayers: racial segregation was only implemented where its tax base could subsidize the cost of separate school facilities. At the time of the 1954 *Brown* case, only four Kansas cities could afford the price: Kansas City, Manhattan, Wichita and Topeka (Wilson, 1995). Of course, the law did not deter smaller communities from trying to segregate its schools and illegal or *de facto* segregation did emerge in smaller towns like Salina, Ottawa and Merriam. As discussed in Chapter Two, Ottawa and Salina would discover the hidden costs in trying to circumvent the state segregation law along with African Americans mobilized to challenge illegal segregation.⁷

2. *Historically Situated Activism*

⁴Part Two of the Brief for Appellants in NOS. 1,2 and 4 and for Respondents in NO. 10 on Reargument (November 16, 1953) states that " ...Kansas, a loyal border state, had adopted a policy of permissive segregation whereby boards of education were authorized, but not required, to establish separate schools (Kansas Laws 1862, c 46, Art 4, Sec. 3,18; Kansas Laws 1864, c. 67, Sec.4; Kansas Laws 1865, c. 46, Sec. 1)." Supreme Court of the United States, School Segregation Cases, 1953, p 179. See also Paul Wilson (1995) for a sound legal analysis and concise summary of Kansas' "permissive segregation" policy.

⁵High schools were integrated (grades 9 through 12) however there were exceptions to this practice (Carper 1978, Woods 1983, Van Delinder 1994). There was one segregated high school in Kansas City, Kansas, Sumner High School (Vandever 1971: 46). In 1905 a special law was passed to allow the African American community in Kansas City, Kansas to open their own high school (Kluger: 371). For a more detailed discussion of these exceptions see the next chapter.

⁶ Anonymous White Female Respondent interview with author, Topeka, Kansas. July 17, 1994.

⁷Challenges to Kansas' legal and illegal segregation are more thoroughly analyzed in Chapter Two along with a discussion of the challenges to school segregation in Ottawa and Merriam. These communities brought successful law suits that were reviewed by the Kansas State Supreme Court in 1881 and 1949 respectively.

**The *Webb* case files are located at the Kansas State Archives, Kansas State Historical Society, Topeka, Kansas. The *Brown* case in Topeka was never reviewed by the Kansas State Supreme Court. It was filed in the (then) 10th Federal District Court in Topeka. The ruling of this lower federal court was then appealed to the United States Supreme Court. The *Brown* case files are located at the National Archives - Kansas City Branch, Kansas City, Missouri. See Van Delinder 2004 for a discussion of these holdings.

The cases discussed in this book do not provide a comprehensive historical analysis of school desegregation, nor is it an attempt to write a revisionist history. Rather, the main purpose is to contribute to the conceptual understanding of the relationship between social action and its social contexts. By better understanding these forgotten civil rights protests, fought in regions bordering the South, we can also better understand and explain other social movements and thereby contribute to the theoretical understanding of the relationship between culture, social structure, individual action, and specific historical context. This will also help to deepen the understanding of the relationship between social action and its social location within communities and within a social movement.

The empirical data in this monograph draws on historical research on the early civil rights movement in Kansas and Oklahoma. The civil rights movement in these places manifested a different type of historically situated activism that has been overlooked. Instead of focusing primarily on charismatic leadership or the political resources provided by the institutional structures of black churches and activist organizations, I ask: What were the indigenous patterns of accommodation and paternalism that had to be broken before change could occur? Which forces paved the way for protest? Who led the forces of resistance? How did both sides use the same ideals of American freedom and liberty to either justify the inclusion or exclusion of a whole class of citizens on the basis of race?

The approach of this book is to take into account the multiplicity of audiences toward which protest is directed. The Master Narrative assumes that civil rights protest is only undertaken by African Americans against racist whites. The Border Campaign questions this intended audience by considering there are more spectators such as non-sympathetic blacks and sympathetic whites. For example, throughout the early civil rights era, there were whites and blacks who were responsible for initiating challenges and those who resisted. Both blacks and whites perceived existing race relations as unjust and were willing to participate in programs to fight segregation. But, there were those from both sides of the color line, who, for different reasons, either sought to preserve segregation or keep racial integration to a minimum.

Examining the neglected centrality of border protests provides a useful way to study social movements by connecting structure and agency through incorporating cultural values. This alternative is inspired by C. Wright Mills' (1959:143) idea that social scholarship or research should not limit itself to just one methodological or theoretical problem. Instead, Mills suggests a framework based on understanding the interconnection between the "co-ordinate points" of biography, history and social structure. Mills understood that the inclusion of more than one "orienting point" offers a more comprehensive approach to understand the complex problems of social change in modern society.

3. Ideal Types

Once again, ideal types are useful to understand better the contributions of individuals within a specific historical location. The ideal type approach used here is a way to organize disparate, historical data without simplifying it and creating mono-causal explanations, one problem with the existing literature on the civil rights movement. In this study, the Master Narrative represents the aforementioned singularity of the civil rights literature that "view[s] activists only as harbingers of change -- colorful, politically impotent, socially isolated idealists and malcontents who play only fleeting roles in the drama of American political history" (Carson, 1986:19-20). The Master Narrative also evaluates social movement outcomes and goals of social movements by examining the effects of national interventions over local initiatives.

This is in contrast with the Border Campaign ideal type which contains a multiplicity of protest narratives as well as the numerous social movement theories used to explain them.

In the Border Campaign ideal type, "*Border campaign*" refers to an historical context and a unit of analysis of social movements. In this book, "*Border*" calls attention to historical contexts that mix significant segregated and integrated institutions and ideologies, in contrast to a Southern segregationist hegemony (Harding, 1984). In places like Kansas, permissive segregation shapes actions that both challenge and preserve the color line; these contradictory actions further draws attention to particular social locations in which challenges and defenses were attempted.

"*Campaign*" refers to social action directed toward social change and the primacy of action in comprising social movements (Marwell and Oliver, 1984). The Border Campaign ideal type provides a model of civil rights activism that incorporates borderline areas where racial segregation was less pernicious and protests less cohesive. In this way, the Border Campaign ideal type helps us to understand 'what happened?' from a variety of perspectives. It also allows us way to discuss civil rights activism with the understanding that our questions might have many possible answers. Utilizing an ideal type methodological approach helps to amplify tendencies observed in forgotten civil rights protest which took place outside the glare of national media attention and apart from the mass-mobilizations of the civil rights movement subsequent to *Brown*.

Analysis of historical events is integral to understanding the unfolding of social action in terms of the local situation. , particularly forgotten civil rights protest. This is done by focusing on the connection between meaning and action using ideal types. As a methodology, ideal types model the relationship between interpretation of meaning (cultural values) and analysis of various courses of action.

Figure 1

Ideal type

/meaning – cultural values - action\

As outlined in Figure 1, rather than ranking meaning and action, an ideal type gives them equal weight. In this way meaning (cultural values) becomes a conceptual exposition tool to the analysis of the courses of action, the subject of the substantive analysis. Ideal types help to account for the multiplicity of standpoints in any social situation as well as to further distinguish between different strands of collective action. Ideal types are useful in identifying regularities in actions (i.e., frequencies) which aid in describing previously incomparable social actions in a systematic manner.⁸

Ideal types are used to analyze both meaning and action without isolating one from the other (Weber 1949:55). Since they are “intermediary concepts,” they do not “replicate” social phenomena. Instead, they “assist research rather than trying to capture it” or extract it from its context (Kalberg 1994:85). Rather than seeking “to capture overarching differentiation, universalization, or grand-scale evolutionary processes” ideal types offer a way to “conceptualize patterned orientations of meaningful action” without devising yet another abstract theory to explain them (1994:84).

For example, the Border Campaign ideal type can be employed to view the color line in the following overlapping ways:

⁸ For example, the ideal types of legitimate domination that are the basis of some Weber’s most perceptive structural analyses, are linked to particular subjective meanings which identify the patterns of action under examination.

Forgotten Civil Rights

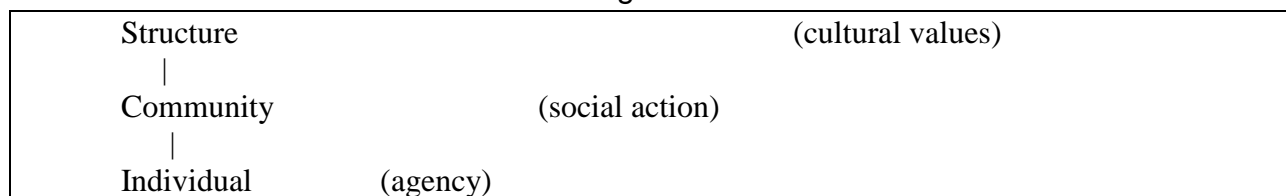
- as a type of hegemonic domination that varies according to specific historical geographical situations; and,
- as the target of social actions using different claims of legitimacy are informed by *but not subsumed* by the concept – how the concept orients the analyst to important dimensions within the case and prompts the analyst to sometimes look for aspects of the case not indicated by the concept to draw that feature into significance.

This ideal type approach provides a way to shift away from a focus on the interpretation of meaning (conceptual exposition) to include an analysis of the courses of action, which is the subject of the case studies in the remaining chapters of the book. In the discussion of these forgotten civil rights cases, prominence is given to the different geographical and ideological configurations of the color line ranging from exclusive to permissive. How open or closed these practices were not only shapes everyday social practices related to race, but also shapes how it is defended and attacked. As an historical artifact, its contours were shaped by competing claims for legitimacy made by its challengers and defenders. As a type of domination, the color line is integral to understanding and analyzing the courses of action undertaken in forgotten civil rights activism.

Culturally, the color line provides a focal point to better understand the heterogeneity of racial practices: as an historical “artifact” situated in a specific time and place. The color line can also be conceptualized more generally as a social phenomenon of the nature of institutional practices related to race across different time periods and in different geographical regions. Therefore, as illustrated by the empirical case studies in this book, 19th century civil rights actions are oriented toward reconfiguring the color line not destroying it. Challenges to racial customs were more covert and indirect. Certain regions tolerated some practices and challenges while others did not.

Once again, ideal types assist us in seeing the relationship between social action and value orientations, without collapsing action into structure or subsuming value orientations under goals. Using Weber’s (1978:22) definition of social action as including “both failure to act and passive acquiescence” that “may be oriented to the past, present or expected future behavior of others.” Using this approach, we can examine how social actions directed toward the injustices of racial segregation were sustained at three different levels: individual, community and structural. This approach emphasizes how these different levels of society can be simultaneously captured by the inter-related concepts of agency, social action, and cultural values within an ideal type. Additionally, this approach is pertinent to studying social movements in general since it emphasizes the link between meaning and action, rather than trying to distinguish one from the other. This approach is diagramed below in Figure 2. On the left are the different levels of analysis ranging from the concrete level of individual action toward the more abstract level of social structure. In parenthesis are the inter-related concepts of agency, social action and cultural values. This diagram illustrates how the complexities of social action directed toward racial injustice can be examined without conflating and/or prioritizing one level over another.

Figure 2



This focus on “social action” is also related to uncovering the overlooked importance of value orientations in social movements. The narratives in this book are constructed using a web orientation “where no proposition is seen in isolation from all others” (Phillips:xii), in order to emphasize the nexus between meaning and action, analyzing them as indistinguishable from the subjective meanings in which they are identified and situated. Theory and method are integrated into the ideal types, each given equal weight, without prioritizing one over the other, nor is meaning prioritized over action or action over meaning.

4. Agency and Value-Rational Action

Though many of the challenges discussed in this book have been forgotten, re-examining them provides us with new insights for understanding social movements in general by bringing into focus the imperceptible actions and of ordinary people. As Morris (2000:452) points out, social movement theory continues to slight the fundamental role that human agency plays in social movements. The overlooked contribution of human agency in the social movement literature is due to the emphasis placed on objective goals based on important assumed rationality of the actors. This type of social action is what Weber (1978:24) characterized as instrumentally rational social action where primacy is given to the actor’s “own rationally pursued and calculated ends.” In this way, those actions are discounted that cannot be explained in terms of an actor’s means-end calculations in relationship to the broader goals of a social movement. This tends to reduce the significance of individual social action within a particular historical situation.

Drawing on Weber’s typology of value-rational social action which places human agency, in all its complexity, at the center of collective action, this approach also emphasizes the importance of persons who, according to Weber (1978: 24-25) engage in “actions...regardless of possible cost to themselves, act to put into practice their convictions of what seems to them to be required by duty, honor, the pursuit of beauty, a religious call, personal loyalty, or the importance of some ‘cause’ no matter in what it consists.” Value-rational action is further differentiated from “instrumentally rational” action which focuses on how “the end, the means, and the secondary results are all rationally taken into account and weighed” (26). Emphasizing value-rational action also provides a way to give equal weight to both challengers and defenders of segregation from both sides of the color line, without extracting the meaning of these actions from their historical context. In this way, individual action can be isolated without removing it from its historical, situational context, or by placing undue emphasis on organizations and leadership.

To further aid in capturing the border region’s temporal and spatial limitations, the Border Campaign ideal type links analysis of subjective meanings related to biography (social action and agency) with that of structural forms (organizations, groups, institutions). By being sensitive to the breadth of civil rights activism, we can extract the situational context or momentary scene from the historical processes of forgotten civil rights activism without diminishing its importance to social action. At the same time, the ideal type provides salient points of comparison with better known civil rights episodes.

Civil rights campaigns were mounted on numerous fronts in places like Montgomery and Birmingham, Alabama. The Master Narrative focuses on the contributions of charismatic leaders like Reverend Martin Luther King while obscuring the pre-protest tradition of his predecessor, Reverend Vernon Johns, and contributions of community activists Jo Ann Robinson and E.D. Nixon. In Birmingham there was a concerted effort by white elites to remove the director of public safety, Bull Connor; even though their efforts were successful, MLK took advantage of

Connor's remaining weeks in office as a lame duck to launch the Birmingham confrontations (Branch, 1988). Birmingham is forever etched in the American framework for its brutal repression of innocent bystanders while the lengthy, behind the scene negotiations to reconcile protests with differences is largely obscured and forgotten (Van Delinder, 1992). The contrast of the Master Narrative with Border Campaign provides insight into the complicated vocabularies of social action contained in social movements.

As illustrated in Figure 3, the contrasts offered between the Master Narrative and the Border Campaign are as established tendencies along a continuum from closed or fixed categories to more fluid and variable. The Master Narrative's singularity is based on rational social action directed toward material goals, in this case desegregation. Each ideal type has its own internal logic of action. In the Master Narrative it is instrumentally rational action directed toward formal goals, in this case segregation. This is in contrast to the Border Campaign's underlying logic that is value-rational, action that is not exclusively rational in terms of perceived ends or goals, but makes "sense" in terms of discrete units of action. This broader conceptualization of action not only captures efforts directed toward a material goal like desegregation but also include efforts when "racial justice" means sustaining segregation rather than dismantling it. While the Master Narrative assumes social movements are determined almost exclusively by their long term goals, the Border Campaign also considers more intermediary goals.

Figure 3

FORMAL	INFORMAL
<i>Master Narrative</i>	<i>Border Campaign</i>
<u>Tendencies</u>	<u>Tendencies</u>
<i>Social Movement</i> ---	Informal Organization----
<i>Charismatic Leadership</i> ---	Mediating Leadership----
<i>Confrontational Tactics</i> ---	Mixture of tactics-----
	<i>-Campaign</i>
	<i>Agency</i>
	<i>Negotiation</i>
<u>Underlying Logic</u>	<u>Underlying Logic</u>
<i>Instrumental Action and Long-term Goals</i> -----	<i>Value-Rational Agency and Short-term goals</i>

Social Action and Racial Segregation

Davies’ (1962, 1971) argues that rising expectations and feelings of relative deprivation occurred in places where there was less than absolute hopelessness and poverty, bringing social change in a positive direction. Nationally, the growing race consciousness among Blacks after WWI resulted in sporadic civil rights protests in the 1930s, and accelerated even more after WWII. In Kansas civil rights activism was initially targeted at forcing whites to acknowledge that color lines existed. These contradictory practices encouraged potential civil rights activists in more clearly defined segregated settings to develop their own “revolution of rising expectations” directed at the cultural value of equality they observed within integrated settings. It also created space for the minority of whites who sought interracial contacts in the belief that integration would uplift individual and community values through full inclusion. Finally, it helps us understand why *Brown* took place in Kansas and not the South. Building on Davis and a literature in the study of revolutions helps us to better understand the significance of “rising expectations” and social action in terms of the civil rights movement. This book limits its discussion to forgotten civil rights protest in the Border States of Kansas and Oklahoma, offering a contrast to better known Southern civil rights protest.

The spatial and temporal dimensions of the border campaign ideal type helps to provide a way to discuss why the geographical location of Kansas, with its limited legal segregation and relatively equal schools, became a national focal point for school desegregation and not Virginia, South Carolina or Mississippi. These and other locations in the South had much worse schools and were places where people faced extreme poverty resulting in them being much more hopeless about the prospects of change.

III. OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

Borders and the Civil Rights Movement – Incorporating Kansas and Oklahoma

As Border States, Kansas and Oklahoma provide a contrast to the southern states featured in the Master Narrative. Both states were important to national legislation to end school segregation: the 1954 *Brown* case in Kansas and two cases in Oklahoma targeting

segregation in higher education (*Sipuel v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, 1948*⁹; *McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents for Higher Education, 1950*¹⁰). However the focus of this study is on early civil rights activism overlooked by the Master Narrative. In Kansas, the center of attention will be on attempts at school desegregation in local communities. The focal points in Oklahoma will be on how black citizens in Guthrie circumvented an all-white library and the late 1950s sit-ins staged in Oklahoma City. The type of civil rights protest in both of these states has been eclipsed by the importance of the 1954 *Brown* case and the 1960 Student Sit-in Movement that started in Greensboro, North Carolina. These states are also important because as Border States they had different stakes in maintaining racial segregation.

Since the type of civil rights protest that erupted in Kansas and Oklahoma is more subdued than in the South, it has been largely overlooked and forgotten. Why is civil rights protest more subdued in this region? This is partly due to the association of “civil rights protest” with key, dramatic confrontations. What about less spectacular ones? Is it possible there is a common characteristic of both these outcomes? Since both types of events involve social action challenging racial segregation, this study uses the following as a common denominator of civil rights protest: social actions targeting the color line. As we will see in later chapters, these social actions were sometimes multi-directional in that both whites and blacks rose to confront challenges to the color line, especially if attacks threatened their respective power relationships and legitimacy. It is also important to realize that racial segregation was not one institution but many, as evidenced in the previous discussion of the regional variations in segregation laws. Though it was sustained by a single ideology (white supremacy), segregation was built on a set of competing traditions or value orientations toward liberty, equality and freedom. The importance of these cultural values to the configuration of the color line is discussed in later chapters.

1. Intersection of Biography, History, Social Structure and Culture

Each chapter in this book demonstrates the utility of studying social movements by linking objective abstractions of structure (social and individual) with the subjective, everyday lived reality of the momentary situation. Using empirical data obtained from oral history interviews and other primary sources, it uses C. Wright Mills’ framework to highlight the importance of biography, history and social structure as a way to better understand abstract social forces and broad social change. Each chapter also uses Weber’s definition of value rational social action as the basis for understanding the importance of individual action (agency) and its relevance to culture in capturing the momentary scene in social movements. The conceptualization of agency is taken from Archer’s (1996:72-100) analytical dualism approach to culture and agency. Archer argues that a dualist approach separates culture into Cultural System and Socio-Cultural levels. The Cultural System is the plane of logical relationships and “has an objective existence and autonomous relations amongst its components (theories, beliefs, values arguments, or more strictly between the propositional formulations of them) in the sense that these are independent of anyone’s claim to know” (p. 107). The Socio-Cultural level refers to causal relationships between groups and individuals. This “two-fold relationship with

⁹ 332 U.S. 631.

¹⁰ 339 U.S. 637.

human agency” takes into account “conditional effects (on people)...[and]...the logical consequences (of people) on the [Cultural] System” (p. 143).

Using this conceptualization of culture and adding it to Mill’s “intersection of biography and history” provides a more systematic way of linking the individual with social structure that is bi-directional: people both influence and are influenced by social structure. Mills’ original method of linking the individual with social structure is somewhat limited since his critique was primarily directed at the need for sociology to develop a human “psychology...that is sociologically grounded and historically relevant (143).” Though inclusion of “a psychology of man” into sociological studies was innovative in his time, Mills’ approach can be made more relevant by including this dualist notion of culture and cultural values as another “orienting point” in addition to biography, history and society. Phillips’ recent work (2001: 82-83; see also Phillips, Kincaid and Scheff, eds., 2002; Phillips, ed., 2007; Phillips and Johnston, 2007) defines culture as a “powerful structure” of value orientations. As Phillips points out, in *Weber’s The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* ([1905] 1958), cultural values were crucial to building “the bridge” between economic and religious institutions by “channeling the individual’s enormous motivation for attaining religious salvation into a work ethic (p. 82).”

Each chapter also emphasizes the relevance of how cultural values played an important, but unappreciated role, in creating a sense of injustice toward racial segregation in a democratic society. Since cultural values are “invisible and internal forces” (Williams) they are largely ignored in contemporary sociological studies, especially in studies of early civil rights activism. Using the Web and Part/Whole Approach, this study uses predominant American cultural values such as liberty, freedom and equality to situate discussion of the historical processes of racial segregation by highlighting the role of human agency and its linkage to social structure.

2. American Cultural Values of Liberty

This understanding of American cultural values in the context of a voluntary society is also suggested by Fischer’s (1989:9) “modern” definition and use of William Graham Sumner’s “folkways” as “distinctive customs” shaped by “the normative structure of values, customs and meanings.” Though Fischer identifies twenty-seven folkways (pp.8-9) related to the cultural origins of American society, this book focuses on just one of them, “Freedom Ways” and its expression as four regional variations of “liberty” that were eventually transferred to places like Kansas and Oklahoma. These differing notions of liberty would be important to the development of competing ideologies of racial segregation ranging from inclusion to exclusion. Kansas was influenced by its New England settlers who brought with them the Puritan notion of “ordered liberty” a complicated understanding of liberty in terms of public or mutual obligations that could either be collective or individual. “One person’s ‘liberty’ in this sense became another’s restraint.” Liberty was also conceived of in terms “soul liberty” or strict adherence to religious dictates that was tempered by a collective obligation (collective conscience) to individual liberty in terms of the importance to “protect individual members from the tyranny of circumstance” (Fischer, 1989: 199, 201-205; Fischer, 2004:24). This notion of liberty brought conflicted with a southern notion of liberty as “hegemonic” or “liberty-as-hierarchy” consistent with the contradictions of owning slaves (Fischer, 1989:410-418; Fischer, 2004:24). Both of these notions of liberty

were tempered by the Quaker idea of “reciprocal liberty that embraced all humanity” (Fischer, 1989: 595-603). Finally, Oklahoma was heavily influenced by its predominance of Backcountry settlers, a fiercely independent group of Scots-Irish origins. They brought with them a fourth notion of liberty of “natural liberty” which “did not recognize the right of dissent or disagreement,” had a low tolerance for deviance from cultural norms and suppressed opposition with violence (Fischer 1989:781). The coming chapters will further discuss the significance of these cultural understandings of liberty and their resonance in constructing ideologies of race.

3. Borders of the Civil Rights Movement – Kansas and Oklahoma

The chapters in Part II “Episodes of Forgotten Civil Rights Activism” discuss some forgotten civil rights episodes using the theoretical and methodological framework outlined in this chapter. Chapter 2 discusses early challenges to school segregation in Kansas. Chapter 3 discusses Guthrie, Oklahoma. These two case studies of nineteenth and early twentieth century tributary civil rights protest signal the emergence of cultural goals and the development of institutionalized means to achieve social change. Chapter 4 discusses the intersection between the gendered radicalism of white women and challenges to illegal segregation in Merriam, Kansas. Chapter 5 discusses the complex issues of legal segregation “behind” the 1954 *Brown* case in Topeka, Kansas. Chapter 6 discusses the significance of the Oklahoma City sit-ins as pre-cursor to the organizational tactics employed in their more famous counterparts in Greensboro, North Carolina in February, 1960.

In Part III, the final section of the book is “Implications for the Analysis of Social Movements.” In Chapter 7, the case studies analyzed in Part II are considered in light of the current debates in social movement literature. These debates center around two competing theoretical paradigms: structural and cultural (Goodwin and Jasper, 2004). The structural model or “political process” theory prioritizes structures of power, economics, formal organizations and social networks as crucial resources that have been extracted out of empirical research. This approach has dominated social movement theory for the past several decades (McAdam 1982; McCarthy and Zald 1977; Meyer 1993; Staggenborg 1991; Tarrow 1983; and Tilly 1978, 1995). While the cultural side favors less abstract explanations, focusing more on the micro-level social interaction of individuals, and interpretation of subjective meanings (Kurzman 1994; Morris 1984; Polletta 1997; Snow and Benford 1992). Finally, the implications of this research are presented for the analysis of social movements, and in particular, the study of new social movements. These implications are methodological no less than theoretical, and they include the potential of the Web and Part/Whole Approach for the study of social movements (Phillips, 2001; Phillips, Kincaid and Scheff, eds., 2002; Phillips, ed., 2007; Phillips and Johnston, 2007). Chapter 8 provides a summary and conclusion to this study by suggesting ways to re-think master narrative, particularly the Master Narrative of the civil rights movement. This chapter provides a brief reconsideration of the benchmark civil rights campaign in Birmingham, Alabama using the Border Campaign type. This chapter also provides suggestions for future directions for social movement research using the Web and Part/Whole Approach. The overall purpose of this task is to expand our understanding of social movement action in general and the early civil rights movement in particular.

