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A Critical Examination of Media Images of the Civil Rights Movement and their Role in Shaping Collective Memories among Northern White Audiences

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A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF MEDIA IMAGES OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THEIR ROLE IN SHAPING COLLECTIVE MEMORIES AMONG NORTHERN WHITE AUDIENCES

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I would like to dedicate this thesis to the two most important women in my life. First, I dedicate this thesis to my mother, Martha Esther Ramirez, who provided me with endless love and support throughout this entire process. She never once doubted me, and I cannot thank her enough. I would also like to dedicate this thesis to my grandmother, Gloria. Though she is no longer on this Earth, I still felt her heavenly love and support the entire time. Las amo con todo mi corazon.

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Abstract

Collective memory theory has been used to study a wide array of phenomena, including the media's role in shaping collective memories of pivotal and influential events throughout society. Often when lacking direct contact and engagement, the media may shape the collective memories of audiences. As such, the current study examines prominent images presented in the media and the potential role each could have contributed to the collective memory of the 1960's Civil Rights Movement. More specifically, this study analyzes how collective memories, which are arguably influenced by the mass media, create memories for audiences that lack direct engagement (e.g., participating in sit-ins) with the Civil Rights Movement. Adopting content analysis, findings posit that certain images from the Civil Rights Movement, along with their reinforcement in media, contributes to what mainstream audiences remember and recall, aligning the movement in favorable and respectable terms.

Introduction

The present-day fight of the Black Lives Matter (BLM) Movement is noted as a continuation of the longstanding fight against racism and racial injustice throughout the United States (Borysovych et al., 2020). The BLM Movement began in 2013 after Trayvon Martin's murderer, George Zimmerman, was acquitted of his death (Black Lives Matter, n.d.). However, BLM's roots trace back to the Civil Rights Movement, for which the media played a vital role in garnering prominence and support among audiences (Borysovych et al., 2020). The fight against racial injustices continues, with racism still present and rampant throughout the United States. In 2020 alone, several high-profile killings have occurred, such as the murder of unarmed Black individuals including Ahmaud Arbery and George Floyd. The current study draws attention to the shared understanding of how awareness and understanding of the iconic Civil Rights Movement, as a catalyst for current and future movements, is remembered as an incredibly pertinent and important set of events that changed the trajectory of intergroup and interracial relations. This research adds to the current vital conversation around racial injustice and social movements, examining the role of collective memory theory and how this concept intersects with the influence of the Civil Rights Movement on individuals lacking direct engagement but still predisposed by the perceived successes of these events.

Accordingly, the current study focuses on the potential for individuals who lack a direct, physical presence at the Civil Rights Movement to collectively remember this historical period. It also analyzes how the movement shifted behavioral and affective attitudes towards racial inclusion and justice. As scholars note, news imagery and the media play a large role in shaping individuals' collective memories, specifically when those audiences lack direct engagement with high-profile events (Halbwachs, 1939). Additionally, collective memories shape how segments

of society recall specific events that often drive their responses towards those occurrences (Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). Images, such as those of Civil Rights leaders of the Civil Rights Movement, helped garner support from various sectors of the population, like white or Black individuals living in Northern regions of the United States (Harris, 2006). The support from these groups helped the movement gain traction. For example, in the Freedom Rides of 1961, several students from the Congress of Racial Equality rode buses from Washington D.C. to Jackson, Mississippi to protest segregation on interstate buses, resulting in individuals coming to the Deep South to support, by means of collective action, these efforts (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). Those involved in the Freedom Rides "saw how provoking white southern violence through nonviolent confrontations could attract national attention and force federal action" (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). Similarly, the current BLM Movement has worked to gain support from several allies and sectors of the population, and this is often credited to media imagery that illustrates the injustices that Black individuals often face (Borysovych et al., 2020).

Likewise, media imagery largely influenced the narrative and recollections of the Civil Rights Movement. For example, images of Black individuals in their "Sunday Best," peacefully protesting as they were brutally attacked, helped shift the narrative away from the "savage" or "violent, brutish African American" stereotype (Green, 1999, p. 1; Selma Marches, 2018). Activists during the Civil Rights Movement strategically used the media to show how Black Americans were treated by their white counterparts and by the police (Ruff, 2020). These media images increased the support and empathy for the Civil Rights Movement's efforts, such as voting rights (Selma Marches, 2018). Because of these media images, Americans started seeing

Black individuals framed in a favorable manner, countering negative stereotypes such as perceptions related to thugs and criminals (Selma Marches, 2018).

The current study adopts collective memory theory (Halbwachs, 1939) as a mechanism to analyze media images from the Civil Rights Movement. Collective memory theory suggests that individuals collectively remember historical events a certain way, depending on factors like their association with an event or group membership (Halbwachs, 1939; Halbwachs, 1980; Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). People's collective memories can vary depending on their engagement with certain events. For example, individuals who have direct contact with high-profile events do not need help from tools like the media to remember an event. Instead, they can rely on their personal, lived experiences to recall prominent occurrences (Halbwachs, 1939). However, individuals that lack direct engagement with high-profile events rely heavily on imagery, the media, and personal accounts from friends and family to recall such happenings (Halbwachs, 1939; Halbwachs, 1980). Society's collective memories of high-profile events are important because these communal recollections shape the narrative of how historical moments are remembered (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011). Therefore, examining collective memories and how they are formed is important for understanding meaningful historical moments.

Considering how history is posed to repeat itself, there is much to gain from examining collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement. These examinations can help scholars, activists, and society learn from the mistakes and successes of the past. For instance, the BLM Movement and the Civil Rights Movement often mirror each other. In the Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, a sign hangs that reads, "We Demand an End to Police Brutality Now!" in red and white letters (Nodjimbadem, 2020). The activist who donated this sign, Samuel Egerton, carried it during the 1963 March on Washington to protest

the constant oppression and violence directed at Black communities by the police (Nodjimbadem, 2020). Egerton notes that if it were not for the yellowed edges and wear and tear, the sign could easily be mistaken for one from the recent BLM marches against police brutality (Nodjimbadem, 2020). Similarly, during Dr. King Jr.'s iconic "I Have a Dream" speech, he states, "There are those who are asking the devotees of civil rights, when will you be satisfied. We can never be satisfied as long as the Negro is the victim of the unspeakable horrors of police brutality" (Nodjimbadem, 2020). This resounding statement is often posed today by marginalized groups facing oppression. Both the BLM Movement and the Civil Rights Movement worked to advance social and racial justice through similar acts like marches, protest, and sit-ins. Though decades have passed, Dr. King Jr.'s message and the continued fight for equal treatment still resonates.

In the following study, a review of collective memory theory is offered, specifically basic tenets and applicable research within this domain. This text is followed by sections on collective memory and mass media, and the intersection of the Civil Rights Movement with these subjects. Lastly, the method, adopting content analysis, is explored along with data collection and analysis. Finally, findings and implications of the research are discussed.

Literature Review

Collective Memory Theory

Audiences often create mental images of historical events that trigger an emotional response (Halbwachs, 1939). When individuals want to recall a significant moment in time, they recall "the collective thought that gave it birth… we go back to the origins of these structures, we find mental states, representations, ideas, and tendencies" that help shape collective memories (Halbwachs, 1939, p. 821). Collective memory theory explains how members of society use the media, imagery, physical monuments, stories from friends and family, and other factors to remember past events with which they lack direct contact or association (Halbwachs, 1939; Halbwachs, 1980).

Collective memory occurs on two levels. The first exists at the individual level, which refers to how a person's associations, beliefs, and locations affect how they remember a past event (Olick, 1999). The second exists as the collective memory among the entire population. It refers to how society may view the consensus of what took place, creating a collective idea of an event or series of events (Olick, 1999). Group membership is an important determinant of how an individual remembers an event (Halbwachs, 1980). Group membership can refer to various groups, like occupations or socio-economic class (Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). A person's social group determines how their "feelings, attitudes, and mental dispositions" will shape that event's memory, meaning that the views and feelings of the group shapes how individuals reconstruct memories (Halbwachs, 1939). The role that group membership plays in collective memory is so strong that researchers using collective memory theory often find that respondent's evaluations of past events can be predicted by what social group a respondent is in (Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018).

To illustrate, in the United States, there will be varying levels of collective memories of the Louisiana State University 2019 football national championship. The collective memories of the championship can vary depending on several factors, like proximity. At the individual level, someone living in Baton Rouge will have a completely different collective memory of the championship than someone living in Oregon. The championship consumed Baton Rouge, with billboards erected throughout the city supporting LSU and the local media discussing the championship continuously. An individual in Oregon might have barely heard of the championship, creating varied individual level collective memories. By living closer to LSU and where the LSU 2019 football national championship took place, the first individual's collective memory is largely affected by the billboards and the constant media coverage. They will have vivid memories of the championship due to the constant imagery of the football team and LSU. The individuals closer to the event have a distinct memory that is much different than the individual living in Oregon with little ties to the event because it had little relevance or proximity to them. Therefore, proximity greatly influenced the individual level of collective memories for these two individuals living in different states. However, the second level of collective memory, which exists as the collective memory among the entire population, is that LSU won the 2019 national football championship. This is an irrefutable fact that all of American society can agree on, regardless of where you live, creating the same collective memory for all Americans. Since the individual level can be quite distinct, most studies focus on the collective memory of society or large groups of people.

Once individuals create any form of collective memory, that memory becomes permanently ingrained in their minds (Halbwachs, 1939). Collective memories are not only agreed upon recollections among a group; these events are also 'publicly available symbols' that

society maintains to preserve events, like physical commemorations of historical occurrences or historical textbooks (Coman et al., 2009; Olick, 1999). These symbols, such as historical monuments, provide a concrete way to ensure that an event's collective memory will be preserved for years (Coman et al., 2009). At its core, collective memory theory suggests that members of society collectively remember historical events in a specific way depending on societal beliefs, symbols, and ideals, thus creating a collective memory.

Collective memory has been previously studied throughout various fields, including sociology, psychology, and history (Gensburger, 2016). For example, Lyons and Kudrnac (2018) used collective memory theory to examine how high schoolers evaluated life in communist Czechoslovakia, even though they were born post-communism and did not have any lived experiences of that period. Lyons and Kudrnac (2018) found that students based their evaluations of communist Czechoslovakia mainly on accounts from grandparents and other relatives who were alive during those times. Students also relied on films and television series as well as the news media for evidence. In that study, historical accounts, like textbooks, did not greatly influence students. Overall, research posited that the news media, along with social media and films, were more likely to influence how students evaluated life in communist Czechoslovakia than influences from friends and acquaintances (Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018).

Lyons and Kudrnac (2018, p. 290) concluded that Halbwachs' theory of collective memory helps us understand how memories and "evaluations of contemporary history (not always directly experienced) are created." Hirst and Fineberg's (2011) work concerning communities from Belgium explains that "what makes Belgium a particularly good case study of collective memory is that until 1830, it [Belgium] did not exist" (p. 86). As the country of Belgium was created, certain groups of people developed distinct collective memories. For

example, French-speaking Belgians who lived in the previously named area of Flanders remember Belgium's creation much differently than German-speaking individuals who lived in other areas (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011). These French-speaking individuals remember the creation of Belgium in a much more antagonistic way than German-speaking groups. Belgians created different identities centered around their language and geographical location based on these collective memories (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011).

Hirst and Fineberg (2011) describe collective memories as 'malleable,' meaning they can be easily influenced by factors such as pre-existing beliefs. For example, older Danes remember the German invasion of Denmark as a horrible day (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011). A study even found that Danes believed that the weather on that particular day was worse than it actually was on record (Berntsen & Thomson, 2005). Danes also stated that the weather was particularly beautiful when German forces retreated, even though records showed that the weather was not as good as they remembered (Berntsen & Thomson, 2005). Pre-existing beliefs, emotions, and attitudes as well as the news media and books often help create a malleable collective memory that can be easily influenced by various factors. Memorials, social practices, and commemorative ceremonies also help construct and maintain collective memories throughout communities (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011).

Hirst and Fineberg (2011) theorized why one national memorial alters collective memory and helps memorialize an event or person, while others "merely occupy space" (p. 89). This begs the question, why do some stories become 'seared' into the public's collective memory and are memorialized in books, films, and other cultural artifacts while others are forgotten? Hirst and Fineberg (2011) suggest that events that occur more recently have a stronger presence in

society's collective memory. Moreover, when a memory comes from an individual who was not physically present at an event, their memory is not considered authentic (Landsberg, 2004).

The media plays a large role in remembering inauthentic recollections among individuals who have do not have any authentic, first-hand experiences of an event (Landsberg, 2004). Since these individuals were not physically present or alive during the event, their memories are derived from other sources, like the media (Landsberg, 2004). For example, the media enable audiences to "identify with the experiences of people who endured severe traumas" that the audience has not had direct, physical experience with (Berkowitz, 2001, p. 14). In this sense, the media serve as an archive for the collective memories of events in which individuals were not physically present.

Collective Memory and Mass Media

Collective memory theory has mainly been adopted by sociologists, psychologists and historians. However, the framework serves as a useful context to study phenomena in other disciplines like media studies, political science, and communication (Gensburger, 2016). According to Halbwachs (1980), newspapers, as one form of media, and first-hand accounts of incidents influence how people remember events. If the news consistently displays a particular image, that image may remain as the 'collective memory' of its associated event (Halbwachs, 1980). As such, mass media plays a powerful role in shaping our views and memories (Bourdon & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011). The mass media, such as television, radio, and newspapers, "are major contributors to our perceptions" due to the constant information they provide (Lorimer & Scannell, 1994, p. 27). The media can largely shape how individuals view politics and society as a whole (Olick, 1999). For example, war correspondents during the mid-nineteenth century largely shaped the public's view of conflict because their reports and images "were able to

present the horrors of modern warfare to their readers at home" (Olick, 1999, p. 343). Thus, "our current concern with memory in political contexts is…a result of technologies of memory outside of the brain" (Olick, 1999, p. 343). In another instance, the media created and reinforced the world's collective memories of Germany during World War II (Olick, 1999). The constant media imagery of Nazis still to this day "constrain German foreign and domestic policy" (Olick, 1999, p. 334).

The media often have the power to initiate and restructure collective memories (Kitch, 2005; Neiger et al., 2011). The media's power over shaping public opinion has been long supported and researched in mass communication studies (Kitch, 2005; Neiger et al., 2011; Schwartz, 1982). Walter Lippmann alluded to the media's role in agenda-setting back in 1922 when he described how the media is the primary source for most of society's understanding of public affairs. He explained that individuals' understanding of the world is largely based on what the media decide to cover (Lippmann, 1922). McCombs and Shaw (1972) further researched the concept of agenda-setting and found that the media greatly influence audiences by telling them what they should think about. In essence, the media control the salience of news topics and thus may influence the public agenda (McCombs & Shaw, 1972). For example, if the media frequently cover a news topic, the audience will often think about that topic and regard it as an important subject simply due to its prominence in coverage.

There are thousands of news events that occur daily. However, very few of these events make it into the news. Gatekeeping theory explains how the media control the flow of information to the masses (Lewin, 1947). Since so many events occur and the media cannot cover all of them, the media decides what events make it into the news by selectively deciding what information will be covered (Shoemaker et al., 2013). Collective memory among viewers is

impacted by these concepts because the events that the media allows into the masses are the events that society will mostly recall.

The media plays an important role in informing citizens. According to Fortunato and Martin (2016), the media largely influences how audiences think and behave regarding important news topics. If the media shape the public agenda, then they also shape collective memory. As Lippmann (1922) described, the media paint the "pictures inside people's heads" of what the world is like (p. 7). Often, these pictures portrayed by the media will turn into society's collective memories of events. By driving what society is thinking about, the media are also driving what society will remember and how these memories will be shaped.

Halbwachs' collective memory theory fits seamlessly into mass media studies since the media have an "enormous influence" on forming society's collective memories (Huyssen, 2000, p. 29). Scholars have even coined the term "media memory" to explain how the media act as memory influencers (Kitch, 2005). Media memory studies encompass "the systematic exploration of collective pasts, narrated by the media, through the media" (Neiger et al., 2011, p. 1). The rise of technology and mass culture largely led to the media's powerful role in shaping collective memories (Reading, 2011). Historically, major events were interpreted by academics or the government and then spread to the masses (Sheffi, 2011). Now, academics and political elites no longer solely control the rights to narrate and interpret past events (Sheffi, 2011). The media can actively shape and curate our memories through the press, television, and even film (Sheffi, 2011). The prominence of mass media has led to the media's monopoly over "determining" and "maintaining" a consensus on public events (Schwartz, 1982).

Fundamental themes that connect collective memory studies and mass media studies include the cognitive processes enacted by individuals. For instance, collective memory and

mass media studies often involve decision-making strategies that determine the salience of certain events or memories (Kitch, 2011). This process also involves dismissing certain events or memories that are less salient. An event's salience can vary depending on factors like individuals or audience's closeness to the event or how their identities may be associated with the collective memory (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011). For example, the identity of an LSU student who grew up in Baton Rouge might be closely tied to feelings of pride and excitement for LSU. For this student, their identity as an LSU student is very important to them. This student might wear purple and gold, and the phrase "geaux tigers" has a significant meaning to them. This student will further remember the 2019 football national championship with these same feelings of pride and joy since their identity of being an LSU student is deeply important to them. However, a new teacher at LSU with fewer community ties to the LSU culture may remember the 2019 football national championship with feelings of indifference. This indifference may be related to proximity, not having lived in Baton Rouge prior, or other identities that are more significant, like being a parent, activist, or foodie. Accordingly, their recollections of the 2019 Football National Championship are less significant. Overall, identities can be closely related to the recollection of past events (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011).

Scholars have developed ways to classify how the media shape our "shared pasts" (Frosh, 2011). One example includes media ownership and examining the different characteristics of collective memories from commercial outlets versus publicly owned media outlets (Lowenthal, 1988; Meyers, 2009). Scholars find that the difference is not clear cut. Common factors like ratings and professional norms are found throughout commercial media outlets and publicly owned media outlets. Regardless of media ownership, these factors still influence how both types of media report on events (Lowenthal, 1988; Meyers, 2009). Other scholars examine how media

type can affect collective memories by comparing news media, radio, and television (Kitch, 2011). Out of all these methods, journalists seem to have the strongest influence on how we remember things (Meyers, 2009). Journalists' power to select which past events get highlighted along with their authority as trusted storytellers allows for much interpretative freedom on how they choose to describe and frame our collective memories (Harris, 2006; Meyer, 2009). Journalists are often "meaning-makers" that operate "within larger cultural and political contexts that shape and inform their interpretive work of narrative" storytellers (Bird, 2011, p. 6).

Media research adopting collective memory theory often focuses on textual analysis, yet of late, studies have examined visual forms of mass media, including images derived from television or cinema (Bourdon & Kligler-Vilenchik, 2011). To illustrate, Hariman and Lucaites (2003) studied the infamous photograph often referred to as "accidental napalm." This image took place during the Vietnam War, depicting a little girl running toward the camera, in agony and fear from the napalm burns covering her body. Hariman and Lucaites (2003) argue this image serves as a powerful emotional resource for remembering the Vietnam War and shaping the collective memory of that event in the United States.

According to Hariman and Lucaites (2003), photojournalistic images define "the public through an act of common spectatorship" (p. 36). News images allow people to witness 'firsthand' past historical events (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). These images help shape collective memories because everyone sees the same image and therefore may remember the event in the same way (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). Images have the power of shifting public opinion and pushing certain agendas, like the "accidental napalm" image. This image helped shape people's view of the Vietnam War by embodying human rights struggles (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). That particular image is seen as "a defining photographic icon; it remains a

symbol of the horror of war in general, and of the war in Vietnam in particular" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003, p. 39). This photo suggests that photojournalism can be more effective in shaping public discourse since a photograph serves as a "clear window on reality itself" (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003, p. 37).

Hariman and Lucaites (2003) pondered why the 'accidental napalm' image was ingrained in people's memories when there were "many, many press reports and a number of striking photos that would suffice as evidence for any claim that the United States was fighting an immoral war" (p. 40). Hundreds of images circulated during those times showing graphic instances of violence in Vietnam, from prisoners of war being murdered to burned babies covered in wounds (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003). However, this specific image is the one that gained the most traction.

Hariman and Lucaites (2003) explain that the little girl is directly facing the lens, looking straight on at anyone who looks at the photo. The photograph conveys the pain that she feels as she projects forward with her body, running in agony. It evokes emotions among audiences and triggers an instinct to want to reach out and help her. Her naked body also plays a role. Photojournalistic norms typically frown upon showing a young girl's naked body. However, Hariman and Lucaites (2003) explain that her naked body reflects her pain, as she ripped off her clothes to escape the burning sensation of the napalm. Her naked body "reveals another, deeper form of concealment… the image shows what is hidden by what is being said in print" (p. 41). This image helped change the war's narrative and pulled back the curtain on the atrocities that occurred in Vietnam. Ultimately, Hariman and Lucaites (2003) state that this popularity is due to the image's ability to activate "public conscience at the time because it provided an embodied transcription of important features of moral life, including pain, fragmentation, modal

relationship among strangers, betrayal and trauma" (p. 40). In a similar manner, the visual imagery of the Civil Rights Movement, similar to previous acts, helped galvanize moderate white individuals and complacent Americans to consider the plight of Black Americans in general, and Black individuals in the Deep South specifically (Harris, 2006).

Collective Memory, Mass Media, and the Civil Rights Movement

This study focuses on the intersection of media imagery and the collective memory of the Civil Rights Movement. For example, a key moment during the Civil Rights Movement was the Supreme Court ruling of Brown v. Board of Education in 1954, which led to American public schools' desegregation. One of the most famous images of this moment in history is of Ruby Bridges, a young Black American girl, walking down a set of concrete stairs in her blue ironed school dress with a small white jacket on top, white socks with dress shoes, and a small plaid bag in her hand. Ruby has a bow in her hair, which is pulled back. She is surrounded by white men in suits, one walking behind her, one next to her, and one in front of her. A police officer watches her walk down the steps from inside the building, grinning while talking to another police officer. Everyone with the exception of Ruby is a white adult (See appendix A). This image serves as the 'collective memory' or image of public schools' desegregation in America.

Hundreds of pictures exist from the Civil Rights Movement. However, there are memorable images that have been ingrained in history. These iconic and notable images have a certain 'stickiness' to them – a factor that draws viewers in (Dover, 2011). Across the United States, several museums and memorials display the viral images examined in this study. In addition, many television shows, movies, and other media display these viral images throughout pivotal moments, such as Black History Month in February. These memorials, museums, and media outlets help maintain American's collective memory of the Civil Rights Movement.

Halbwachs' theory of collective memory provides a framework for understanding how specific images became popular and often represent significant occurrences, such as moments during the Civil Rights Movement. The images of the Civil Rights Movement were pushed to the forefront of American news and circulated across the country because the images exposed what many individuals were either ignorant to or chose to turn a blind eye (Harris, 2006).

Individuals can hold memories of historical events from which they were not physically present. Collective memory theory helps explain how certain groups of people can remember events they never experienced directly (Olick, 1999). In the absence of memories from physical attendance, individuals can rely on several factors to form memories, such as stories passed down from generations, narratives from the media, and historical artifacts from museums or monuments (Hirst & Fineberg, 2011; Lyons & Kudrnac, 2018). Individuals physically present at Civil Rights events do not need to look to the media, imagery, or other physical memorials to remember the Civil Rights Movement. Though many people have not attended a protest, sit-in, or march or may not have been alive during the Civil Rights Movement, this theory aids in explaining how certain media images shape the collective memories of these movements and how people are able to remember them (Zelizer, 2011).

The media has an unparalleled role in shaping society's knowledge of events, past and current, including the Civil Rights Movement (Edy, 2006). While the national news media had access to a wider audience, particularly white Americans, Black media consistently reported on the events of the Civil Rights Movement (Harris, 2006). The Black media's constant coverage of these events helped mobilize Northern Black communities as well as white Americans (Harris, 2006). For example, the national news outlet, *The New York Times*, covered the lynching of Emmett Till in a conservative manner, carefully avoiding pointing blame at how Southern states

essentially permitted lynchings (Mace, 2014). They instead called it a tragedy and avoided quoting the NAACP's press releases, choosing to quote more "conservative" Civil Rights organizations like the National Urban League (Mace, 2014, p. 32). Even the more "liberal" news outlet, *The New York Post*, also chose not to cover any NAACP's statements.

In contrast, Black media outlets like *Jet magazine*, which published the now-famous image of Till's body in an open casket, criticized Deep South states and gave detailed accounts of his lynching (Mace, 2014). *Jet magazine* worked tirelessly to "humanize the ghastly story and prime the indignation of people—white and black alike—across the country and around the world" (Mace, 2014, p. 25). *The Philadelphia Tribune* and other "black outlets focused their attention and efforts on defending the NAACP" and calling out the "barbaric practice of lynching" (Mace, 2014, p. 33). Overall, the media in general, and Black media in particular, helped tell the stories of those who were on the ground during the Civil Rights Movement and spread their stories throughout the country. The media's reports of the crimes against Black people during the Civil Rights Movement "tested the limits of tolerance for racial oppression" and forced Americans to reckon with their morals (Mace, 2014, p. 21).

The Civil Rights Movement

Perhaps the most powerful social and political movement in the United States' history, the Civil Rights Movement began in the 1950s to fight for the basic human rights that Black Americans were systemically denied. The movement began as a response to Jim Crow laws that perpetuated racism and systematic oppression (Clayton, 2018). During the Civil Rights Movement, Black individuals fought against violent racial oppressions and organized rallies, sit-ins, boycotts, and other various events to protest the group's inequalities. One outcome of these actions included wide-spread news media coverage (Clayton, 2018).

The post-slavery period in the United States gave rise to a new spectacle of 'racial terror,' lynching (Peterson & Ward, 2015). Peterson and Ward (2015) explain how lynchings claimed the lives of many, however, "African Americans paid the heaviest toll, comprising around 90% of the nearly 5,000 documented victims of lynchings between 1882 and 1951" (p. 116). Lynchings became a common occurrence in the United States, with many white Americans barely flinching at the vile, public murders of Black Americans. However, one particularly brutal lynching became the "impetus" for the Civil Rights Movement and created enough national outrage to kick start the movement (Morris, 1999).

The lynching of Emmett Till occurred in 1955. Till was a 14-year-old boy from Chicago who traveled to visit family in Money, Mississippi (Clayton, 2018). His lynching occurred at the hands of two white men after he was accused of flirting with one of their wives, a white woman, in a store (TIME, n.d.). The white women who accused Till of grabbing her later admitted to lying about the entire interaction (Pérez-Peña, 2017). Nevertheless, Till, just a young boy, paid for this misunderstanding with his life. The two men violently beat him, shot him, and strung barbed wire, along with a metal fan around his neck, and dumped his body into the Tallahatchie River (TIME, n.d.). The men were quickly acquitted by a white jury (TIME, n.d.). In a powerful and vulnerable move, Till's mother Mamie Till held an open casket funeral for her son to reveal the barbarity of his savage murder. Mamie Till's bravery and determination to expose her son's lynching, as TIME magazine describes, forced the public to "no longer ignore or pretend to ignore what they couldn't see." Emmett Till's murder was the catalyst for the Civil Rights Movement. In response, protests quickly ensued throughout the United States.

The demonstrations that followed played key roles in shaping the direction of the Civil Rights Movement. For example, a pivotal moment during the Civil Rights Movement was the

Montgomery Bus Boycotts. The roots of this movement trace back to Jo Ann Robinson in 1949. After sitting “too close” to the bus' white section in Montgomery, Alabama, Robinson was verbally attacked by the bus driver (Bennett, 2020a). Robinson feared that the driver would physically assault her, so she ran off the bus, “humiliated, embarrassed, and angered” (Bennett, 2020a, p. 1). This incident led Robinson to mobilize efforts against bus segregation laws. She went on to serve as the president of the Women’s Political Council (WPC) (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. b).

The WPC met with the Montgomery mayor and city council in 1954 to discuss bus segregation laws (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. b). After these efforts failed to produce changes, Robinson began planning the bus boycotts (Bennett, 2020a). Two other young Black women were arrested in early 1955 for refusing to give up their seats (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. b). Later that year, Rosa Parks, the secretary of the Montgomery NAACP, also refused to give up her seat to a white man in a calculated plan by several activists to enact the bus boycotts (Bennett, 2020a). “Mrs. Parks was ideal for the role assigned to her by history…her character was impeccable and her dedication deep-rooted,” said Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. b). Parks was subsequently arrested and in response, Robinson’s Montgomery Bus Boycott plans finally came to life (Bennett, 2020a). During this boycott, Black Americans protested tirelessly and peacefully for over 381 days (McGhee, 2015).

Black Americans used the Montgomery Bus Boycotts to peacefully protest Parks’ arrest and the entire system of oppression and segregation in Alabama. The protestors did not attack the busses or cause any damage to public property. Instead, they organized and called on other Black Americans to avoid riding the busses. Thousands of Black Americans walked or bicycled to

work and school to support the cause (McGhee, 2015). Others simply chose to stay home. In one day alone, the bus company lost over 70 percent of its patrons (McGhee, 2015). The Montgomery Bus Boycott was a strategically planned peaceful movement that yielded great success, with the United States Supreme Court ruling that the City of Montgomery's segregated bus rules were unconstitutional (McGhee, 2015).

A few years later, the March on Washington took place in 1963. A quarter-million Americans gathered in Washington D.C. to hear Dr. King Jr.'s "I Have a Dream" speech (Smith, 2013). The historic march centered around "jobs and freedom," tracing "the political intersection of Black labor organizers and the Civil Rights Movement" (Smith, 2013, p. 20). Hours were spent planning and organizing the massive march in the hopes of banning job discrimination and attaining fair employment laws (Smith, 2013). Dr. King Jr. gave one the most well-known, powerful speeches addressing the racial inequalities across the United States. The March on Washington served as another pivotal moment for the Civil Rights Movement.

Soon after, the Selma to Montgomery March occurred in 1965. This march was a peaceful attempt to register Black American voters amidst deep South racist practices in Alabama. Though a landmark Civil Rights Act was passed a year earlier, it did little to ensure the basic right to vote for Black Americans (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. c). Activists led hundreds of protestors on a 54-mile march from Selma to Montgomery to peacefully demand equal voting rights (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. c). The protestors were met with brutal force from law enforcement and viciously attacked, leading to the day referred to as Bloody Sunday (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. c). This specific march captured the attention of millions of Americans, as the media showed the sharp contrast of peaceful protestors kneeling in

their nice dresses and suits while law enforcement savagely descended on them with weapons in their hands and hatred in their eyes. The Voting Rights Act of 1965 came from this march's efforts and the second one the following week (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. b).

Mass media played a key role in the Civil Rights Movement. During the Civil Rights era, activists believed that television was a "promising new medium through which they could prevent the world from turning a blind eye to violence against Black people" (Ruff, 2020, p. 38). Dr. King Jr. echoed this sentiment and said, "We will no longer let them use their clubs on us in the dark corners. We're going to make them do it in the glaring light of television" (Ruff, 2020, p. 38). Mamie Till understood the value of media coverage back in 1955 when she allowed newspapers to publish graphic images of her son's mutilated body. She understood that the media can have deep, persuasive influences on complacent members of the population (Mace, 2014). Thousands of Americans who lived outside of the Deep South were unaware of how commonplace lynchings were or how brutal Jim Crow laws were on Black Americans (Mace, 2014). This ignorance is partly rooted in the fact that they simply did not see or hear about it. With the help of media outlets, Emmet Till's story exposed the extent of the horrors of racism to the entire nation (Mace, 2014). As more and more media outlets covered the events of the Civil Rights movement, Americans could no longer turn away from these racial inequalities and the movement continued to gain traction (Mace, 2014).

The media coverage of these events "highlighted flashpoints where American ideals of democracy and equality conflicted with American practices of exclusion and discrimination" (Mace, 2014, p. 19). Black Americans, along with other activists like Dr. King Jr., explicitly used the media to change the narrative of the Civil Rights Movement. They often wore their

"Sunday Best" while marching to disprove the negative stereotypes of Black communities. Reports of these events showing Black Americans as up-standing individuals attacked by the police helped gain sympathy and support for the Civil Rights Movement (Selma Marches, 2018). Activists strategically used televised news programs to counter the narrative as well as to distinguish the collective memory of the movement (Selma Marches, 2018). The media provided an outlet to bring the Civil Rights Movement's narrative to the forefront of America's consciousness. The effects of the Civil Rights Movement are still very much strongly felt to this day and are still constantly attacked, like the recent attacks on affirmative action and voting rights (Hartocollis, 2020; Rutenberg, 2020). Audiences still collectively remember the bravery, courage, and passion of those involved in the movement. Thus, the following are the research questions guiding this research:

Research Question 1: What emotional responses might audiences lacking direct contact with the Civil Right Movement experience from a selection of iconic images from the collective action?

Research Question 2: What actions might these emotional responses have elicited from the analyzed audiences?

Method

Procedures

According to Gerbner (1959), a content analysis involves creating a systematic process "to isolate and investigate consequential properties of content which escape ordinary awareness or casual scrutiny, to bring to awareness those hidden regularities of content which record and reflect objective mechanisms of a social order" (p. 91). Scholars often use content analysis as a qualitative method to study media memory phenomenon. For example, Frazier (2020) conducted a content analysis of *Jet* and *Ebony* magazine's news coverage of the Tuskegee syphilis study. The content analysis method helped Frazier (2020) analyze how these magazines' narratives might have influenced Black individuals' collective memories of the Tuskegee syphilis study. Frazier (2020) identified several themes from the news stories, such as "exploitation of uneducated victims, racism, and blame… reflecting past and current beliefs of African Americans' remembrance of the study" through the use of the content analysis methodology (p. 280).

Similarly, Clayton (2018) conducted a content analysis of the *New York Times* to examine this news outlet's coverage of the BLM movement and the Civil Rights Movement. In his content analysis, Clayton (2018) examined what type of language was used to cover these movements to determine if the media portrayal was positive or negative. Kligler-Vilenchik, Tsfati, and Oren (2014) also used content analysis to study how the media influences collective memories by examining the events the media chose to highlight. This current study uses a content analysis to examine how the images published by the media of Civil Rights events helped change the narrative of Black individuals' in the United States.

Data Collection

The current study will focus on images of the Civil Rights Movement. Keyword searches on Google, such as the phrase 'popular Civil Rights Movement images," were used to gather and select images. Images were collected from various historical websites and media outlets including, All That's Interesting's (ATI) gallery, the Afro American Newspaper, The New York World Telegraph & Sun, The Life Images Collection, the Library of Congress, and the National Archives and Records Administration. A random number generator (e.g., random.com) was used to choose a sample of images, resulting in a total of 6 images for the current examination.

Data Coding and Analysis

Hariman and Lucaites (2003) explain that a "photographic image is capable of directing attention across a field of gestures, interaction rituals, social types, political styles, artistic motifs, cultural norms, and other signs as they intersect in any event" (p. 38). Codebooks are often used to study media images, including newspaper and social media images (Carrotte et al., 2017; Cowart et al., 2016). As such, for the current study, images were coded regarding several factors including gender, surroundings, significance of the events taking place, actions taking place, facial expressions, key figures, and the presence of signs or text (see appendix for descriptions of each code)

Each image was compared and contextualized regarding not only the text and visual messaging, but their potential influence on the collective memories of audiences that may have been absent from direct engagement with the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s, more specifically with white Northern audiences.

Findings

Roughly ten percent of the sample images ($n = 6$) were chosen from a larger sample ($N = 55$) using random number generator (see appendix for images). These images were coded according to the codebook (see appendix). Each individual image was assigned a title that included a description of the image, the year, the location, and the source of the image. The images below contain a detailed description of the image, an analysis based on the codebook, any relevant media coverage or descriptions of relevant events during that time, and potential affective responses from Northern white audiences lacking direct contact with the Civil Rights Movement. Below is the analysis for each image.

Elizabeth Eckford Walks to School Amid an Angry Mob in Little Rock, AR (Getty Images, 1957)

This first image (see appendix B) represents an important moment in Civil Rights history, as it shows Elizabeth Eckford, who is one of the nine first Black students to integrate Little Rock Central High School in 1957, on her way to school. This integration of education facilities results from the ruling of Brown v. Board of Education that ended segregation practices in American schools (NPR, 2011). The Southern Poverty Law Center explains that "the images of the Little Rock Nine – particularly that of Eckford walking alone through a screaming mob of white people who shouted insults and threats at her – hurled the crisis into the nation's living rooms and drew international attention to America's struggle against racial injustice" (Bennett, 2020b). The integration of Little Rock Central High School was a significant and highly discussed moment, illustrated by the *New York Times*' constant front-page coverage of the event. This event garnered much media attention due to the circumstances surrounding the integration of this high school and the important figures involved. The governor of Arkansas, Orval Faubus, was an 'avid segregationist' who ordered the National Guard to form a blockade around the school to

keep Black students out (Bennett, 2020b). A group of lawyers from the NAACP, including Thurgood Marshall, confronted Faubus' actions in court, leading a judge to order the National Guard to stand down (Bennett, 2020b). Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. reached out to President Dwight D. Eisenhower to urge him to protect the incoming Black students. In response, Eisenhower deployed 1,000 paratroopers from the Army to assist the integration (Bennett, 2020b). Well-known media outlets, like the *New York Times,* had widespread coverage of the integration of this school throughout the entire week, meaning that many Americans would have heard of this event, including Northern white audiences.

The first image features Eckford, a high school student, walking amongst a crowd of mostly white women screaming and glaring at her. Eckford is walking straight ahead, with one hand calmly by her side and the other holding a folder, ignoring her hostile surroundings. She is dressed in a fitted white-collar shirt with a flowing skirt with a checkered bottom. The two white women to the right of Eckford are both glaring at her, and their faces are wrinkled in anger. These two women are holding each other's arms in fellowship as Eckford walks alone. Another woman in the back has her mouth wide open as she hurls insults at Eckford. "News cameras and photographers were all over that day, but there is one picture in particular that came to represent that incident to the world: that of Eckford with her back to an advancing crowd" (NPR, 2011). A few other images of Eckford walking to school on that day exist; however, none were found that show the crowd walking behind Eckford. This image is most likely the most famous one due to the crowd's hostility that showcases the treatment of Eckford and other Black individuals during that time.

Collective memory scholars have established that images can evoke emotional responses and reactions from audiences (Hariman & Lucaites, 2003; Parry-Giles & Parry-Giles, 2009).

This image would have been very revealing and would have evoked various emotional responses such as anger and horror among whites living in the North due to the behavior of the white women in this picture and the treatment of a Black child. Since this group was geographically distant and might not have had direct engagement with the Civil Rights Movement in the South, many might have gained their knowledge and collective memories about this movement from the media. While many outlets like the *New York Times* covered the integration of this school, they rarely included pictures that showed the hatred and violence that Black students faced. Though the *New York Times* did describe how some students were verbally attacked, the pictures accompanying these articles were of soldiers protecting the students and other scenes that excluded the violence from the crowds. In this case, some might have assumed that the Black students were well protected due to the images of order and strong military presence displayed on the covers. However, this image paints the stark reality of what occurred and may have evoked strong feelings among these audiences from seeing the reality of what was happening

Black students that day faced severe violence and harassment from the crowd. For example, Minnijean Brown, who was a part of the first group of Black students at Little Rock Central, was harassed by a group of white girls who spit on her and stepped on her heels until they bled (Bennett, 2020b). This image captures the hatred, racism, and bigotry of the white crowd that surrounded Eckford. White audiences might feel emotions like horror or surprise towards the white mob's demeanor because this picture clearly shows grown, primarily white women yelling, insulting, and harassing a lone Black girl. It evokes emotions such as horror or sadness for white audiences who might have never seen anything like this and might be imagining how young Eckford must feel, walking all alone in such a hostile environment. By just viewing this image, several feelings are evoked. Some white individuals might feel shocked at

seeing how this child is being treated just for trying to go to school, considering that their own children would never be treated this way, and they would have never faced a circumstance like this one. Other white Northerners might feel panic and fear as they imagine what Eckford might have felt like at that moment, feelings that they would have never experienced before due to their skin color and status in society. For instance, during that time, a white person would rarely be intimidated and harassed like this on their way to school. Other white Northerners might feel waves of anger and disgust as they look at the angry crowd in this image and how this crowd is determinedly following Eckford to humiliate, intimidate, and harass her.

More specifically, this picture presents a striking visual of women considering how both the victim and the aggressors are women. In the United States, “white women are often understood as victims” (Cataneo, 2020). However, this image shows white women yelling at a lone Black girl and disrupts the idea of white women as victims and dismantles the concept of white women being at the forefront of allyship. White women played a large role in perpetuating racism. For example, they formed the Women of the Klu Klux Klan, which was chartered in the same city that this picture occurred, only a few decades before in 1923 (Lang, 2001). Though white women had a large hand in perpetuating racism and hate, it is rarely documented through photos like this one. This image portraying white women protecting white supremacy would deeply affect other white women's collective memories throughout the country. White women viewing this image might feel emotions of shame or guilt by viewing how other white women are collectively harassing a child. This image might trigger their consciousness and provoke these emotions of shame or guilt. This shame or guilt would positively portray the Civil Rights Movement as it frames Black individuals, specifically a Black child, as a victim of hatred directly from white women.

Furthermore, these emotions and this image might make white women in the North more sympathetic to the cause; after viewing how other white women have behaved, they might want to redeem themselves and show that not all white women behave this way. Since much of their identity might revolve around being white or being a woman, it would be important for them to counter the image of white women that this picture portrays to salvage their identity or reputation. Other whites in the North might change their view of how whites treated Black individuals and cause them to feel more sympathy for Black citizens because of the feelings that this image evokes. This picture puts Northern white audiences up close to the acts of hate that children had to endure during this period and enables them to experience several raw emotions like outrage, shock, or dismay. It is one thing to hear about how children faced opposition while trying to attend newly integrated schools, and another to witness it by viewing a picture of what exactly that opposition looked like. As a result, these response emotions of shame or guilt would heavily drive their collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement. Images like this one would have helped Northern white audiences collectively remember and think of the Civil Rights Movement in a positive light as it showcases how innocent individuals, like this young Black girl, were treated by other white people.

Demonstrators Face Firehoses in Birmingham, AL (Getty Images, 1963)

This picture (see appendix C) was taken on May 4, 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama, and shows three Black individuals peacefully demonstrating at a protest against segregation practices. The three Black individuals are standing in a horizontal line holding hands to support themselves while riot police spray water. They are standing outside under trees in a patch of grass with no visible landmarks in sight. The identities of the individuals are unknown, and the audience can only see their backs. From their clothing, audiences can assume that two are

women, and one is a man. The three Black demonstrators are dressed in their “Sunday Best” and are attempting to brace themselves against the force of the fire hose as a large white crowd calmly watches. This image puts on display the violence that Black demonstrators endured, especially for Whites who did not live in the Deep South and never witnessed the murder or violation of Black individuals.

Many demonstrations took place throughout Alabama, where this picture took place, due to the brutal racism found in this Deep South state. Alabama has a sordid history of the worst treatments of Black citizens across the country. Alabama’s history of racism can be traced back to its strong ties with slavery all the way to the Confederacy's formation in 1861 in Montgomery and beyond (Associated Press, 2020). Birmingham, in which this image takes place, has an equally violent history toward Black individuals. For instance, Dr. King Jr. often visited Birmingham to fight for equality for its Black citizens because the city notoriously refused to hire Black individuals and was strongly segregated (Levingston, 2020). The media often covered the protests in Alabama because of the constant presence of key figures like Dr. King Jr. and the violent clashes from the police that often occurred during the demonstrations. Throughout Alabama, Black citizens were constantly subjected to lynchings, church bombings, KKK attacks, and other violent murders. This image offers a glimpse into the brutality against Black individuals and how this brutality is collectively remembered.

This image triggers several emotional responses from white audiences in the North. For example, white Northerners who previously might not have been sympathetic to the Civil Rights Movement may feel anger and disgust because of how this image openly shows the violence against Black people, violence that is quite hard to justify in this image for non-sympathizers of the movement. The three demonstrators do not look violent or threatening, and they are not

running away or attempting to fight back. Instead, they are standing in unison as they are attacked without cause, which might make white audiences feel angry for these individuals and confused or horrified at their treatment. It would be hard for white Northern audiences to justify why these individuals are being treated so grossly, thus evoking deep feelings of anger and disgust. This picture displays the inhumane treatment of Black individuals that many white Northern Americans might not have previously seen. “Alabama has been plagued by racial inequality and injustice” for most of its history, and this picture provides compelling imagery of violence against unarmed Black individuals to help solidify the collective memory of Alabama during the Civil Rights Movement for those Northern white individuals who were not present (Kennington, 2020, p. 3). Some may collectively remember the Civil Rights Movement and Civil Rights imagery as revealing or telling of Black individuals' treatment. Compelling images like this one forced white audiences in the North to care by showing them these brutal acts of racism, which evoked feelings of anger and sympathy. It is hard to look at this image of peaceful protestors being attacked and not feel total outrage at their treatment.

Whites in the North might feel waves of horror and sadness to see how three humans are savagely attacked, something they might not have seen before. These Northern white audiences could no longer use the geographical distance to excuse their ignorance or lack of understanding of the Civil Rights Movement. Images like this one brought the horrors that Black individuals were enduring into white Northerners' homes and evoked emotional responses like sadness or shock. Overall, the inhumane treatment and the depiction of unwarranted violence against Black citizens seen in this image are an integral part of the Civil Rights Movement's collective memory. This image helps form the collective memory of the horrid treatment against Black

citizens by painting a vivid picture of the violence against these activists and exposing Alabama's indifference toward human lives, especially for white individuals living in the North.

A Black Woman is Thrown into a Police Truck in Brooklyn, NY (Library of Congress, 1963)

This image (see appendix D) took place during the height of the Civil Rights Movement in August of 1963, just eight days before the monumental March on Washington. Over 1,300 demonstrations in more than 200 cities took place between May and late August in 1963 (Bryant, 2013). While many of these protests occurred in the Deep South, where racism and occurrences of violence were common, other protests took place in Northern cities that rarely experienced this type of violence, like this image taken in Brooklyn, New York (Bryant, 2013). At that time, President John F. Kennedy was under pressure from protestors and political activists to pass a Civil Rights bill. Various demonstrations took place throughout the country to help push for this legislation (Bryant, 2013). Unfortunately, many of the protests turned violent due to excessive and unnecessary police force. The media's coverage of the police brutality at protests, more specifically, "the photographs of young protestors being mauled by snarling dogs" and attacked by the police, "shocked so many white Americans," especially those in the North who had never seen this type of violence (Bryant, 2013). This widespread media coverage would have helped insert this imagery into the collective memories of white individuals living in the North and elicited several emotional responses.

This specific image shows a young Black woman being thrown into the back of a large police truck by three police officers. The pictured woman was previously peacefully protesting at a Civil Rights demonstration on August 20, 1963. While the first image in this section shows a lone Black girl being subjected to insults and screams from other white women, this image goes further. The unnamed woman in this picture is dressed remarkably elegant. She is wearing a nice

ironed striped dress with a collar top, buttons going down the front, and a waist belt. She has a large purse on her arm, and her hair is pulled back by a headband. She is calmly resting her arm on her stomach while the purse swings by her elbow. She is horizontally suspended in the air as one police officer holds her arm over her head, another holds her leg in the air, and the last officer holds her torso.

The imagery of a young Black woman being thrown in the air invokes feelings of uneasiness or discomfort among white Northern audiences. These feelings are due to how well dressed and calm the young woman looks while she is violently thrown into a police truck with brute force like a criminal. These two contrasting images or ideas do not go together; it does not make sense for a well-established looking woman to be treated this way. It is hard for white Northern audiences to see a nicely dressed, elegant young woman being thrown and handled like a delinquent, such as the woman's treatment in this picture. Northern white audiences viewing this image would feel sympathy for this young woman, considering how it makes no sense why she is being handled this way. Considering that this young Black woman is dressed considerably modestly and professionally, it is troubling for white Northern audiences to see how her body is positioned disrespectfully and uncivilly, with her body being horizontally suspended in the air though she is wearing a dress and her limbs being pulled apart in different directions. This imagery would evoke feelings of distress from viewing this violent scene, which could, in turn, impact their collective memories of the Civil Rights Movement and the treatment of protestors, making them feel more sympathy towards protestors.

Moreover, white individuals in the North might feel surprised or disappointed to see that Black individuals were treated just as poorly in the Northern state of New York as in other Deep South states. This image fuels the collective memory of the treatment of protestors during the

Civil Rights Movement, especially for these audiences in the North that never physically experienced these types of occurrences. Audiences may experience feelings of disappointment or surprise because there is no reason why the police officers should be throwing her into a truck in this manner. She is not resisting and does not look violent or dangerous. This image shows that Black individuals were still brutalized in the North, a seemingly more tolerant or liberal area. Many whites living in the North might associate being 'Northerners' as an important part of their identity, considering how geographical regions are often central parts of people's identities (England, 2019). While viewing this image, whites in the North might sympathize more with the Civil Rights Movement after seeing how even a Northern city can still be a violent place for Black individuals. These audiences might feel dismay or disappointment at the treatment of this woman and as a result might want to support the Civil Rights Movement to redeem the image of Northerners as tolerant people.

This picture accurately illustrates the common collective recollection that protesters were violated, mistreated, and abused during peaceful rallies. This image showcases the stark contrast between the stereotype of Black people as "violent" or "brutish" versus this imagery of a graceful and poised young woman being attacked (Green, 1999, p. 1; Selma Marches, 2018). White audiences in the North might have been moved to support the movement after feeling surprised and disappointed from viewing this image taken in New York. They would feel not only shocked or outraged but also sad to see how any human can be treated this way, considering that these white individuals in the North might have never seen this type of violence up close. By showcasing the unjust and violent treatment of this Black woman, this picture helps illustrate the abuse of protestors for audiences lacking direct visuals or physical recollections during the Civil

Rights Movement. It elicits emotional responses that might have been favorable for the movement among white Northerners.

A Group of Protestors March with Signs during a Civil Rights Protest in Memphis, TN (ATI gallery, 1968)

The protesters in this image (see appendix E) are marching during the third day of a series of Civil Rights demonstrations that Dr. King Jr. kickstarted to protest inequality on March 29, 1968, in Memphis, Tennessee. These protests came as a result of two Black sanitation workers being crushed to death by their garbage trucks (Brown, 2018). The public works department denied any compensation to their families (Brown, 2018). The city of Memphis' sanitation workers was comprised of only Black men, and over 1,300 of them walked off the job to protest this incident, along with the "horrible working conditions, abuse, racism and discrimination by the city" (Brown, 2018, p. 1). These men did hard labor and often worked in 'filth' covered in maggots while receiving low wages for long hours with no overtime or paid sick leave (Brown, 2018). A protestor later recalled that these demonstrations and their signs were a way for Black men to "let the city know that because we were sanitation workers, we were human beings. The signs we were carrying said 'I Am a Man'… to demand to have the same dignity and the same courtesy any other citizen of Memphis has" (Brown, 2018, p. 1). The heavy involvement of Dr. King Jr. and well-known activist Rev. James Lawson helped garner large quantities of media attention and coverage of these protests. Many Americans would likely have known about the sanitation workers' protests due to this heavy media coverage. On the day before the demonstration in this image, a march involving Dr. King Jr. and Rev. Lawson turned violent. It resulted in the shooting of a 16-year-old protestor, protestors in a church being teargassed, and other demonstrators being beaten with billy clubs (Brown, 2018). The mayor of Memphis declared martial law, and he called in the national guard. The day after these events

occurred, this image was taken as 200 sanitation workers continued to march for equality and the heavy media coverage continued.

This image depicts a group of predominately Black men demonstrating during a Civil Rights protest in Memphis, TN. The men are marching outside in the middle of the street in a single file line. The demonstrators are looking straight ahead, dressed in fine clothing with collar shirts, suit jackets, and hats. All of them have signs hanging from their chests that say, "I AM A MAN." This image offers a glimpse into the treatment of Black men in the United States. The men in this picture do not look aggressive. They do not look like thugs or criminals. In this image, the Black men are dressed in professional clothing and are calmly walking with their arms by their sides and heads held high. Their actions portray precisely what the signs on their chest say, they are human beings, men, peacefully demonstrating. Contrastingly, riot police are lined up to the left of the protestors. The police have an aggressive stance and are pointing long rifles at the protesters' heads while they calmly walk by. Military tanks are rolling in the street on the other side of the protestors.

The United States has a history of mistreating Black men, a pattern that has steadily continued in recent years with the various murders of unarmed Black men. Black men frequently experience beatings, frisking, pepper spray, the use of tasers, attacks by police dogs, and murder (Butler, 2017). This image demonstrates how the United States "demands a certain kind of performance from a black man every time he leaves his home. He must affirmatively demonstrate – to the police and the public at large –that he is not a threat. Most African American men follow the script. Black men who are noncompliant suffer the consequences" (Butler, 2017). While the Black men in this picture look like nicely dressed family men, they still

face severe police hostility. The men must engage in this peaceful ‘performance’ as guns are pointed at them, and the police wait for any reason to shoot.

As white Northern audiences view this specific image, they would feel outrage and confusion at how the police treated these men as criminals or terrorists. The only sense of aggressiveness or violence in this picture is from the police's side. There is nothing in this picture that justifies why these police officers are taking such an aggressive stance against these peaceful protestors. Furthermore, the exaggeration of military-grade tanks rolling next to the men who are calmly walking illustrates how America focused on attacking, dehumanizing, and brutalizing Black men instead of protecting them. Many white Northerners might not have ever witnessed the treatment of Black men. They might not have ever seen military-grade tanks or aggressive National Guard officers pointing rifles at civilians, as is seen in this picture. As these audiences look at this image, they might react with immediate shock and confusion as to why these men are being treated this way. The emotional response of shock would drive white Northerners to be more supportive of Black demonstrators in the Civil Rights Movement because they would see how poorly the government is treating demonstrators as they peacefully try to prove their humanity. White Northerners might also feel anxious or afraid for the protestors, considering that this image illustrates a tense situation in which one wrong move for any of the men protesting would more than likely result in their death and the death of those around them. This fear or anxiety might make these audiences more likely to be allies to the movement and might make them want to show up at rallies or demonstrations to help protect and support these peaceful protestors.

Some white individuals viewing this image might think of how they know other white men who have done much worse and still have been treated much better than those in this image.

This might cause these audiences to feel anger for the protesters and understand the unfairness of this picture. This picture highlights the poor treatment of Black men in the United States. It might have helped stir feelings of anger and outrage among white Northern audiences as they were forced to reckon with the unjustified treatment of Black men. These white individuals might see Black men in a different light as they are peacefully sending a message of humanity, and it is hard to look at this picture and not feel sympathy for the protesters. This picture might encourage emotional responses such as remorse among whites in the North who might have had little contact with Black men aside from the media and might have previously seen Black men as a threat. These white individuals living in the North lacked a direct physical presence at the Civil Rights Movement and therefore, might view this image with feelings of shock from seeing how poorly Black men were treated. This image helps solidify the collective memory of the treatment of Black men for any individual who is not a part of that group and has never experienced such treatment, like white individuals living in the North.

Sarah Jean Collins Lays in Hospital Bed Following the Bombing of her Church in Birmingham, AL (The Life Images Collection, 1963)

Sarah Jean Collins is lying in a hospital bed in this picture (see appendix F), taken on September 15, 1963, in Birmingham, Alabama. She is being treated for her injuries resulting from a church bombing by the Klu Klux Klan. In this picture, only Collins' face is visible, and a blanket covers the rest of her body. Two large bandages cover her eyes, which were damaged as a result of the bombing. The visible skin on her forehead and cheeks is swollen, blistered, and burned. Her nose and lips are also swollen. She is lying face up and alone in the picture. Sarah Jean Collins was only 12 years old in this picture.

As discussed, Alabama and particularly Birmingham were dangerous places for Black citizens. The KKK had a stronghold over Alabama and often terrorized Black citizens

(Levingston, 2020). The KKK's decision to bomb the 16th Street Baptist Church was possibly due to the church's history. A few months before this attack, Dr. King Jr. and local minister Fred Shuttlesworth used the church as a meeting center for their campaign to desegregate the city (Trent, 2020). On the day of the attack, the KKK planted sticks of dynamite throughout the property, and this hate crime led to the death of Collins' sister and four other girls. The girls' Sunday school class had just ended when the bomb went off, and Collins was the only survivor out of the girls (Trent, 2020). Life Magazine published this photograph of Collins after her attack, which shocked and horrified the nation. "The photograph made her famous and helped the nation find its humanity" by exposing the heartbreaking injuries that Collins suffered (Trent, 2020, p. 1). The church bombing and this image made headlines across the country and received much attention from the media, including the *New York Times'* front page on the day after the bombing. The front-page coverage on the *New York Times* alone would have collectively pushed this event and its associated imagery to the forefront of many Americans minds, including white audiences in the North.

As Trent (2020) described, this image published by the media helped the nation collectively 'find its humanity' by exposing the atrocities that occurred on the day of the bombing and the aftermath. To this day, Sarah Jean Collins still has this picture framed, as it helped expose the damage done to her (Trent, 2020). More specifically, white audiences in the North during that time would have seen this image in the media and reacted with pure horror. This image of a burned little girl would have tugged at the heartstrings of white Northerners who might have previously been complacent or ignorant to Black individuals' struggles in the South. This image does not portray any actual acts of violence or racism. Instead, it shows the result of racism and hate. Whites in the North might be horrified to see how deep hatred and racism runs in the South,

so much so that grown white men would bomb a church, kill four little girls, and leave one child badly burned. Since white individuals in the North might not have been used to the KKK and their actions, it might have been hard and moving for these audiences to imagine what type of person would do this to a child. This shock, horror, and confusion might have helped sway white Northern audiences toward the cause of the Civil Rights Movement as they view this picture and experience these moving emotions. This image of a hurt child evokes deep feelings of horror and anger that would help white individuals in the North realize how harmful white supremacy is and affect their collective memory with the described imagery.

As Northern white individuals collectively think of the Civil Rights Movement or the effects of racism, images like this one of little Sarah Jean covered in burns might come to mind because of the raw emotional response that this picture provoked. Children are seen as innocent and pure, and it would be hard for white audiences in the North to look at this picture and remain complacent. The atrocity of her wounds helps create a profound reaction in white individuals in the North that might not have been aware of just how bad racism can be for Black individuals in the South, including children. This heartbreaking image hits viewers like a punch in the gut. It served as a wake-up call for those who were not present in the Deep South during this time of how brutal racism can be and helped change how white individuals in the North and across the country collectively thought of and remembered racism and its consequences in the Deep South.

Martin Luther King Jr. Speaks at a Rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement at Soldier Field in Chicago, IL (Afro American Newspapers, 1966)

This moving image (see appendix G) shows Dr. King Jr. speaking to a large audience in Chicago, IL, in 1966. He is standing at a podium alone, dressed in an elegant suit. Dr. King Jr.'s stance and face are passionate, with one hand balled in a fist raised out in front of him. Dr. King Jr.'s mouth is open as he is in the middle of saying something, and his face is filled with

powerful emotions. A large crowd of people surrounds him, and it appears to be a bright, sunny day. In the far-right corner of the picture is an American flag sagging in the distance.

This picture taken on July 10, 1966, captures Dr. King Jr. speaking at a rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement, one of the most significant Civil Rights Campaigns in the North. The campaign began a few months before this picture was taken in January, and it sought housing, healthcare, transportation, and equality for Black citizens (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). The campaign aimed to expand Dr. King Jr.'s Civil Rights efforts from the South into the North, and Dr. King Jr. even moved to Chicago for a period of time to be closer to the movement (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). Dr. King Jr. explained that he decided to target the North because he believed that "in the South, we always had segregationists to help make issues clear.… This ghetto Negro has been invisible so long and has become visible through violence" (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). Mass nonviolent protests were organized throughout the city to raise awareness. These protests often garnered large quantities of news coverage due to the involvement of several known activists such as Dr. King Jr. and Jesse Jackson, as well as the nature of the protests. Peaceful demonstrators often faced violence, including bricks and bottles being thrown at them (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). After a few protests in July, Dr. King Jr. noted, "I have seen many demonstrations in the south but I have never seen anything so hostile and so hateful as I've seen here today" (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). This specific rally was covered by the large mainstream outlet, the *New York Times*, which noted that Dr. King Jr. and Floyd B. McKissick, director of the Congress of Racial Equality, attended the rally, and the Roman Catholic Church of Chicago supported it. The *New York Times* estimated that over

45,000 people were in attendance that day. Based on this widespread news coverage, attendance, and geographical proximity to the North, it is likely that many Northern white audiences saw this image or at least heard of this event, creating a collective memory for them.

This image would be particularly striking to audiences in the North, as it shows prominent Civil Rights leader Dr. King Jr. speaking at an event in Illinois that targeted Northern audiences. During that time, there was a notion that the North was not as 'bad' as the South in terms of racism and violence toward Black citizens (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. d). However, this image of Dr. King Jr. speaking in the North calling out White supremacy there would elicit several responses for white individuals in that region. This image might make white people who were complacent or ignorant to the racism around them realize that white supremacy was prominent in the North. Therefore, these white individuals might react with feelings of shame or guilt for their ignorance and inaction as their conscious is triggered. This image might help push white people to take action by joining the Civil Rights Movement to defend their identity as people from the North, a place that is 'good' and tolerant.

The raw emotions and passion on Dr. King Jr.'s face, along with his impassioned fist raised in the air, might cause moving feelings in white audiences in the North and make them realize that he is a human being, fighting for the lives of other humans beings. The evoked emotions serve as a call to action for audiences, pushing them to feel empowered or excited and energized to join the fight. Dr. King Jr.'s passion is apparent and moving, and the fact that he was in the North might have pushed other white audiences to join the fight. As these Northern white audiences collectively remember the Civil Rights Movement, they might picture this empowering image of Dr. King Jr. speaking to a large crowd in Illinois. This image might have stirred strong collective feelings emotions that moved them to take action for the movement.

Conclusion

Media imagery of the Civil Rights Movement helped solidify key moments in the collective memory of American society and helped the movement gain support and traction. For example, the widespread news coverage of the protests in Selma, Alabama, such as Bloody Sunday, exposed the horrors of racism to the country. As audiences viewed the protests' media coverage, they saw and felt the atrocities that occurred. The Pew Research center found that Americans clearly sided with the demonstrators during the Selma marches and disagreed with the state of Alabama and its practices (Kohut, 2020). These media images helped increase public support of the movement, and helped pass key legislation like the Voting Rights Act that was passed shortly after the events in Selma (Kohut, 2020). As the Civil Rights Movement continued to gain momentum and media coverage increased, public support of the movement and key legislation like the Civil Rights Act of 1964 also increased. In one year alone, support for that bill rose from 58 percent to 76 percent (Kohut, 2020). Overall, the high amount of media coverage and the photojournalistic images of the demonstrations played a key role in swaying the public's mind about the Civil Rights Movement (Mace, 2014).

These moving images of the Civil Rights Movement not only helped the movement gain support; they also triggered action from audiences, including white individuals in the North. For example, Rev. James Reeb, a white clergyman, saw the evening news coverage of the infamous Bloody Sunday demonstration from his home in Boston, Massachusetts (NPR, 2019). Rev. Reeb felt horrified and disturbed after seeing the violent images from that day of law enforcement brutalizing hundreds of peaceful protestors. Dr. King Jr. sent out a telegram the next day calling on clergymen from across the country to come to Selma to join the fight (NPR, 2019). Rev. Reeb flew to Selma on March 9, 1965 and met up with another white minister from Boston named

Orloff Miller and another white activist from California (NPR, 2019). After having dinner, the three men were walking to a local church to hear Dr. King Jr. speak when a group of white men violently attacked them. Rev. Reeb was hit in the head with a pipe, punched, and kicked (NPR, 2019). He later died from his injuries (NPR, 2019). Many other white Northerners saw the brutal media coverage of Civil Rights events. These horrific attacks moved many white individuals in the North to join the fight. One such person includes Viola Gregg Liuzzo, a housewife and mother who drove from Detroit to Selma after seeing reports of police violence on the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Jonathan Myrick Daniels, a young seminary student, also traveled from Boston to Alabama to help register Black voters and was shot to death by the police, and William Lewis Moore, a postman from Baltimore was killed during a one-man march to deliver a letter to the governor of Mississippi (The Southern Poverty Law Center, n.d.). The news media continued to expose and portray the Deep South's racism and violence, leading countless others from the North and all over the country to come to the South to support and help the Civil Rights Movement. In this sense, the media served as a mobilizer that helped increase participation, support, and empathy for the Civil Rights Movement.

To further illustrate how the media moved audiences from all over the North and across the country, one can think of the Freedom Rides, which began in the summer of 1961 to protest segregation on interstate buses and terminals (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). The first Freedom Riders included a group of student activists from the Congress of Racial Equality (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). They traveled from Washington, D.C., to Jackson, Mississippi, facing violence in the Deep South and "garnering extensive media attention" from various outlets (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). Holmes (2009) explains that "after news

stories and photographs of the burning bus and bloody attacks sped around the country, many more people came forward to risk their lives and challenge the racial status quo." College students from across the country saw the violent clashes on the news and joined the movement (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). More and more Americans started to support and join the Freedom Riders. More specifically, "with the participation of northern students came even more press coverage" (The Martin Luther King, Jr. Research and Education Institute, n.d. a). The widespread support of the Freedom Rides shows that media coverage, particularly media imagery, can collectively affect and move audiences who lack direct contact with an event so deeply that they not only ideologically support a movement, but are moved enough to take action and put their lives at risk for the cause. The Freedom Rides, along with the other discussed activists from the North, are a testament to how powerful media imagery and collective memory can be for audiences lacking direct contact, such as the examined audiences in this study.

As with most research, there are limitations within the current study. The Google search of Civil Rights imagery yielded a total of 55 images. However, only six images were analyzed, potentially excluding important or influential images from the sample. An analysis of all the images might have provided a more in-depth overview of Civil Rights imagery. Another limitation is that the methodology used in this examination was a content analysis instead of an experiment. Experiments are sometimes more robust and can prove more definite causality, such as providing causal evidence that viewing Civil Rights imagery initiated white individuals in the North to care about or support the Civil Rights Movement. However, this study utilized a systematic approach to examine Civil Rights media imagery according to a codebook like previous scholars have done, and the sample was randomly selected to combat these limitations.

Despite these limitations, the current study draws significant awareness to the iconic Civil Rights Movement. This work provides a compelling examination of the intersection of the media, imagery, and the role of collective memory theory in influencing audiences that lack direct contact with events. This study analyzes how media coverage of the Civil Rights Movement helped change behavioral and affective attitudes towards racism and injustice. More specifically, the current study illustrates how images helped garner support from white Northern audiences that lacked any direct engagement with the Civil Rights Movement. Overall, these media images played a crucial role in influencing the collective narratives and recollections of the Civil Rights Movement, a momentous movement that continues to influence current battles against injustices, such as the present-day BLM Movement.

Appendix

A. Ruby Bridges Walking Down a Set of Stairs in New Orleans, LA (Los Angeles Sentinel, 1960)

B. Elizabeth Eckford Walks to School Amid an Angry Mob in Little Rock, AR (Getty Images, 1957)

C. Demonstrators Face Firehoses in Birmingham, AL (Getty Images, 1963)

D. A Black Woman is Thrown into a Police Truck in Brooklyn, NY (Library of Congress, 1963)

E. A Group of Protestors March with Signs During a Civil Rights Protest in Memphis, TN (ATI gallery, 1968)

F. Sarah Jean Collins Lays in Hospital Bed Following the Bombing of her Church in Birmingham, AL (The Life Images Collection, 1963)

G. Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Speaks at a Rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement at Soldier Field in Chicago, IL (Afro American Newspapers, 1966)

Coding and Definitions of Each Code

Sample Codebook

Characteristic	Definition
Image	Corresponding image letter
Gender	Does the individual appear to be male, female, or undetermined?
Surroundings	What does the background of the environment look like? (e.g. is the image inside of a building or is it outdoors? Are the individuals in the image in the middle of the street? Is there smoke in the air? Are there others pictured in the background?)
Significance of the event taking place	What are the individuals protesting? (e.g. are they sitting inside of a lunch counter protesting the segregation of restaurants or are they marching in the streets for a specific cause?)
Actions taking place	What is the body language of the individuals (e.g. are the individuals kneeling, walking or sitting somewhere? What physical actions are occurring in the image)?
Facial expressions	What does an individual's face look like? Are their eyes open or closed? Are they smiling or frowning? Are their foreheads wrinkled in anger or fear? What emotion does their face give off?
Key figures	Are there any identifiable key figures or activists present in the image (e.g. Dr. King Jr.)?
Presence of signs or text	Are the individuals holding up signs? Is there any visible text in the background?

Codebook for Elizabeth Eckford Walks to School Amid an Angry Mob, 1957 in Little Rock, AR (Getty Images, 1957)

Image	Elizabeth Eckford Walks to School Amid an Angry Mob, 1957 in Little Rock, AR (Getty Images, 1957)
Gender	Female (Elizabeth Eckford)
Surroundings	Eckford is walking outside in the middle of the street. She is wearing a white-collar shirt and a white skirt with a checkered bottom. It is a sunny day. Eckford is surrounded by mainly white Female students. Some students are glaring while others are screaming at her with angry hostile faces. In the very back, there are a few police officers and some white males. What does the background of the environment look like?
Significance of the event taking place	Eckford is walking to school by herself for her first day of school at a newly integrated school in Little Rock, Arkansas.
Actions taking place	Eckford is walking straight forward. Her arms aren't crossed or showing signs of intimidation or weakness, one arm is holding a folder and the other is by her side. She is walking forward but does not appear to be running, giving a calm and controlled appearance. The white women surrounding her looks extremely hostile and angry. They appear to be briskly walking while watching her.
Facial expressions	Eckford's head is held high, her face is giving off very little emotion. Her eyes and face are looking straight ahead. Eckford looks calm and collected despite her surroundings. The faces of the white women surrounding her are angry and indignant. Their eyes are glaring at her and some have their mouths wrinkled in a frown while others have their mouths open and are screaming at her.
Key figures	No
Presence of signs or text	No

Codebook for Demonstrators Facing Firehoses in Birmingham, AL (Getty Images, 1963)

Image	Demonstrators Facing Firehoses in Birmingham, AL (Getty Images, 1963)
Gender	Two females and one male
Surroundings	3 Black individuals are holding hands outside on grass under trees in the daytime while a mob of police and white people stand in the background of the picture.
Significance of the event taking place	The 3 Black individuals are protesting segregation laws and practices in Birmingham, Alabama and are being met with violent force from riot police
Actions taking place	The 3 Black individuals are standing in a horizontal line, holding hands to power against the force of the water being sprayed at them by riot police. The two women are wearing nice dress skirts and the man appears to also be in nice 'church' clothes. They are standing upright and strong in their ground, while the police and other background observers watch.
Facial expressions	We cannot see their faces
Key figures	None
Presence of signs or text	No

Codebook for Black Woman is Thrown into a Police Truck in Brooklyn, NY (Library of Congress, 1963)

Image	A Black Woman is Thrown into a Police Truck in Brooklyn, NY (Library of Congress, 1963)
Gender	Female
Surroundings	A Black woman is thrown into a police truck by a group of police officers in the middle of the street.
Significance of the event taking place	The Black woman is being arrested after peacefully protesting during a Civil Rights demonstration in Brooklyn, New York
Actions taking place	The Black woman is dressed in a nice ironed striped dress with buttons and a belt. She has a large purse on her arm and her hair is pulled back by a headband. The arm with the purse is calmly resting on her stomach. She is being thrown into a large police truck by police officers. One is holding her arm up, another is holding her torso and the other is holding one of her legs. She is suspended in the air horizontally. There are a few white males in the background looking on.
Facial expressions	Her mouth is slightly open, but there is a lack of emotion on her face. She appears calm and collected as she watches them throw her into a truck. The policewoman has a hard-stone face, the same is true for the police officer behind her.
Key figures	None
Presence of signs or text	No

Codebook for a Group of Protestors March with Signs during a Civil Rights Protest in Memphis, TN (ATI gallery, 1968)

Image	A Group of Protestors March with Signs during a Civil Rights Protest in Memphis, TN (ATI gallery, 1968)
Gender	Male
Surroundings	A group of predominately Black men are marching outside, with the exception of one white man who is also marching. It is daytime and they are marching in the street surrounded by police officers with guns pointed at them on the left, and tanks rolling next to them on the street to the right.
Significance of the event taking place	The protestors are marching in the third day of a series Civil Rights protests which were kickstarted by Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. in Memphis, TN.
Actions taking place	The Black men are walking in a single file line with signs around their necks. Out of the two men most visible in the front, the first is wearing a cap, suit jacket, collar shirt khaki pants, and dress shoes. The second is wearing a men's dress hat, collar shirt, black pants and dress shoes. The rest of the Black men are wearing similar dress hats with dress shoes and nice professional attire. All of the men are looking straight ahead, and their heads are held high with their arms by their side. The police officers have their riffles aggressively pointed at them from a close distance and are looking on at them. The tanks are also rolling close to each other on the street.
Facial expressions	The Black men's faces look strong and emotionless; one man is wearing sunglasses so you can't see his eyes but the rest are looking straight ahead.
Key figures	None
Presence of signs or text	Yes; The men have signs around their neck that say "I AM A MAN"

Codebook for Sarah Jean Collins Lays in Hospital Bed Following the Bombing of her Church in Birmingham, AL (The Life Images Collection 1963)

Image	Sarah Jean Collins Lays in Hospital Bed Following the Bombing of her Church in Birmingham, AL (The Life Images Collection 1963).
Gender	Female
Surroundings	This image is indoors; Collins is in a hospital and she is laying down in a hospital bed. There is no one else around her.
Significance of the event taking place	Collins was a victim of a Klu Klux Klan church bombing in Birmingham, Alabama that killed four young girls in 1963.
Actions taking place	Collins is laying face up, only her face is visible. The rest of her body is covered by a blanket. Her eyes are covered by two bandages and the skin on her face that is visible is burned and damaged. Her lips are swollen and she looks severely brutalized.
Facial expressions	Her face is giving off no expression as her eyes are covered and only her lips are visible, which are neutral.
Key figures	None
Presence of signs or text	No

Codebook for Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Speaks at a Rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement at Soldier Field in Chicago, IL (Afro American Newspapers, 1966)

Image	Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. Speaks at a Rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement at Soldier Field in Chicago, IL (Afro American Newspapers, 1966)
Gender	Male
Surroundings	This image takes place outdoors on what appears to be a sunny day. Dr. King Jr. is standing alone giving a speech.
Significance of the event taking place	Dr. King Jr. is giving a speech at a rally for the Chicago Freedom Movement. This specific movement was the largest Civil Rights campaign in the North.
Actions taking place	Dr. King Jr. is standing up at a podium by himself giving his speech. Behind him, there is a large crowd of people looking on. Dr. King Jr. looks passionate about what he is saying and he is lifting one arm and his hand is balled up into a fist in a powerful stance.
Facial expressions	His face looks impassioned and serious, his mouth is wide open as he is speaking and his eyes are squinted. You can tell he is really into what he is saying.
Key figures	Yes; Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.
Presence of signs or text	No

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Vita

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