

Elementary Students' Guided Inquiry into their Local History, the Most Segregated American City

John H. Bickford, *Eastern Illinois University*

Jeremiah Clabough, *The University of Alabama at Birmingham*

ORDINARY CITIZENS and elected officials struggle with the unsettled nature of history and America's problematic racial past in particular.¹ Textbooks—the most common curricular resource in the discipline—contribute by emphasizing singular names (e.g., Martin Luther King Jr.), curious objects (e.g., Rosa Parks's bus seat), and ahistorical notions (e.g., narratives of continuous national progress).² Students, even young children, can engage in complex historical inquiries with accessible material, age-appropriate scaffolding, and discipline-specific prompts. This article unpacks one fourth-grade Birmingham classroom's inquiry into its ignominious local and state history.

Alabama's horrid twentieth-century racial history embodies America's; no state had more explosive events in more severely segregated cities.³ The Montgomery Bus Boycott nationalized names like Martin Luther King Jr. and Rosa Parks.⁴ The 1961 Freedom Rides encountered their worst violence in Alabama.⁵ The 1963 March on Washington captivated the nation,⁶ but was sandwiched between national news of the Birmingham Children's March months before and four girls' deaths in Birmingham's 16th Street Baptist Church bombing weeks after. Many Alabama-based events do not even need a complete

sentence for informed citizens to know the significance: Dr. King's letter from a Birmingham jail,⁷ the Selma-to-Montgomery march with Bloody Sunday of particular note,⁸ the Birmingham Children's March,⁹ and the dysphemism, "Bombingham."¹⁰ Alabama's location in the heart of Dixie and the Deep South, its history of white supremacy, and twentieth-century economic downturns in rural America shaped Alabama's virulent anti-integrationist stance. America's 1950s and 1960s racial pathway covers many Alabama's zip codes, yet its white supremacist history is rarely featured, even in high school.¹¹

Before fourth grade, most social studies units are family-, community-, and geography-oriented.¹² Children experience some select national stories, perhaps of America's founding, Abraham Lincoln's log cabin-to-presidency, or Anne Sullivan's success teaching Helen Keller. Generally, mathematics, reading, and science take precedence in elementary students' week. Common fourth-grade curriculum, though, encourages local inquiries, interdisciplinary units, and hands-on, minds-on activities that interweave non-fiction reading, writing, and thinking.¹³ With a motivated and prepared teacher, history can ground elementary interdisciplinary units.

In our study, one brave, experienced white teacher positioned her mostly white students to explore local segregation from the optics of school funding—specifically, their own Birmingham suburban school district and a neighboring district. The teacher, Miss Parker (a pseudonym), collaborated with the authors to sift, select, and flatten the complicated history, civics, and economics depicting the students' school-geography. Manageable curricular texts coupled with accessible pedagogical tasks positioned the youngsters for success in their initial guided historical inquiry. To do so, Miss Parker relied on the latest understandings about the science of learning history.

Historical Reading, Writing, Thinking, and Consciousness in the Elementary Classroom

Scientists of learning have examined cognition for critical and historical thinking, as well as associated barriers.¹⁴ Historical literacy, thinking, and argumentation are foundational to historical consciousness, or a process by which people position themselves in time through understanding the links among the past, present, and future.¹⁵ Critical thinking and associated elements (creation,

evaluation, analysis, application, etc.) are applicable across domains and disciplines. The disciplines of history, education, and educational psychology approach the associated heuristics differently.

Historical literacy comprises close scrutiny of primary documents using source, the source's credibility, corroboration with other sources, original context, and medium.¹⁶ Students can be trained in complex tasks, such as reading the silences, establishing the limitations of a source, and unpacking an online claim.¹⁷ History literacy is akin to microanalysis, appears as reading or viewing a source, and rests largely on the cognitive task of analysis.

Historical thinking emerges from, and is dependent upon, historical literacy.¹⁸ Historical thinking involves consideration of historical perspectives, historical significance, and various ethical dimensions when examining the origins and implications of tensions between continuity and change, to offer a few examples.¹⁹ Historical thinking is analogous to macroanalysis, materializes as scrutiny, and is based on the mental act of evaluation.

Historical argumentation is constructed from historical literacy and historical thinking, though it materializes as text-based writing, speaking, or artistic communication. Persuasive essays, evidentiary arguments, historical narratives, and other historical argumentation formats reveal much about students' criticality, complexity, and clarity (or lack thereof) and teachers' scaffolding and guidance.²⁰ Historical argumentation is grounded in the intellectual functions of synthesis and creation.

Cognitively speaking, historical literacy, historical thinking, and historical argumentation are three distinct, incremental stages that guide students towards successively higher stages of criticality. From educators' optics, each can be assessed singularly or collectively, with revision or through extemporaneous writing, and in single- and multi-day units.²¹ Each contributes to students' consciousness of past people's values, biases, and beliefs, collective memories and occlusion, and historical trends and anomalies.²² Elementary students, in our study, considered the causes and consequences, the continuous and changed aspects regarding how, why, and when their local, planned-to-be-white school emerged during the social tumult of the traditional civil rights era in a suburb of Birmingham. Some youngsters, in theory, studied the history of their grandparents' white supremacist civic endeavors through public

affairs pathways. Fourth graders identified and deftly unpacked catalysts of change, embodiments of reactionary resistance, and long-term consequences—both positive and negative.

Preparing and Implementing Historical Inquiry

Our seven-day guided inquiry took place at a suburban elementary school in the Birmingham metropolitan area. The researchers co-designed the project with a fourth-grade teacher. The fourth-grade teacher, Miss Parker, identifies as a cisgendered female and has taught at her elementary school for a decade. The researchers and teacher collaborated with the organization Kids in Birmingham 1963, which is funded by the Alabama Humanities Alliance (AHA) and the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

Miss Parker's class was relatively homogenous. There were nineteen students in her class. Of the nineteen students, nine students identified as females, and ten students as males. Fourteen students identified as white, two students identified as African Americans, two students identified as Hispanic, and one student identified as two or more races. The majority of the fourth-grade students were assessed at about a third-grade reading level during state testing. The students had limited or no experience analyzing primary sources prior to our project. The only times students analyzed primary sources prior to this project were as class discussions in which the teacher modeled for the students how to deconstruct the contents of a source. The elementary schedule enabled the interdisciplinary inquiry.

Miss Parker's afternoon schedule included successive forty-five-minute Reading, Writing, and Social Studies classes, which she frequently intertwined. These sessions were all in the afternoon. Miss Parker's Reading class contained small reading groups to ensure comfort and dialogue. The class was organized as a read-aloud of *The Youngest Marcher: The Story of Audrey Faye Hendricks, a Young Civil Rights Activist*.²³ Miss Parker shifted group memberships for most units to disguise the ability-based hierarchy and ensure each child received content adjusted to their abilities (illustrative samples of reading texts and tasks are provided in the subsequent section). During Reading class, students often read social studies trade books. Biographies, narrative non-fiction, expository texts, and other genres are age-appropriate secondary sources, which provide students context for primary sources and insight into the historical period.

Miss Parker's Writing class featured daily writing, reflection, and text-based analysis. Daily, students drafted ideas and expanded upon them. Miss Parker's writing pedagogy was partly prescriptive and authentic. Weekly, students engaged in peer-review and teacher-led one-on-one writing conferences. This enabled small groups to tackle basic spelling and punctuation concerns, which Miss Parker reinforced individually. Monthly, students experienced an extensive, text-based writing task with expectations of revision (each aspect of writing is illustrated in samples below). Throughout the year, students articulated written conclusions about content from Reading, Science, and Social Studies classes.

Miss Parker's Social Studies class varied greatly. Frequently, the class analyzed primary sources supplementing a trade book. The teacher regularly modeled analysis before students worked individually or in small groups. Often, Miss Parker asked students to connect texts from Social Studies class with their books from Reading class.

Miss Parker's schedule featured two hours of integrated learning, organized by forty-five-minute periods of related content. Though students had no previous experience with such texts or tasks, she used diverse literature and literacies to braid reading, writing, and thinking like a rope.²⁴ Common cognitive tasks for reading and writing—close reading, critical thinking, and complex writing in particular—align with social studies expectations intentionally because of how similarly the brain works across different academic disciplines.²⁵ The overlap is apparent in Common Core, as the reading anchor standards feature close reading (CC.R.1), determining the main idea (CC.R.2), considering the author's perspective or point of view (CC.R.6), and contrasting related texts for similarities and differences (CC.R.9); and the writing anchor standards situate students to articulate opinions (CC.W.1), use evidence to make a point (CC.W.2), and develop narratives (CC.W.3).²⁶ Language-accommodating, age-appropriate instruction (such as, "With prompting and support" or "use a combination of drawing, dictating, and writing to...") precedes the reading and writing standards for the elementary grades. Strong scaffolding is bedrock, as lower tiers of critical thinking—remembering, understanding, and applying—inform upper tiers of criticality—such as analyzing, evaluating, and creating. Common Core's reading standards collectively contain each tier of Bloom's Taxonomy of Critical Thinking, save creation; Common Core's

writing standards represent all levels of Critical Thinking, including creation. Miss Parker's scaffolding guided students to explore, unpack, and make meaning out of the historical sources.

Each day, students analyzed photographs, posters, and text-based primary sources, like newspaper excerpts and leaflets. Each text-based historical source was carefully considered and abridged for length, when necessary. As Miss Parker modeled and guided, students responded to the sources, strategies, and scaffolding like fish in water. Though it was their first historical inquiry, Miss Parker emphasized they were simply reading, writing, and thinking about their state and city a long time ago.

On Day 1, students first examined the Montgomery Bus Boycott and March on Washington. Miss Parker intentionally selected two events—one state, one national—about which most students had some prior knowledge as starting points. With the remaining time, students began exploring the Birmingham Children's March, where Miss Parker featured young citizens' actions to spark her own students' imaginations. Throughout, students unpacked meaning from images and text as they charted observations and inferences on graphic organizers (see **Figure 1** below for sample student work).

On Day 2, Miss Parker noted students' eagerness to continue learning about the Birmingham Children's March. They read oral history excerpts offered by Kids in Birmingham 1963, specifically Virginia Jones, about civil rights in the 1960s Birmingham metropolitan area.²⁷ They extracted key points when asked to annotate main ideas. Miss Parker then read aloud from *The Youngest Marcher: The Story of Audrey Faye Hendricks, a Young Civil Rights Activist*, a children's trade book featuring a key participant of this Birmingham protest.²⁸ For the remaining time, students worked in pairs, reading excerpts from the trade book *We've Got a Job: The 1963 Birmingham Children's March*, a secondary source with gripping imagery, and documenting their newly developed understandings.²⁹

Days 1 and 2 enabled Miss Parker to ensure students' comfort with the topic, texts, and tasks. Alabama's state history intersected meaningfully with American history, in the students' eyes. Now, Miss Parker wanted to inject local optics—specifically, two local school districts—into the inquiry. On Day 3, students examined how white citizens attempted to merge the city governments of two local suburbs, Homewood and Mountain Brook, back into Birmingham's

city government. They read excerpts from newspaper stories obtained from the *Birmingham Post Herald* and *Birmingham News*. The topic captivated students the entire afternoon.

On Day 4, Miss Parker circled back to ensure students' understandings of the local, state, and national elements to the inquiry. She first led a class discussion about the previous day's content and then introduced newspaper excerpts about the 1964 merger attempt to bring Homewood and Mountain Brook city governments back into Birmingham's city government. With the extra teacher support, the students ably read the newspaper excerpts to dissect the 1964 merger attempt and an extract from *Shades Cahaba: The First 100 Years* that looked at some of the reasons for the creation of Homewood City Schools.³⁰

As the inquiry progressed, students moved from extracting meaning to organizing and communicating conclusions. On Day 5, students began creating timelines. The teacher provided statements of national events³¹ for civil rights issues (highlighted in blue), and during classroom dialogue, the students sequenced these events and assigned years. The same process was replicated with statements for civil rights issues in Birmingham's history (highlighted in yellow). It took students the first forty-five-minute block of Day 5 to complete a draft of the timeline (see **Figure 3** and **Figure 4** below for sample student work).

In the second forty-five minutes of Day 5, the teacher led a class discussion reusing images from Days 1 through 3 to connect with each topic on the timeline. For example, students connected an image of Rosa Parks on a bus with the Montgomery Bus Boycott on the timeline. Miss Parker intended for students to (re)consider the events to ensure students' grasp of material. Timelines, to historians, position students to historically sequence notable events within an era. Educational psychologists view the succinct sentences with illustrative ideas as an act of application, synthesis, and evaluation. Educators recognize the benefits of whole-class dialogue around previous days' activities to ensure comprehension of key events and deliberate engagement in historical thinking tasks.

During Day 6, students summarized events on their timeline. This step ensured individualized voice to the generalized content on the timeline. It took the students the entire ninety-minute block to draft, revise, and refine their summaries.

During Day 7, students created a historical marker featuring any single event covered during the inquiry. The teacher first conveyed

how, where, and why historical markers are used. Students drafted their fifty-word summary during the first half of class, and revised it during the second. As with timelines, markers compel students to establish historical significance within the proper context. To complete the tasks, students select a worthwhile topic, evaluate it for breadth, and synthesize ideas for clarity, complexity, and brevity. Unlike with timelines, markers compel students to attend to prose, syntax, and grammar, with consideration of space limitations.

Data Analysis Methods

Students' graphic organizers, handouts, timelines, timeline summaries, and historical markers were coded using qualitative content analysis with inductive and deductive elements.³² The researchers reviewed all students' graphic organizers, handouts, timelines, timeline summaries, and historical markers for themes that were seen throughout their work. Qualitative methods are appropriate for this project because our purpose was to ascertain the ways in which students communicated the role that civil rights issues played in shaping Birmingham's history and society.³³ During open coding, observations of and outliers to patterns that emerged were created and synthesized into testable codes for axial coding. During axial coding or deductive analysis, all students' graphic organizers, handouts, timelines, timeline summaries, and historical markers were utilized for the presence, absence, and frequency of the codes. Data were collected and analyzed.

Our approach was to look for the most reoccurring trends that we noticed from reviewing students' graphic organizers, handouts, timelines, timeline summaries, and historical markers. Patterns are discussed, and their significance is extrapolated below. In the following sections, we provide excerpts from students' responses and complete student work samples to support our arguments for each theme discussed. Pseudonyms are used throughout.

Findings

Day 2: Success Analyzing Secondary Sources

On Day 2, the students read excerpts from the trade book *We've Got a Job* and completed a graphic organizer designed to strengthen the fourth graders' historical literacy, thinking, and argumentation

skills.³⁴ There were some notable themes that emerged from coding students' graphic organizers. First, these students consistently made evidence-based arguments drawing on items mentioned in the trade book. For example, Harper argued, "Bull Connor was striking back in whatever way he could" to thwart civil rights activists' actions. She went on to say, "The adults would not volunteer to go to jail so the kids volunteered to go to jail because then the jails would fill up and so they would be free." Harper's two responses show that she was able to use evidence from the trade book—a secondary source—to answer the analysis prompts in the graphic organizer. The use of evidence from the trade book to support students' arguments can be consistently seen throughout their work. Grace built on Harper's statement in the first column by saying that Bull Connor "did not want slavery to end." Grace recognized that Bull Connor worked to preserve a system that resulted in African Americans being second-class citizens, though she should have said "segregation," not "slavery."

Students ably decoded subtle language employed by the African-American community in Birmingham to take civic action against discriminatory laws; analysis prompts on the graphic organizer clearly stimulated students' thinking. Lily responded to the question about the organization employed by the African-American community to protest by saying, "One day DJ Shelley Stewart said there was going to be a party at the park, so bring your toothbrush and Black kids knew what it meant." The majority of the students were able to decode the subtle meaning that DJ Shelley Stewart was trying to convey about a protest and that listeners should bring a toothbrush because they would be arrested and go to jail. Shep communicated this argument by saying, "The DJ was actually sending a signal like a secret on the radio." It was noteworthy because students were able to read between the lines in one section of the trade book to get at the subtle message being discussed.

Finally, students were able to contextualize relevant details about the violence against young participants in Birmingham Children's March. They shared the violent resistance the adolescents encountered. For example, Shep said, "It [the Birmingham Children's March] was scary because the pressure from the water lifted a boy in the air." There were several students that mentioned this detail and the terror associated with this protest's outcome. For example, Grace said, "it [the Birmingham Children's March] sounds scary

How does the text describe the resistance that civil rights activists faced when trying to remove Jim Crow segregation laws? Use evidence from page 136 to support your arguments.	What were the causes that led to the Birmingham Children's Crusade? Use evidence from page 69 to support your arguments.	How did the African American community work together to plan the Birmingham Children's Crusade? Use evidence from page 71 to support your arguments.	How is the second day of the Birmingham Children's March described? Use evidence from pages 81 and 82 to support your arguments.
They faced a horrible police officer named Bull Connor. They faced not getting an Education.	the passage told that kids volunteered to march and go to jail because no grown up would.	they said bring your tooth brushes to the park. And then demonstrate a peaceful protest. But they still went to jail. pretty but that is why and thought they they said bring night die. your tooth brushes.	they marched out of the churches saying free-ee-son only to get sprayed by fire hoses. they were worried.

Figure 1: Everly's graphic organizer.

and terrifying to the kids that were in it.” The details shared here show that students could contextualize the events of the Birmingham Children’s March while also empathizing with the experiences of adolescents that took part in this violent and pivotal event.³⁵

The completion of the graphic organizer was an important step, given that these students were novices in working with the heuristics of a historian. However, their completed graphic organizers demonstrated some growth based on items discussed above. Everly’s work (**Figure 1**) best embodies the positive outcomes of this graphic organizer.

Day 3 and Day 4: Students’ Effective Analysis of Birmingham Merger Attempts

On Day 3 and Day 4, the fourth graders analyzed a packet of primary sources about the 1959 and 1964 merger attempts to bring the city governments of two suburbs, Mountain Brook and Homewood, back into Birmingham’s city government. Students were hesitant and confused when first analyzing primary sources during Day 3, which is expected considering the novelty of the task. However, their responses

to two sources on Day 4 were illuminating. The students read page 114 from *Shades Cahaba: The First 100 Years* to learn about the creation of Homewood City Schools, along with a newspaper clipping about the 1964 merger attempt. The newspaper used subtle language to discuss issues of race that would be later associated with Richard Nixon's Southern Strategy.³⁶ The societal shifts caused by the Civil Rights Movement of the 1960s made it politically untenable to directly make racist arguments like Governor Wallace's "segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever" statements. Therefore, Richard Nixon, most notably, and other Republican Congressmen starting in the latter part of the 1960s looked to win the political allegiances of white Southerners that felt alienated by the changes to Southern society caused by the elimination of Jim Crow segregation laws. To win the political hearts and minds of Southerners, Republican politicians used phrases like "busing" and "law and order" to subtly discuss racist sentiments in coded messages that were all too clear to a largely receptive Southern audience and were so appealing that the South began a political transformation into a Republican stronghold.

Day 3 and Day 4 demonstrated an uneven ability to decode subtle racist language. There were some spots where students were successful in decoding subtle racist rhetoric, while in others, they were not so successful. First, some students did not decode the subtle ways that people talked about race in either of the Day 4 sources. For example, Emilia argued the following:

The book says Homewood City Schools started because the parents were raising money for their school, and their money was going to all of the schools. The other reasons were they wanted to make their own decisions and wanted something better for their kids.

Emilia's answers were comparable with a lot of students, especially in regards to the page from *Shades Cahaba: The First 100 Years*. No students questioned what the author meant by "the parents wanted to make their own decisions," which could be referencing who their kids were or were not in school with on a daily basis, or perhaps it was an indirect response to the Supreme Court's recent integrationist rulings. We asked the teacher what she felt accounted for this finding, and she said, "My students seem inclined to trust and not question the accuracy of a claim found in a book." This is not unlike the deference to the authoritative prose within secondary sources that scholars have noted among secondary students.³⁷

There were some students that partially decoded the racist intents behind the creation of Homewood City Schools. For example, Kaylie said, “The other reason Homewood City Schools started is integration.” Taylor built on Kaylie’s statement by saying, “The other reason Homewood City Schools started is that they [people living in Homewood] wanted to avoid being a part of integration.” Kaylie and Taylor were referencing the idea that the people in Homewood were trying to avoid confronting the changes brought by the elimination of Jim Crow segregation laws. Walker explained that people in Homewood were motivated to take these actions due to racist beliefs, stating, “The other reason Homewood City Schools is that they [white citizens in Homewood] did not want Negro people to be with them [their children] in school.” These students communicated calculated efforts taken to perpetuate segregation in public schools.

Everly’s handout (**Figure 2**) illustrates the potential within the analysis prompts on Day 4. Everly unpacked her arguments in a little more depth than her peers, reflecting common trends in students’ responses to the analysis prompts in Day 4.

Day 5 and Day 6: Students’ Timelines and Timeline Summaries

On Day 5 and Day 6, students created a timeline for national events, state events of Alabama, and some local events within Birmingham connected to civil rights issues. The students selected and logically sequenced events on their timelines; they assigned correct dates for the events in their timelines and timeline summaries. Many students inaccurately recorded the date for an event, as can be seen in Alicia’s timeline (**Figure 3**) and timeline summary (**Figure 4**). However, Alicia captured the ebb and flow with civil rights activists’ actions and resulting public policies that segregationists passed to stem changes to their city, state, and country.

Students accurately communicated information about the events included within their timelines. They wrote an average of a page in length for their summaries. Alicia’s work reveals an individualized writing assignment completing a hands-on, minds-on, color-coded timeline. Terms and sequence are easily identified on the timeline, while context and significance are unpacked within the summary.

Holland, like Alicia, ably organized the timeline (**Figure 5**) and articulated conclusions within the timeline summary (**Figure 6**).

On the next page is page 114 from the book *Shades Cahaba: The First 100 Years*. What reasons are given on this page for the creation of the Homewood City Schools system? How are the reasons for creating the Homewood City Schools given similar to the newspaper clip we looked at yesterday that is provided below about why people opposed the merger in Mountain Brook?

The According to the book reasons say that they wanted to create homewood city schools because parents wanted there kids to go to a school close by. Also parents donated money to the school but it ended going out to other schools close by. According to the newspaper clip people opposed the merger in mountain brook because they did not want intergration. Also they did not want Birmingham to control them.

Figure 2: Everly's handout response.

Readers will note how the two historical apprentices approached their similar topic differently. Holland implied that several events in the timeline are interconnected, without clearly stating the connection. Despite incompleteness and misspellings, Holland demonstrated comprehension of key content material.

Day 7: Students' Historical Markers

On Day 7, students completed their historical markers about a topic covered over the course of the project. The goal of the historical marker activity was for students to summarize in no more than fifty

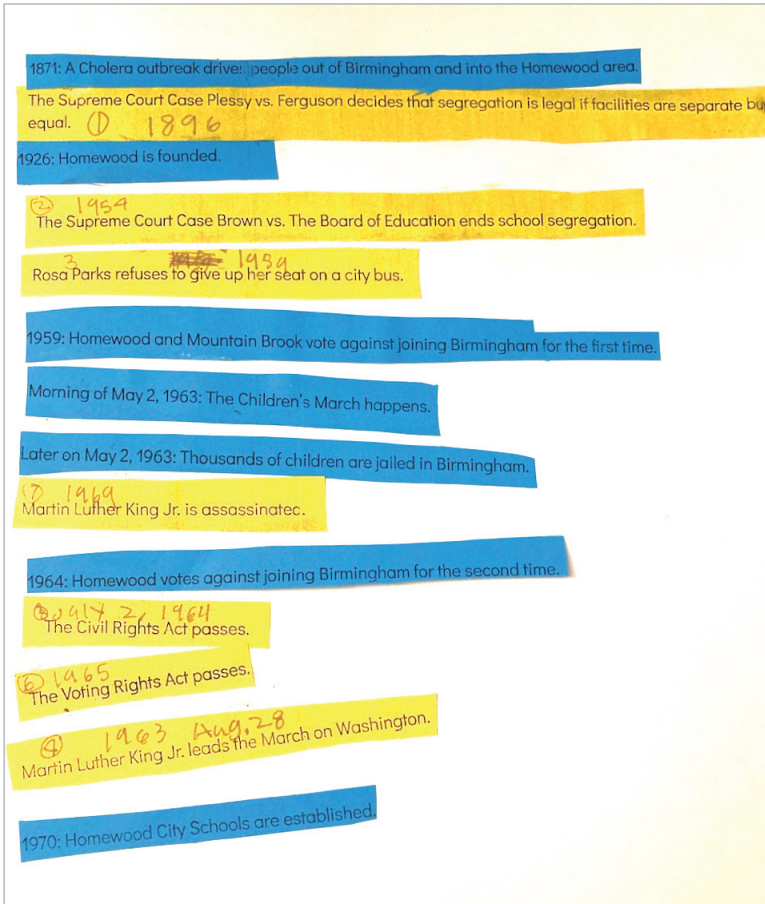


Figure 3: Alicia's timeline.

words a noteworthy topic covered in the project. Students had total freedom to select the topic covered in their historical marker, and due to this, there were a lot of different events discussed. There were some notable themes that emerged from reviewing students' historical markers.

The Founding of Homewood. Several students were able to identify the ripple effects of human movement at the founding of Birmingham. Specifically, they discussed how the cholera outbreak led to people moving to the Homewood area and how this location established itself as a popular suburb in the Birmingham metropolitan

In 1871 a sickness called a cholera made people leave Bham and into Hmd and later in 1926 homewood was founded.

In 1896 The supreme court said it was legal if facilities are separate but equal and later in 1954 the Supreme court ends segregation but in 1959 rosa parks refused to give up her seat in a city bus meanwhile Homewood and mountainbrook vote against joining Bham.

Later on May 2 1963 the children's March happens and thousands of kids went to jail.

Again Homewood voted against joining Bham for the second time and the civil rights act passed after Martin Luther King led the March on Washington sadly 6 years later he died and in 1970 Homewood Schools was established.

In 1871 a sickness called a cholera made people [leave] Bham [Birmingham] and into Hmd [Homewood] and later in 1926 Homewood was founded.

In 1896 The Supreme Court said it was legal if [facilities] are separate but equal and later in 1954 the Supreme [Court] ends [segregation] but in 1959 Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat in a city bus meanwhile Homewood and Mountain Brook vote against joining BHam [Birmingham].

Later [on] May 2, 1963 the Children's March happens and thousands of kids went to jail.

Again, Homewood voted against joining BHam [Birmingham] for the second time and the civil rights act passed after Martin Luther King led the March on [Washington] sadly 6 years later he died and in 1970 Homewood Schools was [established].

Figure 4: Alicia's timeline summary (with transcription).

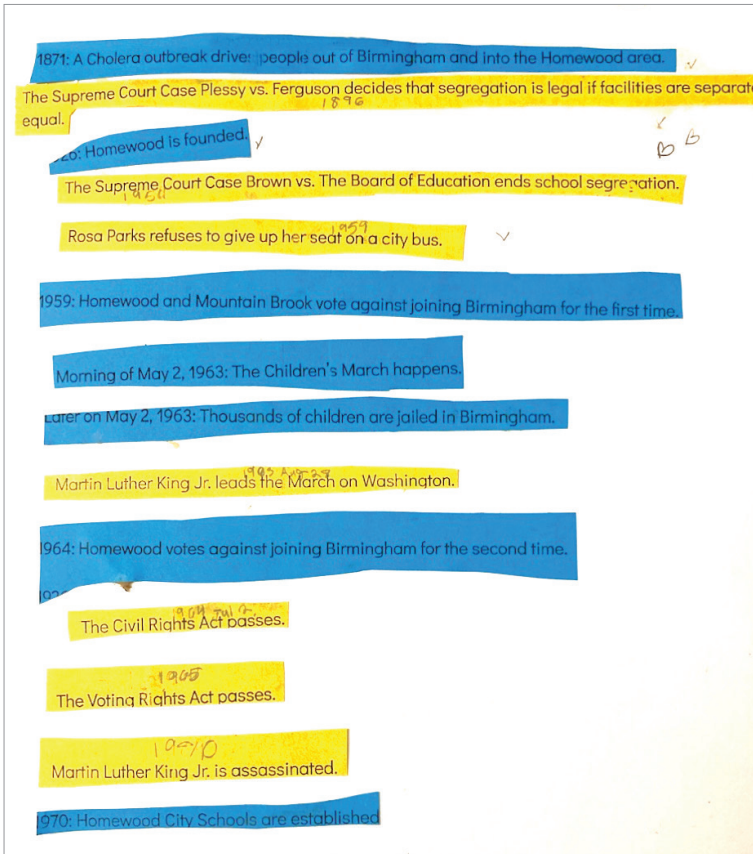


Figure 5: Holland's timeline.

area over time. This can be seen in John's historical marker (**Figure 7**). John's historical marker accurately captures the chronological unfolding of historical events that led to the founding of Homewood. He ably dated the spot, noted the location, indicated a catalyst, and included the residents' civic response.

The Supreme Court and Civil Rights Issues. There were several students that focused on the impact of the Supreme Court in relation to civil rights issues. There were some students that focused on the *Brown v. Board of Education* case. These students accurately summarized the outcome of this case to eliminate segregation in public schools. This can be seen in Susan's historical marker

In the Birmingham area (not called Birmingham yet!) a cholera outbreak drove people from Birmingham in to what we now call Homewood (1871). 25 years later the Supreme court case Plessy vs Ferguson decides that segregation is legal if facilities are separate but equal (1896). In 1926 Homewood was founded by the residents of Homewood (1926). 26 years later the Supreme court case Brown vs the Board of Education ends school segregation (1954). Later in history a woman named Rosa Parks got jailed for not giving up her seat to a white man on a city bus (1959). Later that year Homewood & Mt. Lebanon vote against joining. On May 2, 1963 the children's march happened. Later many kids were jailed. Later that year MLK gave the march on Washington. In 1964 Homewood and Mt. Lebanon vote against merging again. Later in 1964 July 2, the Civil rights act passes. The voting rights pass (1965). Sadly in 1968 MLK passed away in Memphis. In 1970 Homewood city schools were established.

In the Birmingham area (not called Birmingham yet!) a cholera [outbreak] drove people from Birmingham into what we now call Homewood (1871). 25 years later the [Supreme] Court case Plessy vs. Ferguson [decided] that [segregation] is legal if [facilities] are [separate] but equal (1896). In 1926, Homewood was founded by the residents of Homewood (1926). 26 years later, the [Supreme Court] case Brown vs. the [Board] of [Education] ends school [segregation] (1954). Later in history, a woman named [Rosa] Parks got jailed for not [giving] up her seat to a white man on a city bus (1959) [sic]. Later that year, Homewood and [Mountain] Brook vote against joining. On May 2, 1963 the [Children's] March [happened] later many kids [were] jailed. Later that year, MLK [led] a March on [Washington]. In 1964, Homewood and [Mountain Brook] voted against merging [again]. Later in 1964 [on] July 2, the [civil] rights act passes [and] the voting rights [passes] (1965). Sadly in 1968 MLK passed away in [Memphis]. [In] 1970, Homewood city schools [were] [established].

Figure 6: Holland's timeline summary (with transcription).

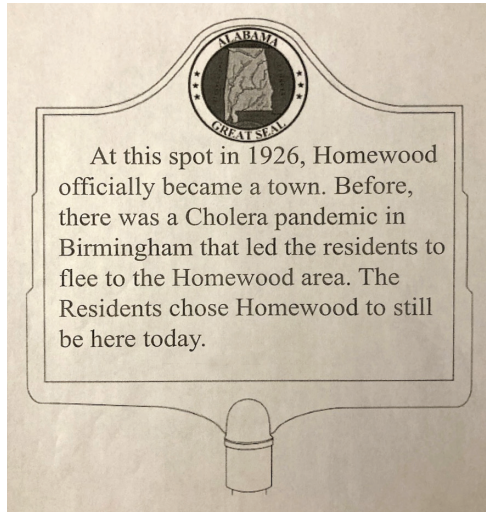


Figure 7: John's historical marker.

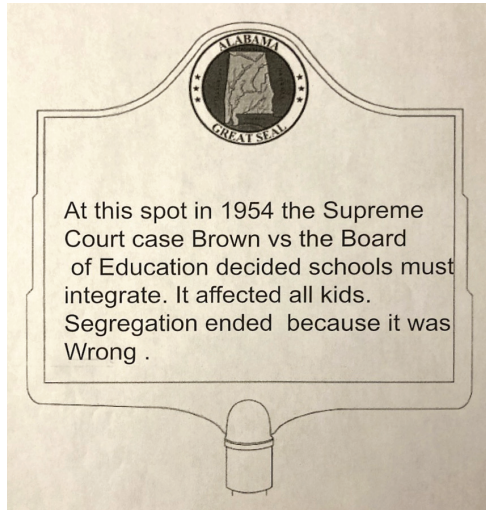


Figure 8: Susan's historical marker.

(Figure 8). Susan mistakenly noted the spot, but appropriately dated the event, its significance, and its civic result. Additionally, Susan articulated a moral component in her historical marker when stating, “Segregation ended because it was Wrong.” This is a

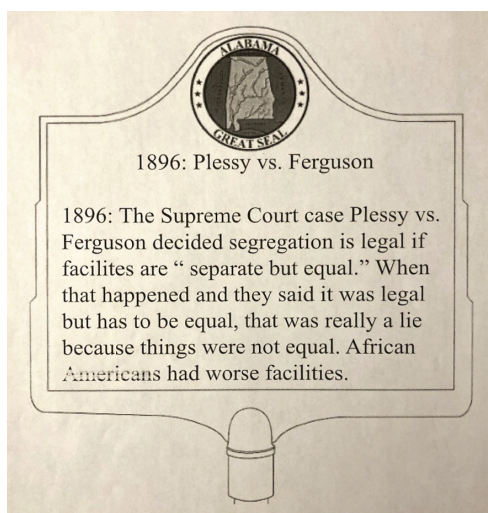


Figure 9: Marcus's historical marker.

notable trend seen in multiple students' historical markers. Several students discussed the inequality and injustice in public policies that discriminate against minority groups within the United States.

Moral arguments with Supreme Court cases can also be seen with students focusing their historical markers on the *Plessy v. Ferguson* case. This can be seen in Marcus's historical marker (**Figure 9**). Marcus attempted to place an important court case in historical context. He disentangled idealistic words from the racist reality, and articulated the case's significance in history. One item that materializes immediately about Marcus's historical marker is that he inserted the quote "separate but equal" about this Supreme Court case. This quote is often associated with this seminal case, and we asked the teacher what accounted for this inclusion. The teacher reported how nearly all students creating their historical marker returned to reread primary sources and trade books. This attention to details can be seen in Marcus's historical marker as he uses evidence from previously examined sources to support his arguments.

Civil Rights Activists' Agency. Several students used their historical markers to make moral arguments about civil rights activists and their actions. This can be seen with multiple civil

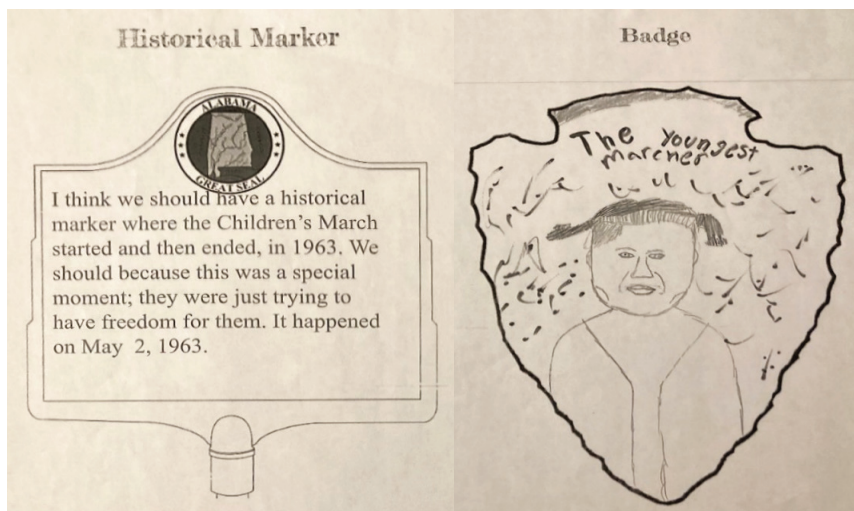


Figure 10: Katherine's historical marker and badge.

rights topics. First, there were several students that focused their historical markers on the Birmingham Children's March. With one of the few first-person narrative historical markers, Katherine also included a badge with her version of a photograph examined on Day 1 about Audrey Faye Hendricks (**Figure 10**). Katherine argued that a marker for the Birmingham Children's March is warranted because "this was a special moment; they [kids that participated in this protest] were just trying to have freedom for them." Katherine's argument demonstrates that the impetus for adolescents' actions was to protest unjust laws that discriminated against Birmingham's African-American community. In this way, she conveyed people's agency in a democracy as they encounter injustices.

In a similar vein, several students argued how Rosa Parks's actions were instrumental in leading to the Montgomery Bus Boycott. This can be seen in Grecia's historical marker and badge (**Figure 11**). Her badge is a reconstruction of a primary source—a court document, in particular—examined in Day 1 that shows the inside of the bus where Rosa Parks refused to give up her seat. Grecia worked to establish Rosa Parks's historical significance within her marker and badge. She ably described the event leading up to the impactful boycott. In her historical marker, Grecia

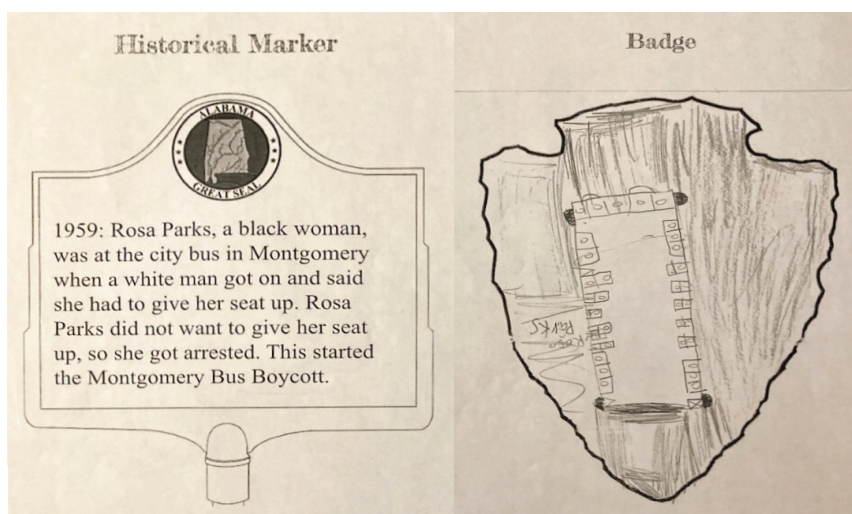


Figure 11: Grecia's historical marker and badge.

discussed both individual and collective actions taken to protest segregation laws in Montgomery. Grecia referenced Rosa Parks's individual act of defiance with regards to not giving up her seat and implied the collective action of the African-American community in Montgomery to not use the public buses until segregation laws on public transportation within the city were removed.

Dr. King's Assassination. Multiple students focused on Dr. King's assassination in their historical markers. This was an unexpected outcome, since this event was barely mentioned in the project. When asked, the teacher said that the students did independent research about this tragedy to include details about this event, which can be seen in Marco's historical marker (**Figure 12**). Upon completing independent research, Marco worked to contextualize the historical significance of Martin Luther King within his marker. Marco's arguments include a moral component of Dr. King's actions, which Marco supported in detail ("He was a believer and gave speeches, he led marches, [and] he worked to make equal rights come true"). Again, the different arguments within Marco's historical marker are noteworthy because the student did independent research and accurately represented findings from his research about Dr. King.

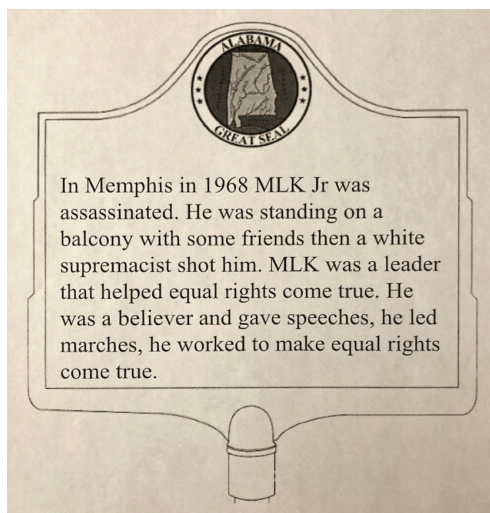


Figure 12: Marco's historical marker.

Discussion

Strengthening Students' Ability to Articulate Continuity and Changes

The completion of our seven-day project and analysis of student work left us with some takeaways for history educators who would like to replicate and build on our project. First, most students implied the connections among civil rights activists' actions and public policies they advocated for and how segregationists' violence and public policies were designed to maintain the status quo in the Birmingham metropolitan area. Students would write sentences to partially explain the dynamics with how civil rights activists pushed for change and how segregationists took civic action to prevent change. We feel that one way to help students better articulate the historical thinking skill with continuity and change is through meaningful class discussions after analyzing a source.

Specifically, we advocate that the teacher asks guiding questions to help develop students' historical thinking skills to grasp the tension between continuity and change in regards to the unfolding events of America's Civil Rights Movement in the 1960s. Guiding questions should be asked in a class debriefing after students analyze primary and secondary sources connected to the concept of continuity and change.

For example, after Day 2, where students read excerpts from the trade book *We've Got a Job* about the Birmingham Children's March, the teacher could ask: "How did white segregationists use violence as a tool to try and stop change in Birmingham?" and "How did civil rights activists react to the violence they faced?" These questions help students to articulate the tools employed by white segregationists and civil rights activists to either maintain or change the status quo, and how each group reciprocally reacted. In a similar fashion, the teacher could have an impactful class discussion after students analyze newspaper stories from the 1959 and 1964 merger attempts for Day 3 and Day 4. A question to guide this class discussion could be, "How do white segregationists use the levers of local government to maintain segregation through different means?" This question helps students articulate how white segregationists used public policies to maintain segregation laws. This recommendation is fundamental, considering elementary students are often inexperienced applying a historian's heuristics when analyzing primary and secondary sources.

Strengthening Students' Corroboration Skills

In a similar vein, students' corroboration skills appeared and had a great potential for future growth. This can best be seen when students worked with a secondary-source extract and a primary-source newspaper on Day 4. Students were able to consistently connect the role that issues of race with school integration played in ultimately leading to the creation of Homewood City Schools. However, students' answers were very brief to this analysis prompt and did not completely demonstrate the ability to corroborate arguments. Yes, they did consistently provide a summary sentence for why school integration drove both the debate for the merger attempts and the creation of Homewood City Schools, but there was little to no depth provided. This is not surprising, since students had limited or no experience corroborating arguments across sources prior to the project. Elementary teachers might employ different strategies to develop their young students' corroboration skills.

One way that we would recommend modifying our project is through using analysis prompts designed to help students corroborate arguments over multiple sources. For example, the teacher could ask the following about the merger documents examined: "How did the

language change in sources from the 1959 to the 1964 merger attempt for why people in Homewood and Mountain Brook opposed the merger attempts?” This question speaks to the change in language employed by white segregationists to talk about issues of race subtly with the two merger attempts, which can be seen in newspaper excerpts. Students need more practice with corroboration questions independently,³⁸ and the teacher needs to build debriefing time into the lesson plans. Similar to arguments above about building students’ understanding with continuity and change, students need opportunities to corroborate parallel, divergent, or competing arguments across sources.

Decoding Subtle Racist Language

Many of the primary and secondary sources utilized in our project employ subtle racist rhetoric later associated with Richard Nixon’s Southern Strategy. This type of racist rhetoric would become the blueprint for how conservatives for over half a century would subtly appeal to racist sentiments.³⁹ This coded language can be seen in the primary sources read about the 1964 merger attempts and the page from *Shades Cahaba*. The shift in language when discussing race was needed by conservatives to appeal to deep-seated prejudices by white segregationists in a more subtle way, as political strategist Lee Atwater shockingly detailed:

You start out in 1954 by saying, “N—— [n word], n—— n——.” By 1968, you can’t say “n——”—that hurts you. Backfires. So you say stuff like forced busing, states’ rights, and all that stuff. You’re getting so abstract...⁴⁰

The fourth graders in our project to some degree were able to decode subtle racist rhetoric, specifically in regards to the language used in the 1964 merger attempts for why citizens in Homewood and Mountain Brook opposed merging back into Birmingham. We should emphasize that this was not our intended outcome from doing this project; this theme simply emerged in a way that could not be ignored with students’ work. On Day 3, students examined blunt racist arguments for why these citizens opposed the merger, and on Day 4, they then examined more subtle arguments. They realized that people could convey or feel something without saying it explicitly. This led us to postulate that more support was needed by the teacher to help students decode subtle racist rhetoric.

We recommend that history education scholars wanting to replicate our project insert an additional activity after the analysis of primary sources about the 1959 and 1964 merger attempts. The teacher could start Day 5 with a different activity than the timeline and timeline summary that was done in our project on Day 5 and Day 6. Instead, students would start Day 5 by answering the following two questions in pairs:

1. How do people make you feel something without saying it? Use specific examples to support your arguments.
2. How did the language in the 1959 merger attempt change with the 1964 merger attempt? Use specific examples to support your arguments.

These questions help students explore subtle language in general and then apply this approach to the two merger attempts in Birmingham discussed in our project. After pairs answer these two analysis prompts, there should be a class discussion where students share their responses. The teacher needs to guide this class discussion and help students unpack their arguments. This class activity and discussion helps students to dig beneath the surface in historical and contemporary figures' arguments to see what individuals are trying to say without saying.

Examining the Ripple Effects with Failed Mergers in Birmingham

There were missed learning opportunities in our seven-day project. We would have liked to extend our project with how the failed attempts to merge Homewood and Mountain Brook back into Birmingham had ripple effects into the city's present. This was not possible because the teacher was prevented from doing so due to spring break and the end of the year test preparation mandated by her school system. The creation of suburban school systems started with Homewood and Mountain Brook have only expanded and led to numerous ripple effects in the Birmingham metropolitan area. Some examples of ripple effects in the Birmingham metropolitan area can be seen with any attempts to change zoning within suburban areas, urban school systems that primarily serve non-white populations struggling to hire certified teachers, and the subtle scare tactics used in house listings on Zillow that directly discuss the high-quality school systems in Birmingham suburbs—and, subtly, the converse.⁴¹ These three

examples and many others speak to the ripple effects with the creation of suburban school systems in the Birmingham metropolitan area.

The three examples referenced in the previous paragraph could be explored by students as ripple effects with the creation of suburban schools in the Birmingham metropolitan area. We will briefly discuss how the example of non-certified teachers might be explored with students. Students would read one news story from April 26, 2022 and another from April 18, 2023 about the challenges of finding certified teachers in Birmingham City Schools.⁴² The teacher might employ analysis prompts for students to unpack the subtle role that not only race, but also class plays here. Two possible analysis prompts that could be asked are provided below:

1. How do issues of race impact why Birmingham City Schools is having difficulty filling the school openings? Use evidence from the source to support your arguments.
2. What can we infer for why teachers would elect not to work in Birmingham City Schools? Use evidence from the source to support your arguments.

After the students answer these analysis prompts, there is a class discussion. A natural answer students may respond is that the teacher shortage with certain schools was a byproduct of COVID-19. There is some truth that COVID-19 has exacerbated the teacher shortage issue, but this issue runs deeper and was present before the global health pandemic became the dominant issue in the world. The teacher can share the third news story from August 2, 2019 that talks about the teacher shortage in another school system in the Birmingham metropolitan area that primarily serves non-white students, Jefferson County Schools.⁴³ Students would reassemble into the same pairs, read this news story, and answer the following analysis prompts:

1. How does the article directly address the lack of training that Teach for America graduates gain to become teachers? Use evidence to support your arguments.
2. How long does the training usually take to become a teacher? Use evidence to support your arguments.
3. Why is there a discrepancy between the average time to become a teacher and the program for Teach for America? How does this discrepancy connect to issues of race? Use evidence from the source to support your arguments.

This second activity helps students to see that teacher shortages in school systems primarily serving non-white students has been an issue in the Birmingham metropolitan area prior to COVID-19. Students are also strengthening their research skills as they investigate the average time spent training to be a teacher, which stands in stark contrast to the five weeks spent with Teach for America. This speaks to a racial disparity in educational quality between kids attending suburban school systems and urban school systems in the Birmingham metropolitan area. These uncomfortable conversations help students grasp abstract concepts of racism in concrete terms.

Conclusion

When exploring events in the Black Freedom Movement, history educators have a tendency to focus on national events from U.S. history. We argue that this creates missed learning opportunities. History educators should look locally at Klan activities, lynchings, and racist housing covenants, to name a few. These issues and the issue with the creation of suburban school systems in response to school integration are not confined to just Birmingham. Unfortunately, this is our shared history that can be seen in cities across the United States. For example, simple searches into the Ku Klux Klan activities, area sundown towns, local lynchings, and racist housing covenants in the area might yield surprising results. The first author, in very little time in digital archives, located stories within 100 miles of his town on multiple lynchings on the land adjacent to Lynch Road,⁴⁴ stories of Klan in community parades with local police endorsements,⁴⁵ supportive minister testimonials,⁴⁶ suspicious deaths and unknown African Americans' bodies turning up near train stations,⁴⁷ gruesome murder indictments⁴⁸ with lax sentencing,⁴⁹ and a newspaper celebrating police violence⁵⁰ against African Americans. For units on the Ku Klux Klan, quality history education scholarship⁵¹ and age-appropriate secondary sources⁵² exist. Teachers might consider James Loewen's scholarship⁵³ and database⁵⁴ for local inquiries on exclusionary Sundown Towns across America. Secondary and college educators might consider featuring lynching in detail, though this would be inappropriate for the young learners in this study. All educators might consider one community's response to learning about a historical lynching that took place in their town⁵⁵ or the racially

restrictive housing covenants that many locales enacted.⁵⁶ Discovery is possible, almost certain. Local sources only enhance intrinsic meaning and student engagement.

Students need learning opportunities to analyze how policies generated with racist intents led to racist results. This knowledge helps students to grasp how many issues connected to race in the present are the vestiges of racist policies from the past. The ripple effects of racist policies can be long lasting, as we have discussed in this article with the creation of suburban school systems in the Birmingham metropolitan area. Learning experiences like the one discussed in this article help to equip students with the knowledge as future democratic citizens to confront and address the racist vestiges of America's past so that these are not lingering issues in America's future.

Notes

This project is supported by the Alabama Humanities Alliance, a state affiliate of the National Endowment for the Humanities. Any views, findings, conclusions, or recommendations expressed in this publication do not necessarily represent those of the Alabama Humanities Alliance or the National Endowment for the Humanities.

1. America's culture wars often manifest within education, particularly in history, where popular myths confront rigorous scholarship. See Gary B. Nash, Charlotte Crabtree, and Ross E. Dunn, *History on Trial: Culture Wars and the Teaching of the Past* (New York: Vintage, 2000) and Linda Symcox, *Whose History? The Struggle for National Standards in American Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2002).

2. See James W. Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 2007) and Scott L. Roberts, "A Review of Social Studies Textbook Content Since 2002," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9, no. 3 (2015): 51-65 for, respectively, the most formidable and recent scholarship on social studies and history textbooks' ubiquity and problematic nature.

3. The historical scholarship is wide and deep on civil rights history. See Charles E. Connerly, *"The Most Segregated City in America": City Planning and Civil Rights in Birmingham, 1920-1980* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2013) and Glenn T. Eskew, *But for Birmingham: The Local and the National Movements in the Civil Rights Struggle* (Chapel Hill, VA: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997) for the most relevant scholarship on Birmingham.

4. See Jeanne Theoharis, *The Rebellious Life of Mrs. Rosa Parks* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2015) and Donnie Williams with Wayne Greenhaw, *The Thunder of Angels: The Montgomery Bus Boycott and the People Who Broke the Back of Jim Crow* (Chicago, IL: Lawrence Hill Books, 2006) for definitive histories of Parks and the boycott, respectively.
5. Dale Anderson, *Freedom Rides: Campaign for Equality* (Minneapolis, MN: Compass Point Books, 2007) and Raymond Arsenault, *Freedom Riders: 1961 and the Struggle For Racial Justice* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006).
6. Jennifer J. Yanco, *Misremembering Dr. King: Revisiting the Legacy of Martin Luther King Jr.* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2014).
7. Martin Luther King, Jr., *The Radical King*, ed. Cornel West (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 2016).
8. Charles Fager, *Selma 1965: The March that Changed the South* (Boston, MA: Beacon Press, 1985); J. Mills Thornton, *Dividing Lines: Municipal Politics and the Struggle For Civil Rights in Montgomery, Birmingham, and Selma* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002).
9. Diane McWhorter, *Carry Me Home: Birmingham, Alabama: The Climactic Battle of the Civil Rights Revolution* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013).
10. See Chapter 2 of Andrew M. Manis, *A Fire You Can't Put Out: The Civil Rights Life of Birmingham's Reverend Fred Shuttlesworth* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 2002).
11. Donald Yacovone's *Teaching White Supremacy: America's Democratic Ordeal and the Forging of our National Identity* (New York: Pantheon, 2022) is decisive on the ubiquity and obscured nature of white supremacy within history classrooms in America.
12. Sara B. Demoiny and Jessica Ferraras-Stone, "Critical Literacy in Elementary Social Studies: Juxtaposing Historical Master and Counter Narratives in Picture Books," *The Social Studies* 109, no. 2 (2018): 64-73.
13. Tina L. Heafner, "Elementary ELA/Social Studies Integration: Challenges and Limitations," *The Social Studies* 109, no. 1 (2018): 1-12.
14. Lorin W. Anderson and David R. Krathwohl, eds., *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing: A Revision of Bloom's Taxonomy of Educational Objectives* (New York: Longman, 2001) and Victor Benassi, Catherine E. Overson, and Christopher M. Hakala, eds., *Applying Science of Learning in Education: Infusing Psychological Science into the Curriculum* (Washington, DC: American Psychological Association, 2014) are definitive educational psychological texts. Jeffery D. Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents' 'Reading Like Historians,'" *The History Teacher* 44, no. 3 (May 2011): 379-404 and Peter C. Seixas and Tom Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts* (Toronto, Canada: Nelson College Indigenous, 2012) provide, respectively, the most succinct and clearest articulations of historical thinking.
15. Nathalie Popa, "Operationalizing Historical Consciousness: A Review and Synthesis of the Literature on Meaning Making in Historical Learning," *Review of Educational Research* 92, no. 2 (April 2022): 171-208.
16. Sam Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts: Charting the Future of Teaching the Past* (Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press, 2001).

17. Sam Wineburg, *Why Learn History (When It's Already on your Phone)* (Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, 2018); Sam Wineburg, Daisy Martin, and Chauncey Monte-Sano, *Reading Like a Historian: Teaching Literacy in Middle and High School Classrooms* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2013).

18. Nokes, "Recognizing and Addressing the Barriers to Adolescents' 'Reading Like Historians'" ; Jeffery D. Nokes, "Elementary Students' Roles and Epistemic Stances During Document-Based History Lessons," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 42, no. 3 (2014): 375-413; Jeffery D. Nokes, "Exploring Patterns of Historical Thinking through Eighth-Grade Students' Argumentative Writing," *Journal of Writing Research* 8, no. 3 (2017): 437-467.

19. Jeffery D. Nokes, *Teaching History, Learning Citizenship: Tools for Civic Engagement* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2019); Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*.

20. Chauncey Monte-Sano, "What Makes a Good History Essay? Assessing Historical Aspects of Argumentative Writing," *Social Education* 76, no. 6 (November-December 2012): 294-298; Chauncey Monte-Sano and Kristen Harris, "Recitation and Reasoning in Novice History Teachers' Use of Writing," *The Elementary School Journal* 113, no. 1 (September 2012): 105-130.

21. Chauncey Monte-Sano, Susan De La Paz, and Mark Felton, *Reading, Thinking, and Writing About History: Teaching Argument Writing to Diverse Learners in the Common Core Classroom, Grades 6-12* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2014); Bruce A. VanSledright, "Fifth Graders Investigating History in the Classroom: Results from a Researcher-Practitioner Design Experiment," *The Elementary School Journal* 103, no. 2 (November 2002): 131-160; Bruce VanSledright, *Assessing Historical Thinking And Understanding: Innovative Designs for New Standards* (New York: Routledge, 2014).

22. Michelle M. Herczog, "The Links Between the C3 Framework and the NCSS National Curriculum Standards For Social Studies," *Social Education* 77, no. 6 (November-December 2013): 331-333; Peter Seixas, ed., *Theorizing Historical Consciousness* (Toronto, Canada: University of Toronto Press, 2004); Seixas and Morton, *The Big Six Historical Thinking Concepts*.

23. Cynthia Levinson, *The Youngest Marcher: The Story of Audrey Faye Hendricks, a Young Civil Rights Activist*, illustrated by Vanessa Brantley Newton (New York: Atheneum, 2017).

24. Demoiny and Ferraras-Stone, "Critical Literacy in Elementary Social Studies"; Heafner, "Elementary ELA/Social Studies Integration."

25. Anderson and Krathwohl, *A Taxonomy for Learning, Teaching, and Assessing*; Benassi, Overson, and Hakala, *Applying Science of Learning in Education*.

26. National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and Council of Chief State School Officers, *Common Core State Standards for English/Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies, Science, and Technical Subjects* (Washington, DC: National Governors Association Center for Best Practices and Council of Chief State School Officers, 2010).

27. Virginia Jones, "How Isolated We Were," Kids in Birmingham 1963, <<https://kidsinbirmingham1963.org/how-isolated-we-were/>>.

28. Levinson, *The Youngest Marcher*.

29. Cynthia Levinson, *We've Got a Job: The 1963 Birmingham Children's March* (Atlanta, GA: Peachtree Publishers, 2012).

30. Shawn Wright, *Shades Cahaba: The First 100 Years* (Birmingham, AL: Shawn Wright, 2020), 114.

31. The teacher provided the following events: 1871: Cholera outbreak causes people to leave Birmingham and move to the Homewood area; 1896: the Supreme Court case of *Plessy v. Ferguson* leads to separate facilities; 1926: Homewood is founded; 1954: Supreme Court case of *Brown v. Board of Education* ends school segregation; 1959: Homewood and Mountain Brook fail to merge back into Birmingham; 1959: Rosa Parks refuses to give up her seat on a bus that was a catalyst leading to the Montgomery Bus Boycott; 1963: Birmingham Children's March; 1963: March on Washington and Dr. King's "I Have a Dream Speech"; 1964: Civil Rights Act passes; 1964: Homewood and Mountain Brook vote again against merging into Birmingham; 1965: Voting Rights Act is passed; 1968: Dr. King is assassinated; and 1970: Homewood City Schools is created.

32. John W. Creswell, *Qualitative Inquiry & Research Design: Choosing Among Five Approaches*, third ed. (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications, 2013), 179-212; Johnny Saldaña, *The Coding Manual for Qualitative Researchers*, second ed. (Los Angeles, CA: SAGE Publications, 2013), 1-40.

33. Todd Dinkelman and Alexander Cuenca, "Qualitative Inquiry in Social Studies Research," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, ed. Meghan McGlinn Manfra and Cheryl Mason Bolick (Malden, MA: Wiley, 2017), 95-131.

34. Levinson, *We've Got a Job*.

35. Jason Endacott and Sarah Brooks, "An Updated Theoretical and Practical Model for Promoting Historical Empathy," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 8, no. 1 (2013): 41-58.

36. Dan T. Carter, *The Politics of Rage: George Wallace, the Origins of the New Conservatism, and the Transformation of American Politics*, second ed. (Baton Rouge, LA: Louisiana State University Press, 2000), 156-194; James Boyd, "Nixon's Southern Strategy: 'It's All in the Charts,'" *The New York Times*, May 17, 1970, <<https://www.nytimes.com/packages/html/books/phillips-southern.pdf>>; Timothy N. Thurber, "Goldwaterism Triumphant? Race and the Republican Party, 1965-1968," *The Journal of the Historical Society* 7, no. 3 (September 2007): 349-384.

37. Wineburg, *Historical Thinking and Other Unnatural Acts*.

38. John H. Bickford and Ryan C. Hendrickson, "An Inquiry into Liberty, Slavery, and Thomas Jefferson's Place in American Memory," *The Social Studies* 111, no. 1 (2020): 1-10.

39. Carter, *The Politics of Rage*, 156-194; Boyd, "Nixon's Southern Strategy"; Thurber, "Goldwaterism Triumphant?"

40. Lee Atwater, as quoted in Jack Bass, "Foreword," in *Writing Southern Politics: Contemporary Interpretations and Future Directions*, ed. Robert P. Steed and Laurence W. Moreland (Lexington, KY: The University of Kentucky Press, 2006), vii-xii.

41. John Huddleston, "Zoning Change Could Stop Apartment Complex in Hoover," WBRC News, February 4, 2016, <<https://www.wbrc.com/story/31135605/zoning-change-could-stop-apartment-complex-in-hoover/>>; Jon Anderson, "Hoover

School Rezoning Plan: Here's What We Know Now," AL.com, August 9, 2014, <https://www.al.com/news/birmingham/2014/08/hover_school_rezoning_plan_he.html>; Oliivianna Calmes, "Birmingham City Schools: ESL and Special Education Teacher Need Has 'Grown Tremendously,'" WBRC News, April 17, 2023, <<https://www.wbrc.com/2023/04/18/birmingham-city-schools-says-esl-special-education-teacher-need-has-grown-tremendously/>>; Diamond Nunnally, "Birmingham City Schools Battling Teacher Shortage with Creative Recruitment Strategies," WBMA News, April 26, 2022, <<https://abc3340.com/news/crisis-in-the-classroom/birmingham-city-schools-battling-teacher-shortage-with-creative-recruitment-efforts>>; Stephen Gallien, WBMA News, August 2, 2019, "National Non-Profit to Help Jefferson Co. Schools Offset Teacher Shortage," <<https://abc3340.com/news/local/national-non-profit-to-help-jefferson-co-schools-offset-teacher-shortage>>.

42. Calmes, "Birmingham City Schools"; Nunnally, "Birmingham City Schools Battling Teacher Shortage."

43. Gallien, "National Non-Profit to Help Jefferson Co. Schools."

44. *The Dispatch* (Moline, Illinois), May 27, 1895, Monday, p. 4; *Herald and Review* (Decatur, Illinois), May 26, 1895, Sunday, p. 1; *Chicago Tribune* (Chicago, Illinois), July 27, 1903, Monday, p. 1.

45. *Journal Gazette* (Mattoon, Illinois), May 28, 1923, Monday, p. 1.

46. *Journal Gazette* (Mattoon, Illinois), August 14, 1922, Monday, p. 8.

47. *Herald and Review* (Decatur, Illinois), July 22, 1925, Wednesday, p. 11.

48. *The Belleville News-Democrat* (Belleville, Illinois), May 30, 1924, Friday, p. 3.

49. *Journal Gazette* (Mattoon, Illinois), November 27, 1924, Thursday, p. 1.

50. *Journal Gazette* (Mattoon, Illinois), July 25, 1924, Friday, p. 6.

51. Jeremiah Clabough and John H. Bickford, "Confronting Misrepresentative Political Messages: The Klan's 19th- and Early 20th-Century Manifestations," *The Social Studies* 109, no. 4 (2018): 215-226; John H. Bickford and Jeremiah Clabough, "Investigating the KKK's Sociopolitical Position In American History, Past and Present," *Social Studies Research and Practice* 14, no. 1 (2019): 122-134; John Holden Bickford and Jeremiah Clabough, "A Guided Inquiry into a Dubious, Pervasive, All-American Organization, the Ku Klux Klan," *Teaching History: A Journal of Methods* 45, no. 1 (Spring 2020): 32-70.

52. Susan Campbell Bartoletti, *They Called Themselves the K.K.K.: The Birth of an American Terrorist Group* (New York: Houghton Mifflin, 2010).

53. James W. Loewen, *Sundown Towns: A Hidden Dimension of American Racism* (New York: The New Press, 2005).

54. History and Social Justice, "Sundown Towns," Tougaloo College, <<https://justice.tougaloo.edu/sundown-towns/>>.

55. Equal Justice Initiative, "EJI Releases Video About A Community's Response to Lynching," July 17, 2017, <<https://eji.org/news/abbeyville/>>.

56. A housing covenant from Burnham Park, Chicago, Illinois, 1937 reads: "Only persons of the Caucasian race may own, lease, occupy, or use any of said lots, except that any persons may be employed on said premises as domestic servants or chauffeurs." Source: Plat #12075390, Platbook 323, Page 8. Approved: October 15, 1937. Recorded: October 29, 1937.