

## Women's History Students Learn About Race Through Memoir: Anne Moody's *Coming of Age in Mississippi*

Jessica B. Schocker  
*Penn State Berks*

FOR YEARS, I've taught a general education course in women's history at the college where I work. The course is titled "Women in Modern History," and we explore the experiences of American women from the late nineteenth century through the present. Because of my scholarly interests and the experiences I've had teaching students of color, the class has, over time, also become a vehicle for teaching about race, specifically the experiences of Black women in the United States.<sup>1</sup> In accordance with numerous research findings, I've found over the years that my students know very little about women's history and even less about Black women's history. For decades, scholars have identified the dearth of Black women in the history curriculum.<sup>2</sup> In contrast, I've witnessed how developing a thoughtful understanding of women's history, especially Black women's history, is empowering and humanizing, particularly for my female students and students of color.

In this paper, I will outline the results of a research study I conducted on one class cohort, focusing on the impacts of teaching Black women's history through Anne Moody's 1968 memoir, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (herein referred to as *Coming of Age*), on



**Figure 1:** Photograph of Anne Moody in the 1970s by Werner Bethsold. File from Wikimedia Commons, <[https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anne\\_Moody.jpg](https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:Anne_Moody.jpg)>. Licensed under the Creative Commons Attribution-Share Alike 4.0 International license, <<https://www.creativecommons.org/licenses/by-sa/4.0/deed.en>>.

their understandings of race and the experiences of Black women.<sup>3</sup> Specifically, Moody's memoir provides a rich backdrop to deeply engage with: (a) how race works to shape material consequences and human welfare; (b) the experiences of Black women during and prior to the Civil Rights Movement; and (c) the limits of the Movement's "success." This study reveals how history students demonstrated understanding of the nuanced, intersectional experiences of one Black American woman to better understand the complexities of the Civil Rights Movement (CRM). This, in turn, provides a starting point for developing robust knowledge of and empathy for the experiences of marginalized people—past and present. The results of this study can be applied to future scholarship and curriculum development for a variety of secondary and post-secondary history classes.

### **The Text: A Brief Summary**

*Coming of Age* details the first twenty-three years of Moody's life. Born Essie Mae Moody in 1940, she was the child of sharecroppers in Mississippi. Her memoir is divided into four parts. Part One details Essie Mae's experiences as curious four-year-old child until she begins high school. Moody weaves together narrative after narrative, detailing how she came to see and understand race and the reality race created for her family. The book opens with Essie Mae in her home (without electricity), settling into the darkness of the night, and seeing the bright lights coming from the home on the hill where the White landowners lived.

In Part Two, Moody brings the reader through her high school years, where she begins grappling with the larger world around her. She is frustrated by her mother's lack of agency, the serious injustice in her community, and a tangible resistance among her teachers and other elders to any talk about these issues. Notably, Moody was in high school when Emmett Till was tortured and murdered, and she describes how his killing (which happened nearby) impacted her.

The third part of the book chronicles Moody's college years and her first active participation in the Civil Rights Movement. She began her schooling at the more conservative Natchez College before transferring to Tougaloo College. There, she found her place in the CRM and met her first White friend, Joan Trumpauer, who is noteworthy for being with Moody at the 1963 Jackson, Mississippi Woolworth's sit-in.<sup>4</sup>

The fourth part of the memoir opens with a detailed account of Moody's participation in that notorious sit-in and details her subsequent work on the ground in rural communities attempting to register Black people to vote. She faces years of violence and death threats and is tormented by what she describes as apathy and resistance from Black people in the South. She writes about her disillusioned response to Martin Luther King's "I Have a Dream" speech, which she heard in person. Moody's memoir ends on a melancholy note. Her closing line chillingly addresses whether or not things will ever get better for Black people in this country. After describing hearing the energetic voices all around her singing freedom songs on a bus—namely, "We Shall Overcome"—Moody writes that she remained silent; she didn't sing along. Her last line reads, "I really do wonder."

### **The Course, Setting, and Professor**

I choose to teach this book because it is a classic, and it is accessible for my (mostly) first-year college students. I teach at a medium-sized, suburban public college in the Northeast, where students' academic levels and preparedness for college vary greatly. As such, I differentiate and scaffold my instruction and believe the teaching methods described in this study would be applicable for high school students as well. Before beginning my career in higher education, I taught high school history. My personal teaching experiences at the high school level align with scholarship in social studies education suggesting that students should learn history that is relatable and outside the traditional textbook grand narrative. *Coming of Age*, in addition to being highly readable, provides a counter-story on the 1940s-1960s in the United States that none of my students had ever been exposed to prior to taking this class.

As an important note, I make sure to teach my students about memoir as a genre of literature, and how it differs from autobiography, biography, and other forms of historical text.<sup>5</sup> Memories, particularly from early childhood, aren't necessarily fact. They are slippery, fraught, and can play tricks on us. However, they are undeniably powerful.

This course is offered as a general education class in the humanities. The class is capped at forty students, and typically fills or comes

close. I offer the class once per year, and most of my students are first- and second-year students. The course “begins” in the late 1800s and moves, in somewhat chronological order, through time to the present day. Since women’s history works as a counter-story to traditional history classes, I used to expect (and rely on) basic understanding of a traditional American history curriculum, but have found over the years that the vast majority of my students have not retained what they learned in their high school American history classes beyond a superficial level. For example, I cannot assume that my students know that the CRM began before the Second Wave feminist movement or that my students know about the Voting Rights Act. This lack of content knowledge is consistent with the Nation’s Report Card for 2014, which reported that 18% of eighth graders are proficient in United States History.<sup>6</sup> Further, although history content knowledge varies, there are significant gaps, particularly for women, students of color, and those who are economically disadvantaged.<sup>7</sup>

The institution where I teach attracts students with vastly different academic backgrounds. Though there are a handful of students who have taken AP History classes in high school, most of them have not, and, as a whole, my students’ prior history knowledge is lacking. Because of this, I find that I’m often teaching “everyone’s” history rather than women’s history, but that I’m doing it through the eyes and ears of America’s women instead of (White) men. After years of teaching this course, I’ve come to realize that lack of prior content knowledge isn’t a serious hindrance to the success of my students in this class because I’m aware of the issue and how to approach it.

Although this course is not designated a “Black women’s history” class, I am purposeful in selecting readings, films, and primary sources that include and/or center the experiences of Black women. For example, in one of the earlier units of the class, we read a chapter about the turn of the twentieth century in Gail Collins’ book, *America’s Women: 400 Years of Dolls, Drudges, Helpmates, and Heroines* (2003), which describes the experiences of women attending college.<sup>8</sup> I juxtapose this reading with the analysis of images of Black women attending HBCUs, which I obtain from the Library of Congress Digital Collections, along with literature about the practice of “Passing.”<sup>9</sup> I am aware that my focus on Black women’s history can appear to be to the purposeful exclusion of other women of color. While I attempt to bring experiences of

all women of color to my class (e.g., the experiences of Japanese-American women in internment camps during and after World War II), the class certainly focuses mostly on Black women's history. I acknowledge to my students that this is a limitation of my course and an example of the black-white binary at work.<sup>10</sup> I have goals to further diversify the course in the future, but I recognize that covering "more" is not always better; balanced coverage continues to be a struggle for me in this class.

Finally, an important contextual piece of this course is that I am White. I was born to an upper-class family and attended an elite, private institution for my undergraduate and master's degrees and then attended a large, Research I institution where I completed my Ph.D. I've never experienced poverty or racial injustice. My privileged background is in stark contrast to many of the women I teach about (particularly, for the purposes of this paper, Anne Moody) and to many of the students of color who take my class. I acknowledge this candidly when I introduce myself at the beginning of the semester. I describe my process of coming to this work and why I'm qualified, without claiming to be all-knowing. Richard Milner has provided evidence that White teachers are less likely and less prepared than teachers of color to take on race work, but suggests that White teachers *must* take on the work in order to teach meaningful history.<sup>11</sup> Other scholarship has addressed this conundrum of White professors taking on race work. Laurie Grobman asserts that White women, in particular, have the potential, even unconsciously, to perpetuate White supremacy in the classroom if racial identity is left unexamined.<sup>12</sup> Christine Woynshner and I have described the concept of cultural parallax in how viewers interpret historical texts; the gaze (perspective) of the reader impacts her or his interpretation of the material.<sup>13</sup> The way a teacher interprets a text impacts how she or he will approach teaching it. I am conscious to remain acutely aware of my racial positioning in the class and of what I know and what I cannot know about race—and how all of this impacts the ways I teach this course.

### **Theoretical Framework and Related Scholarship**

Critical Race Theory (CRT) and Black Feminist Theory undergird this research and the design of my "Women in Modern History"

class in general. A number of social studies scholars have asserted that teaching history requires the centering of race and racism as essential content.<sup>14</sup> In agreement with these scholars, I stress the importance of teaching counter-stories and revisionist history through an intersectional lens. History classes, particularly those that focus on traditionally marginalized groups, also work to help students understand the historical roots of various forms of structured inequality in the present.

CRT scholars have acknowledged that a “safe space” cannot exist in teaching and discussing issues of race and justice. Throughout her book, *Teaching to Transgress* (1994), bell hooks challenges the idea that a classroom should be a “safe” place.<sup>15</sup> She asserts that these so-called “safe” spaces typically look like a traditional, teacher-driven classroom of quiet students who speak mostly when called upon by their professor; these environments are likely not at all “safe” for students of color. To create a *real* safe space for traditionally marginalized students, particularly Black women, a teacher must ensure that Black women are free to express their ideas without being silenced or subjected to further marginalization.<sup>16</sup> Since I teach at a college where the majority of my students are White, it is important for my teaching and research that I disrupt the idea of the classroom as a “safe space” for all students. I deliberately privilege the “safety” of my students of color in designing this course, but warn that true intellectual work often needs to occur in uncomfortable spaces.

Teaching revisionist history requires that the status quo be challenged, and the experiences of marginalized people be legitimized and centered.<sup>17</sup> I find that when my students learn the (sometimes ugly) “truths” that my women’s history class reveals (e.g., that the CRM wasn’t as triumphant as their textbooks led them to believe), they sometimes feel dejected, mystified, angry, and confused. In my anecdotal experience, White students are more likely to be confused and express feelings of dissonance, while Black students are more likely to feel validated and that this history makes more sense with their lived experiences. Scholarship has found that this is a trend in classes that focus on revisionist history.<sup>18</sup> While revealing unflattering historical truths can be liberating for students of color, it can also reveal deep historical wounds for both White students and students of color.



A number of scholars, past and present, write about the concept of historical wounds. For example, throughout his career, James Baldwin wrote about the “pain” that must be faced when learning revisionist history. “[M]ost White Americans find themselves... impaled. They are dimly, or vividly, aware that the history they have fed themselves is mainly a lie, but they do not know how to release themselves from it, and they suffer enormously from the resulting personal incoherence.”<sup>19</sup> These wounds remain in effect for students in the present. Dorothea Anagnostopoulos, Sakeena Everett, and Carleen Carey find that present-day race discourse among students is very much rooted in historical understandings (or misunderstandings) of race relations in this country dating as far back as slavery. They assert that “race talk [is] bound up in the ongoing contestation of the cultural memory of race and racism in the USA.”<sup>20</sup>

It is especially important that Black *women's* history be centered and legitimized. Anna Julia Cooper, an early Black feminist and educator, was among the first to write about the unique, marginalizing experiences of Black women.<sup>21</sup> I explicitly include Cooper's work in my class earlier in the semester when I teach about the education of Black women post-Civil War, and I link her work to more recent scholarship on intersectionality and the unique and varying experiences of Black women.<sup>22</sup> Scholars today continue to urge educators to teach social studies through an intersectional lens.<sup>23</sup>

This study was designed to explore the learning outcomes for students when they are introduced to counter-stories in women's history, specifically, *Coming of Age*. Daniel Solórzano and Tara Yosso define counter-stories as “a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told...Counter-stories can shatter complacency, challenge the dominant discourse on race, and further the struggle for racial reform.”<sup>24</sup> Research has indicated that most high school history classes are driven by traditional textbooks<sup>25</sup> and scholars have found that students learn an American history that is male-centric, White-centric, and follows a master narrative.<sup>26</sup> Regarding master narratives about the CRM in particular, Ashley Woodson recently argued that teachers need to pay attention to the implications those master narratives have for the lived experiences of urban youth, and suggests that teachers work toward including “voices and identities in [our curricula] that challenge historical and contemporary racial status quo.”<sup>27</sup>



## Methods

### *Research Question and Phenomenological Approach*

In this phenomenological study, I seek to answer the following open-ended research question: How do students begin to develop and demonstrate nuanced understanding of both race and the experiences of women in history by studying the autobiography, *Coming of Age*? To answer this question, I invoke phenomenological methods. Phenomenology is the most appropriate methodology for this work because, although I seek to understand what my students learn about the historical content in *Coming of Age*, I'm more concerned with how that content reveals greater understandings about race and gender, past and present, and how those concepts are understood uniquely by students as a result of their personal lived experiences.

This focus on the reflective component of acquiring content knowledge is akin to what Mark Vagle refers to as the examination of how it is to simply be in the world, and "how people are connected meaningfully with the things of the world."<sup>28</sup> Further, he suggests, "Phenomenologists are interested in trying to slow down and open up how things are experienced...that is, the world as it is lived, not the world as it is measured."<sup>29</sup> As such, I didn't want to constrain this work with detailed hypotheses; I simply hypothesized that this study would create a space for me to critically view the processes and outcomes of my student participants as they came to understand race and women's history through *Coming of Age*.

### *Participants*

The participants in this study are thirty-six students who completed my "Women in Modern History" class in the Spring 2017 semester: thirty women (twenty-three White, three Black, two Latina, one Asian, and one multiracial) and six men (four White, one Latino, and one Asian). Most participants were first- and second-year students meeting general education requirements in the humanities; several were upper-class students earning elective credits. The course met for two hours weekly with a hybrid online component where students participated in reflection and discussion assignments via the college's online course management system.

Berks College is part of the larger Penn State University system, with approximately 3,000 students enrolled. It is a stand-alone college that offers twenty baccalaureate degrees. Because of the college's proximity to several large cities (and the college's efforts to recruit from these cities), the student population is considered by the university to be among the more diverse campuses, with a total of 26.3% of the student population coming from minority racial backgrounds.<sup>30</sup>

All thirty-six of the participants had very little or zero formal learning experiences surrounding race, racism, or gender. Two students in the class reported having taken other courses at the college where race and/or gender were an explicit part of the class (e.g., "Black American Writers"), but even so, all of my students lacked prior knowledge coming to class in both general history, women's history, and Critical Race Theory.<sup>31</sup> This lack of prior knowledge meant that I had to directly teach key CRT terms and concepts such as Intersectionality, Revisionist History, and Structural Determinism. Further, I often had to provide historical background information that I could not assume my students knew from their high school history classes. For example, most of my students had never heard of the term "sharecropper" and did not understand what life for many southern Black people looked like post-Reconstruction. They didn't know the history of Black voter suppression, resistance to *Brown v. Board of Education*, or that Rosa Parks was an active NAACP member. More than half of my student participants had never heard of Emmett Till, whose murder was a pivotal moment in Anne Moody's life and the CRM in general. And, as a final example, over three-quarters of the class did not know what HBCUs are, nor why and how they were formed as a response to exclusionary college admissions practices. This background knowledge is essential for understanding both the narrative of the book and the context in which Moody's life story takes place. Being that my students came to this course, for the most part, without knowledge of the history and workings of race certainly impacts how I needed to teach this book and think about this research.

### *Design and Data Collection*

Data collection for this study took place over five weeks of instruction on the book. The results are derived from two data sources: (1) students' written work and (2) notes I took during the leading and

### ***Coming of Age in Mississippi* Reading Guide (Part One)**

1. Keep track of parts of the book you find most interesting. Highlight, note page numbers, and/or bookmark pages. You will be expected to be able to share and discuss sections from the first part of the book that most interested you or that you have questions about, so I recommend that you keep a running list of notes, highlights, and questions to discuss in class.
2. Create a brief character outline for some of the main characters. Include, for example, Essie Mae, Mama (Toosweet), Diddly, and Mrs. Burke. Add any other characters that interest you.
3. Identify early experiences Essie Mae had that began to shape her understanding of race and race relations.
4. How does poverty impact Essie Mae and her family? Use food as one example and anything else you find interesting.
5. Describe Essie Mae's (complicated) relationship with her mother. (Spoiler alert: It gets even more complicated later in the story...) When is Mama strong? When is she weak?
6. Why does Essie Mae say Black women often had an easier time finding work than Black men?
7. What are some examples of Essie Mae's childhood "innocence" and of her early maturity?

**Figure 2:** Reading Guide for *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.

observation of whole-group and small-group discussions in class. Both sources of data include the conversational nature between teacher and student, and my feedback, both written and verbal, was very much a part of the data, consistent with the phenomenology methods outlined by Vagle. To elicit both written work and in-class discussion, I provided students with reading guides for each section of the memoir.

Data Source 1: Reading Guide Responses. Because the book was divided into four parts, I assigned one part per week; the fifth week was set aside for additional discussion and questions based on what came out of the first four weeks. For each part of the book, I developed a list of reading prompts that students were required to complete

### ***Coming of Age in Mississippi* Reading Guide (Part Two)**

1. Part Two opens with Essie Mae writing about the murder of Emmett Till. How did this impact her? How did Mama react when Essie Mae asked about it? As the high school section of the book goes on, how does the Emmet Till murder continue to impact Essie Mae? And Samuel O'Quinn?
2. What impact did Mrs. Rice have on Essie Mae? What happened to Mrs. Rice?
3. Essie Mae describes Black people in the south as cowards (on page 136) and then alludes to this throughout the rest of the book. What does she mean? Do you agree with her? Why or why not?
4. Beginning on page 141, Essie Mae describes a house fire that killed a Black family who lived on her route to and from school. How does this impact Essie Mae going forward? How does she describe the FBI investigation?
5. Essie Mae goes away during the summers to work and make money in Baton Rouge and New Orleans. Why does she do this? What experiences does she have while away that shape her worldview?
6. Describe what happens between Essie Mae, Wayne and his friends, and Mrs. Burke. What does Mrs. Burke do to Junior?
7. After she develops physically, Essie Mae describes how older men, such as her stepfather and basketball coach, start paying attention to her in ways that are inappropriate. Are there any consequences for these men? How do you think these experiences impact Essie Mae (and other young girls, for that matter)? What happens when she goes to live with her Daddy? How does Mama react?
8. Beginning on page 229, Moody describes her segregated school. What is her interpretation of the law?

**Figure 3:** Reading Guide for *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.

(see **Figure 2** through **Figure 5**). They brought their responses with them to class and submitted them online. I provided my students with written feedback on their reading guide submissions, often with additional questions. I included my responses to the students as a

***Coming of Age in Mississippi* Reading Guide (Part Three)**

1. Describe Natchez College, where Moody attended junior college (her first two years). What disappointed Moody about Natchez?
2. One of Moody's first experiences with group activism happened regarding an incident in the college kitchen. What happened? What do you think Moody learned from the experience?
3. Describe Moody's concerns about race on campus as she prepared to transfer to Tougaloo College and at the beginning of her time at Tougaloo.
4. Moody joins the NAACP chapter at Tougaloo. Look up what NAACP stands for and what they do. Moody references Medgar Evers as an important leader of the NAACP. Look him up to understand context.
5. How does Moody's work in the movement impact her schooling, financial situation, and family relations?
6. Moody feels optimistic, and says so on page 278, early in her work in the movement. Why do you think this is?
7. What happens when Moody and her friend Rose participate in a "sit-in" at the bus station? What does Moody learn from the experience?

**Figure 4:** Reading Guide for *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.

source of data for this study since the dialogic nature of feedback impacted their understanding of the content.

Data Source 2: Class Session Notes. While leading whole-group and small-group discussions, I took notes. I documented the kinds of ideas my students shared, questions they posed, and notable interactions with their peers. Similar to the feedback process I described above with the reading guides, I also took note of how I responded to students in class. I recorded both statements and questions I posed as feedback to students, both while circulating to observe small groups and when moderating a whole-group discussion, as I was curious about how my feedback may have shaped or guided those discussions.

### ***Coming of Age in Mississippi* Reading Guide (Part Four)**

1. The book opens during Moody's final year of college when she participates in the Woolworth's sit-in, one of the most famous sit-ins in American history. Carefully read this part of the book. Then, do the following:
  - Do some research on the concept of "sit-ins" so you can apply it to Moody's experience in the book.
  - Describe the events of the sit-in. What did you learn? What surprised you? How does this event fit (or not fit) with what you learned about the Civil Rights Movement?
  - At the counter, Moody was with Joan Trumpauer, her White classmate. They become very close friends. Analyze this. For example, how does this show growth for Moody? Also, do a little Internet research on Joan.
  - Read the following article, written in 2015, by John Salter (now known as Hunter Gray), who was also with Moody at the lunch counter that day. What do you learn from reading this?  
<https://www.theguardian.com/artanddesign/2015/mar/27/hunter-gray-1963-jackson-mississippi-sit-in>
2. On page 294, Moody lists the demands the Black activists in Jackson identified for the demonstration in front of the Mayor's office. What do you think of these demands? What do they tell you about the time?
3. Throughout this section, going to jail is just a regular part of participating in the movement. Moody's detailed accounts of run-ins with law enforcement provide a historical context for the distrust of law enforcement among many people of color. Note some examples where Moody and people she knows go to jail. What do you notice about the relationship between movement work and jail?
4. Describe how Mama and the rest of Moody's family react to Moody's participation in the Woolworth's sit-in.
5. Be sure you're familiar with the civil rights groups mentioned in the book: CORE, NAACP, SNCC.
6. Why does Moody decide to go to Canton? When she is first introduced at a CORE rally there, how do the teenagers react (p. 316)?

**Figure 5:** Reading Guide for *Coming of Age in Mississippi*.

7. There are *a lot* of characters to keep track of in Canton who work with CORE, the freedom house, etc. Try to make a list to keep track of them. Identify your favorite one or two and explain your choice(s).
8. Moody suffers physically and mentally from her participation in the movement. What are some examples?
9. Moody's reaction to hearing MLK deliver his "I Have a Dream" speech is quite different from how the speech is typically seen in the mainstream today. How did she react? Why do you think that is?
10. Describe Moody's and Trumpauer's experience staying in the national park on their way home from Washington. Why did they stay there? What happened in the bathroom? Why does Moody say some people referred to them as "professional agitators"?
11. What role do the teenagers play in the movement? Can you compare that to activism today?
12. Throughout her work in the movement, Moody struggles with working for voter registration vs. focusing on basic needs of Black people in poverty. Give some examples where she talks about this struggle.
13. The strategy of the civil rights groups Moody works with is non-violence. Do a little research on this. Where does it come from? Does Moody think it works? Why or why not?
14. There are so many stories and details in this chapter. What else stands out to you besides what you've already noted? Why?
15. The final line of this book is very famous. Do you think Moody ends her book on an optimistic or pessimistic note? Why?

## Results

I analyzed the data by reading student responses and my notes from whole-group and small-group discussions, instructor feedback, and instructor-student dialogue. I took notes (on my notes), highlighting key phrases and looking for themes to emerge. I identified three content themes that were revealed throughout the analysis. Below, I describe each theme with student participant examples. In some



cases, I provide numerical data. For example, I could easily count how many students referenced a specific line in the text. However, as is common with phenomenological research, that often was not possible. It is important to note that the results I chose to present in this paper are only a sampling of a much larger pool of data. Although I made a conscious effort to paint a broad picture of my student participants' learning, I also had to balance that breadth with depth in my examples. I selected what I believe to be the most representative examples for each of the three themes. Although I had to make choices about which specific examples to provide, the three themes described below emerged without question across all thirty-six student participants.

*Theme 1: Students Articulated Understanding of How Race Works to Shape Material Consequences and Human Welfare*

Different Realities. Discussion within this theme emerged particularly during our study of the first part of the book, where Moody provides clear examples of the differences in experiences for Black people and White people. In unapologetic detail, Moody provides numerous specifics of how, as a young child, she came to understand how race made her reality. Several of these stories showed up regularly in my students' submissions. For example, twenty-seven participants made reference in their reading guide responses to Moody's recollection of her childhood home (and the homes of her Black neighbors) descending into darkness in the evenings, while she looked up at the home of the White family who owned the land, glowing bright with lights. This anecdote is told early in the memoir and certainly resonated with a majority of the students. Twelve students referenced Moody's recollection of her mother bringing home leftovers from the homes of White people she worked for. Moody described how her family lived mostly on beans and bread, and often feeling hungry. Several students quoted Moody: "Sometimes Mama would bring us the White family's leftovers. It was the best food I had ever eaten. That was when I discovered that White folks ate different from us" (p. 29). Sixteen students recounted Moody's anecdote about wandering into the White section of a movie theater and her mother's subsequent panic and admonishment. One student wrote, for example, "The experience [at the theater] exposed Essie to the differences in quality of life between White people and people of color." Another said,

“Mama grabbed Essie and scared her [at the theater]. She didn’t even know she was doing anything wrong.” Seven students wrote about the inconvenient location of the toilets for Black children at Moody’s church school, and how the toilets were not well maintained. These examples show my students realizing that racism is learned; as a Black child, Moody is struggling to understand the way others feel about her because of race.

As Moody’s book progresses through her life, she provides more concrete examples of how life for Black people was different from life from life for White people. My students seemed to be particularly moved by Moody’s recollection of a house fire that destroyed the home (and lives) of her Black neighbors. I required all students to respond to a reading guide question about this fire in Part Two of the book. One student wrote, “Everyone knew [the fire] didn’t happen from a kerosene lamp falling and that the racist Whites were behind it. They felt powerless to speak up.” This student is demonstrating her understanding of the structure of power limiting the ability of Black people to speak out against injustice. Another student said, “Essie Mae said the FBI dropped the investigation as soon as public attention died down. That still happens today.” His ability to make a connection to the present shows that he is processing this information beyond recalling examples from the book.

During class discussions, I asked students to consider how experiences such as these shaped how Moody viewed herself as a young Black girl, how she viewed her parents and other adults in her life, and how she came to understand White and Black people in general. These discussions were rich, and we often reached the end of our class time in the midst of some really powerful dialogue. In one small group, a White male student said, “It seems like Anne wants to hate White people, but she likes their food and is curious about them.” A Black female student responded, “Can you blame her? I would hate White people, too, if they had lights, and enough food while I starved and watched my parents work their butts off.” This conversation was one of the first of many conversations my students had about Moody’s internal struggle to accept the material consequences of race for Black people and White people throughout the book.

Intraracial Discrimination. Christopher Busey has called for more focus in social studies classes on intraracial discrimination, suggesting

that it is and always has been a pervasive reality for communities of color.<sup>32</sup> I considered this when designing the questions I posed throughout the unit. My students made reference in their reading guides to Moody's realization that lighter-skinned Black people were treated differently from darker-skinned Black people. As a young girl, Moody recalled her confusion about why Mama forbade her from playing with White children and why Raymond's (her stepfather) mother looked down on Mama, Anne, and her siblings for being darker-skinned. In whole-group discussion during the second week of this unit, a student said in class, "This stuff follows Anne for the rest of her life. It's why she's afraid to go to Tougaloo. She feels less than because she's a darker Black person." The student who made this comment was White. A Latino student responded, "This is a real thing. It still is. I grew up wanting to be lighter and trying to look more like a White person. In my culture, you're 'better' if you're lighter. My mom would always tell me to stay out of the sun so I didn't get too dark." This interaction is indicative of the students' ability to articulate how one's skin color, even shades of the "same" skin color, impacts everyday life experiences.

One student wrote in her reading guide, "Mama told Essie that if a child was born to a white daddy and a colored mama that the child will still be labeled as colored." She then brought this up in a whole-group class discussion, and I taught my students about the "One-Drop Rule." This is one of several moments in the class where I recall students (particularly White students) appearing flabbergasted. It's an example of how the history they learned in school was incomplete. Not shockingly, my students of color were less surprised by revelations such as these. I recall sending my students to do some quick Internet research on the One-Drop Rule and its legal and social implications. I also referenced and drew upon Beverly Tatum's 2003 book, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria?*<sup>33</sup> In it, Tatum describes the historical roots of the One-Drop Rule. This was helpful for a majority of my students who were struggling to make sense of Moody's use of terms such as "yellow" and "high yellow" to describe lighter-skinned Black people throughout the book. For example, when Moody is planning her transfer to Tougaloo College, an HBCU, a friend says to her, "Baby, you're too black. You gotta be high yellow with a rich-ass daddy."<sup>34</sup> This quote was mentioned by students both in written submissions and class discussions.

Explicitly Talking About Race. I started to notice another pattern emerging within this theme as the unit progressed. My students took notice that they were explicitly talking about race, which they said was something they typically weren't used to (or comfortable) doing. For example, one student said in a small-group discussion, "I've always been curious about people who have two races, like if they feel White or Black. But I didn't know how to ask anyone about that without sounding racist." Another said, "We are told it isn't PC to talk about race, so everyone just dances around it like it's not there, but it is." A Black female student said, "It's weird to be in a classroom and be the only Black person. That happens sometimes to me. I think Anne was just afraid she would be all alone [at Tougaloo]." These comments during small-group discussion were quite common, and I noticed what seemed like relief (both from White students and students of color) to have a space where they could talk about race. This discourse about race was a major positive outcome of this unit.

*Theme 2: Students Demonstrated Knowledge of the Multifarious Experiences of Black Women as Political and Social Agents*

Representation. Discussion within this theme appeared particularly during the second half of the book, when Moody began actively working with the CRM at college. My students began to articulate the important role that women played in CRM groups, particularly on college campuses. During three small-group discussions I observed, my students said they had imagined all women as housewives in the 1950s, and they didn't really think of women as active members of the CRM prior to reading this book. I asked one of these groups, "Did you ever imagine women as part of *any* political movement in history?" After a pause for thought, some shook their heads no; others seemed unsure. I followed this up by connecting to content from earlier in the semester, where we learned about women's political action during the suffrage movement (albeit, to the exclusion of Black women), Black women's participation in retail store boycotts during the Great Depression, and other examples. I asked them, "Why do you think you don't think of women, particularly Black women, as agents of political action?" The students seemed to really like this question. They erupted into chatter amongst themselves, one saying, "But then you have Black women like

Anne's mama who doesn't want to get involved at all." I pushed them to think about why that was, and Moody's reaction to Mama's lack of political agency. Later, in whole-group discussion, I asked students to think about where their somewhat one-dimensional conceptions of women in history as housewives came from. After a lively brainstorm, we had a good conversation about representation: who has been represented and who has been left out—and why.

Political Activism and Law Enforcement. The second half of the book was full of examples of women's political action in the CRM, including Moody's participation in the famous Jackson Woolworth's sit-in. A great deal of time in class was spent discussing the dysfunctional relationship between communities of color and law enforcement. My students wrote, nearly unanimously, about how surprised they were to hear Moody talk about going to jail as if it were just a normal part of political activism. "She and her friends would schedule who went to participate in a rally based on who had time in their schedule to go to jail. They didn't even care that they were flunking their classes," one student wrote. This dominated small-group and whole-group discussions for nearly half a class period. I found this to be among the most important discussions our class had during the entire unit. It not only helped them to learn about the passionate and committed young Black college students who participated in the CRM, but revealed the complicated and deeply rooted racism that continues to pervade American society today.

One of my students in this class was in her senior year as a criminal justice major, preparing to pursue a career as a state trooper. At one point, she said in a small-group discussion, "I feel like a lot people don't realize that Black people and cops have always had issues." A group member responded, "Really? How can you not realize that with the Black Lives Matter movement all over TV and social media?" The first student replied, "I know, but if they don't know the history, they don't get it." This response indicated that this student understood the value of counter-stories and revisionist history in building understanding. It is perhaps noteworthy that this group included four White students and one Asian international student. I found this conversation to be illustrative of how little many of my students, particularly White students, really know about the Black Lives Matter movement and its historical roots. I decided to pursue this conversation in the whole-group setting.

I turned students' attention to one of the reading guide questions that required them to consider the list of demands Moody and her fellow Black activists made at a protest in front of the Jackson Mayor's office. I asked students to find this list in the text, and we wrote these demands on the board. Our list included, for example:

- Hiring Black policemen/crossing guards
- Removing segregation signs
- Offering job opportunities on city payrolls
- Encouraging restaurants to serve both Black and White people
- Integrating parks and libraries
- Integrating public schools
- Integrating service station restrooms

I asked the students if these demands seem reasonable. Some of the students actually laughed; of course they were reasonable. A student said, "I can't believe it took so much protesting for these basic things to happen." Another said, "They got arrested because they were asking for basic, human decency." We ran out of time in the middle of this discussion, so before students left that day, I asked them to read and recall back to what Moody said about her high school. Moody was in high school after the *Brown* decision, but her school was still very much segregated; systemic government efforts perpetuated segregation of schools long after *Brown*. When class reconvened two days later, we picked up where we left off. I asked students why the CRM needed to continue to push for school integration (among other things) even after *Brown*. This was perhaps one of the most important findings in this study; students realized that laws do not equal de facto reality—past or present. We then spent time during whole-group activity looking at the website for the Movement for Black Lives, juxtaposing the demands of Moody and her comrades with the demands of the movement in the present. When I asked my students how many of them had previously visited the website and read the platform, only one hand was raised.

Black Women in the Workforce. Twenty-two students made specific reference in their written responses to how surprised they were to learn that Black women were often the breadwinners in their families. Moody writes about how it was easier for Black women to find reliable work than it was for Black men, using the example that White women would always need Black women to help in their homes, but Black men had to rely on getting the jobs that weren't claimed

by White men. One student wrote, “Anne, Adline [her sister], and Mama always worked, just like the other Black women in the book. It seems like it was White women who were more likely to stay home.” We had a class discussion connecting Moody’s accounts of Black women in the workforce to the course’s earlier focus on how Black women have always been an essential part of the workforce and Black people’s political and social agency.

The CRM was More than Marches and Sit-Ins. A large portion of the fourth part of Moody’s book focuses on her work for the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE) in rural Mississippi, trying to register Black people to vote. This is a largely frustrating experience for Moody, who writes about her physically and mentally exhausting work, and how it was often dangerous. The students wrote and spoke about how tedious this work was, and how that surprised them. One student said, “It makes logical sense that the movement would have to be more than marches and protests, but I didn’t really think of it like that before. Like all the paperwork and on-the-ground work.” In whole-class discussion, this led me to reference Lisa Levenstein’s book, *A Movement Without Marches: African American Women and the Politics of Poverty in Postwar Philadelphia* (2009), and how Black women worked both “officially and unofficially” to bring justice to their communities.<sup>35</sup> Patricia Hill Collins also writes about this phenomenon.<sup>36</sup> To further build students’ understanding of the complexities of the CRM infrastructure, we listed on the board the names of all the organizations Moody referenced throughout her book and discussed how they operated and what kind of work they did. I also used this as a time to speak about groups Moody did not mention in her book, but in which women played a pivotal role, such as the Black Panthers.

### *Theme 3: Students Experienced Revelation that the Civil Rights Movement Was Not a Purely Triumphant Victory*

Dealing with Disappointment. Moody’s book does not end optimistically. She writes about her physical exhaustion and how she had to spend days sleeping to recover after hitting rock bottom in her work with CORE. She seems to boomerang between being angry with her fellow Black citizens who refuse to register to vote,



and understanding of their fears and ignorance. Nearly all student participants wrote in their reading guide responses that they had no idea about the systemic (and unsuccessful) efforts to register Black voters in the south amidst violence and systemic voter suppression. In whole-group discussion when I asked them about their reactions to learning about this, the room was quiet, and the students looked sad and uncomfortable. As skillful teachers do when the students don't reply to a prompt in a whole-group setting, I sent them to small groups. As I circulated the room, I heard a lot of comments about disappointment. "I just always thought everything got better after the Civil Rights Movement," a White female student said. She continued, "Anne is so unhappy at the end of the book, like she feels like she failed." And a Black female student responded, "Well, she did fail." One student said, "Why didn't we learn about this in high school history?" These conversations illustrate how students are troubling their prior understanding of the Civil Rights Movement.

The disappointment wasn't only at the end of Moody's book. Early in the book, for example, she writes about the murder of Emmett Till and how it impacted her emotionally. Thirty-one students wrote in their reading guide responses about their surprise that Moody's mother did not want to discuss Emmett Till's murder with her and tried to forbid Moody from discussing it with anyone else. In class, they were generally bewildered by the sheer number of Black people who seemed to want to bury the story of Till's murder. I asked one small group (and later the whole group), "What was at stake for Mama if she were caught talking about Till's murder in Centreville?" The students thought a moment, and one said, "She was probably afraid for her life." Another said, "They all were." One Black student wrote in her reading guide response:

I go back and forth. I have always wondered how could Black people allow themselves to be treated so poorly and never challenge it? But I also get it. Nothing gets better so why try. Moody shows us that many, if not all, were aware what was happening to them was wrong, but during those times people and society constantly normalized that way of life and made it hard for them to rebel or change the injustices. Sometimes I even feel like that now.

This response is indicative of her inner struggle with making sense of both the history and the present. I followed up with the student in a one-on-one discussion; I'd developed a strong rapport with her

by this point. I explicitly asked her if the book helped her make sense of her current struggles as a college student who tries to be an activist. She said, “Yeah. It did. It was validating.”

What to Do with This Knowledge. In her book, Moody doesn’t hesitate to express how unimpressed she is by Martin Luther King’s “I Have a Dream” speech. One student wrote, “I thought [Moody] would be more thrilled and inspired by [the ‘I Have a Dream’] speech. Instead she seems disinterested and almost critical of him. She says, ‘I sat there thinking that in Canton we never had time to sleep, much less time to dream (337).’” I followed up with this particular student in small-group discussions in class. She read her response to her peers, and one of them said, “Everyone quotes that speech today like it’s all come true or something. That’s kind of embarrassing.” So many small groups discussed Moody’s interpretation of King’s speech that we ended up discussing it as a whole class, too. They were especially interested in the examples I provided about how King’s words have been co-opted throughout history up to the present day, and how misunderstood his words are without the context of the rest of his life and work. Their reflections about how King’s speech is used today indicates their deep content knowledge and ability to apply their learning to their greater political and social understanding outside of this class. Further, it illustrates how studying history through the experiences of Black women provides that potential for deeper understanding.

In general, the students liked the book, even though it was a source full of disappointments. Additionally, their overall impressions of the CRM shifted. I noticed this both in our final discussions and in their reading guide submissions when we talked about our major takeaways from the book. They started puzzling what they can and should do with the knowledge they gained from the book. One student wrote in her final reading guide:

I loved this book. It gave me so many new perspectives and feelings on this time in history. My parents were born in the 1960’s [sic] and after talking to my mom about some of the experiences Anne and others endured, she still can’t believe (I can’t either) that something like this happened in her lifetime. I am very thankful that Anne shared her story because it is important that we learn this part of history even if it isn’t “pretty.” It makes the events of today make more sense. It’s motivating to me to pay attention and do something. The book made me sad and mad, but I’m glad I read it.

This student, along with many others, suggests in her response that the book has made her want to participate in present-day race work. This is a pattern that pleasantly surprised me, particularly among my mostly White students. Two of my three Black female students wrote in their final reading guide submissions about how this book was relatable to them, both expressing that they wished they had learned more about this in the past. One wrote, "I feel like I've been in the dark on my real history. I think Anne was really brave. She was the only one in her family that did anything. Times are the different now but they are also the same. I don't want to be a person who doesn't do anything." She then asked me to recommend other books for her to read. This pattern among all my students of seeking to learn more and participate more reveals how reading and studying this memoir affected them both intellectually and practically.

### Conclusion

The results detailed above make a strong case for additional studies on the process and outcomes of teaching memoir in secondary and post-secondary history classes. The data presented suggest that students develop deep historical content knowledge along with an understanding of the role of counter-story, revisionist history, and intersectionality as an essential component of studying history. Here, I will make suggestions for continued research, and follow that with a brief recommendation for practice (for teachers of secondary and post-secondary social studies and for social studies methods professors).

#### *Continued Research on the Process and Outcomes of Teaching with Memoir*

This study was my first foray into formally exploring the process and outcomes of teaching *Coming of Age*, though I've been teaching the book for years. Framing this work as a phenomenological study revealed a much deeper understanding of the impact this unit has on my students' understanding of how race works (past and present), the CRM, and women's (particularly Black women's) complex experiences in history. These findings suggest that it would be advantageous to the fields of social studies and social studies education to further pursue the process and outcomes of teaching history through memoir.

Further scholarship focusing on *Coming of Age* and this specific class is still important, as I had pages upon pages of data and had to make hard choices about what to include when crafting this paper. There were entire topics I left in that pile, knowing I had limited physical and intellectual space. I would have loved to include, for example, details of the discussions students had where they made connections between Moody's experience of being called a "professional agitator" with former President Trump using this same rhetoric regarding participants at the Women's March (which occurred during the semester I taught this class). I view this study as a starting point, and would like to analyze this data further, perhaps focusing on a smaller number of students as a case study and following up with participants to see how they remember studying this memoir and if and how that memory continues to impact their academic and personal experiences.

As I mentioned above, there is more work to be done on teaching *Coming of Age*, but there are many other memoirs that would be appropriate texts in a history class. Given that this article has revealed that students gained experience and knowledge to help them understand and talk about race, gender, and the intersections of race, class, and gender, I'd argue that including memoir in history classes should be a vehicle for centering the experiences of marginalized groups. I explicitly urge scholars and teachers to study and teach memoirs written by women and people of color.

### *Implications for Practice*

The results of this research reveal that incorporating memoir does more than enhance the study of history. It illuminates other disciplines within the social studies. *Coming of Age* allowed us to study civic participation, politics, economics, law, and policy. As such, I suggest that teachers (and the scholars who work with those teachers) consider how memoir may be included in all arenas of the social studies, but particularly civics and civic engagement. One of the outcomes of this research that I didn't expect was just how often the present day was referenced by my students. They made nuanced connections and observations such as juxtaposing the Black Lives Matter movement with the demands of Moody's comrades in Jackson. The intensive study of the past through the real

experiences of one woman helped them understand current issues on a deeper level. Many of my students (both inside and outside of this particular study) often report to me that they feel overwhelmed trying to understand current events and figure out how and if they want to participate in their civic spheres. It is feasible to argue (as many scholars before me have done) that students who have a greater depth of understanding about the past will be better equipped to participate in the present.

### *Limitations of This Work*

First, it is important to note that I am not a professor of literature. I've sat in on enough faculty meetings where my colleagues in the English Department point out (correctly) that faculty in other disciplines aren't wholly qualified to teach literature. These conversations have tended to revolve largely around the ongoing debate at our college about the "common read" for first-year students, but, nonetheless, I have seriously considered these sentiments. Over the years I've been teaching *Coming of Age*, I have casually consulted my colleagues in English for advice. There are times where I feel that I learn from them, such as when a colleague suggested to me that I do close reading of the most powerful lines in class or when another colleague suggested that I encourage students to create a character log while reading, but there are other times when I felt uniquely qualified to teach this particular piece of literature due to my experience studying the content and pedagogy of history. So while I acknowledge that my lack of background as a scholar and teacher of literature may limit my understanding of memoir, I also think historians and social studies scholars bring a unique and important perspective to the study of memoir.

Further, I had to make choices in this paper. I chose to study the whole class, and to let the patterns reveal themselves, but in being so inclusive with my data, I couldn't include it all. I strongly believe this is a limitation that can be addressed with further research on this book, this data, and other memoirs. Scholars who study and encourage the use of primary sources should work together to identify the best texts and practices for utilizing memoir in social studies classes, particularly to disrupt the master narratives that continue to be insidiously pervasive. I urge other scholars to join me in this work.

## Notes

1. I capitalize both Black and White throughout this paper, and I encourage teachers to explicitly discuss the language of writing and speaking about race with their students. Teachers and scholars have long discussed the importance of language conventions when it comes to race, and they do not always agree. Students are interested to learn about and discuss how race language has evolved over time (and will continue to evolve) with learning and context. Race is about more than color; it's a shared experience, identity, and other physical and cultural characteristics. A house can be red; a flower can be purple. A person isn't really "black" or "white." Rather, those adjectives take on a more important meaning; they are proper nouns. Students will read outdated race language in the memoir *Coming of Age*, and I explicitly teach them that language conventions change over time and create a space where students understand they will be corrected (by me and by their peers) if they use outdated language. I recommend exploring other resources about this discussion, including an article by Kwame Anthony Appiah: "The Case for Capitalizing the B in Black," *The Atlantic*, June 18, 2020, <<https://www.theatlantic.com/ideas/archive/2020/06/time-to-capitalize-blackand-white/613159/>>.

2. For example, see Janice Law Trecker, "Women in U.S. High School History Textbooks," *International Review of Education* 19, no. 1 (March 1973): 133-139; Mary Kay Thompson Tetreault, "Integrating Women's History: The Case of United States History High School Textbooks," *The History Teacher* 19, no. 2 (February 1986): 211-262; Roger Clark, Jeffrey Allard, and Timothy Mahoney, "How Much of the Sky? Women in American High School History Textbooks from the 1960s, 1980s, and 1990s," *Social Education* 68, no. 1 (January-February 2004): 57.

3. Anne Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi* (New York: Delta Trade Paperbacks, 2004).

4. The Wisconsin Historical Society features several photographs by Fred Blackwell of Anne Moody, Joan Trumpauer, and John Salter at the Woolworth's lunch counter sit-in. See Wisconsin Historical Society, "Photograph: Sit-in at Lunch Counter," <<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM2381>>; Wisconsin Historical Society, "Photograph: Lunch Counter Protest," <<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM121844>>; Wisconsin Historical Society, "Photograph: Salter, Trumpauer, and Moody at Lunch Counter Sit-in," <<https://www.wisconsinhistory.org/Records/Image/IM121998>>.

5. Julie Rak, "Are Memoirs Autobiography? A Consideration of Genre and Public Identity," *Genre* 37, nos. 3-4 (Fall-Winter 2004): 483-504.

6. National Assessment of Educational Progress, "The Nation's Report Card: 2014 U.S. History Assessment," <[https://www.nationsreportcard.gov/hgc\\_2014/#history](https://www.nationsreportcard.gov/hgc_2014/#history)>.

7. Paul G. Fitchett, Tina L. Heafner, and Richard G. Lambert, "An Analysis of Predictors of History Content Knowledge: Implications for Policy and Practice," *Education Policy Analysis Archives* 25, no. 65 (June 2017): 1-30.

8. Gail Collins, *America's Women: 400 Years of Dolls, Drudges, Helpmates, and Heroines* (New York: HarperPerennial, 2007).



9. Gerda Lerner, *Black Women in White America: A Documentary History* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1972); Signithia Fordham, "Those Loud Black Girls': (Black) Women, Silence, and Gender 'Passing' in the Academy," *Anthropology & Education* 24, no. 1 (March 1993): 3-32.

10. Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory: An Introduction* (New York: New York University Press, 2017).

11. H. Richard Milner IV, *Start Where You Are, But Don't Stay There: Understanding Diversity, Opportunity Gaps, and Teaching in Today's Classrooms* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).

12. Laurie Grobman, "'Engaging Race': Teaching Critical Race Inquiry and Community-Engaged Projects," *College English* 80, no. 2 (November 2017): 105-132.

13. Christine Woysner and Jessica B. Schocker, "Cultural Parallax and Content Analysis: Images of Black Women in High School History Textbooks," *Theory and Research in Social Education* 43, no. 4 (2015): 441-468.

14. For example, see Gloria Ladson-Billings, "Race Still Matters: Critical Race Theory in Education," in *The Routledge International Handbook of Critical Education*, ed. Michael W. Apple, Wayne Au, and Luis Armando (New York: Routledge, 2009), 110-122; LaGarrett J. King, Christopher Davis, and Anthony L. Brown, "African American History, Race, and Textbooks: An Examination of the Works of Harold O. Rugg and Carter G. Woodson," *The Journal of Social Studies Research* 36, no. 4 (Fall 2012): 359-386; Oscar Navarro and Tyrone C. Howard, "A Critical Race Theory Analysis of Social Studies Research, Theory and Practice," in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, ed. Meghan McGlinn Manfra and Cheryl Mason Bolick (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 209-226.

15. bell hooks, *Teaching to Transgress* (New York: Routledge, 1994).

16. Patricia Hill Collins, *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment* (New York: Routledge Classics, 2009).

17. Delgado and Stefancic, *Critical Race Theory*.

18. For example, see Geneva Gay, *Culturally Responsive Teaching: Theory, Research, and Practice* (New York: Teachers College Press, 2000); Gloria Ladson-Billings, "But That's Just Good Teaching! The Case for Culturally Relevant Pedagogy," *Theory Into Practice* 34, no. 3 (Summer 1995): 159-165.

19. James Baldwin, "The White Man's Guilt," *Ebony* (August 1965), 47-48.

20. Dorothea Anagnostopoulos, Sakeena Everett, and Carleen Carey, "'Of Course We're Supposed to Move On, But Then You Still Got People Who Are Not Over Those Historical Wounds': Cultural Memory and US Youth's Race Talk," *Discourse & Society* 24, no. 2 (March 2013): 180.

21. Anna J. Cooper, *A Voice From the South* (Xenia, OH: The Aldine Printing House, 1892).

22. For example see Angela Y. Davis, *Women, Race, & Class* (New York: Random House, 1981); Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory, and Antiracist Politics," *University of Chicago Legal Forum* 5, no. 1 (1989): 139-167; Kimberlé Crenshaw, "Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality,



Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color,” *Stanford Law Review* 43, no. 6 (July 1991): 1241-1299.

23. For example see Amanda E. Vickery, “‘You Excluded Us For So Long and Now You Want Us To Be Patriotic?’: African American Women Teachers Navigating the Quandary of Citizenship,” *Theory and Research in Social Education* 45, no. 3 (2017): 318-348; Chara H. Bohan, “Gender and Feminist Scholarship in Social Studies Research: A Dynamic Theoretical Framework Living on the Edges,” in *The Wiley Handbook of Social Studies Research*, ed. Meghan McGlinn Manfra and Cheryl Mason Bolick (Hoboken, NJ: John Wiley & Sons, 2017), 227-253.

24. Daniel G. Solórzano and Tara J. Yosso, “Critical Race Methodology: Counter-Storytelling as an Analytical Framework for Education Research,” *Qualitative Inquiry* 8, no. 1 (February 2002): 32.

25. Gerald Marker and Howard Mehlinger, “Social Studies,” in *Handbook of Research on Curriculum*, ed. Philip W. Jackson (New York: Macmillan, 1992): 830-851; E. Wayne Ross, ed., *The Social Studies Curriculum: Purposes, Problems, and Possibilities*, revised ed. (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 2001).

26. For example, see Clark, Allard, and Mahoney, “How Much of the Sky?” 211-262; James Loewen, *Lies My Teacher Told Me: Everything Your American History Textbook Got Wrong* (New York: Touchstone, 1995); Jessica B. Schocker and Christine Woysner, “Representing African American Women in U.S. History Textbooks,” *The Social Studies* 104, no. 1 (2013): 23-31; Woysner and Schocker, “Cultural Parallax and Content Analysis,” 441-468.

27. Ashley N. Woodson, “‘There Ain’t No White People Here’: Master Narratives of the Civil Rights Movement in the Stories of Urban Youth,” *Urban Education* 52, no. 3 (March 2017): 336.

28. Mark D. Vagle, *Crafting Phenomenological Research* (Walnut Creek, CA: Left Coast Press, 2014), 27.

29. Vagle, *Crafting Phenomenological Research*, 22.

30. Penn State Berks, Fact Sheet, 2015, <[https://berks.psu.edu/sites/berks/files/campus/2015\\_Berks\\_Factsheet.pdf](https://berks.psu.edu/sites/berks/files/campus/2015_Berks_Factsheet.pdf)>.

31. Beginning in Fall 2018, the college where I work now offers a general education course on Critical Race Theory that I developed another faculty member. It was our vision to create a foundational class about race through the lens of CRT that would prepare students for race work in future classes and beyond.

32. Christopher L. Busey, “Examining Race from Within: Black Intra-racial Discrimination in Social Studies Curriculum,” *Social Studies Research and Practice* 9, no. 2 (Summer 2014): 120-131.

33. Beverly Daniel Tatum, *Why Are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria? And Other Conversations About Race* (New York: Basic Books, 2003).

34. Moody, *Coming of Age in Mississippi*, 261.

35. Lisa Levenstein, *A Movement Without Marches: African American Women and the Politics of Poverty in Postwar Philadelphia* (Chapel Hill, NC: The University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

36. Collins, *Black Feminist Thought*.