

Chapter 5

Bayard Rustin: Does Your *Labor or Label* Matter More?

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Figure 1. *Bayard Rustin*



Note. Wolfson, S. (1965). *Bayard Rustin, half-length portrait, facing front, microphones in foreground* [Photograph]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/97518846/

Bayard Rustin: Does Your Labor or Label Matter More?		
C3 Disciplinary Focus U.S. History & Civics	C3 Inquiry Focus Evaluating Sources & Taking Informed Action	Content Topic Bayard Rustin & Civil Rights Movement
C3 Focus Indicators		
D1.1.3–5: Explain why compelling questions are important to others (e.g., peers, adults).		
D2.His.16.3–5: Use evidence to develop a claim about the past.		
D2.Civ.10.3–5: Identify the beliefs, experiences, perspectives, and values that underlie their own and others’ points of view about civic issues.		
D3.3.3–5: Identify evidence that draws information from multiple sources in response to compelling questions.		
D4.8.3–5: Use a range of deliberative and democratic procedures to make decisions about and act on civic problems in their classrooms and schools.		
Suggested Grade Levels 3–6		Required Time Variable

In a locally owned bookstore, I recently came across Barry Wittenstein’s (2019) *A Place to Land: Martin Luther King Jr. and the Speech That Inspired a Nation*, illustrated by Jerry Pinkney. Upon a quick review, one illustration caught my attention. It was of nine African American men seated around Martin Luther King Jr. in the lobby of the Willard Hotel on the eve of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. These nine men, as the book would later divulge, not only influenced the speech by Martin Luther King Jr. but also aspects of the march and the Civil Rights Movement. Scanning the illustration, I recognized only one of the nine men—just one!

At the back of the book, the authors provided a short synopsis of each individual’s role in the march or the Civil Rights Movement. My curiosity was piqued with the mention of one name in particular—Bayard Rustin. I discovered that Bayard Rustin not only organized the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, but he was influential in bringing Mahatma Gandhi’s teachings of nonviolence to the attention of Martin Luther King Jr. I also learned that Bayard Rustin was an out, gay man during this time. As I stepped out of this bookstore—having purchased the book—I wrestled with the notion that an out, gay, African American male organized one of the most successful protests in our country’s history, and yet, I had never heard of him. Upon further research, it appeared that his sexual orientation not only cost him access to participation and leadership positions within the Civil Rights Movement but also relegated him to the shadows of history (O’Brien & Mitchell, 2018).

After learning about Bayard Rustin, I saw an opening in the elementary curriculum—a “pedagogy of possibility” (Crocco, 2002)—to feature an individual within the LGBTQ community center stage within the teaching of the Civil Rights Movement. Therefore, I chose

Bayard Rustin's *labor*, as the organizer of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and *label*, as an out, gay, African American man, to be the featured element of this social studies inquiry. At the heart of this inquiry will be an examination of the interaction between his activism and identity, leading students to critically question which mattered more: his *labor* or his *label* (Library of Congress, 2013). Moreover, Bayard Rustin's story will serve to enhance the elementary curriculum for the better by challenging both the dominant and heteronormative narrative of the Civil Rights Movement.

Reimagining How You Teach the Civil Rights Movement

It is quite common for the Civil Rights Movement to be included across all grades within the elementary social studies curriculum (Swalwell et al., 2015)—making it certain you will teach aspects of it at some point in your career. Unfortunately, many people believe the movement started with the *Brown v. Board of Education* court case in 1954, close to the emergence of Martin Luther King Jr. on the scene in 1955, and ended with his assassination in 1968. Therefore, Martin Luther King Jr. is often presented as the embodiment of the entire Civil Rights Movement (Alridge, 2006). Textbooks and other elementary curricular materials do not help this matter; they tend to focus on Martin Luther King Jr. and his speech during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, reifying the idea of him as a messiah-like figure who acted alone within the movement. Hawkman and Castro (2017) contend that educators must expand the geography, chronology, and the demography of the Civil Rights Movement within the elementary curriculum (i.e., the where, when, and who, respectively). Doing so would expand the narrative and evoke what Hall (2005) argues should be the reimagined name of the movement: The Long Civil Rights Movement.

Counternarratives

Heeding these calls, I shifted focus of the *who* from Martin Luther King Jr. to Bayard Rustin, aiming to position students as inquirers of Bayard's story and to disrupt the dominant narrative of the Civil Rights Movement. As dominant narratives are often inaccurate and incomplete portraits of the past—and often perpetuate racism, sexism, and homophobia (Navarro & Howard, 2017; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002)—they need to be unraveled and challenged. Enter counternarratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), which serve to present a more comprehensive and inclusive account of the past “essential for understanding the complexities of history” (Salinas et al., 2012, p. 20) and essential in helping students whose histories have been silenced make personal connections to the curriculum (An, 2020). Counternarratives provide students opportunity to “integrate valuable perspectives, voices, and stories that are often silenced in the telling of history,” and in this particular case, to

contest homophobia present within the elementary curriculum, classroom, and society at large (Navarro & Howard, 2017, p. 219). Therefore, by selecting Bayard Rustin for this inquiry, I created a counternarrative that will provide a more complete picture of the past for students and unmute a silenced voice—as history tends to silence those individuals within marginalized groups of American society, especially lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, or queer (LGBTQ) individuals (Crocco, 2002; Mayo, 2016; Ryan, 2016; Thornton, 2003). Thus, raising the voice of Bayard Rustin will not only introduce students to a counternarrative of the Civil Rights Movement but will also challenge the heteronormativity within the elementary curriculum.

Heteronormativity

Pennell (2020) defines heteronormativity as “the societal assumption that everyone is heterosexual and cisgender and that these identities are the default and therefore normal” (p. 2292). The lack of LGBTQ individuals, contributions, or historical events in the elementary history curriculum erases the LGBTQ community presence within narratives of the past (Thornton, 2003) and reifies a heteronormative view of America’s past that is solely cisgender and heterosexual (Jennings, 2006). To disrupt heteronormativity, educators can provide opportunities for students to learn about differences in gender and sexuality (Blackburn & Pennell, 2018) and create more LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum that counters curriculum silencing—a phenomenon where LGBTQ individuals from the past have been erased, or if included, their gender identity and sexual orientation hidden (Ryan, 2016).

Moorhead (2018) argues that “LGBTQ+ people and issues are embedded in the American experience. Excluding LGBTQ+ people and issues from the curriculum disregards this reality and denies young people a view into themselves and into their world” (Moorhead, 2018, p. 22). The National Council for the Social Studies (NCSS, 2019) advocates this position and asserts that including LGBTQ histories will advance elementary social studies toward a curriculum that more fully represents the diverse stories from our past. Demonstrating this diversity within our past serves to provide “a more accurate reading of the world in which students live their lives today” (Maguth & Taylor, 2014, p. 24) and to support students in developing deeper understandings of the contemporary struggles of the LGBTQ community. Both will serve students in being more reflective and critical democratic citizens in the future (Maguth & Taylor, 2014) who have a deeper understanding of the equitable and democratic nature of citizenship (Blackburn & Pennell, 2018; Crocco, 2002).

Hawkman and Castro (2017) argued that the narrative of the Civil Rights Movement should extend beyond heterosexual male figures and include people of color from the LGBTQ community. Therefore, when the situation presented itself—as described in my opening—I intentionally chose to foreground this inquiry with Bayard Rustin, who was a leader and activist in the Civil Rights Movement (i.e., his *labor*) and also an out, gay man (i.e., his *label*). In doing so, I set out to create a social studies inquiry for elementary students that would

disrupt the heteronormativity within the elementary social studies curriculum by giving visibility to Bayard Rustin and providing space for students to explore the impact of his identity on his activism and legacy.

Pedagogical Approaches to Teaching Elementary Social Studies

As an educator, you will be faced with multiple curricular decisions including selecting sources, determining the questions, choosing instructional strategies for use with the sources, and assessing student learning when you design inquiry experiences for your students. These curricular decisions are not random. Whether you acknowledge it or not, your curricular decision-making process is heavily influenced by who you are and your belief system—especially the values you hold regarding social studies teaching and learning. Therefore, you must learn to recognize and make public these values as well as the ideas and theories that influence them (i.e., pedagogical approaches). Acknowledging the pedagogical approaches behind your curricular decisions will ensure you teach from a place of intention and authenticity that will not only become apparent to you but also to your students. Two pedagogical approaches influenced my curricular decisions moving forward in designing this inquiry: (a) queer critical pedagogy and (b) disciplinary literacy.

Whereas critical pedagogy focuses on questioning and problematizing the status quo, queer critical pedagogy utilizes elements of this to “engage in theoretically queer projects—projects aimed at naming, interrupting, and destabilizing normative practices and beliefs” that relate to gender and sexuality (Hackford-Peer, 2019, p. 76). Meyer (2019) argues that queer critical pedagogy extends the ideas of critical pedagogy by calling on educators to question and reformulate their notions of teaching by reflecting on the following:

- (a) How they teach, reinforce, or expand normalized gendered practices in schools?, (b) How heteronormativity is repeated or questioned [in your curriculum]?, and (c) How they embrace or challenge other repetitions of normalcy [with regards to gender and sexuality] in their classroom? (p. 47)

This pedagogical approach provides a means for teachers to interrupt and re-narrate the limiting binaries of gender and sexuality (Sumara & Davis, 1999) with the use of counternarratives that disrupt and deconstruct these binaries (Valocchi, 2005). Unfortunately, it has become “common sense” for students to view people as heterosexual and cisgender when it comes to studying the past (Buchanan et al., 2020; Ryan, 2016) because the identities of LGBTQ historical figures are either hidden or their stories excluded

altogether. Queer critical pedagogy challenges this heteronormativity and aims to “broaden perception, complexify cognition, and to amplify the imagination of learners” (Sumara & Davis, 1999, p. 202).

Disciplinary literacy draws attention to the ways a discipline “creates, communicates, and evaluates knowledge, and how experts read and write” (Shanahan, 2015, p. 3). It encompasses thinking skills that focus on how experts in the field reason within the different disciplines. A variety of ways to conceptualize the thinking processes involved within history (i.e., historical thinking and literacy) and civics (i.e., civic mindedness) have been developed. For this inquiry, I chose to focus on historical comprehension skills such as observing, inferring, and questioning as well as historical literacy skills such as corroborating, sourcing, and close reading—all of which will support students with interpreting sources and locating evidence to answer the inquiry questions posed. These skills are not beyond the capabilities of elementary students (Fillpot, 2012), though explicit strategy instruction—including the use of modeling and scaffolding—is helpful when teaching them to elementary students (Nokes, 2014; VanSledright, 2002). In addition, I included the disciplinary disposition of truthfulness into this inquiry (Malin et al., 2014). Building a sense of “telling the truth” with regards to the past will prompt students to engage in this disposition in ways that I hope will shape civic mindedness and engagement (Nokes, 2019).

Sources: A Very Good Place to Start

There are many ways to plan an inquiry. The key is to start with what makes sense to you and then adjust your process at any point. For me, I realized I needed to know more about the content of my inquiry, Bayard Rustin, before I could plan it. Therefore, I approached the Library of Congress website as a teacher-researcher with the initial aim of learning more about Bayard through the discovery of primary and secondary sources.

I started my search using the Library of Congress main page search engine. I found a video lecture entitled “The Bayard Rustin Papers” (Library of Congress, 2013), in which a panel of historians and researchers from the Library of Congress spoke to the question of which mattered more, Bayard’s *labor* or *label*. I was intrigued by this question as I listened to the panel share their insights on Bayard’s work—beginning to realize his absence from history may be in part due to his identity as a gay man.

Next, I searched the blog posts for two divisions in the Library of Congress: (a) Manuscript Division and (b) Prints and Photographs Division. The blog posts can be a great starting point as they are written by staff members who have collected sources on a topic and provide the collections where the sources were found. I found one blog post on Bayard Rustin that provided some photographs as well as search terms to use when searching the Library of Congress collections. In addition, the blog post led me to other collections that I could search

individually for sources, including the Civil Rights History Project, where I found a collection of interviews featuring civil rights activists discussing Bayard Rustin.

Oral History Search Tips: When searching interviews presented in an audio format, I suggest downloading the transcript, if possible, and conducting a PDF search for your terms. Doing this directly led me to relevant material within the interviews that could be used in my inquiry. It also saves you time because you will not need to listen to the entire audio clip for relevant material to use with students. I strongly suggest this search tip as it saved me lots of time.

While conducting my search, I found it helpful to catalogue everything I found into a Word document that included a screen shot, title, short description, and link to the source. It was not important to discern what sources would be used in the inquiry at this point—I just located sources and gathered them into one document. Once I catalogued 25 sources, I knew it was time to begin selecting sources I would use—not because I had reached a certain number, but because the story I wanted to tell about Bayard was materializing. Through this inductive approach, I was afforded the opportunity to let the sources—and content I learned from them—drive the planning of my inquiry.

Framing the Inquiry

Bayard Rustin’s work, as both a leader of the Civil Rights Movement and the organizer of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, was illuminated from the sources I catalogued. Moreover, the sources elucidated his identity as an out, gay man and the effects this sexual orientation had on his work and his legacy. Therefore, I selected four sources that would describe his role in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, five sources that would detail his achievements in the Civil Rights Movement from the perspective of other civil rights activists, and three that would explore the intersection between Bayard’s work and sexual orientation (see [Appendix A](#) for references to all of these sources). Knowing the content, I framed each story with a question. These supporting questions acted as the “section headings” that would sequence the content of this inquiry and keep it on track (Swan et al., 2018).

1. What was Bayard’s role in the March?
2. How was Bayard’s role and work in the Civil Rights Movement described by civil rights activists of the time?
3. How did Bayard’s identity as a gay man affect his role and legacy as a civil rights activist?

Building upon one another, these supporting questions would guide students to explore Bayard's *labor* first and then introduce his *label* for students to grapple with how it influenced his work and his legacy. This was important to me because I wanted to position queer history as within the norm of the Civil Rights Movement instead of outside of it (Schmidt, 2010) and to broaden the narrative of the movement as opposed to simply adding an LGBTQ figure to the elementary curriculum.

Once I knew my content and framed it in a sequence of three supporting questions, I was ready to determine my compelling question. A compelling question represents the inquiry content in a way that resonates with students and creates opportunities for students to “see the relevance of social studies in their daily lives” (Swan et al., 2018, p. 31). Through my cataloging of sources and learning about Bayard Rustin, the compelling question materialized. In fact, it presented itself early on in my search through the video lecture where panelists discussed the intersection of Bayard's *labor* or *label*. Returning to this source, I chose to adapt their panel question for the compelling question in this inquiry: Does your *labor* or *label* matter more?

This evaluative compelling question (Swan et al., 2018)—written to capture elementary students' attention—will encourage students to reflect on the decision-making process involved in determining historical knowledge, which is often used as a means to silence groups and individuals. This will open a space for students to actively examine the contrasting interpretations of a historical narrative taught in schools and the forgotten or misinterpreted narratives that are left out. In doing so, students will take an active role in determining how they should navigate between the two in their roles as students and citizens (Salinas et al., 2012)—bolstering action at the end of this inquiry.

Designing the Inquiry

In a recent position statement issued by NCSS (2019) on contextualizing the teaching of LGBTQ histories in the social studies curriculum, leaders asserted that this work should be done through “inquiry-based, nonjudgmental critical analysis of primary sources” (para. 9). With this approach, students become active inquirers of the past who engage with primary and secondary sources in purposeful and authentic ways. The result is usually an account or claim that best answers the inquiry question. Inquiry is truly an investigative process of “doing” rather than “absorbing” historical narratives (Parker, 2015) that mimics the work of experts. Though challenging for elementary students because they are often not accustomed to learning social studies by “doing” (Cornbleth, 2015), it can be achieved with appropriate scaffolding and practice.

The College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework (NCSS, 2013) provides a robust design to ensure that elementary students have appropriate access to the inquiry process. Defined

as the Inquiry Arc, the C3 Framework outlines four dimensions of the inquiry process for students:

1. Developing Questions and Planning Inquiries
2. Applying Disciplinary Concepts and Tools
3. Evaluating Sources and Using Evidence
4. Communicating Conclusions and Taking Informed Action

When planning this inquiry, I addressed each dimension using the Inquiry Design Model (IDM) blueprint (Swan et al., 2018), which provided a needed structure and order to my planning process. Other planning tools exist, but I have found this specific tool useful for pre-service teachers and novice teachers who are developing inquiries for the first time.

Within the IDM blueprint, the compelling question is placed at the top followed by a section labeled *Staging the Question*. Here is where you consider how to introduce the compelling question to students and build any needed background knowledge. This section might look quite different depending upon how you approach the design of your inquiry question. For example, I chose to provide students with all the inquiry questions instead of having them help develop the questions. Choosing to provide the inquiry questions creates a more structured inquiry (Maxim, 2014) for elementary students and provides more space for me to highlight and develop students' skills within the other three dimensions of the Inquiry Arc. I would like to note that I would not approach all inquiries this way because students do need practice in developing questions and designing inquiries of their choosing—all important skills within Dimension 1 of the C3 Framework.

The columns in the middle of the IDM blueprint provide space to develop individual lesson plans, which can last one class period or span several days. These columns focus attention on framing your lesson(s) with a supporting question that relates back to your compelling question in some form. These columns also include space to identify the sources you will provide students and the tasks they will complete to comprehend the sources. Dimension 2 is the focus here because, when developing the tasks, you are providing opportunities for students to apply specific disciplinary concepts and tools.

Dimension 3 asks students to evaluate sources and use evidence, which occurs when students are ready to reflect on their work across all the formative tasks and answer the compelling question. This work is referred to as the *Summative Performance Task*, due to the summative nature of the work students are asked to do. It is also a perfect place for summative assessment to occur within the inquiry, which I will address in further detail below. The final section, *Taking Informed Action*, is often the most neglected of the Inquiry Arc. This element provides opportunities for students to enact Dimension 4.

Table 1. Inquiry Design Model (IDM) Blueprint

Bayard Rustin: Does Your <i>Labor</i> or <i>Label</i> Matter More?		
Staging the Question	Zoom-In (Appendix A , Sources 1–2) Chalk Talk	
Supporting Question 1	Supporting Question 2	Supporting Question 3
What was Bayard’s role in the march?	How was Bayard’s role and work in the movement described by other civil rights activists of the time?	How did Bayard’s <i>label</i> affect his role and legacy as a civil rights activist?
Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task	Formative Performance Task
Observe-Reflect-Question Protocol (in 3 rounds) (Appendix B)	Interview Close Read Protocol (Appendix C)	Sourcing and Comprehending and Corroborating, Oh My! Protocol (Appendix D)
Sources	Sources	Sources
See Appendix A Sources 1–2	See Appendix A Sources 3–6	See Appendix A Sources 7–11
Summative Performance Task	1. Students construct an explanation of <i>who</i> Bayard was and <i>what</i> he accomplished as an activist in the Civil Rights Movement. 2. Using a Reflective Discussion Circle Protocol, students develop an informed opinion on why Bayard is missing from history on the Civil Rights Movement.	
Taking Informed Action	<p>Understand: Students research to understand the variety of voices forgotten or silenced in the Civil Rights Movement.</p> <p>Assess: Students determine one figure to learn about and create a short presentation for their peers.</p> <p>Act: Students advocate for the inclusion of the forgotten figures by contacting either district curriculum writers, state leaders, or textbook publishers.</p>	

Note. This is the IDM Blueprint I created to organize the inquiry for students.

For this inquiry, I have completed the IDM blueprint (see [Table 1](#)) and will address each dimension of the Inquiry Arc in detail within the next sections of this chapter. In each section, I aim to develop the inquiry so that it could be taught to upper elementary students (i.e., grades 3–6) but provide tips on modifying the work, when appropriate, for students in lower grades (i.e., K–2). You will find that I include the instructional tasks/strategies developed, the Library of Congress sources used, and when appropriate, materials to use with elementary students such as graphic organizers. I have also provided additional sources and curricular

materials that would be helpful for you to rework this inquiry and make it your own. Look for my tips on differentiating this work for students based on their level of readiness throughout the various dimensions of the Inquiry Arc—demonstrating that inquiry should be accessible to all learners!

LGBTQ-Inclusive Curriculum

Before describing the work of this inquiry, I would like to address the notion of controversy that you may ascribe to this inquiry because it centers the narrative of an out, gay man. Controversial topics are those “elements of the curriculum that could be seen as inappropriate or objectionable by parents, administrators, or the larger public” (McAvoy & Ho, 2020, p. 28). Therefore, teaching about Bayard Rustin, which includes his sexual orientation, is not inherently controversial. It becomes controversial when viewed through the lens of public opinion—and only by some.

I argue against referring to this inquiry as controversial (Ryan & Hermann-Wilmarth, 2018). Conrad (2020) states that when marginalized groups are written into the curriculum and viewed “primarily as objects of political controversy, such representations function to question their dignity” and calls into question possibilities of belonging (p. 213). I would say the controversial label “others” LGBTQ individuals and positions their identities as outside the norm, which does nothing to disrupt heteronormativity. In addition, if viewed as controversial, teacher educators and elementary teachers are more likely to avoid LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum, which will “keep access to knowledge about LGBTQ experiences and inequities locked up” (Conrad, 2020, p. 235).

I do recognize that you might be apprehensive that parents or even administrators within your school may push back on this inquiry. Therefore, it is important to address some ways that you can approach this inquiry within an elementary classroom.

Creating a Safe and Inclusive Space

It is vital to create a safe and inclusive classroom environment before addressing LGBTQ topics or history. Creating a safe space involves students feeling comfortable to share their ideas and opinions and listen to the ideas and opinions of others, which can be modeled from the start of the school year through your interactions with students. In addition, students should feel valued not only by you but also by their classmates. Developing a climate of value can help establish bonds of trust among the students as well as with you. When establishing a safe space, it is important to also address conflicts or disrespectful behavior as a class community when it occurs. Doing so provides space for students to reflect and be re-directed to the inclusive norms of the classroom community. This work may be even more important during this inquiry as students may not have been taught about LGBTQ topics before and may bring in prejudices from their communities that should be addressed.

Beyond a safe space, students should understand the importance of diversity and

inclusivity within their lives. Valuing multiple perspectives promotes critical thinking and deeper conceptualizations of what it means to be a respectful citizen in our society (Varga & Byrd, 2019). Therefore, framing LGBTQ history as part of an inclusive teaching strategy shifts emphasis toward a larger goal of teaching inclusivity in contrast to simply teaching LGBTQ history. Hermann-Wilmarth and Ryan (2019) found that elementary teachers understood integrating LGBTQ content to be “directed toward larger goals of social justice even while satisfying more instrumental content standards” (p. 93).

Addressing Parents

Ryan and Hermann-Wilmarth’s (2018) work with teachers posits this quotation from a veteran in the elementary classroom: “I like the language that teachers ‘teach inclusively.’ First of all, it helps frame it for parents in a way that is more palatable for anybody who might have an issue” (p. 107). Therefore, you should consider approaching this inquiry from an inclusive standpoint as many schools and districts have policies to support this. In addition, your inquiry work should focus on academic content and skills, which you can make the case for teaching—shifting the focus away from the LGBTQ topic and toward your district or state curricular goals. This also reframes LGBTQ topics as part of instead of additions to the curriculum (Hermann-Wilmarth & Ryan, 2019).

State Law and District Policies

You should also be aware of your district and state policies concerning the teaching of LGBTQ topics. As of this publication, seven states have passed legislation requiring LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum: (a) California in 2011, (b) New Jersey in 2019, (c) Colorado in 2019, (d) Illinois (e) Oregon, (f) Nevada, and (g) Connecticut (The Gay, Lesbian, and Straight Education Network, 2022). It is important to know and consider your state’s laws and district policies concerning LGBTQ inclusion when teaching LGBTQ-inclusive curriculum. To discover the LGBTQ curricular laws in your state, check out the [Movement Advancement Project \(MAP\) website](#).

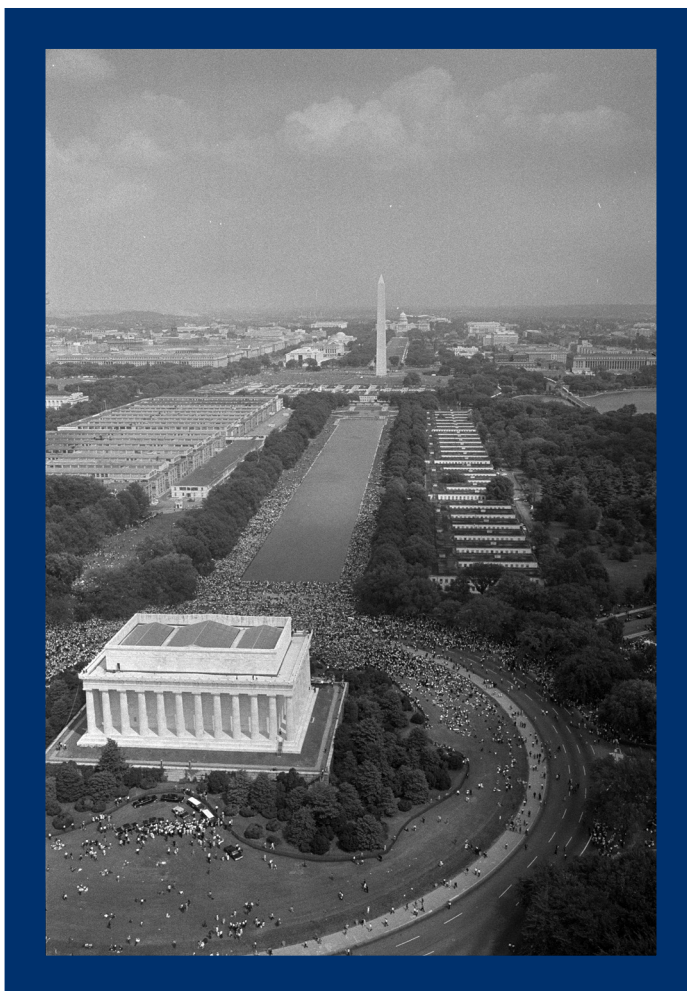
Dimension 1 of the C3 Inquiry Arc

To start the inquiry and pique students' curiosity, I suggest using a Zoom-In instructional strategy with two photographs (see Appendix A, Sources 1 and 2). This strategy will allow you to present pieces of each photograph in sequential order—slowly revealing the entire image. The purpose is to continually ask students what they may see, think, or question about the photograph as you continue to reveal more of it. Check out the [Teaching with Primary Sources Western Region blog](#) posting for tips on creating a Zoom-In activity.

The first photograph (see [Appendix A](#), Source 1) is of Bayard Rustin alongside Martin Luther King Jr. Students likely will not recognize Bayard Rustin but will most likely recognize Martin Luther King Jr. Therefore, consider starting with Bayard's image and then move to the whole image of him and Martin Luther King Jr. Ask students why they may not know of Bayard or who they think he is.

The second photograph (see [Figure 2](#)) is an image of the National Mall during the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom. Once students identify the event in this photograph and the people in the first photograph, ask students what they remember learning from previous grades about either the Civil Rights Movement, the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, or Martin Luther King Jr. To achieve this, you could use a Chalk Talk where students silently write on a white board everything that comes to mind. (This can also be done in groups with poster paper.) At the end of the Chalk Talk, you might ask students to theme or find patterns in the historical content they included. You can close this lesson by drawing students' attention back to the first photograph and explaining how Bayard actually organized the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and spoke that day after Martin Luther King Jr. gave his now-famous speech. Ask students why they think they have not heard of Bayard Rustin and probe students to think further about who we might choose to remember and who we might choose to forget when it comes to writing history books and student textbooks.

Figure 2. *Aerial View of the March on Washington*



Note O'Halloran, T. J. (1963). *Aerial view of marchers, from the Lincoln Memorial to the Washington Monument, at the March on Washington* [Photograph]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2013649717/

At this point, you should introduce the compelling question: Does your *labor* or *label* matter more? Define both terms with students. I would suggest stating that one's *labor* refers to the work one does and one's *label* refers to a person's identity and may include gender, race, ethnicity, ability, sexual orientation, etc. Ask students to imagine how aspects of an individual's identity might influence how we remember them and their work. To probe their thinking further on this topic, conduct a Famous Figures Brain Dump. Have students name as many women figures from history who they can think of and write them on the board. Then repeat this process for men. Compare the lists and ask students to think about the differences—assuming the list of men is much greater. The same could be done with sexual orientation. Ask students to list out as many gay men or lesbian women figures from the past and as many heterosexual men and women from the past they might know. In this case, students might not know of any, and you can use this for reflection by posing the following

question: “Why do you not know about any gay men or lesbian women from the past?” If students try to make an argument that gay men or lesbian women did not do anything worth remembering, then introduce Alan Turing. He was an out, gay man in Britain who introduced the Turing Machine in 1936. Share that his Turing Machine is considered the forerunner of the modern computer. Then ask students, using this example, if his *labor* (which was his work in computer science) or his *label* (as a gay man) mattered more in remembering him.

Explain to students that they will be examining the *labor* and *label* of Bayard Rustin to determine if one matters more than the other when it comes to remembering the past and making it into the history books. This would also be a good time to stress the relevance of the compelling question so that students know by the end of this inquiry that they have agency in who they learn about, which can extend beyond the choices others have made for them within their school’s history curriculum or books.

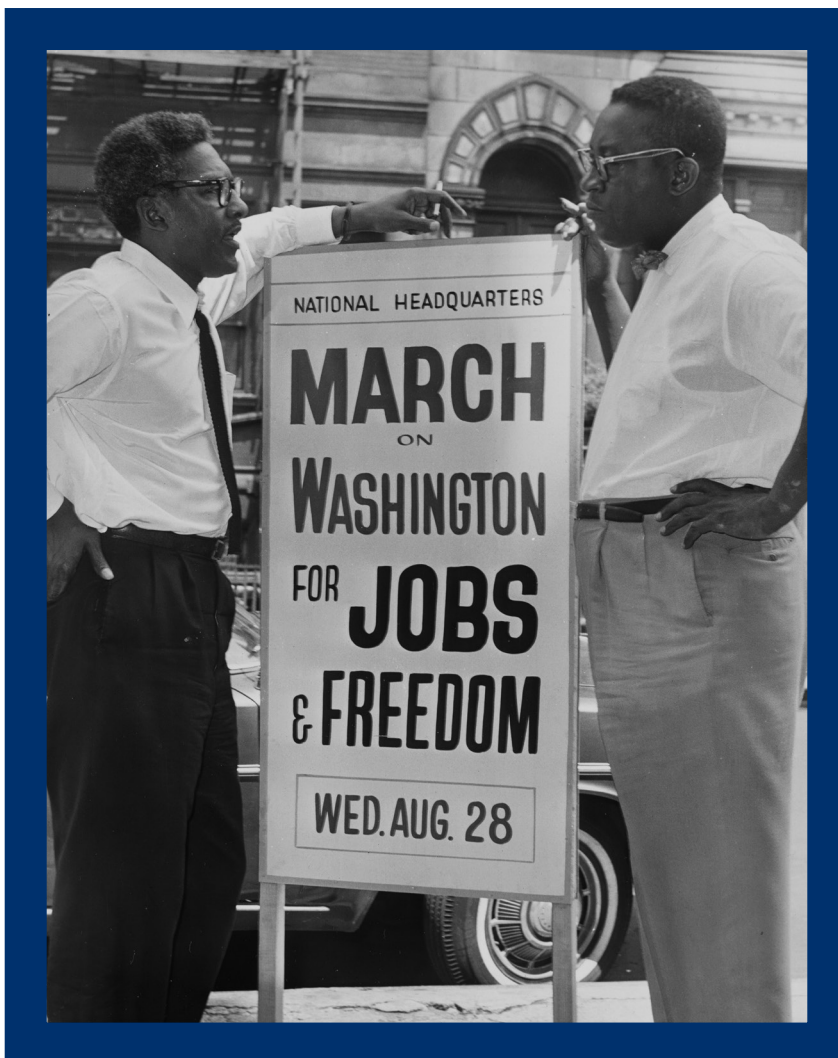
Dimension 2 of the C3 Inquiry Arc

Dimension 2 asks students to apply disciplinary concepts and skills to the sources in pursuit of answering the supporting questions, which act as “stepping stones” toward answering the compelling question. Given the history and civics nature of my inquiry, I chose concepts and skills across both disciplines. Ultimately, the concepts and skills chosen will support students’ comprehension of the sources and, in turn, learning the content necessary for answering the inquiry questions. To teach these concepts and skills, I chose a variety of instructional strategies in conjunction with the sources: Observe-Reflect-Question Protocol (see [Appendix B](#)), Interview Close Read Protocol (see [Appendix C](#)), and Sourcing and Comprehending and Corroborating, Oh My! Protocol (see [Appendix D](#)). These strategies will be described below.

Supporting Question One & Tasks

The first supporting question asks students, “What was Bayard’s role in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom?” I suggest guiding students through a series of primary source analyses that I like to refer to as “rounds of inquiry,” which draw upon a familiar gaming and sport term that many students will recognize (i.e., rounds). Each round presents a different type of source for students to comprehend: (a) round one includes two photographs (see [Figures 3](#) and [4](#)), (b) round two includes an organizing manual of the march (i.e., a pamphlet) (see [Figure 5](#)), and (c) round three includes an oral history (i.e., an interview with someone who worked with Bayard on the march) (see [Appendix A](#), Source 6). To scaffold the analysis work in each round, I suggest using the Observe-Reflect-Question Protocol developed by the Library of Congress. In this protocol, students make observations, draw conclusions (or infer), and ask questions—all three in support of their comprehension of the source.

Figure 3. *Bayard Rustin and Cleveland Robinson*



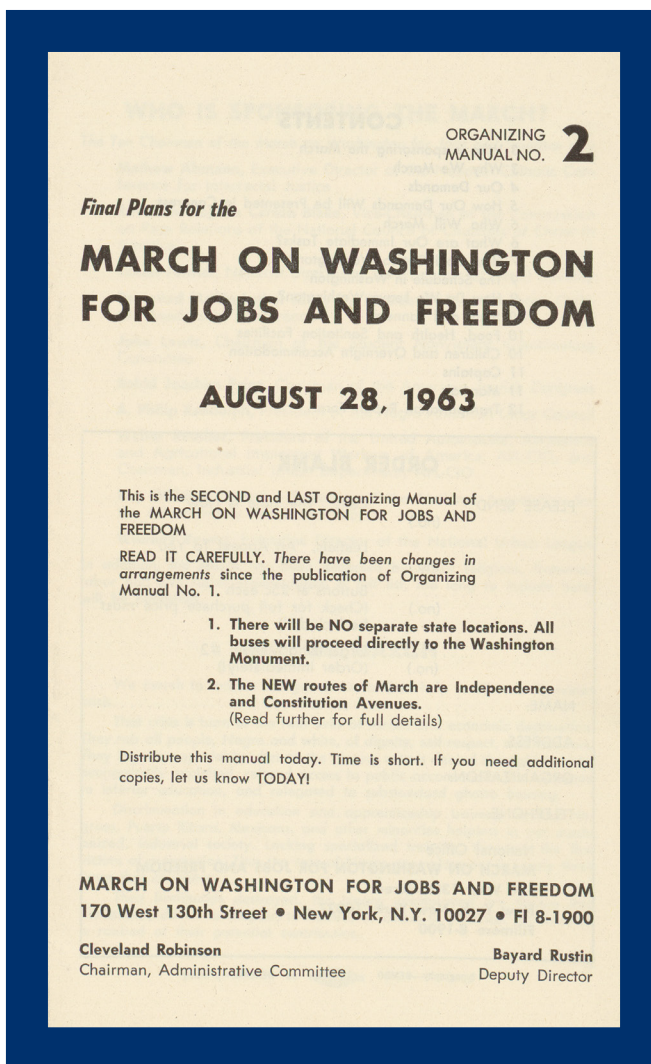
Note. Bayard Rustin (left) and Cleveland Robinson (right) advertising for the March on Washington for Jobs & Freedom in early August 1963. They are in New York City where the headquarters for organizing the march were set up. Fernandez, O. (1963). *In front of 170 W 130 St., March on Washington, Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director, Cleveland Robinson, Chairman of Administrative Committee* [Photograph]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2003671269/

Figure 4. *Bayard Rustin at News Briefing on the Civil Rights March*



Note. Leffler, W. K. (1963). *Bayard Rustin at news briefing on the Civil Rights March on Washington in the Statler Hotel, half-length portrait, seated at table* [Photograph]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2003688133/

Figure 5. *Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom*



Note. *Final plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.* (1963). Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2014645600/

I have designed a graphic organizer that captures each round of inquiry using the protocol that can be used with students (see [Appendix B](#)). Hidden within the design of this graphic organizer are strong elements of differentiation for elementary students. First, by completing the source analysis in separate rounds, students gradually construct an answer to the supporting question and are encouraged to corroborate their thinking across sources in a sequential fashion, which will support all students in this historical thinking skill. Second, providing rounds with different sources allows multiple entry points for students to answer the supporting question. For example, some students may focus on two rounds and others on all three. You may also choose to work with students who need explicit comprehension instruction on just one round. Though they do not corroborate their thinking with the other sources, they will still be able to answer the supporting question in a means accessible

to them. Third, I have suggested questions in each section of the protocol to scaffold the comprehension skills of observing, inferring, and questioning in relation to the different types of sources under investigation. For students who need support with observing, for instance, you may choose to provide these questions for them to use or develop your own. Fourth, the design of the graphic organizer could be used to create an anchor chart where you complete the work in a whole group setting while simultaneously recording their thinking. Then students would have a visual to rely on when they repeat this process using other sources. Using the graphic organizer in this way would allow you to model historical comprehension (i.e., observing, inferring, questioning) and historical thinking (i.e., corroboration) with upper elementary students in preparation for them to do this in groups or individually. In addition, it can be used to develop these skills in lower elementary students when done in a whole group setting.

Supporting Question Two & Tasks

To answer supporting question two, students will analyze a variety of oral histories (see [Appendix A](#), Sources 7–11). First, I suggest discussing with students the concept of an interview and transcript as well as purposes for conducting an interview. Here, you may share with students that interviews with civil rights activists were collected by the Library of Congress as a means to preserve this historical movement so others may learn about it from those who were a part of it.

I have developed an Interview Close Read Protocol (see [Appendix C](#)) that could be used to help students analyze the oral histories. I would suggest using a Think Aloud procedure to model the process of close reading first. This entails pulling up a PDF of an interview transcript and then conducting a search for the name “Bayard.” This will highlight several passages in each interview transcript. Pick the first one to read, and before reading, remind yourself that you are looking to answer the following supporting question: “How was Bayard’s role and work in the Civil Rights Movement described by Civil Rights activists of the time?” Then proceed to read each passage and think out loud regarding what information can help you answer that question.

After completing the Think Aloud, I recommend grouping students in pairs or triads and having them mimic your process using the five sources provided. The following protocol could be used to support students in locating specific information from the text that answers the supporting question. You may also choose to use the audio recording of the interviews and provide students with the time stamps to listen for Bayard’s name, which can be found in the interview transcripts. The audio recordings would be a powerful way to differentiate the source analysis work for students who may need additional support. You could provide the audio as a means to ensure all students have access to the text, no matter their reading level. You could use the audio to engage students’ listening comprehension skills, which is often ignored. This would be a strong strategy to use with younger grades if you were to engage the class in a whole group listening activity. You could model for students not only *what* to listen

for but *how* to listen to an interview. The voices of people from the past would be highlighted in more powerful ways than if you were to only read the transcript or their words. No matter the choice you make, there are options with oral histories because you have both an audio and written transcript component, so I strongly recommend using them when available.

Supporting Question Three & Tasks

The last supporting question asks students to distill meaning from three sources in order to grapple with how Bayard's *label* influenced his *labor* and legacy. Source 12 (see [Appendix A](#)) is an audio recording of an interview with Bayard Rustin where students can hear him describe his own experiences. Source 13 is a secondary source blog post of how his work was influenced by his sexual orientation, and the third source, Source 14, is a video of former President Barack Obama awarding the Presidential Medal of Freedom to Bayard Rustin posthumously, presenting the award to Bayard's life partner, Walter Naegle. Students will capture textual evidence from all three sources that allow them to answer the supporting question. To support this source analysis work, I suggest guiding students through a series of questions that moves them from sourcing, comprehending, and finally to corroborating using the Sourcing, Comprehending, Corroborating, Oh My! Protocol (see [Appendix D](#)). This scaffold will support students historical thinking and literacy development and provide differentiated support for students who need extra support in analyzing sources.

Dimension 3 of the C3 Inquiry Arc

By now, students have completed three tasks that have guided their thinking through Bayard's activism in the Civil Rights Movement, his role in the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom, and the influence of his sexual orientation on his work and legacy. Pulling from their work across all three tasks, students are ready to gather evidence from multiple sources to answer the compelling question, which moves students from Dimension 2 to Dimension 3 of the Inquiry Arc. The claim that students make to answer the compelling question can be viewed as a summative assessment, because it captures student thinking across all three tasks in the inquiry. You can evaluate students' claim on the following criteria: (a) the quantity and quality of the content knowledge presented on Bayard, (b) the ability to gather appropriate evidence from multiple sources to support their thinking, and (c) the reasoning provided as to whether his *labor* or *label* mattered more in his work and legacy. To ensure all students have access to this product, you might consider providing options for students to create either a written paper, or a visual presentation, or produce an audio/video recording using one of your favorite teaching applications such as Flipgrid. Differentiating the type of product will ensure that all students have access to the summative assessment in robust and appropriate ways based on their readiness or even interests.

Dimension 4 of the C3 Inquiry Arc

Now that students have made a claim on whether one's *labor* or *label* matters more in being remembered using Bayard Rustin's work and legacy as an example, you should provide space for them to communicate their thinking to others. I would suggest using a small-group protocol such as Reflective Discussion Circles (McGriff & Clemons, 2019). In this protocol, students write down their thinking and then listen to the thinking of three other classmates, which they write down as well. Then the students reflect upon what everyone has said and determine how listening to their classmates affected their original thinking. This protocol supports students in listening actively and respectfully to their classmates as well as thinking critically about their own claims (McGriff & Clemons, 2019). By making their claims public, students will be provided with opportunities to revise their thinking and co-construct a more robust claim with the support of peers.

Taking Informed Action

Next, I suggest leading a class discussion on Bayard's absence from the history curriculum. I would begin by having students examine their social studies textbooks for any mention of Bayard Rustin, which is likely missing. Pose the following question: "Who else might be missing because of their *label*?" Students might surmise that women of color might be missing, other LGBTQ individuals, or even individuals not well liked or who held little power. Next, engage students in thinking through who writes our history and who decides what we learn about in textbooks. Define the issue in explicit terms here for students as they will have likely gotten to it by now: History is an interpretive and political act where some stories are told and others forgotten.

This discussion with students will promote a critical look at the discipline of history and should spark a curiosity in students to question who else might be missing from history or more specifically the Civil Rights Movement. From this place of curiosity, the students are primed to move to the final stage of the inquiry—taking informed action. Swan et al. (2018) describe this stage as a place for "students to practice citizenship by applying the results of the academic inquiry to a real-world problem" (p. 129). Building upon their curiosity, ask students how they could learn about missing figures who promote a more inclusive story of the Civil Rights Movement. You could do this in a variety of ways that include a more open research process where students search several provided websites like the Library of Congress and uncover figures on their own. Or you might provide students a more structured process giving them a list of names to explore. You might even provide students with a particular reading on a chosen figure from the Civil Rights Movement that you want them to learn about. The key here is to think about your students and differentiate the process for students to be successful. Some may flourish with little structure here while others may need more scaffolding of the research process—and providing access to this research process

matters more than thinking all students need to follow one particular approach. To support your learning of some of the forgotten figures, consider the following resources from the Library of Congress as a start:

- [Women in the Civil Rights Movement](#) (blog post)
- [This Day in History: James Baldwin](#) (blog post)
- [Teaching the Civil Rights Movement from the Bottom-Up 50 Years After the Voting Rights Act](#) (presentation recording)
- [The Civil Rights Act of 1964: A Long Struggle for Freedom](#) (online exhibition)
- [Civil Rights History Project](#) (oral history collection)

After students conduct their research on one forgotten figure of their choice, you will want to decide a means for students to communicate their knowledge to the class. This might come in the form of a presentation, poster, or even video recording. Either way, allowing students to share their work is critical to helping broaden everyone's understanding of the Civil Rights Movement. It will also provide space for their classmates to ask questions allowing the students to return to the research, find out answers, and fill in any gaps that might have been missing from their research.

Lastly, it is critical that students take action based on what they learned. As Alice Pitt (1995) points out, "Learning is something more than a series of encounters with knowledge; learning entails, rather, the messier and less predictable process of becoming implicated in knowledge" (p. 298). Suggestions for taking action include students producing short two- or three-minute "Did You Know?" video/audio segments for the school's morning announcements where they could share the accomplishments of the forgotten figures. These announcements would allow students to act within their school setting and support an inclusive environment. However, I would encourage you to allow students to take action outside their local context, which might have more appeal to students. Perhaps lead a vote on communicating to district leaders, state leaders, or textbook publishers. Based off the outcome, help students determine their goal for communicating. Let them take some responsibility for what they want to share and the format they want to use to share this information (e.g., email or letters). If writing to district leaders, they could create a booklet of all their forgotten figures and ask the district to share it with teachers. Or, if they write to a textbook publisher, they might want to inform them of the variety of forgotten figures and urge them to include some, if not all, of their stories in their newer editions. No matter the audience, students will be empowered to advocate for those that history forgot or silenced and, in turn, for a more honest and truthful depiction of history that all students are worthy of being told. A history where all students can find themselves. A history that inspires a more just society for all.

Conclusion

Bayard Rustin organized one of the most successful forms of protest in our country's history and helped teach nonviolence theory and tactics to Martin Luther King Jr., a close friend. Yet, Rustin has been cast into the historical shadows and silenced within the elementary curriculum because of his sexual orientation as an out, gay man. Through the work of this inquiry, I have aimed to challenge both the dominant and heteronormative narrative of the Civil Rights Movement taught within the elementary curriculum using two pedagogical approaches (i.e., queer critical pedagogy and disciplinary literacy) and a variety of instructional strategies (i.e., Zoom-In, Observe-Reflect-Question Protocol, Interview Close Read Protocol, and Reflection Discussion Circle Protocol). By the end of the inquiry, I hope students will question what else the history texts have silenced—taking a critical stance toward the production of historical knowledge—and create counternarratives to share with others. In many ways, the work involved in this inquiry will complicate students' notion of history and "remembering". It will ask them to examine how "contrasting interpretations of history play a role in their everyday lives as thinking and acting citizens" (Salinas et al., 2012, p. 19). Therefore, achieving the ultimate goal of social studies education and inquiry work—becoming active and informed citizens in our diverse society (NCSS, 2017).

Additional Resources

1. A video of an interview with Bayard Rustin. At 11:58, he discusses his role in the Civil Rights Movement and states that A. Philip Randolph gave him the right to see that the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom was carried out to completion. At 19:46, Bayard discusses wrapping up the march and his role at the end of the day. At 48:34, Bayard discusses how he came to be put in charge of the march. He claims: “I do not consider myself a leader. I consider myself a spokesman for a given point of view. And I believe that it’s very important to work, which I am doing.” <http://repository.wustl.edu/concern/videos/vm40xt471>
2. A letter written by Martin Luther King Jr. to an organization that Bayard Rustin worked for asking them to release Bayard for a one-year leave of absence. Martin Luther King Jr. makes the case that his ideas are helpful and needed for the Civil Rights Movement. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/edward-p-gottlieb>
3. Martin Luther King Jr. writing to Bayard and asking for his help in reviewing a draft chapter for a book and the topic was nonviolence. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/bayard-rustin-4>
4. Martin Luther King Jr. writing to Adam Clayton Powell Jr. demanding he stop spreading lies about him and Bayard. <https://kinginstitute.stanford.edu/king-papers/documents/adam-clayton-powell-jr-1>
5. Congressional Senate Record on August 13, 1963, where Strom Thurmond tries to out Bayard. www.govinfo.gov/content/pkg/GPO-CRECB-1963-pt11/pdf/GPO-CRECB-1963-pt11-7-2.pdf
6. *New York Times* article published August 16, 1963, that was a rebuttal to Strom Thurmond’s Senate attack. www.nytimes.com/1963/08/16/archives/negro-rally-aide-rebuts-senator-denies-thurmonds-charge-of.html
7. Children’s Books
 - a. Wittenstein, B. (2019). *A Place to Land: Martin Luther King Jr. and the speech that inspired a nation* (Pinkney, J., Illus). Neal Porter Books.
 - b. Houtman, J., Naegle, W., & Long, M. G. (2019). *Troublemaker for justice: The story of Bayard Rustin, the man behind the march on Washington*. City Lights Books.
 - c. Bronski, M. (2019). *A queer history of the United States for young people* (Richie Chevat, Adapted). Beacon Press.
 - d. Weatherford, C. B., & Sanders, R. (2022). *A song for the unsung: Bayard Rustin, the man behind the 1963 March on Washington* (B. McCay, Illus). Henry Holt & Co.
 - e. Long, M. G. (2023). *Unstoppable: How Bayard Rustin organized the 1963 March on Washington* (B. Jackson, Illus.). little bee books.
8. *Brother Outsider: The Life of Bayard Rustin* (2003) is an 84-minute documentary directed by Nancy Kates and Bennett Singer that details the life of Bayard Rustin. Youth in Motion developed a curriculum guide to accompany the documentary, which can be found at <https://www.rustin.org/wp-content/uploads/2022/03/Curriculum-Guide-Brother-Outsider.pdf>

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Appendix A

Primary Sources Used in This Inquiry		
Source	Resource	Reference and Description
1	Photograph of Bayard Rustin and Martin Luther King Jr.	Marcus, E. (2019, January 10). Bayard Rustin. <i>Making Gay History Podcast</i> . https://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/bayard-rustin/
2	<i>Aerial view of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963</i>	O'Halloran, T. J. (1963, August 28). <i>Aerial view of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on August 28, 1963</i> [Photograph]. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2013649717/
3	<i>Bayard Rustin in front of a sign advertising the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom</i>	Fernandez, O. (1963). <i>In front of 170 W 130 St., March on Washington, Bayard Rustin, Deputy Director, Cleveland Robinson, Chairman of Administrative Committee</i> [Photograph]. Library of Congress, www.loc.gov/item/2003671269/
4	<i>Bayard Rustin speaking to the news media one day before the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom</i>	Leffler, W. K. (1963). <i>Bayard Rustin at news briefing on the Civil Rights March on Washington in the Statler Hotel, half-length portrait, seated at table</i> [Photograph]. Library of Congress www.loc.gov/item/2003688133/
5	<i>Final Plans for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom</i>	<i>Final plans for the march on Washington for jobs and freedom.</i> (1963). Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2014645600/ This document lists Bayard Rustin as the Deputy Director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom on the cover and on p. 13. There is also a map that can be used with students on p. 41 that will provide a visual of the scope of the march.
6	Rachelle Horowitz Interview	Horowitz, R. (2003). Interview with Megan Rosenfeld for the Voices of Civil Rights Project Collection. In Allen, E. (2013, August 21). <i>Inside the March on Washington: Bayard Rustin's "Army."</i> Timeless: Stories from the Library of Congress. https://blogs.loc.gov/loc/2013/08/inside-the-march-on-washington-bayard-rustins-army/ Rachelle Horowitz was the transportation coordinator for the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and worked closely with Bayard Rustin on this event.
7	Clarence Jones Interview and Transcript	Jones, C. (2013). <i>Clarence B. Jones oral history interview conducted by David P. Cline in Palo Alto, California, 2013 April 15.</i> Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015669183/ Clarence Jones discusses Bayard Rustin's leadership in the Civil Rights Movement (p. 52 of the transcript).

8	Reverend Joseph E. Lowery Interview and Transcript	<p>Lowery, J. E. (2011). Joseph Echols Lowery oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Atlanta, Georgia, 2011 June 06. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015669122/</p> <p>Reverend Joseph E. Lowery discusses Bayard Rustin's involvement in the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (SCLC).</p>
9	Dr. Cleveland Sellers Interview and Transcript	<p>Sellers, C. (2013). <i>Cleveland Sellers oral history interview conducted by John Dittmer in Denmark, South Carolina</i>. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015669180/</p> <p>Dr. Cleveland Sellers discusses Bayard Rustin's involvement with the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom and referred to him as the organizer (pp. 17–18 of the transcript).</p>
10	Dr. Ekwueme Michael Thelwell Interview and Transcript	<p>Thelwell, M. (2013). <i>Ekwueme Michael Thelwell oral history interview conducted by Emilye Crosby in Pelham, Massachusetts</i>. Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015669203/</p> <p>Dr. Ekwueme Michael Thelwell discusses Bayard Rustin's sexual orientation as a gay man and his work on nonviolence (p. 21 and p. 35 of the transcript).</p>
11	Dorie Ann Ladner and Dr. Joyce Ann Ladner Interview and Transcript	<p>Ladner, D., & Ladner, J. A. (2011). <i>Dorie Ann Ladner and Joyce Ladner oral history interview conducted by Joseph Mosnier in Washington, D.C.</i> Library of Congress. www.loc.gov/item/2015669153/</p> <p>Dorie Ann Ladner and Dr. Joyce Ann Ladner (sisters) were assistants to Bayard Rustin in his position as Deputy Director of the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom (pp. 4–5 of the transcript). They discuss Bayard Rustin's work, sexual orientation as a gay man, and his work on nonviolence (p. 21 and p. 35).</p>
12	Interview with Bayard Rustin	<p>Marcus, E. (2019, January 10). Bayard Rustin. <i>Making Gay History Podcast</i>. https://makinggayhistory.com/podcast/bayard-rustin/</p> <p>In this excerpted interview clip, Bayard Rustin discusses his identify as a gay man and how this affected his work—specifically being asked to step away from the movement (around 6:53 in the podcast audio).</p>

13	Henry Louis Gates Jr. Blog Post	<p>Gates, H. L., Jr. (2013). Who Designed the March on Washington? <i>The African Americans: Many rivers to cross</i>. PBS. www.pbs.org/wnet/african-americans-many-rivers-to-cross/history/100-amazing-facts/who-designed-the-march-on-washington/</p> <p>Henry Louis Gates Jr. describes, among other things, how Bayard was a liability and a threat was made to out him to MLK so that he would cancel a march scheduled for the Democratic National Convention held in Los Angeles in 1960.</p>
14	President Obama awards Bayard Rustin the Presidential Medal of Freedom posthumously	<p>Obama, B. (2013, August 3). Presidential Medal of Freedom ceremony. In <i>Brother Outsider</i> (Season 15, Episode 11). <i>POV</i>. PBS. www.pbs.org/video/pov-brother-outsider-presidential-medal-freedom-ceremony/</p> <p>President Obama recognized Bayard Rustin for his work on the March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom by awarding him the Presidential Medal of Freedom in 2013. He called Rustin the chief organizer of the March and claimed that for decades Rustin was denied his right to history because he was openly gay. President Obama presented the award to Rustin's lifetime partner, Walter Naegle. This was the first time that the award was presented to the surviving same-sex partner of a recipient.</p>

Appendix B

Observe-Reflect-Question Protocol in Three Rounds of Inquiry

Round 1: Photograph Analysis (Sources 3 and 4)	
Observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you see? • What details do you see that relate to Bayard Rustin?
Reflect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • When was this image made? • What do you think is happening in this image?
Question	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are you still wondering about in regards to Bayard and his role in the march?
Round 2: Document Analysis (Source 5)	
Observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you notice first? • What details do you see that relate to Bayard?
Reflect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Who do you think created this document? • Why was this document made? • What do the details that relate to Bayard make you think about his role in the march?
Question	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are you still wondering about in regards to Bayard and his role in the march?
Round 3: Oral History Analysis (Source 6)	
Observe	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What do you hear that relates to Bayard's role? • Does this seem to be an interview or a conversation?
Reflect	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What can you tell about the person telling the story? What is their point of view? • What is the significance of this oral history? • What information provided here corroborates with what you have gathered from the other sources?
Question	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • What are you still wondering about with regards to Bayard and his role in the march?

Appendix C

Interview Close Read Protocol		
Sourcing		How was Bayard's role and work in the movement described by civil rights activists of the time?
Source 7	Who is being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 1 st passage:
	When are they being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 2 nd passage: Textual evidence from 3 rd passage:
Source 8	Who is being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 1 st passage:
	When are they being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 2 nd passage: Textual evidence from 3 rd passage:
Source 9	Who is being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 1 st passage:
	When are they being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 2 nd passage: Textual evidence from 3 rd passage:
Source 10	Who is being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 1 st passage:
	When are they being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 2 nd passage: Textual evidence from 3 rd passage:
Source 11	Who is being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 1 st passage:
	When are they being interviewed?	Textual evidence from 2 nd passage: Textual evidence from 3 rd passage:

Appendix D

Sourcing, Comprehending, and Corroborating, Oh My!

How did Bayard's <i>label</i> affect his role and legacy as a civil rights activist?			
Historical Thinking/ Literacy Skill	Source _____	Source _____	Source _____
<p>Sourcing: Who is the author of this source?</p> <p>How might they be biased?</p> <p>How reliable is this source?</p>			
<p>Comprehending: What did you learn about Bayard from this source?</p> <p>What information from this source will help you answer the supporting question?</p>			
<p>Corroborating: How does information from this source support information from 1 or 2 other sources?</p> <p>What connections can you make between the sources?</p>			
<p>Further Thinking: What other information would you like to see to better affirm your interpretation on how Bayard's identity affected his role?</p>			