It Happened Here: The Civil Rights Movement in Utah

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IT HAPPENED HERE: THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT IN UTAH

By

Jace Parker Jones

A thesis proposal submitted in partial fulfillment
of the requirements for the degree

of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

in

History

Approved:

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UTAH STATE UNIVERSITY
Logan, Utah
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ABSTRACT

It Happened Here: The Civil Rights Movement in Utah

by

Jace Jones, Master of Science

Utah State University, 2023

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This plan B project is a series of lesson plans focusing on the Civil Rights Movement in Utah. These lessons are designed to give students a broad understanding of the Civil Rights Movement as well as the tools and knowledge to understand how the Civil Rights Movement manifested in Utah. To fulfill this goal these lesson plans, focus on local and lesser-known history. This will allow students to gain an understanding of how the movement operated in Utah and how it relates to their own lives.

These lessons use the Stanford: *Reading Like a Historian* framework by the Stanford History Education Group. This framework focuses on teaching students to investigate historical questions, assess perspectives on the past, and how to create and evidence historical claims. This framework allows students to build their own relationship with our nation's past as well as teach them the skills to engage with sources—both historical and contemporary. By emphasizing these skills, these lesson plans will prepare students for lifetime civic engagement which is essential for a healthy democratic society. In addition, these lesson plans are designed to fulfill state standards for the Utah Core U.S. History II curriculum as well as the National College, Career, and Civic Life
(C3) Standards. This will allow this project to create substantial contributions to be used in Utah classrooms.
This project is a series of lesson plans on the civil rights movement in Utah. These lessons are designed to have students learn about the past through doing history. Students will read and analyze historical documents to learn about the past. Through this process students learn both historical facts as well as how historians write history.
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INTRODUCTION

For many Utahns, the state’s connection to the civil rights movement is not an obvious one. The relative lack of scholarship on Utah’s civil rights movement and the state’s lack of centrality to the broader national movement, based primarily east of the Mississippi River in the U.S. South, has only reinforced this perception. We need more scholarly attention and more public history projects to understand and convey Utah’s role in the civil rights movement. These efforts will deepen Utahns’ understandings of their own history and how they relate to it. These history-based effects will also better acknowledge Utah’s place in national conversations about race, equity, and inclusion.

Utah’s small Black population and the socially conservative influence of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (LDS) defined much of Utah’s civil rights movement. This latter factor is particularly unique, as the LDS church stifled civil rights activism among their members. The LDS Church did not suppress the civil rights movement in Utah as a whole. Non-Mormon Black churches became prominent places of activist organization throughout the state. These churches served as places of community and organization. For example, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) often held meetings at local Black churches in urban centers like Ogden and Salt Lake City. Civil rights historians have centered urban centers in civil rights movement histories.

The relative lack of scholarly and pedagogical attention given to Utah’s civil rights movement makes this an essential topic for coverage in Utah schools. This project,

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1 In recent years, the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day has requested to avoid shortenings such as the Mormon church. However, this change has not been fully made in common parlance, especially outside for nonmembers of the church. To avoid confusion the church shall be referred to as the LDS Church.
based on original historical research, provides history teachers in Utah with accessible materials to expand their own curriculum to include the civil rights movement from a local perspective. I intend to use these lesson plans and curricular materials in my own classroom. There is ample opportunity for further incorporation of local histories into U.S. history classrooms across time periods and regions. Intermountain educators have an opportunity to lead a cutting-edge exploration of the civil rights movement in the West, changing both the historiography of civil rights as well as how this movement is taught in schools. This process, while far from easy, can only improve history education through increased engagement from K-12 educators in the academic scholarship on civil rights.

HISTORIOGRAPHY

In recent decades historians have expanded our understanding of the civil rights movement both chronologically and geographically. This change in scholarly focus can be largely attributed to Jacquelyn Dowd Hall’s 2005 article, “The Long Civil Rights Movement and the Political Uses of the Past.” Dowd Hall argues that our limited chronological and geographic understanding of the civil rights movement resulted in an incomplete conception of the Movement and allowed for rampant misuse of the history of the civil rights in politics. This limited chronological and geographic understanding refers to the “classic” civil rights movement, which historians typically identify from 1954 to 1965. This “classic” understanding created a victory narrative that spans from the Montgomery Bus Boycott to the 1965 Civil Rights Act. This narrative has limited public understandings of the civil rights movement and long slowed the historiography of civil

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rights. Dowd Hall’s “long” civil rights movement, however, has combatted the whitewashing of the classic movement.

The development of the “long” civil rights movement has deepened our understanding of civil rights as a national movement, not just a movement in the Deep South. Dowd Hall's call for geographic expansion primarily focused on the North, but Western U.S. historians have applied a need for geographic expansion to West of the Mississippi as well. However, this expansion is still incomplete, as the majority of Western states’ connection to the civil rights movement has been understudied. Instead, the vast majority of scholarship focuses on areas with higher Black populations, such as California.

Dowd Hall also calls for historians to push back against “color blind” conservatives who have reworked the movement to boost their political narratives while simultaneously erasing the complexity of the movement. Historians have responded to this prescription through the geographic expansion of the movement. This is epitomized by works like *Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West*, edited by Bruce Glasrud and Narya Atiya and *For the Cause of Righteousness: A Global History of Blacks and Mormonism, 1830-2013*. Both these books examine the history of states that are largely excluded from scholarly and casual conversations on civil rights. It is much more difficult (albeit not impossible) to make spurious claims such as those around

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3 Hall, “The Long Civil Rights Movement,” 1234, 1237. As Hall explains, “color blindness” reshapes our interpretation of the movement to focus on the elimination of explicit racial discrimination from our laws and legal system. This obfuscates the movement’s focus on structural inequality and many of the more radical goals of the movement. In addition, this obfuscation prevents the civil rights movement from speaking effectively on contemporary issues and struggles that we face.

Utah’s rejection of Martin Luther King Jr. Day with an educated public and nationally oriented historical narrative of the civil rights movement.⁵

Additionally, the civil rights movement in the West contends with interactions between multiple racial and ethnic minorities, much more so than the Black-white binary that dominates civil rights study in southern states. For example, Matthew C. Whitaker’s book, *Race Work: The Rise of Civil Rights in the Urban West*, examines the tension between the Black Arizonans and Chicanos who competed for legislative support and attention for their respective pushes for civil rights.⁶ Karen Ishizuka in her book *Serve the People: The Making of Asian America* describes the unity felt between Black and Asian Americans who both confronted a hostile white society.⁷ Similarly, Gordon Mantler, in *Power to the Poor: Black and Brown Coalitions and the Fight for Economic Justice, 1960-1974*, examines the multiracial coalitions of the late civil rights movement and Martin Luther King’s Poor People's Campaign.⁸ While the Poor People's Campaign occurred in D.C., the majority of the multiracial coalition traveled across the country from the racially diverse West Coast.⁹ Multiracial coalitions have become a contentious topic among civil rights historians who disagree on the prevalence, and sometimes even the existence, of such coalitions. Ishizuka and Mantler both recognize the limit of interracial unity (although Ishizuka’s recognition of the limits is far less explicit). Historians like George M. Cooper and Mary S Melcher, however, place minority groups

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⁵ Utah was the last state to adopt Martin Luther King, Jr. Day as a national holiday. Until the year 2000, Utahns celebrated Human Rights Day instead.
⁷ Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 42.
⁸ Mantler, *Power to the Poor*, 17.
in competition with one another. In these discussions, historians recognize that minority groups influence one another in their pushes for equality, but they disagree on how that influence manifests.

In these examinations of civil rights movements—whether in cooperation or competition—Black civil rights movements tend to dominate historical discussions over other minority civil rights movements. In Mantler’s examination of multiracial coalition, the specific history of the Western Chicano movement gets scant coverage compared to the Black civil rights movement, and the Native American movement gets even less coverage. Additionally, as Ishizuka notes, the examination of the Asian American movement has relatively limited scholarship. Although it is sensible to focus on the Black civil rights movement if that is the focus of a historian's work, the interactions between these groups demand more attention to more fully understand how these groups operated both in competition for attention as well as in cooperation in hopes of legislative action.

The civil rights movement in the West tends to cover a later period when compared to other states, especially those in the North and South. This trend applies especially to Utah, largely due to its small Black population which made activism more difficult. In Utah, this discouragement is underscored by the LDS Church’s late inclusion of Black members into the church. Until 1978, the LDS church barred Black men from being ordained with the priesthood and Black members generally from receiving temple endowments. In addition, the church discouraged interracial marriage far beyond the

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11 Mantler, *Power to the Poor*, 17.
12 Ishizuka, *Serve the People*, 5.
priesthood ban, only officially condemning this discouragement in 2013.\textsuperscript{13} This trend is most apparent when compared to other churches with Black membership on the East Coast that became central areas of organizing.\textsuperscript{14}

Instead of becoming a place of activism, the LDS Church became a symbol of resistance to the civil rights movement. Many Black Utahns believed that the LDS Church and its racial teachings were major obstacles to their civil rights. Thus, protests against the LDS Church quickly became one of the most prevalent forms of activism in the state. The NAACP’s protests at Temple Square in Salt Lake City in the 1960s and the student protests at Brigham Young University's athletic events in the early 1970s epitomize this activism. As a result, much of the analysis of civil rights in Utah takes place in the late 1960s and early 1970s. Events related to the civil rights movement that precede the 1960s receive far less historical attention.

The LDS Church’s denial of the priesthood to Black men has become a central topic to historians of Mormonism. It is impossible for historians studying Black people within the LDS Church to limit their analysis to Utah. Often, it quickly becomes an international analysis that encompasses all regions where the LDS church had Black members. This international analysis is shown in Prince and Wright’s previously mentioned work, where they examine the Church’s evolving relationship with Nigeria.\textsuperscript{15} While important, this analysis takes attention away from Utah’s civil rights movement as it overshadows the many Black Utahns that were not members of the LDS Church. Many

\textsuperscript{14} Glasrud, and Wintz, eds., \textit{Black Americans and the Civil Rights Movement in the West}, 123
Black Utahns came to Utah through employment in the railroad and military. By only placing focus on Black Mormons, historians lose the story of non-Mormon Black Utahns. Moreover, the focus on Black men and the priesthood often undermines the struggle of Black Mormon women who faced similar discrimination in regard to temple endowments.

There are relatively few scholarly works that focus on Utah and the civil rights movement. Much of the histories that do exist come from historians of the LDS Church in their studies of the Church, and not the movement in Utah itself. The history of Mormonism and civil rights in Utah has become intertwined in scholarship. Thus, historians who explore the civil rights movement in Utah generally study the LDS Church or they include the civil rights movement briefly in a larger analysis of the LDS Church. This is in spite of other avenues of research that historians have explored in other states, such as Whitaker’s examination of Arizona’s civil rights movement through studying urban centers.16 Similar analyses could be written about Salt Lake City’s or Ogden’s movements. *Utah Historical Quarterly* has published a number of articles exploring Black history in Utah, including but not limited to Matthew L. Harris and Madison S. Harris’s article, “The Last State to Honor MLK: Utah and the Quest for Racial Justice,” which explored the fight of activists to get Utah to recognize Martin Luther King, Jr. Day.17

LDS Church historians often focus their examination on high-level officials within the LDS Church. This is done to examine the impact of Mormonism as on the

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movement, though scholars often focus on the same central individuals within church leadership: Hugh B. Brown, David O. McKay, and Ezra Taft Benson. These books—Thunder From the Right: Ezra Taft Benson in Mormonism and Politics edited by Matthew Harris; David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism by Gregory A. Prince and William Robert Wright; and For the Cause of Righteousness: A Global History of Blacks and Mormonism by Russel W. Stevenson—all include these figures as central mainstays of their analyses of Mormonism and civil rights.\footnote{Matthew L. Harris, ed. Thunder from the Right: Ezra Taft Benson in Mormonism and Politics. (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 2019), 124 Project Muse; Prince and Wright, David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism, 60-105; Stevenson, For the Cause of Righteousness, 105-128.} The first two of these books are biographies and, as the genre implies, focus on the men in their title. These books, though, still include the other two figures in their analysis, which highlights the centrality of these figures in civil rights and Mormonism.

Notably, central figures in these analyses are all white men, an anomaly among civil rights histories which tend to focus on Black leaders within the movements.\footnote{This focus ultimately makes sense as these historians are focusing on the history of the church as an institution in these histories.} For example, Matthew C. Whitaker identified two leaders within the Black community, Lincoln Ragsdale and Elanor Dickey Ragsdale.\footnote{Whitaker, Race Work, 1.} Likewise, much of Gordon Mantler’s analysis of the Poor People’s Campaign centers on Martin Luther King, Jr. and Ralph Abernathy (among other civil rights and Chicano leaders).\footnote{Gordon K Mantler, Power to the Poor: Black-Brown Coalition and the Fight for Economic Justice, 1960-1974 (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 2013), 16-17.} This focus on the most influential leaders siphons attention away from less well known activists who were just as involved as famous activists, but are less remembered as a result of circumstance. This prioritizes the voices of civil rights towards Martin Luther King, Jr.’s early message. As
pointed out by Hall, the later, more radical King is often ignored in long-term and
political analysis of the civil rights movement, which often focuses on milquetoast
analysis of King and the “classical” civil rights movement that dominates pop culture
today.

Central leaders of the civil rights movement often dominate historical analysis of
the movement. Although these figures influenced the civil rights movement, a focus on
these figures often distorts the contributions of everyday people, especially Black
women—due to the imbalance of these groups within leadership. Women like Elanor
Dickey Ragsdale have become more central to the analysis of the civil rights movement
in recent years. She had have previously been excluded because women rarely held
leadership positions within the civil rights movement which, as Ishizuka points out,
occurs across multiple ethnic groups.\textsuperscript{22} The most prolific figures cited by historians of
Mormonism tend to be white men, as was the case in church leadership in Harris’s work
as well as Prince and Wright’s book.\textsuperscript{23}

Beyond the shared focus on certain central figures, historians trace similar notable
events to focus on the changes in race relations within the church over time. For example,
Harris in \textit{David O. McKay and the Rise of Modern Mormonism} and Robert Greenwall in
“One Devout Mormon Family’s Struggle with Racism” both cite the same event
regarding interracial marriage and temple marriages in Mormonism.\textsuperscript{24} Overlap on similar

\textsuperscript{22} Karen L. Ishizuka, \textit{Serve the People: Making Asian America in the Long Sixties} (New York, NY: Verso,
\textsuperscript{23} Harris, ed. \textit{Thunder from the Right}, 124-140; Prince and Wright, \textit{David O. McKay and the Rise of
Modern Mormonism}, 60-105.
\textsuperscript{24} Robert Greenwall, “One Devout Mormon Family’s Struggle with Racism,” \textit{Dialogue: A Journal of
Mormon Thought} 51, no. 3 (Fall 2018): 172- 173, \url{https://search-ebscohost-
com.dist.lib.usu.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=asn&AN=134279730&site=ehost-live}. 
topics is expected and necessary, but when historians converge on similar evidence the majorit
ty of their disagreement is based on analysis and not in the sources used. This is a missed opportunity because, as this project makes clear, there are ample primary sources that would strengthen the understanding of the civil rights movement in Utah.

The centrality of these figures and events have deeply intertwined the history of Mormonism with Utah’s civil rights movement. Church events (e.g., General Conference) and LDS institutions (e.g., Brigham Young University) were the sites of the largest protests and controversies to a much greater degree than Utah courts and legislature. Historians have gravitated towards these events when they explore Utah’s civil rights movement. Moreover, many of the histories on the civil rights movement are chapters contained within biographies or larger histories of Mormonism or Black History. Books that focus solely on the civil rights movement in Utah are rare. This culminates in the subject being understudied by historians and largely unrecognized by the public.

Despite the significant development of historical scholarship on the civil rights movement in recent years, further research is required to fully explore the Movement’s influence within the West. This project aims to expand our understanding of the civil rights movement as a national movement through the inclusion of local history into history lessons of high school students. This will further students’ understanding of the civil right movement as well as cultivate a more personal connection to the movement. This will help cement the importance of history into students’ minds and push them towards becoming an active, informed, and engaged citizenry.

PROJECT PURPOSE

These lesson plans are designed to fit within the state curriculum for United States History II as well as the National Council for the Social Studies C3 Framework. These standards and framework provide structure to the lessons which help focus lessons to achieve content standards as well as attune them towards improving students underlying content knowledge. As such, adhering to these guidelines both improves the quality of lessons and ensures that they can be practically taught in public schools while ensuring teachers fulfill their curricular obligations.

This project fuses the historical and pedagogical skills that I have developed as a graduate student. These lessons were born from original archival research and extensive engagement with the existing historiography. From this research I cultivated a wide array of primary and secondary source excerpts to immerse students in the study of a local history while engaging them with the broader—and more traditionally taught—history of

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26 “Utah State Board of Education Standards Revision Process,” Utah State Board of Education, last accessed June 13, 2022, https://www.schools.utah.gov/file/c580f8a1-8cc5-4a47-9a1a-2ed5948ad9f4; “College, Career, and Civic Life (C3) Framework for Social Studies State Standards: Guidance for Enhancing the Rigor of K-12 Civics, Economics, Geography, and History,” National Council for the Social Studies, last accessed March 3, 2023, https://www.socialstudies.org/standards/c3. Utah’s State Standards are revised with semi-regularity based upon standards set up by the Board of Education or when triggered by the state legislature. These revisions are headed by experts in the field (e.g., teachers, university professors) appointed by the Chair of the State Board as well as ten parents selected by the Speaker of the State House of Representatives and the President of the State Senate. This committee, supervised by the Board of Education (who themselves are elected officials), creates revisions to the standards and generally will undergo a public review before their implementation. This system allows for many checks and balances and has generally created a set of standards that cover a good deal of American history. Although many educators or historians may have gripes about certain periods or topics that have less coverage, it is important to note that Utah’s lack of standardized testing for social studies allows teachers a great deal of freedom to incorporate historical topics they deem important to the education of their students. Similarly, the C3 Framework offers teachers guidance to improve their curriculum through a focus on the underlying skills and objectives. The frameworks lists the following goals on their website: “a) enhance the rigor of the social studies disciplines; b) build critical thinking, problem solving, and participatory skills to become engaged citizens; and c) align academic programs to the Common Core State Stands for English Language Arts and Literacy in History/Social Studies.” The C3 Framework does not provide content standards, as is done at the state level; rather it focuses on skills that students build within these classrooms.
the civil rights movement. These lessons put students and their intellectual engagement at the center of the curriculum. They also enable students to learn history by doing history.

My lessons are designed to give students a broad understanding of the civil rights movement as well as the tools and knowledge to understand how the civil rights movement manifested in Utah. It is important for Utah students to understand how the civil rights movement relates to them. Without this personal connection it becomes hard for students to understand the significance of the civil rights movement in their own lives, with many students viewing this as a settled and “done” issue that did not—and does not—impact them. Events like the Montgomery Bus Boycott, *Brown v. Board*, or the Civil Rights Act of 1965 seem almost ethereal and disconnected students’ daily lives. Direct lessons about areas and places they are familiar with (e.g., Salt Lake City, Ogden, Brigham Young University), though, highlight for students the relevance of this history and how these events relate to them.

Furthermore, these lessons focus on building students’ understanding of history, not as a collection of facts to memorize. Instead, students should understand history as an interpretative discipline built on an active process of research that continually changes and evolves in response to new ideas, evidence, and perspectives. As such, these lessons do not intend to lead students towards a “correct” understanding of history, but one they create for themselves based on evidence. This does not eschew the memorization of facts. On the contrary, facts are critical for students’ ability to build their own interpretations. Rather these lessons seek to build students’ historical skills to higher levels of historical thinking.
Pushing students to these higher levels of thinking is crucial to prepare them for life after college and a life of civic engagement. For students who will go on to attend college, this process will help serve as an on-ramp to prepare them for the intellectual engagement that will be demanded of them in higher education. Beyond preparation for college, these lessons aim to prepare students to become engaged citizens in the age of misinformation. We are continually bombarded with misinformation through cable news, independent outlets, and social media. History classrooms can help prepare students to navigate this landscape. The process to engage with primary sources and build interpretations is nearly identical to the process of forming an interpretation about a current event, political issue/candidate, or even how to navigate more mundane claims on social media.

LOGIC FOR CURRICULAR MAP

The unit for this curricular map is organized across two metrics: chronology and theme. The aim of these lessons is to present students with history that is built over time. This month of lessons should be taught during the second half of the semester, for Utah’s United States History II curriculum. Students’ historical thinking skills will have developed somewhat through earlier course content. But continued engagement with the basics of historical thinking combined with consistent exposure to higher orders of thinking is necessary for student development. In addition, these lessons on the civil rights movement are designed to be taught over a longer period of time with ample coverage and engagement with surrounding historical developments throughout the month these lessons are taught. This curricular map seeks to balance coverage of wider U.S. history with a deeper exploration of local histories.
These lessons fall under four thematic categories: segregation and discrimination; protests and resistance; civil rights and the LDS Church; and the legacy of the civil rights movement. Lessons build upon each other chronologically. Furthermore, as the month progresses lessons build in complexity, pushing students to engage with higher levels of thinking in line with Bloom’s Taxonomy (e.g., apply) while revisiting and reinforcing the basics (e.g., remember). For example, early lessons such as “Narratives of Little Rock,” “Black Utahns and Segregation,” and “Black Utahns and Employment” focus on the levels of “remember” and “understand.” Here the focus of lessons is to familiarize students with the daily lives of Black Americans as the civil rights movement developed. “Narratives of Little Rock” does much the same but pushes students slightly into the “apply” level of thinking through engagement with both primary and secondary source interpretation.

On the sixteenth day of the month, the lesson “What is Race in Utah?” is the first lesson from this project to firmly push students into the “apply” level of thinking. This lesson has students engage with Robert Greenwell’s article, “One Devout Mormon Family’s Struggle with Racism,” to explore what it means for race to be a social construct. Due to its difficulty, this lesson is intentionally scheduled for a Monday to allow students’ minds to be refreshed from the weekend. The next two lessons (“The NAACP and Protests” and “Utah, Civil Rights, and the Cold War”) continue to help students form a solid foundation of Utah’s civil rights movement as it progressed through the late 1950s and 1960s. In addition, “Utah, Civil Rights, and the Cold War” pushes students to contextualize the civil rights movement within the fearful culture of the cold war.

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27 This lesson can only happen in the beginning of this month due to student’s exposure to higher levels of Bloom’s Taxonomy earlier in the semester.
war. This allows students to make connections to cold war lessons and to see the interconnectivity of U.S. history and how these major events in the U.S. coexisted in our past. The lesson plan “BYU Protests” covers many of the same themes as the “NAACP and Protests.” However, the core events occur in the 1970s, making its placement more appropriate later in the unit. This allows students to re-engage with consistent themes of the civil rights movement and emphasizes for students how lengthy the civil rights movement actually was. The next lesson, “Black Perceptions of the LDS Church,” builds upon the foundation provided by earlier lessons and pushes students into the “apply” level of thinking as they compare the perspectives of James Dooley and Darius Gray, two prominent Black Utahns. Furthermore, this lesson helps students experience the diversity of thought in the past and how to engage with conflicting points of view.

The last two lessons made for this thesis serve as a capstone to the unit by bringing together the content students have learned and by pushing their historical thinking skills. These lessons are “Zinn and Johnson: Civil Rights Movement” and “What is Utah’s Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement.” The former is designed to have students compare the perspectives of the historians Howard Zinn and Paul Johnson in regard to civil rights legislation in the 1960s and its effects on American society. This pushes students to engage with the process of writing history and helps emphasize complexity and nuance in interpreting the past. The last lesson serves as a moment for students to put everything they learned about Utah’s civil rights movement together by answering the question, “What is the Legacy of the Civil Rights Movement?” This puts students in the driver’s seat as they synthesize information and interpretations that they have studied and learned throughout the unit to create their own short interpretation of civil rights in Utah.
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