Structured Whiteness:

A Study of Social Studies Teachers Who Teach in Predominantly-White Public School Districts

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Abstract

Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a powerful and insightful theoretical framework that examines the way race plays a role in American society and, by extension, its education system. However, much of the empirical work framed by CRT is qualitative and explores the way race plays a role in the educational experiences of marginalized students and/or is used to prepare white teachers to educate marginalized students. This study sought to use quantitative methodology framed by CRT to study teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts, examine their critical multicultural educational competencies, their critical consciousness, and finally their knowledge of CRT and comfort level with its basic premises. As the one of the basic premises of CRT posits that "racism is normal in American society" (Ladson-Billings, 1998), it therefore becomes crucial to employ CRT as a framework to study predominantly white districts as well as districts populated by marginalized students. The following research questions guided the study: 1) What is the relationship between critical multicultural educational competencies (CMEC) as measured by the *Critical Multicultural Educational Competency Scale* (Acar-Ciftci, 2016) and critical consciousness (CC) as measured by the *Critical Consciousness Scale* (Diemer et al., 2017)? 2) Are there differences in CMEC and CC scores as a function of teacher demographics? 3) How do teachers perceive CRT as a foundation of their pedagogical approach to teaching social studies? High school social studies teachers across New Jersey were sampled with 104 teachers meeting the criteria of teaching in predominantly-white high schools. These teachers completed an electronic survey that included a demographic questionnaire, items from the CMEC scale, items from the CC scale, a questionnaire modeled around the basic premises of CRT along with questions regarding the support (or lack thereof) they receive from their districts in teaching about the institutional nature of racism and white supremacy. Descriptive statistics

and frequencies were used to describe the demographic data and the CRT-based questionnaire. Pearson correlation was used to analyze the relationship between CMEC and CC and MANOVA was used to examine CMEC and CC full scale and sub-dimension scale scores by gender and years of teaching. The findings of this study suggest that the "structured whiteness" of American society has impacted the teachers of white students. These teachers are mostly white themselves, grew up in predominantly-white towns, and rarely if ever had a social studies teacher of color. In addition, there is no relationship between teacher critical multicultural educational competency and their own critical consciousness as measured by the CMEC and CC scales. Finally, the majority of these teachers have never heard of CRT and reported that they do not know enough about CRT to infuse it into their pedagogy. These findings inform the need for policy that includes supporting the teachers of white students in their knowledge of CRT as well as assisting them with infusing their pedagogy with CRT. This study also shows the need to provide professional development to teachers that increases the likelihood that all students, regardless of race or ethnicity, graduate their high schools exposed to CRT and better able to navigate the complex racial landscape of New Jersey and the rest of U.S. society.

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Contents

List of Figures

List of Tables

Chapter 1

Introduction

Problem Statement

Decades after the Civil Rights movement, the United States is still racially divided (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Rothstein, 2017). For most of American history, white supremacy dominated interactions between most Americans as it shaped governmental institutions and dictated laws and policies (Mills, 2013). During the Civil Rights movement, anti-discrimination laws were passed and many schools were desegregated. Despite some legal changes, one clear remnant from this white supremacist past has been the racially divisive effects of *de facto* segregation caused by decades of white flight and the discriminatory practices that facilitated it (Ladson-Billings, 1998). According to the UCLA Civil Rights Project, New Jersey, "ranks sixth among the states in terms of highest segregation of black students and seventh in segregation of Latinos. Although the state has invested billions in trying to equalize school funding…profound racial, ethnic, and socioeconomic gaps remain in educational outcomes (Orfield, Ee, & Coughlan, 2017). Many current teachers grew up and were educated in segregated schools and currently teach in similarly segregated schools thereby continuing *de facto* segregation for generations (Reininger, 2011). Furthermore, according to data from the National Center for Education Statistics (NCES), white teachers are disproportionately represented in American public schools (Geiger, 2018). For decades, housing discrimination and the accompanying racial and ethnic segregation has limited many white teachers' interactions with people of color. This type of segregation shapes the racial identities of teachers resulting in a disproportionately white teaching force throughout the country (Epstein, 2005). These demographic trends have created a

largely white teaching force and, by extension, a largely white social studies teaching force. Due to these historical structures, it is thereby important to understand the critical multicultural educational competencies of social studies teachers as well as their levels of critical consciousness as they are teaching both white and non-white students in the discipline most suited for teaching about racism and the institutionalized nature of white supremacy.

One of the most prevalent educational theories that attempts to deconstruct white supremacist influence on American society is Critical Race Theory (Crenshaw, Gotanda, & Peller, 1995). It attempts to put race as at the forefront of any discussion of American society and history, however it is generally employed within non-white student populations (Brandon, 2003; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999; Sleeter, 2001) despite the fact that white Americans could also benefit being educated with this framework. Critical Race Theory (CRT) developed out of Critical Legal Studies which critiqued the slow pace of the Civil Rights movement in redressing the inequalities caused by racism in society and fundamentally addresses race as a central aspect to American society (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Its premises assume that firstly, racism is normal in American society. Secondly, that storytelling is important to validating the experiences of marginalized peoples. Thirdly, that the process of liberalism has been slow. Finally, that Whites have been the chief beneficiaries of civil rights legislation (Ladson-Billings, 1998). When applied to education, and specifically social studies, it "examines the way racism is made invisible through the curriculum, participation in the profession, and its policies" (Ladson-Billings, 2003, p. 9).

However, research (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Parker, Deyhle, & Villenas, 1999; Sheets, 2003; Sleeter, 2001) shows that CRT is generally only employed in underprivileged minority contexts and in preservice training to prepare white teachers to teach minority students and *not* to

help teachers understand and use CRT in their pedagogy to teach white students. This leaves a gap in literature and a vague understanding of how teachers in white districts address the white supremacy in American history and society for which CRT provides a theoretical framework. A further gap exists in how teachers in predominantly white districts feel about the support they receive from their districts in teaching the prevalent educational theory that deals directly with white supremacy in American society. New Jersey, being one of the most racially segregated states in the country, is a prime location for further inquiry into the effects of *de facto* segregation on the teaching force. A study framed by CRT that attempts to study the educational spaces inhabited by the white race could illuminate aspects of the social studies teaching that many other studies framed by CRT do not.

As a social studies teacher myself in the predominantly-white district in NJ and the only teacher of color in my department, the issues of race in white classrooms have been at the forefront of my own experience. Many of my colleagues teach about race but there is a major distinction between teaching about race and CRT. Teaching racism as pervasive in American society, institutional in nature, and addressing white supremacy directly in class is very different than teaching about racism abstractly, solely personal, and as something only occurring in the past. Social studies is the primary discipline meant to address race in American society (Ladson-Billings, 2003). Social studies teachers are in the unique position of being tasked with teaching students who are a part of systems of inequality while they themselves are forced to engage in those same unequal systems simply by living in American society. Furthermore, they are expected to teach students who are privileged by these systems as well as those who are not. According to Gloria Ladson-Billings in the introduction to *Critical Race Theory Perspectives on the Social Studies* (2003),

> The failure of the social studies to meaningfully engage in dialogue about one of the nation's persistent social justice issues is not surprising. However, it is disappointing. The historical, social, economic, and political records provide compelling blueprints for the way the nation has recruited the concept of race to justify hierarchy, inequity, and oppression. The social studies can serve as a curricular home for unlearning the racism that has confounded us a nation. Yet, we still find teachers continuing to tell us lies. (p. 8)

If social studies is the primary discipline to engage in dialogue about race and teachers are continuing to "tell us lies", then this creates a major problem of practice in which social studies teachers threaten to reproduce racial inequality in their pedagogy rather than empowering students to resist it. Furthermore, if studies framed by CRT are only examining the experiences of marginalized peoples, then the chief beneficiaries of white supremacy are left unaware of the historical and social structures that continue to benefit them. The very first premise upon which CRT is based upon is that "racism is normal in American society" (Ladson-Billings, 1998), if this is the case, then racism's impact on the white race should be examined along with all the other ways racism has shaped American society. Social studies teachers who teach in white districts should therefore be the *most* competent and effective educators in regard to teaching their white students CRT in order to fully realize the goals of Ladson-Billings and other CRT scholars who apply the theoretical framework to teacher pedagogy.

Using a CRT approach to examine the effects of racial segregation on social studies teachers, I seek to extend current research with a quantitative study of social studies teachers in white districts in New Jersey. I seek to examine the relationship between the social studies teachers' own educational experiences, their critical competencies and consciousness, the relationship(s) between their competencies and consciousness, and finally, their level of

agreeance with the basic premises of CRT (Ladson-Billings, 1998). I also seek to describe the in-service training as well as the support, or lack of support, they receive from their districts in teaching critically consciousness topics and CRT in their curricula and overall pedagogy. I hypothesize that the preservice and in-service training of white teachers in predominantly-white districts is not sufficient and that they feel that teaching CRT is not sufficiently supported by these districts. If my hypothesis is correct, I hope that my research influences future policies, professional development, and connections to higher education in predominantly-white districts in order to provide more support for teachers to develop their critical consciousness and to utilize Critical Race Theory to shape their curriculums, textbook choices and overall social studies pedagogy. Ideally, educational leaders in predominantly-white districts will have a better understanding of the consciousness and competencies of their social studies teachers and would have research to back up policies and hold teachers more accountable teaching about what CRT scholars believe to be the most important topic in social studies.

Positionality

The confusion surrounding understanding the historical constructs that the United States uses to define race and ethnicity (Omi & Winant, 1986) heavily shapes my identity and positions me uniquely as a researcher in my field. As an ethnically Coptic Egyptian American, I am an African American but am not Black and my ancestors do not share a similar history as other African Americans in the United States. Being a Coptic Christian makes me different from most other Egyptian Americans. The formation of Black identity in the United States has a long history of complicated scholarship and lived experience (Martin, 1991). Even the terminology used to describe African Americans is complicated and contested and conflates a concept of race with ethnicity that erases my personal identity. When my parents immigrated to the United States

from Egypt in 1978, they were largely unaware of the racial politics and history of discrimination that shaped so much of American society. Along with other Egyptian Americans, there is no clear bubble to choose in standardized tests and even currently, there is no census options for Middle Eastern and North African residents of the United States (Beydoun, 2015a; Beydoun, 2015b; Chow, 2017). The way these bubbles are structured reflects a white supremacist racial model. As Garcia and Myorga (2017) write, "conflating race and ethnicity is an act of erasure and homogeneity", as an Egyptian American, my identity is erased and any chance of accurate representation is not present. The confusion surrounding my racial identity, given the present racial social constructs of the United States, pushed my identity to the fringes with no clear answer as to who I am. While being pushed to the fringes leaves me with a confused identity and the constant feeling of being an outsider, it also forced me to try to understand and examine the systems and constructs that attempt to define me.

Reflexivity

Being an outsider in American society has allowed me, to a certain degree, the tools to examine my own context as an educator in the school where I work and a researcher of the context of similar schools. As the only social studies teacher of color in my department teaching in a predominantly white school district, the subject matter and my personal identity is intertwined. Although much of the scholarship surrounding "outsider" identity is involves the reflexivity of a qualitative researcher (Macbeth, 2001), it has been incorporated into mixed methods research (Garcia & Mayorga, 2018) and can also be applied in my case as a quantitative researcher doing research framed by Critical Race Theory. Throughout the years of teaching my predominantly-white students about the social structures that shape society, the absence of my own personal identity is consistently present. Critical Race Theory values the experiential

knowledge of people of color (Delgado, 2017) and therefore by reflecting on my own experience as a minority educational researcher researching teachers in predominantly-white districts, I have unique positionality as an outsider, which shapes my own reflexivity.

Research Questions

Using quantitative research methodology, the following questions were addressed:

1. What is the relationship between critical multicultural educational competencies (CMEC) as measured by the *Critical Multicultural Educational Competency Scale* and critical consciousness (CC) as measured by the *Critical Consciousness Scale*?
2. Are there differences in CMEC and CC scores as a function of teacher demographics?
3. How do teachers perceive CRT as a foundation of their pedagogical approach to teaching social studies?

Chapter 2

Literature Review

Introduction

In reviewing the literature surrounding my research question, five themes emerged. First, between 1975 and 2005, there has been a concerted effort to address the racial "achievement gap" between white students and students of color, and those efforts have changed over time with varying approaches (Brookover, 1978; Chandler, 2009; Chandler, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Sleeter, 1987; Sleeter, 2001; Sleeter 2017). These education schools have both educated and influenced the current teaching force across the country. Second, education is a field that is disproportionately populated by white teachers, segregation is reproduced over time due to teacher preferences (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2005; Geiger, 2018; Reininger 2012; Solomon-Portelli, Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Stroub & Richards 2013) and white teachers at large struggle understanding the structural nature of racism (Vaught & Castagno, 2008). Third, several quantitative studies show that in-service social studies teachers are disproportionately white males and that race is mostly discussed in districts with a high population of students of color, and not to white students (Bigler, Shiller & Willox, 2013; Fitchett, 2010). Meanwhile, qualitative studies portray white social studies teachers protecting white supremacy especially when teaching white students (Chandler, 2009; Chandler, 2015). Next, several qualitative studies on pre-service teachers show the protection of white supremacy and an "overwhelming presence of whiteness" (Adair, 2008; King, 1991; Picower, 2009; Sleeter, 2001). Finally, more recent research utilizing the quantitative methodology within critical race theory called QuantCrit validates the usage of the methodology

but still focuses on examining inequities surrounding people of color, not the schooling going on in predominantly white districts (Campbell-Montalvo, 2020; Garcia, Lopez, & Velez, 2018; Gillborn, Warmington, & Demack, 2018). Due to the abovementioned themes, more quantitative research is needed to describe the competencies and consciousness of social studies teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts as well as their understanding of CRT in addition to how they feel about the support needed from their districts in teaching about CRT.

Teacher Education and Race over the Past Four Decades

With the *Brown vs Board of Education* decision in 1955, the integration of minority racial and ethnic groups in the entire United States public school system brought with it hopes of equal educational opportunity for all American students. This goal has proven to be illusive, however, as achievement gaps have persisted between white and non-white students (Bohrnstedt, Kitmitto, Ogut, Sherman, & Chan, 2015; Brookover, 1985; Ladson-Billings, 2006). Researchers and theorists in higher education, especially in education schools, have been grappling with the problems causing this achievement gap for decades. One of the chief purposes of graduate schools of education is to research education (Labaree, 2006 p. 62) and as public school teachers have been required to attain higher degrees over the course of the 20th century (Ravitch, 2005), the theories and research taught to future teachers shape much of the pedagogy American educators. Hoping to understand the stubborn achievement gaps between white students and students of color, many researchers and theorists focused on the ways racism inhibits the progress of minority students. In the decades following *Brown vs Board of Education 1954*, educational researchers have approached the problem of racial inequalities in the school systems from a variety of angles developing and changing over time. These approaches have been used to

educate and train the current teaching force influencing their approaches towards teaching about race.

Educational researchers and theorists in the late 1970s and early 1980s approached issues of racism in the classroom as being personal and based on differing teacher expectations (Beady & Hansell, 1981; Brookover, 1978; Brookover, 1979; Simpson & Erickson, 1983) and attempted to infuse "multicultural education" to address the decreasing segregation of white spaces (Sleeter & Grant, 1987). During the 1990s and 2000s, researchers examined systemic and institutional roots of racial inequality (Duncan, 2002; Ladson-Billings, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Sleeter, 2001; Solorzano, 1997) with the application of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to education.

Review of literature was limited to the periods between 1975 and 2005 and discussed articles as both ongoing scholarship as well as primary source documents to show the change over time. The Rutgers library database was used and the field was narrowed to corresponding decades in the search. Descriptors included *teacher education*, *racism*, *achievement gap*, and *black white achievement gap* and reviewed articles that were highly cited as well as meta-analytical literature reviews. This review found that scholars attempted to address the achievement gap by trying to improve "school climate" and "multicultural education" in the late 1970s and early 1980s followed by a focus on using Critical Race Theory as a framework to analyze inequality beginning in the 1990s and into the 2000's.

School Climate and Teacher Expectations – 1970s and 1980s

In the late 1970s and early 1980s, educational research focused on differing teacher expectations of white and minority students, implying that the achievement gap between whites and blacks can be explained by the personal racism of the teachers. Sociologist Wilbur Brookover (1978) of Michigan State University, studied the interaction between "school climate"

and low achievement in elementary schools in the Michigan public school system. Responding to the stubborn achievement gaps between white and minority students in the decades following the integration of schools, his team of researchers attempted to find a more direct cause for the glaring discrepancies in achievement. In *Elementary School Social Climate* (1978), this team of researchers asked "what, if any, difference in school level achievement do school cultural or normative socio-psychological variables account for?" (1978, p. 302) and hypothesized "that the differences in school climate explain much of the differences in achievement between schools that is normally attributed to composition (p. 303). Through a quantitative study that involved questionnaires involving students, teachers, and principals followed by a multiple regression analysis, they found that teacher and school expectations and varying senses of student academic futility were created by "school climate" (p. 316). They concluded "that the evaluations made of students and the students' perceptions of these evaluations and expectations and their feelings about possible success in the school are clearly related to the students' achievement" (p. 317).

Brookover and his team (1978) attributed the achievement gap to individual teacher and school expectations as well as the effect those expectations had on students. Their study delved into the day to day interactions between students and teachers showing that the low expectations of teachers towards minority students contributed to their low achievement. This approach focuses on the possible implicit bias and racism of individual teachers, causing these low expectations, as a cause for educational inequalities. What was never asked in their study was the nature of the assessments that made up their dependent variable, namely the school level state achievement data (p. 306). The nature of the content of the assessments that made up their dependent variable could have been analyzed as a form of institutional racism rather than personal, something Critical Race Theorists will examine in future decades (Delgado, 2017).

Further research based on this approach continued in subsequent years confirming Brookover's study.

Charles and Hansell (1981) in *Teacher Race and Expectations for Student Achievement* found that teacher expectations vary according to the race of the teacher and of the student. They conducted a quantitative study using two data sets compiled by Brookover et al. (1979) that sampled a total of 441 elementary school teachers in Michigan. The sampled teachers included 129 black teachers and 312 white teachers who filled out a survey asking about expectations for their students. After controlling for factors such as teacher sex, education and years of experience, and average school achievement and socioeconomic status, they found evidence that "black teachers expected their black students to be more successful in college than white teachers" (Brookover et al., 1979, p. 199). In trying to explain the achievement gap between black and white students, these researchers approach it the personal interaction level. According to this approach, individual teachers' implicit biases shaped their expectations of their students and as Beady and Hansell show, white teachers had less expectations for their black students. The everyday interaction between teachers and students is identified as a cause for the achievement gap between white and black students. This study, inherently similar to the study conducted by Brookover et al. (1978) never addresses the nature of the assessments defining student achievement again implying the personal racism and implicit biases of teachers are the root case for the achievement gap. Two years later, further research was published identifying how the specific types of interactions between teachers and students can lead to an achievement gap.

In *Teachers' Verbal and Nonverbal Communication Patterns as a function of Teacher Race, Student Gender, and Student Race* (1983), Adelaide W. Simpson and Marilyn T. Erickson

found that white teachers directed more nonverbal criticism toward black males. These researchers studied 16 female first grade teachers with 8 teachers identifying as black and 8 identifying as white. The overall study attempted to identify discrepancies between the female teachers and their interactions with male and female students as well as black and white students. The sixteen classrooms, however, were predominantly black (Simpson & Erickson, 1983, p. 186). They used undergraduate psychology students who were trained in observing verbal and nonverbal interactions. Certain words and phrases, as well as bodily movements and tone of voice, were used as measures for the observers to use in this study. Among other findings, their study found that "even with socioeconomic factors controlled, white female teachers still gave more nonverbal criticism to black males" (p. 195) which confirmed two prior studies, Coates (1972) and Eaves (1975), which, in turn, found that white teachers rated black male children negatively. The approach by these researchers identified the verbal and nonverbal interaction between white teachers and black students to be negative implying that the personal racism and implicit biases of the teachers are a root cause of the achievement gap. As time went on and the achievement gap persisted (Brookover, 1985), educational theorists and researchers shifted their approach from personal to systemic. Teachers being trained during this era, if they remained in the field, would be the influential veterans of many public schools today. Attributing the racial discrimination that causes the achievement gap to personal racism shaped their training in regard to understanding race and racism. Their slightly younger counterparts were educated using a different approach.

Multicultural Education

Throughout the 1970's and into the 1980's educational theorists and researchers moved beyond examining what teachers expected and focused more so on the content they taught, promoting the benefits of multicultural education. Christine E. Sleeter and Carl A. Grant (1987) of the University of Wisconsin reviewed the multitude of literature published during the preceding decades and theory regarding multicultural education in *An Analysis of Multicultural Education in the United States*. They discussed the variety of ways scholars and researchers defined "multicultural education" how the concept is implemented in schools. They subsequently produced a meta-analysis of the literature and found five different approaches of teaching a multicultural education that attempted to sum up the variety of approaches succinctly. These approaches include "Teaching the Culturally Different", "Human Relations", "Single Group Studies", "Multicultural Education", and finally, "Education That is Multicultural and Social Reconstructionist" (1987, p. 422). This useful organization reflects the variety of approaches educational literature used to address what was taught to students and not merely what was expected of them. The literature they reviewed within their grouping of "Multicultural Education",

> Promotes cultural pluralism and social equality by reforming the school program for all students to make it reflect diversity. These reforms include school staffing patterns that reflect the pluralistic nature of American society; unbiased curricula that incorporate the contributions of different social groups, women, and the handicapped; the affirmation of the languages of non-English-speaking minorities; and instructional materials that are appropriate and relevant for the students and which are integrated rather than supplementary (p. 422).

Of the five groupings they created in their analysis, this one included by far the most literature as they reviewed forty-seven articles and nineteen books published between 1973 and 1984 asserting that "these authors do emphasize education that is truly multicultural and that focuses on common goals" (p. 429). Sleeter's and Grantz's (1987) summation of this vast amount of literature that they group within the "Multicultural Education" grouping reflects the attempt of theorists and researchers to look at the problems in education using a more systemic and holistic approach rather than focusing on teacher expectations of students.

This approach diverges from the assumption that the achievement gap can be attributed to the personal racism and implicit biases that cause teachers to have lower expectations of black students. They questioned the dependent variable upon which Brookover et al. (1978) were basing much of their research, namely statewide achievement testing. They point out, "standardized intelligence and achievement testing…often place students of color at a disadvantage" (p. 434). The implication here is that the way white and black students were evaluated in the first place had racial and cultural biases favoring white students. Not only can teachers have implicit biases, so can tests. The approach based on multicultural education examined the whole system, including the tests, which so much of the prior research was based on. Current teachers across the country would have been educated with this approach, discussing race through "multiculturalism" and as Sleeter and Grantz noted, the multitude of definitions, and varied approaches can make it difficult for current researchers to examine teachers' critical competencies and consciousness (1987). They would also be veteran teachers in their districts and may have been educated with pre-service and professional development about "multiculturalism", but as Sleeter and Grantz review showed, the variety of research and literature approaches using various definitions conflated and distorted the meaning of

"multicultural education". With the vast amount of literature regarding multicultural education, the 1990's saw a streamlining of the approach, guided by a legal theory, which focuses on the ways white supremacy shapes American education.

Critical Race Theory

Led by Gloria Ladson-Billings and William Tate IV, new theorists employed Critical Race Theory to understand the achievement gap by analyzing more institutional forms of racism. In *Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education* (1995), they delineate three propositions: "1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States. 2. U.S. society is based on property rights. 3. The intersection of race and property creates and analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity" (p. 48). With this theory, institutional racism rather than personal racism becomes the sole focus as they argue "if racism were merely isolated, unrelated, individual acts, we would expect to see at least a few examples of educational excellence and equity together in the nation's public schools. Instead, those places where African Americans do experience educational success tend to be outside of the public schools" (p. 55). This groundbreaking article ends with a direct critique of multiculturalism in education as they argue that "instead of creating radically new paradigms that ensure justice…the current multicultural paradigm is mired in liberal ideology that offers no radical change in the current order" (p. 62). The change over time regarding the various approaches is evident as critical race theory sought more radical change than what Ladson-Billings and Tate IV saw occurring with the trend of multiculturalism. As a framework, CRT addresses the root causes of the racism in American society and thereby focuses more on institutional factors and historical context rather than teacher expectations or the various forms of "multicultural education".

Three years later, Ladson-Billings clarified the ways CRT can be applied to education in *Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?* (1998) by tracing its origins in the history of Critical Legal Studies. In this article, she establishes the basic premises upon which CRT is built. Specifically that "racism is 'normal, not aberrant, in American society'" (Delgado, 1995, p. 14 as cited in Ladson-Billings, 1998 p. 11), validates the usage of storytelling, is a direct critique of the slow pace of liberalism, and finally employs the concept of interest-convergence in understanding the times when people of color gained rights throughout American history (pp. 11, 12). Interest-convergence implies that whites only allow people of color rights only when there is an overall benefit for whites themselves (p. 11). Through this framework, a multitude of new research was conducted unpacking the applying CRT to the variety of ways institutional racism and white supremacy pervade American society.

One such study, Garrett Albert Duncan's *Beyond Love: A Critical Race Ethnography of the Schooling of Adolescent Black Males* (2002) uncovers the racist structures of schools that push them "beyond love" and prohibit their empowerment through education. Through interviews with adolescent black males, he finds that the school culture shuts down black male student voices whereas a tenant of CRT is to validate the voice of those who are oppressed (Ladson-Billings, 1998). Ultimately, he posits that "oppression and domination should be the primary terms for conceptualizing the exclusion and marginalization of black male students…CRT privileges the narratives of those who have been victimized to ameliorate the conditions attendant to oppression and domination" (p. 141). Those oppressive and dominant conditions are present in the schools which are shaped by white supremacy. According to Duncan, CRT empowers students to be able to find and speak their voice which allows them to be critical of the structures that oppress them. Through CRT they are educated to be aware of the

ways their schooling is disempowering creating a critical consciousness that can make schools a force for change and resist social inequalities. Not only was CRT employed to look at institutional racism in schools, it became directly employed in teacher education.

Daniel G. Solorzano of UCLA in *Images and Words that Wound: Critical Race Theory, Racial Stereotyping and Teacher Education* (1997) employed CRT in preparing teachers while the application of CRT to education was still in its infancy (Ladson-Billings, 1998). According to Solorzano, CRT provides an alternative to the predominant genetic and cultural deficit approaches approach to discussing racial inequities in education. In this text, he laid out the specific ways future teachers can address racial inequities and racial stereotypes with their students without using the genetic or cultural deficit model (p. 13). In addition, he provided practical examples of the application of CRT invaluable to future practitioners. These applications included: finding examples of concepts, identifying media stereotypes, identifying professional stereotypes and finding examples that challenge (pp. 14-15). Far from attributing racial inequities to lowered expectations or a lack of multiculturalism, Solorzano represents many educational theorists and researchers who directly address race using a framework that both contextualizes and focuses on the institutional nature of racism in America rather than just the personal. Starting in 1995, CRT has been applied in educational theory and has been taught in graduate schools of education yet the achievement gap persists. Educational theorists and researchers in recent years have focused their attention more so understanding the "whiteness" of white teachers and using that awareness to prepare white teachers to teach social justice more effectively.

As CRT continues to shape much of the educational theory addressing the achievement gap and educational inequities, it has been mainly utilized in education schools to help prepare

white teachers to teach in culturally diverse schools (Sleeter, 2001). Fourteen years after her review of the literature surrounding multicultural education, Christine E. Sleeter in *Preparing Teachers for Culturally Diverse Schools: Research and the Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness* (2001), reviewed eighty data-based studies on preservice teacher preparation. These studies showed various approaches to preparing preservice teachers including "recruiting and selecting students, cross-cultural immersion experiences, multicultural education coursework and program restructuring" (p. 94). She points out how much of these studies show creative ideas but little follow-up proving the efficacy of these approaches towards preparing mostly white female teachers for culturally diverse schools. One commonality, however, was what she terms "The Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness" (p. 101). For preservice teachers of color, this "whiteness" hindered their ability to effectively share their experiences in white schools with white professors. She emphasizes, "working to shift who becomes teachers is essential, working with White prospective teachers is also essential. Working to improve White attitudes should not become a diversion from selecting and preparing the excellent, culturally responsive teachers that historically underserved schools need" (p. 102).

In a similar type of review, Sheets (2003) acknowledges the structural forces that make it difficult for educational researchers to produce enough empirical research to back up the theoretical frameworks examining white racial identity and diversity ideologies supposedly taught in education schools. She posits, "if the diversity ideology used in teacher preparation is missing critical pedagogical components and empirical validation, the outcome is more likely to produce K-12 teachers lacking potential to address the schooling needs of our children. The bulk of the diversity literature addresses White preservice teacher candidates' perceptions, attitudes, and/or describes their poignant struggles to become "multicultural" (Sheets, 2001; Sleeter, 2001a

in Sheets, p. 112, 2003). Throughout this work, she traces the educational trends of teaching "diversity education" from ethnic studies and multiethnic education, to antiracist education, to critical pedagogy, and finally to Critical Race Theory (2003). Sheets concludes by emphasizing,

> While we currently may have the ability to inspire, we have not demonstrated the capacity to educate a professorate who can prepare preservice candidates to succeed in diverse settings, nor have we developed teacher preparation programs that understand how to select programmatic content, experiences, and strategies needed to help teachers develop from novice to expert levels and to apply cultural and language dimensions to curriculum and practice. (p. 117)

This conclusion is fixated on the inability of teachers to "apply cultural and language dimensions to curriculum and practice" (p. 117). Still, much of the research in this meta-analysis was focused only on training teachers to teach in diverse settings, not meant for educators in predominantly-white schools. As researchers continued to mitigate the "achievement gap" through various means, Gloria Ladson-Billings sought to establish a new theoretical approach based on some of the foundations of Critical Race Theory and multicultural education.

Culturally Relevant Pedagogy

Rather than focusing on many teachers' shortcomings as they attempt to teach specifically African American students, Gloria Ladson-Billings establishes a broad but vague framework based on observations of effective teaching affirming cultural identity as a focus. Through these observations, she wrote a seminal work entitled *Toward a Theory of Culturally Relevant Pedagogy* (1995) in which she digs deep into a concepts of education in general in an attempt to define and guide effective teaching for students of color. After discussing research that values the cultural connections teachers make with students, she describes that "a next step

for positing effective pedagogical practices is a theoretical model that not only addresses student achievement but also helps students to accept and affirm their cultural identity while developing critical perspectives that challenge inequities that schools (and other institutions) perpetuate" (p. 467). By creating a theoretical model that attempts to discuss foundations of pedagogy, this model can enable educators to circumvent issues that may be culturally foreign to their students. An educator who teaches predominantly white students who may come into their classrooms without cultures impacted directly by racial discriminations may be able to be a "Culturally Relevant Educator" while not directly discussing racial discrimination. This educator may do a great job discussing the many other forms of inequities that schools perpetuate while avoiding racism. The vague nature of this approach could allow the social reproduction of racist social structures especially in the areas where racist social structures have economically enriched, namely segregated white towns that economically benefited from white flight. Almost, twenty years later, Dr. Ladson-Billings sought to revamp her framework.

In *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0 a.k.a. the Remix* (2014), Ladson-Billings adds to her work but does not get to the root of the problem. This article combines the experiences of educators taught using "first wave" Culturally Relevant Pedagogy and combined with newer students to update some of the foundations she established twenty years earlier. However, she found that the First Wave educators "found themselves in teacher education courses filled mostly with young White women from suburban (and some rural) communities who still thought of about people of color (particularly African American and Latinx students) in deficit terms (p. 78). As Culturally Relevant Pedagogy as well as Critical Race Theory has been used to target educators of people of color, white students, some of whom will eventually become educators themselves, are never exposed to critically minded pedagogy. The White women Ladson-

Billings describe were probably taught by educators who never felt the need to critically address the social constructions that would portray people of color in deficit terms. Without acknowledging the segregated roots of the white educators, every wave of Culturally Relevant educators might share the same frustration with their classmates. Other scholars, attempting to understand the culture of where so many of these white teachers were coming from began to analyze "whiteness" in a more critical manner. The application of both multicultural education and CRT in preservice teaching began to include addressing the "whiteness" of teachers broadening the scope of the research in studying both students of color and white students at every educational level. This focus on "whiteness" shaped subsequent research and a new field called Critical Whiteness Studies has emerged as another approach towards understanding the achievement gap and racial inequities.

Critical Whiteness Studies

Educational researchers and theorists have changed their approach towards understanding the achievement gap and racial inequities over the past forty years. Throughout the 1970's and early 1980's the approach focused on improving "school climate" addressing low teacher expectations towards students of color, implying that racial inequities are caused by personal interactions between teachers and students. During this time, there was a push towards "multicultural education" which addressed racism more systemically and even calling into question the types of assessments upon which the "achievement gap" between white and black students was based on. In the 1990's, Critical Race Theory became prominent as it helped researchers focus on the specific ways race has structured the education system causing the inequities present. The concept of "whiteness" and a field called "Critical Whiteness Studies" has emerged out of Critical Race Theory to understand white people, and specifically white

preservice teachers. More recent literature surrounding these issues include Matias, Viesca, Garrison-Wade, Tandon and Galindo (2014) who directly address the concept of whiteness, Vaught and Castagno (2008) which seeks to understand why white people struggle with the concept of institutional racism, quantitative studies finding that social studies classrooms are statistically dominated by white males (Fitchett, 2010) who only discuss issues surrounding race in classrooms with students of color (Bigler, Shiller & Willox, 2013) and finally Chandler (2009 & 2015) provides qualitative research addressing the concept of "white social studies" and its tendency to promote white supremacy. The literature shows researchers attempting to unpack the causes for the achievement gap through a variety of perspectives over the course of decades. A problem so ingrained in American society and steeped in American history needs continuous research and differing approaches to solve. The achievement gap persists and educational research occurring at higher educational institutions continue to study the causes of this inequity as well as prepare teachers to fight it in the classroom. Not only do researchers struggle through varying approaches to remedy the racial "achievement gap", they are hindered by the structural forces that continue to segregate all Americans and by extension, teachers.

Segregated Teachers

In the decades since the end of *de jure* segregation, *de facto* segregation a major effect on states all around the country and especially New Jersey according to the UCLA Civil Rights Project (Orfield, Ee, & Coughlan, 2017). The structural forces that shape public school education and the very nature of the teaching profession work hand in hand, knowingly or unknowingly to perpetuate this segregation. Recent research shows that teaching has become a disproportionately white profession (Geiger, 2018), however when combined with longitudinal analysis (Boyd et al., 2005), the impact of *de facto* segregation and its perpetuation can be seen. Teaching is a

unique profession (Boyd et al., 2005) in which teachers prefer to work close to where they grew up (Reininger, 2012) and, despite decades of attempted desegregation, metropolitan areas, like much of New Jersey, stay segregated (Stroub & Richards, 2013). This research shows that *de facto* segregation is perpetuated over time resulting in white people growing up in segregated towns, many becoming teachers only to teach near the segregated towns where they grew up. As the social studies is the primary discipline for discussing the race and the *de facto* segregation that shapes American society (Ladson-Billings, 2003), a quantitative study investigating white social studies teachers in white districts in New Jersey and their understanding of CRT could serve to illuminate the relationship between race and education in predominantly white school districts.

Using empirical data analysis, Boyd et al. (2005) show that teaching is a unique profession in the labor market in *The Draw of Home: How Teachers' Preferences for Proximity Disadvantage Urban Schools* and combined with *de facto* segregation, leads to white teachers teaching in predominantly white schools decade after decade. Their methodology included linking administrative data sets and various other information characterizing districts, communities, and local labor markets and "identified the distance from first job to hometown based on the location of the school district where individuals first taught and either the location of the high school they attended or the address given when they applied to college" (p. 116). Their findings show "that teachers delineate their job searches to relatively small geographic areas, very close to where they grew up...distance appears to be important for all teachers that we analyze" (p. 113 - 114). According to Boyd et al., teaching is a profession that is much more localized than other jobs. They note the negative effect these tendencies have on urban districts by pointing out that urban districts need to import teachers from suburban origins because many

students who are educated in urban districts do not have the qualifications to become teachers. They ultimately argue that urban districts need to offer higher compensation and better working conditions to prospective teachers to attract them to urban schools. However, what their study ignores is that this can easily contribute to the further whitening of the teaching staff because it does not address the underlying racial issues that shape education in America. Furthermore, their methodology is based on measuring the distance between where teachers grew up and where they prefer to teach. This methodology may not apply to all states, as population density may skew the data. For example, in New Jersey, the most densely populated state in America, one can drive 10 square miles and survey radically different school districts with very different populations. A teacher can grow up 3 miles from a town that is very different from theirs but still not wish to teach in that town's school system. This makes their methodology less generalizable because their results depend largely on the population density of a given state. However, their core argument is strong and is referenced by Reininger (2012). She shows how the tendencies of teachers working in districts close to home and that these tendencies are reinforcing existing deficits of local teacher labor supply and perpetuating the *de facto* segregation of teachers.

Reininger (2012) expands upon Boyd et al. in *Hometown Disadvantage? It Depends on Where You're From: Teachers' Location Preferences and the Implications for Staffing Schools* and looks at national patterns using the same methodology and finds similar results across the United States. To apply Boyd et al.'s (2005) methodology to the country, Reininger uses the National Educational Longitudinal Study of 1988 that surveyed a large cohort of eighth grade students from 1988 to 2000. She sampled high school graduates in the data set and linked where they went to high school and where they ended up teaching. Her findings show that "throughout the country, the majority of young teachers live within 20 miles of the high school they attended"

(p. 137). She expands upon this idea by also stating that these developments have adverse effects on urban districts as the cycle of inadequate education perpetuates itself by teachers staying local and states, "especially in areas with low overall student achievement levels, a teacher who attended high school in the area maybe the product of an inadequate education themselves" (p. 142). While her methodology is valid and premises sound, similar to the other literature, she fixates on problems plaguing urban schools. She does not address the ongoing problem of suburban schools being staffed by racially similar teachers year after year. Furthermore, similar to Boyd et al., when applying their methodology to the entire country, the varied population densities of each state can skew the results. Also, racial preferences are not addressed in either Boyd et al. or Reininger's works. Stroub and Richards (2013), however, look at those populations and focus on the racial/ethnic segregation that continues to plague the entire country by zooming in on metropolitan areas like much of New Jersey.

Given teachers' tendency to work near where they grew up, those trends may differ depending on regional differences across the country as population densities vary across the country. The question then becomes, what is the racial identity of these teachers in specifically metropolitan areas similar to New Jersey. Stroub and Richards (2013) show in *From Resegregation to Reintegration: Trends in the Racial/Ethnic Segregation of Metropolitan Public Schools, 1993-2009* that despite some desegregation over time, areas in the formerly de jure segregated south and metropolitan areas have seen the least amount of desegregation. Using data sets from the National Center for Education Statistics and the Common Core of Data they analyzed trends in the racial/ethnic composition of schools in areas across the country in the 2000's. Their methodology employed Theil's entropy index of segregation which allowed them to account for various racial/ethnic groups and attempted to "decompose total multiracial

segregation into two unique components, one capturing the proportion of total multiracial segregation between Whites and non-Whites and the other capturing the proportion among non-Whites" (p. 504). Their findings point towards discrepancies in the rate of integration across the country. In regard to metropolitan areas, similar to New Jersey, "a comparable proportion (23.1%) of metropolitan areas actually experienced increases in segregation of 20% or more over the study period" (p. 520). Segregated metropolitan areas seem to lag behind the rest of the country in regard to integration. Furthermore, the context of this study showed how in the 1990's segregation was more entrenched in schools throughout the country. This study is especially valuable in studying the large metropolitan areas of New Jersey, specifically those surrounding the cities of New York, Newark and Philadelphia. White teachers who generally stay close to home (Boyd et al. 2005) end up reinforcing the very same segregation (Reininger, 2012) that Stroub and Richards (2013) describe. While Stroub and Richards provide strong and sound analysis of the racial/ethnic composition of the country, they do not account much for the intersectionality of class and race/ethnicity. Immigration (Logan, J. R., Zhang, W., & Alba, R. D., 2002) also can play a role in supposedly less segregated areas. In many cases, despite racial/ethnic integration occurring, social stratification can be growing. Regardless of these trends, the literature aligns to portray a picture that describes white teachers teaching in white towns similar to and close to the segregated areas where they grew up and the structures of American society perpetuating these trends through generations.

"White Social Studies"

As white teachers continue to teach near where they grew up (Boyd et al., 2005; Reininger, 2012) in increasingly segregated areas (Stroub & Richards, 2013), those that teach in diverse schools struggle in understanding the structural nature of racism (Vaught & Castagno,

2008). In addition, quantitative research shows that social studies teachers in particular are white and male (Fitchett, 2010) and that social studies teachers at large, regardless of their race, most often teach about race and class in high school classrooms dominated by students of color (Bigler, Shiller & Willox, 2013). Furthermore, through qualitative research, many of these teachers teach what Chandler coins "White Social Studies" (Chandler, 2009; Chandler, 2015). As the quantitative research investigates teachers on a national level and many qualitative studies involving white teachers' attitudes towards race are much more localized with small sample sizes, a gap in the literature exists which can be filled with a quantitatively exploration of white teachers' understanding of CRT in specifically *de facto* segregated states like New Jersey.

White teachers struggle in understanding the structural nature of racism as shown by Vaught and Castagno (2008). Set in the context of two major U.S. urban school districts, Vaught and Castagno's work *"I don't think I'm a racist": Critical Race Theory, teacher attitudes, and structural racism* (2008) is an ethnographic examination of teacher attitudes towards race, racism and White privilege conducted after an anti-bias in-service training. Data was collected from two separate ethnographic studies, one during the 2002-2003 school year that focused on the racism and the achievement gap at West Coast urban district (Vaught, 2006), while the other was from the 2004-2005 school year that focused on multicultural education in a school in the Rocky Mountain region (Castagno, 2006). They interviewed teachers both formally and informally and collected data through observations after these trainings. They then analyzed their responses using a CRT lens with special attention to Harris' (1993) concept Whiteness as property which is "in part, the 'legitimation of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of white privilege and domination'" (Harris, 1993 in Vaught & Castagno, 2008, pp. 96-97). Throughout the study, white teachers constantly

individualized racism and no attempt was made by either the administration or the teachers themselves to address the systemic reasons why an achievement gap existed at their school (p. 102). Ultimately, they found that "the racial attitudes expressed by teachers…are illustrative of larger structural racism that both informs and is reinforced by these attitudes and their manifestations in practice" (p. 95). As it focuses specifically on white teachers, this study is essential to understanding the problems white teachers have both understanding CRT as well using it in their pedagogy as a central tenant of CRT is the institutional nature of racism. However, the primary focus in this study is how white teachers interact with urban and diverse students in an in-service that was attempting to deal with an achievement gap between white and non-white students (p. 97), not how white teachers teach white students. This study focused on teachers of every discipline, however, social studies teachers are on the forefront of teaching about race and Fitchett (2010) examines the demography of social studies teachers specifically.

Social studies teachers across America are predominantly white and male according to Fitchett's *A Profile of Twenty-First Century Secondary Social Studies Teachers* (2010). This study examines the demography and attitudes of social studies teachers across the country, compares social studies with other disciplines and finds that it is a white male dominated field. Using the National Center for Educational Statistics 2003-04 Schools and Staffing (SASS) dataset which surveyed teachers across the entire country, broken down by regions (Northeast, South, Midwest, and West), and had a response rate of 75.7%, he analyzed a subgroup of 2,100 social studies teachers (Fitchett, 2010, pp. 236-7). This exhaustive study used a variety of variables that included demographics. When he compared the demographics of social studies teachers with teachers of other disciplines using both inferential tests (ANOVA and Kruskal-Wallis) as well as post hoc tests (Tukey's, Dunnet's C, or Mann-Whitney U), he found that

"males comprised approximately two-thirds of the subgroup" and "White teachers represented the majority…approximately 90.8 percent of social studies practitioners sampled self-identified as White" (p. 240). When combining this statistical research with the larger national trends of teachers teaching near where they grew up and de facto segregation shaping the racial identities of many parts of the country, the research shows a tendency of white-male social studies teachers growing up and teaching in segregated towns. While this exhaustive study provides a profile of American social studies teachers by breaking down the country into large regions, a state by state analysis of teachers can further enhance an understanding of social studies practitioners as a more localized study can give meaning to certain variances in the results of a survey. Social studies teachers across the country were surveyed about a variety of other issues in addition to their demographics and questions regarding race and class were telling.

Race and class are most often discussed in social studies classrooms with a majority of students of color according to Shiller et al.'s *The Teaching of Race and Class in American Social Studies Classrooms* (2013) leading to a lack of race being addressed with white students. Using a dataset from the Survey of the Status of Social Studies (S4) and analyzing the results of the question "During social studies instruction how often do you emphasize the following: issues of race and class" (p. 155). Respondents answered using a Likert scale ranging from "Almost daily" to "never" and looked at results from elementary, middle school, and high school teachers. Among other findings, analysis of the data revealed that "the most powerful finding was that social studies educators teach most often about race and class at the high school level, in classrooms that are dominated by students of color" and that "students maybe be more likely to get exposure to topics of race and class if they are taught by teachers of color, but these teachers are relatively few in number" (p. 165). These findings corroborate Fitchett (2010) but add the

layer involving race and class being taught to mostly students of color rather than white students and add that "too many [students] are not getting much exposure [to race and class] at all" (p. 165). While this study is indicative of whether or not social studies teachers address race, the question they answered for the survey had little to do with the tenets of CRT and just asked if they talked about "race". Teaching about race is very different than teaching CRT as it is possible to reinforce the racist structures that CRT seeks to dismantle. Regardless, white social studies teachers, who are dominating the field, are generally not teaching about race and class to white students. Qualitative research can support and illuminate exactly how these teachers teach about race, especially when white teachers are teaching white students.

White teachers tend to perpetuate white supremacy through their pedagogy according to Prentice T. Chandler, in both of his qualitative studies: *Blinded by the White: Social Studies and Raceless Pedagogies* (2009) and *White Social Studies: Protecting the White Racial Code* (2015). Through personal interviews and classroom observations in *Blinded by the White* (2009) with two white social studies teachers, Chandler collected data to answer his fundamental research question: "How do white social studies teachers conceptualize and teach about race?" (2009, p. 263). He conducted between 12-18 interviews that lasted 1-2 hours each interview was "directly related to the following aspects of the research question: (a) teacher's conceptualizations of race, (b) personal pedagogical existence, and (c) lived/perceived constraints related to teaching about race." (2009, p. 264). Though the qualitative nature of this study illuminates the day to day practices and general attitudes of the two teachers Chandler studied, its small sample size makes it less generalizable. When Fitchett's (2010) study is taken into account, the large percentage of male social studies teachers across the country could stand to be studied in like manner. Regardless, more important qualitative work was done by Chandler (2015) in a study published

six years later aptly named *White Social Studies: Protecting the White Racial Code*. He found similar trends as his earlier work among white male social studies teachers when he studied three white social studies teachers and conducted 18-24 unstructured interviews combined with classroom observations to collect his data (2015, p. 67). He ultimately found that the term White supremacy is the most accurate descriptor of what occurs within these classes" (p. 80) as it "describes *racial discourse* of these classes—Whites at the top of the racial pyramid. We use this term in the CRT sense of understanding race as *natural* within the American context. That is, that a notion of White history, culture, language, etc. being the *best* is an assumed default position" (p. 79). In both Chandler's studies, white teachers were teaching in predominantly white schools and disturbingly perpetuate white supremacy in those classrooms. This type of pedagogy threatens to perpetuate both systemic and personal racism by reinforcing white supremacy among mostly white students.

These studies reflect a general struggle among white teachers to understand a central tenant of CRT, namely the structural nature of racism (Vaught & Castagno, 2008), a tendency among social studies teachers to be white and male (Fitchett, 2010) and finally that some white male social studies teachers can be found to promote white supremacy in their classrooms (Chandler, 2009; Chandler 2015). The methodology of much of this work is qualitative and helps point to a need for more quantitative work specially studying white teachers in predominantly white institutions. Broader quantitative analysis can provide statistical backing for more qualitative studies and possible policy changes.

Struggles with Pre-Service White Teachers

As the few qualitative studies of in-service teachers sheds light on the tendency of the teaching of "White Social Studies" (Chandler, 2015), there is more research, mostly qualitative, that details the struggles teacher educators face when attempting to teach white pre-service teachers CRT. Despite their best efforts, white teachers struggle to deconstruct their own whiteness (Adair, 2008; King, 1991; Picower, 2009; Sleeter, 2001). White preservice teachers who struggle to deconstruct their own whiteness become in-service teachers who can promote white supremacy.

Many privileged white students who attempt to become teachers are ill prepared to deal with the cognitive shift that must occur for them to effectively teach equity. The term "Dysconscious Racism," (1991) coined by Joyce E. King of Santa Clara University, can be connected to many other scholars' research and experiences preparing relatively privileged preservice teachers for their roles as educators. It "denote[s] the limited and distorted understandings [her] students have about inequity and cultural diversity – understandings that make it difficult for them to act in favor of truly equitable education" and "is a form of racism that tacitly accepts dominant white norms and privileges" (1991, pp. 133-135). She described the struggles she faced while attempting to prepare generally white teachers to teach in underprivileged areas. Attempting to overcome these struggles, she formatted a course called "Social Foundations" (p. 135). What she consistently noticed about her white students was that they "lack evidence of any critical ethical judgement regarding racial (and class/gender) stratification in the existing social order" (p. 135). Her methodology consisted of analyzing a total of 70 student answers in 1986 and 1988 to a fundamental question about society. What she found was that, with only one exception, "their explanations fail to link racial inequality to other

forms of social oppression. In addition…fail to account for White people's beliefs and attitudes that have long justified societal oppression and inequity in the form of racial slavery or discrimination" (p. 138). In the end, she argued that teacher preparation must include a "liberators pedagogy" that approaches issues of inequity and diversity by critically examining the social structure and become conscious of oppression (p. 143). This "Dysconscious Racism" seems to persist almost decades later in other research on teacher preparation programs and teacher educators have devised different ways to approach it.

In Jennifer Adair's White Pre-Service Teachers and 'De-privileged Spaces (2008), the presence of "Dysconscious Racism" in the pre-service teachers is also evident. However, Adair's approach in her case study centered on making white students lose their racial privilege in the classroom. She noticed that her white students did not question the origins and nature of their privilege and thereby did not fundamentally question the social order that gave them that privilege. She referenced that "if we know that 85% of teachers are white (NCEI, 2005) and students of color are growing at 43%, even 57% in the west, then it seems problematic to graduate White teachers who haven't thought deeply and critically about the relativism of their own perspective" (2008, p. 190). Her case study of a teacher preparation program used the technique of "de-privileging" the space which intended on making white students question their racial identity as "the natural way of being" (p. 194). She studied her own diverse class and reflected on the reactions of white preservice students when the foundations of their white identity were questioned. For Adair, de-privileging Whiteness implies "the re-organization of cultural capital and the re-distribution of power" (p. 195). Practically speaking, in her classroom she equalized the cultural capital between white and non-white preservice teachers and used stories to re-distribute the power dynamic between her white and non-white students (2008). She

noted different ways in which her white students and her minority students interacted and communicated and similar to King she was "not convinced that the White students were deeply changed" (p. 203). Ultimately, Adair concluded that colleges of education should do a better job of preparing their white students by de-privileging their spaces, however at times, research has shown that white pre-service teachers protect that privilege.

Preservice teachers have been found to actively protect White supremacy according to Bree Picower (2009) in *The unexamined Whiteness of teaching: how White teachers maintain and enact dominant racial ideologies*. She studied eight white, female, pre-service teachers in their twenties enrolled in a multicultural education course in a university located in New York City. Using the grounded theory method (Glaser & Strauss, 1967) and as a white woman working with white students only she believes that her "participants felt safe to open up and reveal some of their previously unspoken beliefs about race and difference" (200). This openness led to striking findings that led Picower (2009) to conclude that white preservice teachers use a variety of ways to rationalize and the "tools of whiteness" to protect white identity. Ultimately, "white teachers are often entering the profession with a lifetime of hegemonic reinforcement to see students of color and their communities as dangerous and at fault for the educational challenges they face" (p. 211). Picower's intention was to study white teachers and how they can do harm pedagogically to students of color. The same harm can be done to white students if white supremacy is reinforced by their social studies teachers. The protection of white supremacy and the whiteness of preservice teachers is prevalent through many other studies as reviewed by Sleeter (2001).

In her review of data-based research studies on preservice teacher preparation for multicultural schools, Christine E. Sleeter (2001), in *Preparing Teachers for Culturally Diverse*

Schools: Research and the Overwhelming Presence of Whiteness, noted the various methods that teacher preparation programs use to prepare teachers for multicultural schools. The studies she reviewed involved techniques such as selecting certain types of teachers, stand-alone classes and community immersion programs. Her review suggests that the best method is community immersion coupled with coursework but also hopes for more research to back up this claim (2001). However, the "overwhelming presence of whiteness" (p. 94) inhibits progress in these attempts. She noted that attempting to bring awareness, insights and skills necessary to teach in a multicultural context involved an "immense struggle" (p. 101). This reflects the overall importance and difficulty of providing meaningful education to preservice teachers. The underlying limitation is that the preservice programs are only geared toward preparing white teachers to teach in multicultural schools. Research has shown that most white teachers ultimately do not end up teaching in diverse schools and investigating their understanding of CRT can help illuminate how they teach their white students. Whiteness pervades psychology, society, education systems, and teacher pedagogy. It is born out of the decades of *de facto* segregation caused by White Flight and as Sleeter concluded, takes a lot of work to deconstruct in white teachers' own psychology in addition to their pedagogy.

QuantCrit

By combining quantitative analysis to CRT, recent CRT researchers have been able to deconstruct the statistics that shape so much of policy decisions across the country. CRT seeks to be critical about the ways institutions function to socially reproduce inequities. QuantCrit seeks to be critical of the "Big Data" that is used to make policies that shape institutions. Gillborn et al. (2018) establish the validity of using quantitative methodology while Garcia et al. (2018) further validate the approach by surveying the literature and advocating for parameters in which

quantitative methodology can be used within CRT. Finally, Campbell-Montalvo (2020) uses QuantCrit in an analysis of demographic data in Florida. While using quantitative methods and analysis to deconstruct racist policies and institutions is a very powerful tool and speaks the language of the policy makers, the way that QuantCrit has been employed focuses largely on how people of color are disadvantaged by racist systems. Whereas quantitative research methods can also be used to understand predominantly-white institutions and support QuanCrit from a different angle.

Conclusion

There exists a quantitative gap in literature that needs to explore white social studies teachers' understanding of CRT in predominantly white districts. A large sample size of teachers can support much of the qualitative work already done. Current educators have been taught a variety of ways to deal with the racial "achievement gap" that changed over time (Brookover et al., 1978; Chandler, 2009; Chandler, 2015; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Sleeter, 1987; Sleeter, 2001; Sleeter 2017). Current literature also shows that American teachers are *de facto* segregated and mostly white (Boyd, Lankford, Loeb, & Wyckoff, 2005; Daniel, & Campbell, 2005; Geiger, 2018; Reininger 2012; Solomon, Portelli, Stroub & Richards 2013), many white teachers struggle understanding the structural form of racism (Vaught & Castagno, 2008), in-service social studies teachers are mostly white males who can promote white supremacy in their classrooms (Chandler, 2009; Chandler 2015; Fitchett, 2010; Shiller et al., 2013) and white pre-service teachers struggle to deconstruct their own whiteness and even protect white supremacy (Adair, 2008; King, 1991; Picower, 2009; Sleeter, 2001). Decades since the Civil Rights Movement, much of American society is still segregated and white supremacy is

alive and well in classrooms across the country. Research is necessary to study how these problems can perpetuate over time specifically in many social studies classrooms.

Chapter 3

Methodology

Introduction

A quantitative study was conducted to examine critical multicultural education competencies and critical consciousness among social studies teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts. Educational research that involves any sort of Critical Theory is, by nature, fraught with qualitative studies of both students and teachers reporting the ways American society is structured to protect white supremacy (Ladson-Billings, 1996). This study attempted to advance knowledge by exploring the relationship between teacher demographics, critical multicultural educational competencies, and critical consciousness, and the ways in which these measures, framed by Critical Race Theory (CRT; Acar-Ciftci, 2016; Diemer, Rapa, Park & Perry, 2017), influence teaching practices. Specifically, critical multicultural educational competencies were measured by scores on the *Critical Multicultural Education Competency Scale* (Acar-Ciftci, 2016) and critical consciousness was measured by scores on the Critical Consciousness Scale (Diemer et al., 2017). Gillborn et al. (2018) surmised that "quantitative research enjoys heightened esteem among policy makers, media, and the general public" (p. 158). As the ultimate goal of this research is to better understand the impact of CRT on teachers' pedagogical practices, a study using quantitative methodology would also be a way to gain a better understanding of the influence, or lack of influence, of CRT on the pedagogical perspectives (approaches) of teachers who teach students in predominantly-white districts in New Jersey. These findings may have implications for helping teachers of white students to better understand their role and need to teach from a CRT perspective in helping all students to understand the impact of race in society.

Participants

In total, 133 teachers responded to the electronic survey. Of the 133, 104 teachers met the criteria for the study, reporting that they taught in predominantly white (>68% white population of students) districts. The majority of teachers (98%) identified as White. The racial/ethnic breakdown is expectedly striking as shown in Figure 1. Less than 2% of teachers of color (i.e., Asian, Black, Hispanic) taught in these predominantly white school districts. With regards to gender, 52% of the participants were men and 48% were women. This gender breakdown was consistent with the nationwide tendency for social studies teachers in public schools to be predominantly men (Fitchett, 2010). The majority of teachers (68.2%) were between the ages of 25 and 44, reflecting a group of teaching professionals who were in the prime of their careers. Table 1 shows the age ranges of the participant sample.

Figure 1*: Race/Ethnicity of Participants*

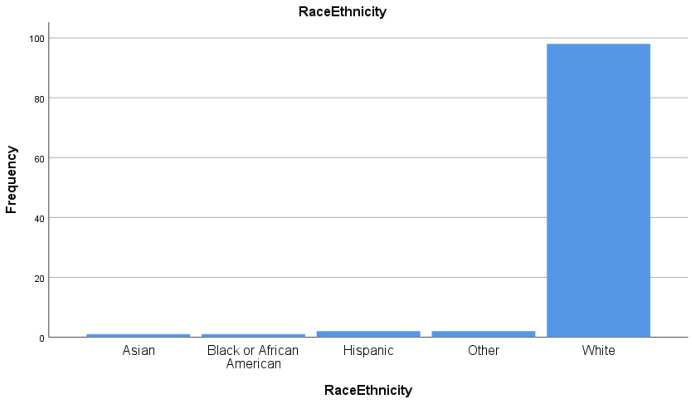


Table 1*: Participant Teacher Age*

Age Range	Frequency	Percent
22 - 24 years old	1	1.0
25 - 34 years old	37	35.6
35 - 44 years old	34	32.7
45 - 54 years old	24	23.1
Over 55 years old	8	7.7
Total	104	100.0

The majority of participants had advanced degrees with 76% attaining at least a master's degree. Of the sample participants, 26% of teachers have been in the field between 16-20 years. Combined with the data collected regarding degree attainment, the majority of the participant group was considered to be a veteran group of teachers who were highly credentialed. Since teachers in this sample group may have taught elsewhere in their career, a demographic survey asked how long each teacher taught at their current district. The majority of teachers (81.7%) had been at their current districts for more than 5 years. This implies that they would have received tenure under New Jersey tenure laws for teachers (NJDOE, 2020). The inherent job security that comes with tenure may suggest that these teachers will continue in their positions for years in the future.

Procedure

Recruitment of participants. Initial attempts to recruit participants were made by surveying a random sampling of white districts in New Jersey by using New Jersey's District Factor Group designation and selecting 4 districts from each group with at least 68% student population identifying as white. New Jersey attempts to differentiate school districts across the state depending on their demographics. Districts are grouped together based on 1) percent of adults with no high school diploma, 2) percent of adults with some college education, 3) occupational status, 4) unemployment rate, 5) percent of individuals in poverty, and 6) median

family income, with eight groupings of districts (New Jersey District Factor Groups for Schools). This provided 32 districts to survey. Contact was made with each of the principals and/or social studies department supervisors from this sampling and they were asked to have their teachers fill out the electronic survey. The principals of 52 schools were emailed asking permission to have their schools participate in this study. If principals agreed, teachers from the schools received the electronic surveys. Only 8 principals responded and gave consent for school participation and from that group, 33 teachers completed the survey.

In order to increase the rate of participation, the study was modified by adding a $10 gift card incentive for any social studies teacher that completed the survey. Rather than contacting school principals directly, the survey was shared on Facebook, so that any social studies teacher in New Jersey could participate. This gained approximately 12 more participants. Subsequently, every single high school social studies teacher who taught in schools that had 68% or higher white student populations was emailed and invited to participate in the study. The 2018-19 New Jersey Board of Education Performance report data (NJDOE, 2020) was used to identify the schools with 68% or more white population. All told, 569 emails were sent to teachers in New Jersey that met the criteria of the study. This netted 88 respondents, with a response rate of 15%, for a total of 133 teachers. Of the respondents, 29 were teachers who teach in minority-populated schools while 109 of the teachers identified that they teach in majority white school districts. Out of the 109, 104 reported their specific district. The final sample group consisted of 104 teachers that met the criteria of teaching in predominantly-white districts with a student population greater than 68 percent. The survey was administered electronically using Qualtrics.

Measures

Demographic Questionnaire. A 19-item demographic questionnaire was developed for the study (Appendix A). The first group of items on the questionnaire asked participants to respond to questions involving the impact of *de facto* segregation on white teacher's education. Basic demographic questions including gender, race/ethnicity, age, experience teaching were combined with more specific questions such as district, city/town where participants grew up, and number of teachers of color participants had while in high school. It also asked more nuanced questions associated with the scope of this study including the district in which teachers currently teach, the high school they attended, the town in which participants grew as well as the number of social studies teachers of color each participant had while they themselves were in high school.

Critical Multicultural Education Competency Scale (CMEC, Acar-Ciftci, 2016; Appendix B). The CMEC was developed from the Critical Multicultural Education Competency Model, and based on the assumption that "the competencies that teachers should possess include 1) cultural competency components; awareness, knowledge and skills; 2) cultural competency contexts; personal, professional, institutional and social; 3) cultural competency foci: sociocultural perspectives, student, teaching and transformation" (Acar-Ciftici, 2016, p. 53). The CMEC is a 42- item scale and includes items such as "my cultural background does not affect my perception of events" and "I have knowledge of my ethnic origin. The scale was validated using a population size of 421 teachers and showed strong reliability and consistency. It was subjected to the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) (Buyukozturk, 2007, p. 126 as cited in Acar-Ciftici, 2014) coefficient and Bartlett Sphericity Test (Sipahi & Yurtkoruto & Cinko, 2006, pp. 79-80 as cited in Acar-Ciftici, 2014) to determine its suitability for factor analysis. The items were broken

down into four factors and each had high reliability coefficient (Cronbach's alpha). Factor one, titled Dimension of Skill and consisting of 19 items, was found to have alpha = .908. Factor two, titled Dimension of Knowledge and consisting of nine items, was found to have alpha = .873. Factor three, titled Dimension of Attitude and consisting of nine items, was found to have alpha = .872. Factor four, titled Dimension of Awareness and consisting of six items, was found to have alpha = .775. The high alpha values indicate high reliability between the items in each factor and for the entire scale, alpha = .845 indicating that the items can also be used as one-dimensional scale. Furthermore, the scale has positive meaningful correlations at .01 level between the scale and all sub-dimensions (Acar-Ciftici, 2014, pp. 57-58). The scale was tested using both Exploratory Factor Analysis and Confirmatory Factor Analysis and was found to be capable as being used on the whole as a one-dimensional scale as well as a four dimensional scale (Acar-Ciftici, 2014, pp. 60).

Critical Consciousness Scale (CCS; Diemer, Rapa, Park & Perry, 2017; Appendix C) seeks to measure respondents' "critical consciousness, defined as the capacity of oppress or marginalized people to critically analyze their social and political conditions, endorsement of societal equality, and action to change perceived inequalities" (p. 463). The measure consists of 22-items and includes items such as "Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell them how you felt about a particular social or political issue" and "Participated in a discussion about a social or political issue". Responses were based on frequency such as "never did this" and "at least once a month". As social studies teachers are asked to teach about the most vulnerable and underprivileged of society, understanding their levels of critical consciousness becomes necessary. Validation of the *Critical Consciousness Scale* involved two studies, the first using Exploratory Factor Analysis while the second using Confirmatory Factor Analysis.

The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) measure of sampling adequacy was .77 and Bartlett's test of sphericity was significant ($p<.001$), indicating that the relationship between CCS items was strong enough to conduct factor analyses (Diemer et al., p. 469). The analysis yielded three conceptually meaningful factors that were internally consistent. The first factor, *Critical Reflection: Perceived Inequality* consisted of eight items and demonstrated Cronbach's alpha estimate of .90. The second, *Critical Reflection: Egalitarianism* consisted of five items with alpha= .88. Finally, the third factor, *Critical Action: Sociopolitical Participation* consisted of nine items with alpha=.85 (Diemer et al., p. 471). Diemer et al. cross-validated the three factor model in their first study with Confirmatory Factor Analysis. The CFA showed good model fit as well as internal consistency.

Critical Race Theory Questionnaire. The next part of this study was a questionnaire developed by the researcher of 15 items asking for teacher impressions of the basic premises of Critical Race Theory and the support they receive from their districts in teaching about the foundations of CRT (Appendix D). Teachers responded to a Likert scale about their comfort level with the basic premises of CRT (Ladson-Billings, 1998) and similar measures of Chandler's (2009, 2015) and Vaught and Castagno (2008) interview questions of teachers in their study. These premises included the following statements: 1) Racism is normal in American Society, 2) Racial inequality is largely caused by individual people's choices rather than racist societal structures, 3) Experiential knowledge and story-telling of minority groups is as important as the historical consensus of events throughout history, 4) Racism and racial discrimination can be solved over time through incremental changes, 5) American society has given me more social, economic, and political privileges than people of color, 6) American society has given my students more social, economic, and political privileges than students of

color 7) Whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation. Since the social studies teachers themselves have grown up in a society structured by race and are tasked with teaching about race and racism in America, using this measure helped to shed light on how social studies teachers feel about a theoretical framework meant to put race at the forefront of understanding any aspect of American society. The final group of questions attempted to measure how much support these teachers are receiving from their respective districts in teaching Critical Race Theory in the form of professional development, curriculum and textbooks. The study also examined the data to see if there are correlations between the measures themselves. Results of teacher comfort level with the premises of CRT can be used to describe the understanding of CRT and the support white social studies teachers receive from their districts in teaching CRT. These questions were meant to examine the role districts play in supporting their teachers.

Data Analyses

Descriptive analysis was used to examine teacher demographics. A Pearson Correlation was performed to examine the relationship between Critical Multicultural Educational Competency (CMEC) and Critical Consciousness (CC). Analysis of variance (ANOVA) was conducted to examine if CMEC and CC scores differed by teacher demographics. Participants' demographic data was compared with available census data to further examine the teacher demographics. For example, if a teacher lived in a given town during their high school years, the racial and ethnic demographic census data from the year they graduated high school can be compared with the racial and ethnic demographic of the school in which they currently teach. This survey provided a rich dataset and the study used quantitative analysis to answer the research questions.

Summary

The goal of this study was to explore the relationship between teacher Critical Multicultural Educational Competencies and Critical Consciousness as well as between teacher demographics of gender and age for social studies teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts. Specifically, their levels of critical competency, critical consciousness, comfort with the basic premises of CRT as well as the support they are given teaching the basic foundations of CRT were examined. A total of 133 teachers responded to the electronic survey, and 104 teachers met the study's criteria; teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts. The teachers completed an electronic survey consisting of a total of 95 items.

Chapter 4

Results

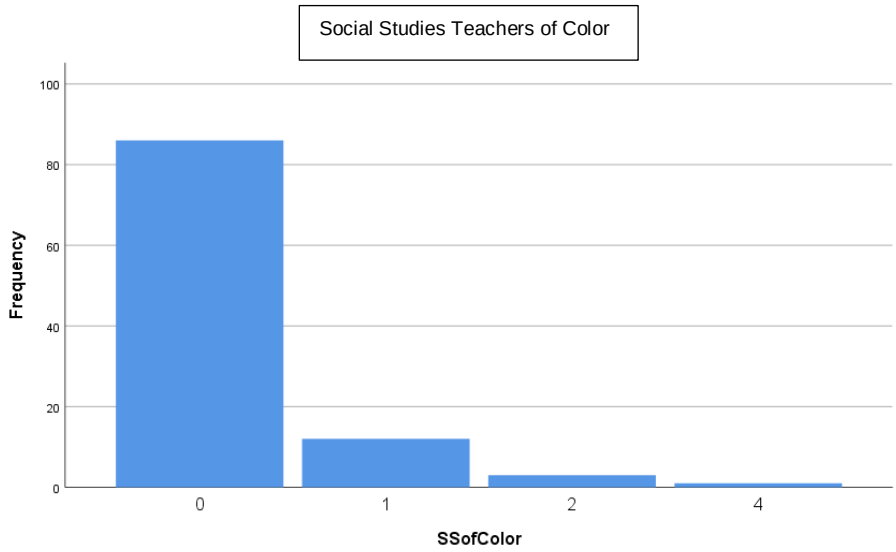
Introduction

The aim of this research was to study teachers in predominantly-white districts, and 104 participants met the study's criteria. Guided by the research questions, this researcher chose to focus on high school teachers who teach in predominantly-white districts as their student populations are generally *not* the target populations of pedagogy infused with Critical Race Theory. Along with demographic and CRT questionnaires, this study utilized the Critical Educational Multicultural Competency scale developed to measure teacher critical competencies as well as the Critical Consciousness scale developed to measure teacher critical consciousness. Participants responded to an electronic survey (See appendices A, B, C).

Demographic Questionnaire: The Structured Whiteness of the Sample

Demographic data showed that the vast majority (94.2%) of the sample identify as white and grew up in predominantly-white towns (M = 86.7%, SD = 12.5) Specifically, the majority of teachers (89.9%) grew up in towns that had a 70% or higher white population, with 62.3% growing up in towns that had a 90% or higher white population. In addition to identifying the town in which they grew up, participants reported the year they graduated high school. Census data was available for 69 of the teachers and used to cross-reference the percent white population of the town they grew up in at the time of their high school graduation. The 1990, 2000, and 2010 census data for New Jersey was used to calculate the percent white population of the teachers who grew up in New Jersey towns. In addition, the majority of them never had a high school social studies teachers of color (82.7%). Figure 3 displays the number of social studies teachers of color the participants had while they were in high school.

Figure 2*: Participants' Report of Social Studies Teachers of Color in High School*



Only 4 teachers, or 3.8%, had more than one social studies teacher of color. This finding supported current reports of the underrepresentation of teachers of color, and specifically the underrepresentation of social studies teachers in the workforce.

Research Question 1

What is the relationship between critical multicultural educational competencies (CMEC) as measured by the *Critical Multicultural Educational Competency Scale* and critical consciousness (CC) as measured by the *Critical Consciousness Scale*?

Pearson correlation analysis was used to determine the strength of the linear relationship between the CMEC and CC full scales (unidimension scales) as well as the relationship between the full scales and subdimensions of each of the two measures. Although there was an inverse association, the relationship between CMEC and CC full scale scores was not statistically significant (r =-.02, p =. 82). Figure 4 displays a Scatter Dot graph indicating that there was no linear relationship between CMEC and CC full scale scores.

In regard to the subdimension scales, correlation analysis revealed strong to moderate statistically significant relationships between the four CMEC sub-dimension scales: skill (r =

.87, p<.01) , knowledge (*r* =.64, p<.01), attitude (*r* = .64, p<.01) and awareness (*r* = .57, p<.01) and the CMEC uni-dimensional scale. Skill was significantly correlated with knowledge, (*r* = .54, p<.01), attitude (*r* = .35, p<.01), and awareness (*r* = .26, p<.01). The sub-dimension of attitude was significantly correlated with awareness (*r* = .41, p<.01). Correlation analysis also revealed strong to moderate correlations between the three CC subdimension scales and the full scale: perceived equality (*r* = .86, p<.01), egalitarianism *(r* = .44, p<.01), and sociopolitical participation (*r* = .62, p<.01). There was an inverse, statistically significant relationship between *CMEC* attitude and perceived equality (*r* = -.35, p , 01) and CC (r = .38, p <.01), and a positive, statistically significant relationship between CMEC knowledge and sociopolitical participation. Finally, there was a positive, statistically significant relationship between CMEC and egalitarianism. Table 2 shows means and standard deviations for the CMEC and CC uni-dimension scales and subdimension scales. Table 3 shows the Pearson Correlations for the CMEC and CC unidimension scales and subdimension scales.

Table 2: *Means and Standard Deviations for CMEC and CC uni and subdimension scales*

Descriptive Statistics

	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
CMECS	3.7530	.28386	104
CMECK	3.7320	.34855	104
CMECAT	3.2449	.31248	103
CMECAW	3.4422	.45365	101
CMEC	3.5883	.23248	100
CCSP	4.3010	1.17266	103
CCSE	5.3650	.70094	103
CCS	2.2770	.65169	102
CC	3.6208	.57608	102

Table 3: *Pearson Correlation*

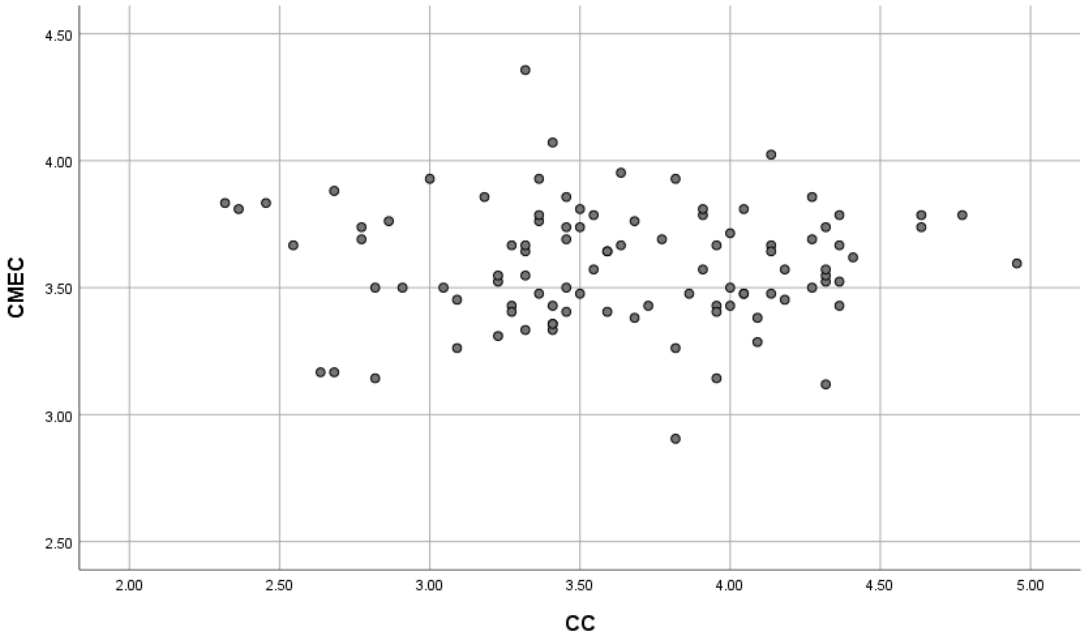
Correlations

		CMECS	CMECK	CMECAT	CMECAW	CMEC	CCSP	CCSE	CCS	CC
CMECS	Pearson Correlation	1								
	Sig. (2-tailed)									
	N	104								
CMECK	Pearson Correlation	.539**	1						*	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000								
	N	104	104							
CMECAT	Pearson Correlation	.347**	.120	1						
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.226							
	N	103	103							
CMECAW	Pearson Correlation	.257**	.142	.414**	1					
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.009	.156	.000						
	N	101	101	100	101					
CMEC	Pearson Correlation	.871**	.641**	.646**	.569**	1				
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000	.000	.000					
	N	100	100	100	100					
CCSP	Pearson Correlation	-.050	.048	-.349**	-.192	-.129	1			
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.613	.631	.000	.055	.202				
	N	103	103	102	101	100	103			
CCSE	Pearson Correlation	.192	.165	.019	.097	.197*	.134	1		
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.052	.095	.851	.333	.049	.176			
	N	103	103	102	101	100	103	103		
CCS	Pearson Correlation	.112	.240*	-.185	-.088	.091	.241*	.129	1	
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.262	.015	.063	.382	.369	.015	.196		
	N	102	102	101	100	99	102	102	102	
CC	Pearson Correlation	.049	.187	-.380**	-.169	-.024	.862**	.437**	.621**	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.627	.060	.000	.093	.817	.000	.000	.000	
	N	102	102	101	100	99	102	102	102	102

**. Correlation is significant at the 0.01 level (2-tailed).

*. Correlation is significant at the 0.05 level (2-tailed).

Figure 3: *Scatter Dot showing Relationship between CMEC and CC Full Scales*



Research Question 2

Are there differences in CMEC and CC scores as a function of teacher demographics?

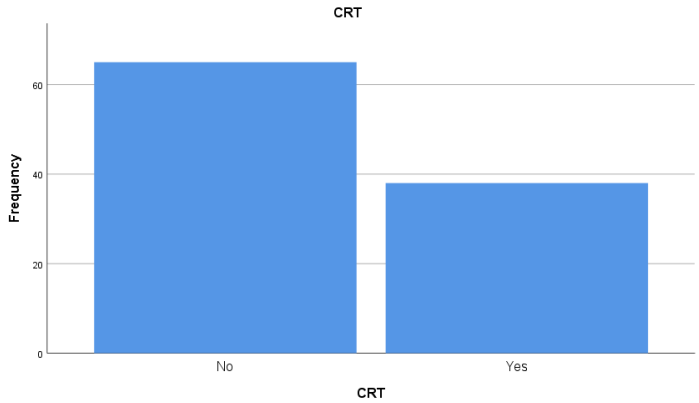
A 2 x 3 (gender X years of teaching) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) was performed on the CMEC dimension scale scores associated with critical multicultural competencies: skill, knowledge, awareness, and attitude. Wilks' criterion revealed no significant differences by gender [$F(4, 91) = .74$, $p = .56$] or by years in teaching [$F(8, 182) = .90$, $p = .52$] and no interaction effects [$F(8, 182) = 1.3$, $p = .25$]. A 2 x 3 (gender X years of teaching) multivariate analysis of variance (MANOVA) performed on the CC dimension scale scores associated with critical competencies: perceived empathy, egalitarianism and sociopolitical participation revealed no significant differences by gender [$F(3, 94) = .98$, $p = .40$] or by years in teaching [$F(6, 188) = 1.5$, $p = .16$] and no interaction effects [$F(6, 188) = .95$, $p = .46$].

Research Question 3

How do teachers perceive CRT as a foundation of their pedagogical approach to teaching social studies?

The majority (62.5%) of these teachers reported that they had no knowledge of Critical Race Theory, had varying levels of comfort with the premises of CRT and received varying levels of support from their respective districts in implementing the basic concepts surrounding CRT. This suggests that teacher education of CRT, professional development involving CRT, and/or district support of infusing CRT into teacher pedagogy in predominantly-white schools is not a primary focus. When high school social studies teachers in predominantly-white districts were asked if they had ever heard of Critical Race Theory, the majority, 62.5%, reported that they had never heard of the theory (See Figure 5).

Figure 4: *Awareness of Critical Race Theory*



Participant responses to each of the seven premises upon which CRT is built (Ladson-Billings, 1998) are displayed in Table 4 with each premise listed. Teachers reported varying levels of agreement with each of the seven CRT premises with means ranging from 2.4 to 4.1 out of a total score of 5.

Table 4: *Participant impressions of premises of CRT*

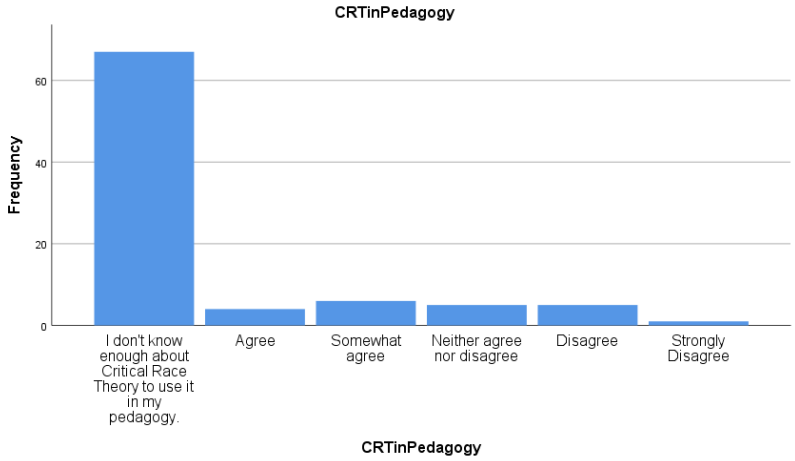
Descriptive Statistics

	N	Minimum	Maximum	Mean	Std. Deviation
Race is normal in American Society	103	1	5	3.46	.814
Racial inequality is largely caused by individual people's choices rather than racist societal structures (reverse scored)	103	1	5	3.75	.904
The experiential knowledge and story-telling of minority groups is as important as historical consensus of events throughout history	103	2	5	4.09	.781
Racism and racial discrimination can be solved over time through incremental changes (reverse-scored)	103	1	5	2.36	.712
American society has given me more social, economic, and political privileges than people of color	101	1	5	3.95	1.108
American society has given my white students more social, economic, and political privileges than students of color	103	1	5	3.74	1.075
Whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation	103	1	5	2.73	.920
Valid N (listwise)	101				

When asked if they feel comfortable infusing Critical Race Theory in their pedagogy, the majority of participants, 64.4% reported that they did not know enough about CRT to infuse it in

their pedagogy while only 9.6% either agreed or somewhat agreed that they are comfortable infusing CRT in their pedagogy.

Figure 5: *Participant application of CRT in Pedagogy*



When asked regarding the level of support teachers receive from their districts in the forms of professional development, curricular support, and textbooks in teaching about the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination, the results varied. In regard to professional development, only 43.3% either agreed or strongly agreed and 8.7% did not believe that it was important to include CRT as a focus in professional development. In regard to support via curricula, 60.6% either agreed or strongly agreed that they receive sufficient support from their districts while 4.8% did not believe it was important for curricula to focus on the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination. Finally, in regard to textbooks, 49% either agreed or strongly agreed that they receive sufficient support while 4.8% did not believe it was important for textbooks to focus on these topics.

Summary

Based on the findings in this study, there was no relationship between teacher critical multicultural educational competencies and teacher critical consciousness as measured by the

CMEC and CC scales. Though not statistically significant, the slight inverse relationship could suggest that the more critically conscious teachers are, the less critical multicultural educationally competent they are. Although women teachers tended to score higher on the critical consciousness scale than did men, the differences by gender were not statistically significant. The majority of teachers surveyed had never heard of Critical Race Theory. They also had varying levels of comfort with the premises of CRT as well as varying levels of support given to them by their districts in teaching about the foundational aspects of CRT.

Chapter 5 Discussion

Introduction

New Jersey's history of racial and ethnic segregation structured the whiteness of the social studies teachers of students in predominantly-white high schools. This "structured whiteness" threatens to support the social reproduction of racial inequalities, especially considering the majority of teachers had never heard of a theory that aims to resist social inequality like Critical Race Theory. The goal of this study was to quantitatively describe high school social studies teachers in predominantly-white districts.

Effects of Segregation on Teachers

Social studies teachers in predominantly-white districts are products of the racial and ethnic segregation as the vast majority of them are white themselves, grew up in mostly white towns, and rarely, if ever, had a social studies teacher of color. Prior research (Boyd et al., 2005; Geiger, 2018; Orfield, Ee, & Coughlan, 2017; Reininger, 2012; Stroub & Richards, 2013) has described teaching as a profession in which people stay close to or in similar types of towns to where they themselves grew up. The demographic data collected with this study reflected the same practice. Coupled with New Jersey's historical and current state of racial and ethnic segregation, the effect of segregation can be seen in the demographics of current social studies teachers in predominantly-white high schools. This in turn, can lead to continual segregation as a portion of these white students will also themselves rarely if ever have a social studies teacher of color, and then go on to teach in similar schools in which they themselves were taught. The majority, 68.2%, of the teachers sampled, were between the ages of 25-44. This data coupled with the fact that 81.7% had been at their current districts for more than 5 years portrays a veteran teaching staff that is structurally entrenched in their positions. These structural forces

play an important role with the possible reproduction of racial inequality through segregation over time. Finally, these historical structures founded on white supremacy and segregation are challenged and illuminated by Critical Race Theory, a theory that most of these teachers were largely unaware.

Impressions of CRT

The majority of the teachers surveyed in this study had never heard of Critical Race Theory and had varying levels of agreement with its basic premises. Gloria Ladson-Billings (2003) describes the social studies as the field in which institutional racism and white supremacy needs to be discussed. Institutional racism and white supremacy affect all of society, including the white population of the United States. Exposure to Critical Race Theory is imperative for white students if schools are to be forces of resistance of inequality. The data suggest that the majority of high school social studies teachers had never heard of the theory despite the fact that the majority of them were veteran and highly credentialed. This finding may reflect the lack of focus on issues related to race, equity and social justice in teacher education programs attended by teachers completing their education throughout recent decades. Despite attention to culturally responsive pedagogy, much of the theory and understanding of related constructs has been uneven. This finding echoes Ladson-Billings assertion in *Culturally Relevant Pedagogy 2.0* when she stated, “even when people have demonstrated a more expansive knowledge of culture, few have taken up the sociopolitical dimensions of the work, instead dulling its critical edge or omitting it altogether” (2014 p. 77). Furthermore, a majority, 64.4%, reported that they do not know enough about the theory to infuse it into their pedagogy. This suggests that teachers need more training and support in order to expose students to CRT. However, when asked if they agree the specific premises of Critical Race Theory derived from Ladson-Billings article (1998),

the teachers responded in various ways but the most striking finding involved a fundamental purpose of the origination of CRT.

The majority of teachers agreed with a premise that *contradicts* the main purpose of CRT. The teachers surveyed agreed with the idea that racism and racial discrimination can be solved over time through incremental changes, which is a fundamental antithesis to the purpose of CRT. CRT originated from the frustration of the slow, incremental process of civil rights legislation (Delgado, 2017). The data showed that a majority of teachers agreed with the idea that racism and racial discrimination can be solved over time. This question was reverse scored where 1 = strongly agree and 2 = agree. 67% of the teachers agreed with the idea that racism and racial discrimination could be solved over time through incremental changes while only 6.8% disagreed (See Table 4).

This should concern Critical Race Theorists and especially those who would like CRT to guide education as the specific teachers in the field in which CRT should be discussed largely disagree with its purpose. As Critical Race Theory is built on the foundations of Critical Consciousness (Kumasi in Levinson et al., 2011 p. 201), it is therefore important to understand the relationship between critical consciousness and critical competency, especially for social studies teachers.

Competency vs Consciousness

The lack of significant correlation between critical multicultural educational competency and critical consciousness suggests the idea that they are two unrelated concepts. The CMEC scale and CC scale attempted to gauge the levels of critical multicultural educational competency and critical consciousness of participants. How do varying levels of critically competence and critical conscious affect teaching process and outcomes in unknown. However, the results of the

survey showed a lack of significant association between these two measures. Teachers' score on critical multicultural educational competence did not affect their scores on critical conscious and vice versa. Further research is needed to determine if these measures are unrelated to one other, and if so, which measure is more likely to be associated with teaching outcomes.

As the vast majority of the teachers are white, training and support might benefit teachers by assisting them to develop awareness, knowledge, skills and dispositions to assist students in understanding social studies from a critically racial context. If education is meant to transform unequal social structures and not reproduce them, teachers should be both competent and conscious in order actualize that goal.

Framing

Although this study was framed by CRT as it studied the effect of racial and ethnic segregation on predominantly-white high schools, the findings suggest that it could also inform studies framed by Critical Whiteness scholarship. In examining the teachers of white students, as so many of them identified as white, the measures used described whiteness as both an effect of racially based segregation over time and the current state of white teachers in predominantly-white districts. Future studies could be framed by Critical Whiteness and supported through a mixed-methods approach in which qualitative methods could be used to fill in the gaps in understanding the whiteness of the teachers of white students.

Limitations

There are significant limitations to this study in regard to its sample size, self-reporting nature of the survey, scales, selection bias, and general scope. The sample size, N = 133, as well as the subset of teachers who teach in predominantly white districts, N = 104, fell short of the initial goal of surveying at least 200 teachers. Furthermore, the overall response rate to the

survey was very low. A similar study with a larger sample size could provide more valid data despite the fact that the findings might end up similar to this study's findings. The scales used to examine teacher critical multicultural educational competency and critical consciousness may not have been directly appropriate for the sample population. As so many of the teachers were white, scales framed by Critical Whiteness Studies and informed by DiAngelo's (2018) *White Fragility* might have been used to more accurately examine white teachers. The survey was self-reporting and in dealing with subjects involving critical competency and conscious, the teachers reporting on themselves may think they are more critically competent and conscious than they actually are. In other words, a teacher may feel as though their own personal biases do not impact their pedagogy (Item #16 on CMEC) when their students and/or colleagues might report differently. In addition, the CC scale was validated for students and although teacher critical consciousness is important to study for social studies teachers, a more direct scale could be developed and used to study teachers. Selection bias played in a role in the recruitment of the sample as the few teachers that completed the survey may have been already interested in the topic. Understanding the reasons why teachers ignored or refused to complete the survey could have been a very important finding. Furthermore, a given teachers' conception of their own racial identity as well as the theories that attempt to examine them may be precariously affecting the data collected. Further research, especially qualitative in nature, could help illuminate the practices and pedagogy of a teacher who may be unaware of their biased approach to teaching. Finally, fundamentally the question of whether or not social studies teachers should be critically competent, critically conscious, and agree with the premises of CRT is a deeper question for educational theorists.

Implications for Policy

The results of the final few questions of the survey could possibly point towards a necessity of districts devoting time and funds towards training teachers in CRT. As the demographic data collected showed, the history of segregation in New Jersey structured the whiteness of the social studies teachers of white students. These teachers could use extra support in both understanding and infusing CRT into their pedagogy. The survey's final questions asked if teachers infused CRT in their pedagogy on a regular basis and if they feel supported in teaching about the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination in the form of professional development, curricula and textbooks. When asked if teachers infuse CRT into their pedagogy on a regular basis, the majority, 64.4% reported that they do not know enough about CRT to infuse it in their pedagogy. In regard to the support they receive in teaching about the foci of CRT, the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination, in regard to professional development, a minority, 43%, agreed or strongly agreed that they receive support from their district. This while a troubling 8.7% did not believe that it is important for professional development to focus on those topics. In such a segregated state as New Jersey, school districts could use this data if they want to support teachers in regard to professional development. In contrast to the support they receive in the form of professional development, most teachers, 63%, either agree or strongly agree that they receive support in the form of the curricula they teach. This finding is interesting in the sense that the majority of teachers did not know enough about CRT to infuse it into their pedagogy but the majority also believe that their curricula focuses on institutional nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination. Finally, in regard to the textbooks they are assigned, slightly less the half either agreed or strongly agreed that they receive sufficient support.

These findings can inform policy decisions for district administrators in predominantly white districts if want to implement measures to support social studies teachers. Districts could investigate opportunities for funding for professional development opportunities that help teachers infuse CRT into their pedagogy, rewriting curricula to address questions related to CRT, and the choosing of textbooks that directly address the institutional nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination. Not only can this study be instructive to districts, it can also help colleges and universities. In addition, this study could inform teacher education at the university and college level as the majority of the teachers surveyed had higher degrees but did not know enough about CRT to infuse it into their pedagogy. The common approach of preparing teachers to teach minority students using CRT could be broadened to help all teachers teach about CRT as racism and white supremacy has impacted all of American society, not just those who had been systematically oppressed.

Conclusion

This study aimed to explore the status quo among white districts in New Jersey regarding social studies teachers, their understanding of CRT and the support they receive in teaching it. The findings of this study showed that the teachers of white students have themselves been impacted by the "structured whiteness" of a racially and ethnically segregated New Jersey, their critical competencies and critical consciousness are not correlated, and that the majority of them have never heard of CRT and have varying views on its premises. These factors may play into the social reproduction of racial inequality in schools as white students may never, throughout their legally mandated schooling, be exposed to a theory that directly addresses white supremacy and the institutionalized nature of racial discrimination that put them in segregated schools in the first place. White students are the ones who need to be taught about the institutional structures

that provided them with privilege. Social studies teachers in these districts need to be supported by their districts in facilitating that pedagogy as research has shown that white teachers struggle teaching about race (Howard 2016 & Picower 2009). The effects of *de facto* segregation has greatly shaped much of New Jersey making it so that affluent white students are generally only taught social studies by white teachers who themselves were taught by white teachers. Without any type of attention to these problems, the segregation of people, schools, and minds will continue and contribute to further *de facto* segregation and the general social reproduction of white supremacy. The Civil Rights Movement attempted to unify American Society but the results have shown otherwise. Legal, economic, political, and educational forces have kept America divided racially. Research and policy change need to be instituted in all these facets and this research hopes to focus on the educational forces that perpetuate white supremacy and continue to divide America. This research will impact white districts in New Jersey through informing future hiring practices and funding and/or attention to assist social studies teachers in teaching the most difficult and uncomfortable topics to their students.

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Appendix A

Demographic Questions

1. What is your age?
    a. 18-24 years old
    b. 25-34 years old
    c. 35-44 years old
    d. 45-54 years old
    e. Over 55
2. What is your gender?
    a. Male
    b. Female
    c. Other (please specify)
    d. Prefer not to say
3. The racial identity that I identify most with is:
    a. White
    b. Hispanic or Latino
    c. Black or African American
    d. Native American or American Indian
    e. Asian/Pacific Islander
    f. Other
4. What is the highest degree or level of school you have completed?
    a. Bachelors degree (e.g. BA, BS)
    b. Masters degree (e.g. MA, MS, MEd)
    c. Doctorate (e.g. PhD, EdD)
    d. Other (please specify)
5. How long have you been teaching?
    a. 1-5 years
    b. 6-10 years
    c. 11-15 years
    d. 16-20 years
    e. 21-25 years
    f. 26-30 years
    g. Over 30 years
6. How long have you been teaching at your current district?
    a. 1-5 years
    b. 6-10 years
    c. 11-15 years
    d. 16-20 years
    e. 21-25 years
    f. 26-30 years
    g. Over 30 years

7. What is the name of the town/city in which you lived during the majority of your childhood?
    a. Town/City Name
    b. State

    c. Country
8. What is the name of the town in which you lived during the majority of the time you were in high school?
    a. Town/City Name
    b. State
    c. Country
9. What is the name of the high school you attended?
10. During what years did you attend high school?
11. How many social studies teachers of color did you have while you were in high school?
    a. 0
    b. 1
    c. 2
    d. 3
    e. 4
    f. More than 4
    g. Can't remember
12. What was the name of the college in which you attained your bachelor's degree?
13. During what years did you attend college?
14. How many teachers of color did you have in the major most associated with your current teaching subjects (e.g. History, Political Science, Sociology etc…)?
    a. 0
    b. 1
    c. 2
    d. 3
    e. 4
    f. More than 4
    g. Can't remember

Appendix B
Critical Multicultural Competencies Scale

Critical Multicultural Education Teacher Competencies Scale

		Strongly disagree	Disagree	Partly agree	Agree	Strongly agree
1)	I can help fix the issues in my class stemming from the differences of students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
2)	I can help my students analyze their prejudices and biases.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
3)	Wrong information gained on culturally different groups is not free choice.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
4)	My ethnic origin does not affect learning-teaching processes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
5)	It is necessary to change teaching materials to ensure equality in education.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
6)	Culture, ethnic origin, social class, religion, language and gender play a role in interpersonal communication.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
7)	Different students do not have different styles of thinking, behavior and speaking.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
8)	I can analyze the prejudiced and biased in teaching materials.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
9)	I can develop the appropriate teaching materials for a multicultural classroom.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
10)	Students who are culturally different do not learn in a different way.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
11)	I can continuously consult with my colleagues on the suitable teaching method for different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
12)	I can organize activities that can improve the self-confidence of different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
13)	Different traits of students do not affect their learning-teaching process.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
14)	I am aware of the fact that I have prejudices stemming from my ethnic background.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
15)	I treat different students equally.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
16)	I am aware of my negative feelings about different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
17)	There is no difference between the culture of different students and that of the school.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
18)	I can organize activities in my class that teach respect for different groups.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

19)	When offering a new piece of information, I can take into account the cultural background of students from different groups.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
20)	Multicultural education does not necessitate changing the teaching goals.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
21)	I can help my students understand the perspectives of ethnic and cultural groups who are different.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
22)	I respect the religions/spiritual beliefs of my students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
23)	My cultural background does not affect my perception of events.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
24)	In my class, I present behaviors that consider differences and support diversity	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
25)	I have knowledge about my ethnic origin.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
26)	Discussing ethnic traditions and beliefs causes divisions and debates between students from different cultures.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
27)	Equal learning opportunities should be offered to different students at schools.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
28)	I can help my students view historical and contemporary events from different perspectives.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
29)	Ethnic origins of students are not influential on their behaviors.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
30)	In group activities, I can form groups bringing together students from different groups.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
31)	I can continuously review my feelings and ideas about different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
32)	In order to meet the needs of different students, I can adapt various teaching methods.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
33)	Different ethnic and cultural groups should be represented in curricula and textbooks.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
34)	I can develop teaching methods that will eliminate negative discourses on different groups.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
35)	I do not reflect my racial beliefs, attitudes and emotions on people from different ethnic groups.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
36)	I can plan teaching based on the personal and cultural knowledge of different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
37)	I know that I am biased when evaluating different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
38)	I can interfere with school practices that might harm different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
39)	I can develop close relations with the families of my different students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
40)	I do not support teaching their mother tongue to students.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

41)	The aim of education is to transfer social culture without change.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐
42)	I can understand what my different students want to say from their attitudes.	☐	☐	☐	☐	☐

Critical Multicultural Education Teacher Competencies

Item	Factors			
	Skill	Knowledge	Attitude	Awareness
40. I can help fix the issues in my class stemming from the differences of students.	0,747			
38. I can organize activities in my class that teach respect for different groups.	0,697			
35. I can help my students understand the perspectives of ethnic and cultural groups who are different.	0,672			
21. I can organizer activities that can improve the self-confidence of different students.	0,645			
34. I can help my students analyze their prejudices and biases.	0,644			
42. When offering a new piece of information, I can take into account the cultural background of students from different groups.	0,641			
45. I can help my students view historical and contemporary events from different perspectives.	0,637			
23. In group activities, I can form groups bringing together students from different groups.	0,629			
26. In order to meet the needs of different students, I can adapt various teaching methods.	0,611			
13. I can develop teaching methods that will eliminate negative discourses on different groups.	0,597			
16. I can continuously consult with my colleagues on the suitable teaching method for different students.	0,589			
43. I can analyze the prejudiced and biased in teaching materials.	0,587			
37. I can plan teaching based on the personal and cultural knowledge of different students.	0,577			

19. I can interfere with school practices that might harm different students.	0,561			
14. I can understand what my different students want to say from their attitudes.	0,561			
4. I can develop the appropriate teaching materials for a multicultural classroom.	0,517			
17. I treat different students equally.	0,491			
24. I do not reflect my racial beliefs, attitudes and emotions on people from different ethnic groups.	0,480			
7. I can develop close relations with the families of my different students.	0,479			
36. Ethnic origins of students are not influential on their behaviours.		0,641		
33. Different traits of students do not affect their learning-teaching process.		0,634		
28. Students who are culturally different do not learn in a different way.		0,467		
02. Multicultural education does not necessitate changing the teaching goals.		0,430		
27. Wrong information gained on culturally different groups is not free choice.		0,382		

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Item	Factors			
	1	2	3	4
06. Different students do not have different styles of thinking, behavior and speaking.		0,377		
09. My ethnic origin does not affect learning-teaching processes.		-0,353		
25. My cultural background does not affect my perception of events.		0,317		
39. In my class, I present behaviors that consider differences and support diversity.			0,645	
29. Equal learning opportunities should be offered to different students at schools.			0,553	
32. I respect the religions/spiritual beliefs of my students.			0,544	

44. It is necessary to change teaching materials to ensure equality in education.			0,537	
41. Discussing ethnic traditions and beliefs causes divisions and debates between students from different cultures.			0,528	
30. I do not support teaching their mother tongue to students.			0,453	
05. Different ethnic and cultural groups should be represented in curricula and textbooks.			0,450	
15. Culture, ethnic origin, social class, religion, language and gender play a role in interpersonal communication.			0,401	
01. The aim of education is to transfer social culture without change.			0,350	
20. I know that I am biased when evaluating different students.				0,621
18. I am aware of my negative feelings about different students.				0,613
10. I am aware of the fact that I have prejudices stemming from my ethnic background.				0,611
22. I can continuously review my feelings and ideas about different students.				0,562
11. There is no difference between the culture of different students and that of the school.				0,558
08. I have knowledge about my ethnic origin.				0,387

Rotation Method: Varimax with Kaiser Normalization.

Appendix C
Critical Consciousness Scale

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by circling how much you agree or disagree with each statement. For each statement, choose "Strongly Disagree," "Mostly Disagree," "Slightly Disagree," "Slightly Agree," "Mostly Agree," or "Strongly Agree."

Strongly Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Mostly Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

1. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get a good high school education

1 2 3 4 5 6

2. Poor children have fewer chances to get a good high school education

1 2 3 4 5 6

3. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get good jobs

1 2 3 4 5 6

4. Women have fewer chances to get good jobs

1 2 3 4 5 6

5. Poor people have fewer chances to get good jobs

1 2 3 4 5 6

6. Certain racial or ethnic groups have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

7. Women have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

8. Poor people have fewer chances to get ahead

1 2 3 4 5 6

9. It is a good thing that certain groups are at the top and other groups are at the bottom

1 2 3 4 5 6

Strongly Disagree	Mostly Disagree	Slightly Disagree	Slightly Agree	Mostly Agree	Strongly Agree
1	2	3	4	5	6

10. It would be good if groups could be equal

1	2	3	4	5	6

11. Group equality should be our ideal

1	2	3	4	5	6

12. All groups should be given an equal chance in life

1	2	3	4	5	6

13. We would have fewer problems if we treated people more equally

1	2	3	4	5	6

Instructions: Please respond to the following statements by circling how often you were involved in each activity in the last year. For each statement, choose "Never did this," "Once or twice last year," "Once every few months," "At least once a month," or "At least once a week."

Never did this	Once or twice last year	Once every few months	At least once a month	At least once a week
1	2	3	4	5

14. Participated in a civil rights group or organization

1	2	3	4	5

15. Participated in a political party, club, or organization

1	2	3	4	5

16. Wrote a letter to a school or community newspaper or publication about a social or political issue

1	2	3	4	5

17. Contacted a public official by phone, mail, or email to tell him/her how you felt about a particular social or political issue

1	2	3	4	5
Never did this	Once or twice last year	Once every few months	At least once a month	At least once a week

18. Joined in a protest march, political demonstration, or political meeting

1	2	3	4	5

19. Worked on a political campaign

1	2	3	4	5

20. Participated in a discussion about a social or political issue

1	2	3	4	5

21. Signed an email or written petition about a social or political issue

1	2	3	4	5

22. Participated in a human rights, gay rights, or women's rights organization or group

1	2	3	4	5

Appendix D
Critical Race Theory Questions

1. Have you ever heard of Critical Race Theory?

    a. Yes
    b. No
2. If you answered yes, where was the first time you learned about it?
    a. High School
    b. College
    c. Masters
    d. Doctoral Program
    e. Professional Development
    f. Outside of my formal schooling
3. Race is normal in American Society
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Do not have an opinion
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree
4. Racial inequality is largely caused by individual people's choices rather than racist societal structures
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Do not have an opinion
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree
5. The experiential knowledge and story-telling of minority groups is as important as the historical consensus of events throughout history
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Do not have an opinion
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree
6. Racism and racial discrimination can be solved over time through incremental changes
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Do not have an opinion
    d. Agree
    e. Strongly Agree
7. American society has given me more social, economic, and political privileges than people of color
    a. Strongly Disagree
    b. Disagree
    c. Do not have an opinion
    d. Agree
        i. Strongly Agree
        ii. I am a person of color
8. American society has given my white students more social, economic, and political privileges than students of color
    a. Strongly Disagree

   b. Disagree
   c. Do not have an opinion
   d. Agree
   e. Strongly Agree
9. Whites have been the primary beneficiaries of civil rights legislation
   a. Strongly Disagree
   b. Disagree
   c. Do not have an opinion
   d. Agree
   e. Strongly Agree
10. I feel supported by my district in teaching about the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination through professional development
   a. Strongly Disagree
   b. Disagree
   c. Do not have an opinion
   d. Agree
   e. Strongly Agree
   f. I don't believe that it's important for professional development to focus on those topics
11. I feel supported by my district in teaching about the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination through the curricula being used in the courses that I teach
   a. Strongly Disagree
   b. Disagree
   c. Do not have an opinion
   d. Agree
   e. Strongly Agree
   f. I don't believe that it's important for curricula to focus on those topics
12. I feel supported by my district in teaching about the institutionalized nature of white supremacy and racial discrimination through the textbooks assigned to the classes that I teach
   a. Strongly Disagree
   b. Disagree
   c. Do not have an opinion
   d. Agree
   e. Strongly Agree
   f. I don't believe that it's important for textbooks to focus on those topics