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Perceptions of Teaching Race and Gender: Results of a Survey of Social Studies Teachers

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This study reports the results of a survey on teaching race and gender from a sample of high school social studies teachers (N=309) across Massachusetts. Using critical race theory mixed methods, the results showed that (1) social studies teachers reported that they were comfortable teaching about race and gender, that race and gender inequity should be addressed in the social studies classroom, and that they regularly covered race- and gender-related topics; (2) teachers at moderate-poverty schools were more likely to teach about Latina/o, Asian, Arab/Middle Eastern, and Indigenous people than teachers in low and high poverty schools; and (3) teachers responded that race and gender were not adequately covered in the curriculum and they wanted more professional development on teaching race and gender.

Keywords: survey, race, gender, curriculum

Over the past decade, several major events have highlighted persistent racial and gender inequity in our society. We have seen the police killings of numerous Black and Brown women and men. We have seen continued racial and gender inequity in society, with stubborn gaps in economic, political, and social opportunities between men and women, and White people and people of color. We have seen populist movements emerge and politicians elected using rhetoric and political platforms that espouse sexist, racist, and xenophobic ideas. At the same time, we have seen multiple social movements, such as Black Lives Matter and #MeToo, challenge the nation to renew its focus on justice for all. As teachers, teacher educators, and researchers, we wanted to know how, in this moment, teachers are grappling with race and gender in their classrooms.

As the “integrated study of the social sciences and humanities to promote civic competence” (National Council for the Social Studies, 2010, p. 3), social studies should be the school subject where students grapple with issues of racial and gender inequity. Yet, gender and race are often missing from the social studies curriculum (Crocco, 2008; Howard, 2003, 2004; Ladson-Billings, 2003; Noddings, 1992, 2001; Tyson, 2003). This study attempted to better understand social studies teachers’ perceptions related to the teaching of race and gender. We set out to understand if recent

events were influencing how teachers thought about gender- and race-related issues and, if so, did they also report doing this race and gender work with the students.

In this survey, we purposely paired race and gender. Across the research on gender and race in social studies education, it is clear that both social constructs are viewed by many teachers as controversial or taboo, which results in their marginalization as topics in social studies (Chandler, 2015; Crocco, 2003; Engebretson, 2014; King & Chandler, 2016; Noddings, 1992, 2001). This survey gave us a chance to compare how teachers report teaching race and gender. In this study, we asked the following questions: (1) How are social studies teachers teaching about race and gender? (2) How does the teaching of race and gender vary by student population? (3) How does the teaching of race and gender vary by teachers' race and gender? (4) What would support teachers in teaching about race and gender?

Theoretical Framework

This study used critical race theory (CRT) (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Tate, 1997) and critical feminist theory (CFT) (hooks, 2000; Lather, 1992) as its lenses. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) described CRT as having three main assertions: First, race is a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States. Second, U.S. society is based on property rights, rather than human rights. Third, the intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social and school inequity. Hooks (2000) described feminist education for critical consciousness as including three main critiques of society: First, people have been socialized to accept sexist thinking. Second, gender stratification occurs when gender differences give men greater power over women, transgender, and gender non-conforming people. Third, in our society a system of power patriarchy is based on the assumption of male supremacy.

Using these frameworks in conjunction allows researchers to examine gender and race separately, but in a way that captures how both social constructs relate to inequity manifest in society, the school curriculum, and classroom. We intentionally employ each framework separately, as they allow for two different types of analyses; one based on gender and the other based on race. Yet, we acknowledge that there are shared themes across both critical theories. Building on the work of Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995), Ladson-Billings (1998), Lather (1992), and hooks (2000), critical race and critical feminist frameworks generally include the following concepts:

1. Race and gender are social constructions that are invented by humans to maintain power relationships. Yet, race and gender also appear natural to people since they are entrenched within the social order.
2. Sexism and racism are normal, not aberrant, because they are a permanent part of society. As such, sexism and racism must be unmasked and exposed.
3. Counter-narratives are necessary tools for analyzing the common culture of race and gender, as they confront dominant interpretations that are often portrayed as objective.
4. Liberalism problematically prioritizes incremental over sweeping social change. As a prevailing social paradigm, liberalism has led to painstakingly slow progress for women and people of color.¹
5. Advances in civil rights for people of color and women have only occurred when there was interest convergence, ultimately serving the interests of Whites and men.

¹ We use the term people of color to collectively describe people who identify as Black/African, Latina/o, Asian, Indigenous/Native, and Arab/Middle Eastern.

CRT and CFT are lenses that allow researchers to examine persistent racial and gender inequity across society and specifically the educational system, including mainstream curricular and instructional practices.

As they are applied to the social studies curriculum and classroom, these frameworks assert that race and gender should be at the center of the social studies classroom and that teachers should routinely examine issues of racism and sexism, and their relationships with inequity. As Noddings (2001) argued, the teaching of gender and race in the social studies classroom must go well beyond the “add and stir” approach, where these topics are essentially sprinkled in through the textbook and curriculum in a way that is both contrived and marginalizing. For instance, women and people of color are sometimes added to the textbook margins in boxes that present them as token and peripheral historical figures. The stories of people of color and women are often framed within the context of the White and male experience, allowing the White and male mainstream narratives to be retold with little interruption and further providing an appearance of racial or gender inclusion. Instead, Crocco (2001) and King and Chandler (2016) offer guidance for making social studies curriculum and teaching more anti-sexist and anti-racist. They argue that pedagogy must interrogate the power relationships and racial and gender inequalities through critical thinking. Pedagogy must also make the experiences of women and people of color central to teaching and learning, as well as examine the intersectionality between race, gender, and other social identities. Additionally, it must help identify the invisibility of gender and race by critiquing the gendered and racialized scripts that society provides. It must also affirm diversity throughout the entire curriculum, rather than at certain parts that are convenient. Finally, it must teach that empowerment and resistance of gender and racial bias occurs through social and intellectual action. To better understand how teachers may or may not be approaching racism and sexism in their classrooms, this study was designed to gauge the perceptions of social studies teachers in relation to these concepts.

Literature Review

Over the past 15 years, several studies offered important insight into how gender and race are taught (or not taught) in the social studies classroom. It has been widely documented that people of color and women are generally underrepresented in the social studies curriculum, with research primarily focusing on analyses of textbooks, national curriculum standards, and published lesson plans (Avery & Simmons, 2001; Brown & Brown, 2010; Chandler, 2010; Schocker & Woysner, 2013). Avery and Simmons (2001) found that people of color and women received very little coverage in history and civics textbooks, and when they were mentioned, it was usually in relation to the expansion of political or civil rights. They also found that:

Advocacy groups comprised by and for those less powerful in society are a part (albeit a small one) of the national “story.” Such groups are more frequently mentioned in civics as opposed to history texts, in part because they constitute a form of political participation. (p. 127)

Brown and Brown (2010) found that the racial violence in history textbooks was often ascribed as being a few bad people rather than a large system of racial violence. As a result, textbooks generally falsely depicted African Americans as accepting the racial violence. Chandler (2010) revealed that the role of race in Native and European interactions is almost completely absent in social studies textbooks. Smith (2016) found that students of color had few chances to learn about the presidency of Barack Obama and specifically the racial implications of his election within the school curriculum

(yet, they were likely to learn about it from their families, communities, and the media). Schocker and Woyshner (2013) found that while women were underrepresented in history textbooks, African American women were almost completely absent. Engebretson (2014) showed that the national social studies curriculum standards presented a gender imbalance, where women were either underrepresented or presented in gender-free language that implied gender inequity does not exist. Schmeichel (2015) uncovered that in published social studies lesson plans women and feminism receive very little attention and when lesson plans specifically addressed history or contemporary issues related to women, they did not generally discuss gender inequity.

Students of color and female students expressed that their perspectives are often missing from the social studies curriculum and that they are taught the White and male versions of history. Levstik and Groth (2002) found that middle school students identified women's experiences in history as important and desired knowing more about women's perspectives in the past. The students feared there would be "reverse sexism" (a term used by the researchers) if more women were added to the curriculum, because it would displace the men's stories. Howard (2004) revealed that students of color perceived more of their social studies classes as "race-invisible" and not useful in developing their racial awareness. Similarly, Almarza and Fehn (1998) showed that when a White teacher presented an exclusively White view of history, her students expressed cultural alienation and saw their class as meaningless to their academic development. Stroll (2013) found that in the classroom, teachers often relied on gender-blind and color-blind explanations of sexism and racism, which resulted in the students not examining the larger systematic issues of gender and race in society. Woodson (2015) showed that Black students viewed their textbooks as inaccurate and lacking Black history. Yet, the students relied primarily on textbooks for their historical information and often took the textbooks' embedded perspectives for granted.

Third, there is a small, but growing, movement of teachers who center racial and gender inequity in their social studies classrooms. Moreover, race- and gender-conscious teachers appear to have a positive impact on their students. Bolgatz (2005) revealed that when two teachers made race a major theme in one U.S. history course, their students used the classroom as a space to discuss racial inequity. Epstein, Mayorga, and Nelson (2011) showed that one teacher's instruction that focused on race and racism helped her students better understand that racial inequity was produced by a process over long periods of time. In two separate studies, Martell (2013, 2016) found that by centering race in his U.S. history classroom there was a positive impact on students of color and White students. However, Latina/o and Asian students had far fewer opportunities than their Black and White peers to examine their own racial histories. Castro, Hawkman, and Diaz (2015) uncovered that one teacher's ethnic studies course allowed students to interact with multiple and complex counter-narratives, which ultimately helped develop their own racial identities by emphasizing history content related to race-related issues in the past and present. Harris, Halvorsen, and Aponte-Martínez (2016) revealed that students' ethnic background often influenced how they interpreted historical sources, often leading to an emotional response when they could see similar people to themselves in the past. Stevens and Martell (2016) found that teachers who had a gender-focused view of the curriculum were more likely to present lessons on gender inequity and sexism in their social studies classrooms. Similarly, Martell and Stevens (2017) found that across 10 race-conscious teachers there was a division between those who emphasized working against individual prejudice or against racial inequity. Tolerance-oriented teachers focused on individualism and helping their students learn to

live together in diverse societies, while equity-oriented teachers emphasized structural racism and working against social injustice.

Survey Research. There have been two large-scale surveys of social studies teachers over the past 10 years that included questions related to the teaching of race and gender (Ellington, Leming, & Schug, 2006; Passe & Fitchett, 2013). In a national survey of elementary and middle school teachers ($N=1,051$), Ellington, Leming, and Schug (2006) found that more than 6 in 10 elementary teachers ($n=701$) reported that race, gender, and class inequity should be emphasized in social studies. However, the researchers only asked one question on the topic, which combined race, social class, and gender.² Examining data from a large-scale national survey of PreK-12 social studies teachers ($N=10,865$) (Passe & Fitchett, 2013), Bigler, Shiller, and Wilcox (2013) found that emphasis on race and class increased as grade-level increased across K-12 social studies classrooms. Additionally, teachers in urban districts emphasized race and class more than teachers in suburban or rural districts, and teachers of color emphasized race and class more than White teachers. However, the survey only asked one question on the topic, which combined race and social class, and did not ask a question about gender.³ By presenting gender, race, and/or social class through compound questions, the researchers are not only unable to tease out specifics about these unique social identities, but they are also sending a nuanced and possibly unintentional message that race, gender, and social class are not important enough to dedicate a whole question to each on their survey measures. Although the results of these surveys are informative, they lacked specificity. By asking narrower questions, this study attempts to help us gain a greater understanding of social studies teachers' perceptions around teaching race and gender.

Methodology

We used what Creswell and Plano Clark (2006) called an embedded mixed methods design, employing quantitative analysis on closed-response and qualitative on open-response survey data. We designed a survey that included Likert-type closed-response, demographic, and open-response items (See Appendix A). We generated questions based on the study's research questions.

In February 2015 (with follow-up e-mails in March), the survey was sent to 1,868 high school social studies teachers across the state, and data were collected using an Internet-based survey program. The participants ($N=309$) represented a 16.5% response rate from the target population. The sample represented high school social studies teachers from 127 school districts, with 70.9% of teachers in suburban districts, 18.1% in urban districts, and 9.7% in rural districts. The teachers' demographics were 91.8% White, 2.3% Black, 1.5% Latina/o or Brazilian, 1.3% Asian, 1% Middle Eastern, and 1% American Indian and 51.1% male (including one trans man) and 46.9% female.

In the analysis, we employed descriptive statistics on the closed-question items, independent samples *t*-tests were conducted on all questions to compare teachers of color to White teachers, as well as female and male teachers, and one-way ANOVAs were used to compare teachers in urban, rural, and suburban schools, as well as

² Question: When teachers teach social studies, what degree of emphasis should be given to injustice in the American system, with particular attention paid to race, gender, and class injustice? Scale: 1 to 10 scale, where 1 means "no emphasis at all" and a 10 means "extremely heavy emphasis."

³ Question: During social studies instruction how often do you emphasize the following: issues of race and class? Scale: 1-5 scale, where 5. Almost daily, 4. Frequently (1-2 times per week), 3. Occasionally (2-3 times/month), 2. Rarely (2-3 times/year), 1. Never

percentage of students of color (<5%, 5-9%, 10-29%, 30-49%, 50-69%, >70%) and level of poverty (<30%, 30-69%, >70%). The racial distribution ranges were chosen as they represent highly segregated (majority White and student of color), moderately diverse, and strongly diverse student bodies. The levels of poverty ranges were chosen based on the federal Title I guidelines for high poverty (>30%) and more than double that rate (>70%). For purposes of question interpretation related to the descriptive statistics, we combined agree/strongly and disagree/strongly disagree on the Likert-style questions. We coded the open-response data based on our research questions. We then generated and tested assertions from the data. Assertions that had evidentiary warrant are displayed in our qualitative findings.

We acknowledge that this study is bound by its context, which may be a limitation, but it is also an asset. First, the results are specific to Massachusetts, where we would expect teachers to have different perspectives on teaching race and gender than other states. Massachusetts is politically liberal and its population, including teachers, may be more likely to support views of race and racism aligned with liberal political beliefs. We were curious if the social studies teachers in Massachusetts had perceptions that were aligned with the state's residents, and if so, how they described their teaching within this specific context. With that being said, Massachusetts is demographically similar in racial and gender composition to the United States as a whole. Massachusetts is 73.5% White, 8.4% Black, 6.6% Asian, 11.2% Latino, 0.6% Native/Pacific Islander; the United States is 77.1% White, 13% Black, 5.6% Asian, 17.6% Latino, 1.2% Native/Pacific Islander (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). Massachusetts is 50.8% female and 49.2% male; the United States is 51.5% female and 48.5% male (U.S. Census Bureau, 2015). It should also be acknowledged that the teaching force of Massachusetts and the United States includes a higher percentage of Whites and females than the student population that they teach. Massachusetts' teachers are 89.9% White and 79.8% female (Massachusetts Department of Elementary and Secondary Education, 2015), while teachers in the United States are 82% White and 76.3% female (National Center for Education Statistics, 2012). Second, because the survey was voluntary, we acknowledge that teachers who are more aware of race and gender issues may be more willing to take the survey. Despite these limitations, this survey supplies a rare glimpse into social studies teachers' perceptions of race and gender and allowed us to test a survey instrument that may later be employed on a larger nationwide scale.

Results

The results of this survey provided three major findings: First, social studies teachers agreed that they were comfortable teaching about race and gender. Additionally, the teachers agreed that race and gender inequity should be addressed in the social studies classroom and they reported regularly covering race- and gender-related topics. Second, social studies teachers at moderate-poverty schools were more likely to teach about Latina/os, Asians, Middle Easterners, and Indigenous people than their peers in low and high poverty schools. Third, teachers responded that race and gender were not adequately covered in the curriculum and they wanted more professional development on teaching race and gender. We present the findings organized by research question, followed by a discussion of their implications.

Research Question 1: How are social studies teachers teaching about race and gender?

The social studies teachers in this study agreed that they were comfortable teaching about both race (94.5%) and gender (95.5%). In the open response section, one teacher wrote, "[Learning about race] is part of being a citizen in a nation focused on justice and equality for all." Another teacher wrote, "We must raise awareness of prevailing [sexist] attitudes in order to improve the treatment of women, as they are still not

equals in our society.” They also agreed that the social studies classroom was where race (93.2%) and gender (90.6%) inequity should be addressed. In the open response section, one teacher wrote, “It’s important for social studies teachers to tackle race issues because social studies teachers are typically most equipped, trained and prepared to effectively teach about issues of race.” Another teacher wrote, “You cannot really teach history, government or economics without addressing these topics.” The teachers agreed that gender and race are core topics in social studies and that inequity should be regularly addressed. The overwhelming majority of teachers in this study identified inequity as a core component of the social studies classroom.

Most teachers viewed reducing racism (87.3%) and sexism (86.0%) as part of their teaching. However, far fewer teachers agreed that they were satisfied with the amount of coverage people of color (40.1%), women (35.9%), and transgender people (21.1%) received in the social studies classroom. Of 84 comments in the open-response section, 40 teachers expressed concern that the curriculum or textbooks often omit perspectives of women and people of color. Twenty-two teachers took this further, arguing that all teachers should be integrating race and gender across all units of their courses. One teacher wrote, “I despise when social studies teachers capitalize on ‘black history month’ or ‘women’s history month.’ These issues should be part of the regular curriculum and not singled out.” While the teachers viewed their role as teaching against sexism and racism, they agreed that neither topic received enough coverage in social studies.

We asked several questions about the frequency at which a particular racial or gender group was addressed in the teachers’ classrooms (See Figures 1 and 2).

Figure 1 shows that Whites were the most frequently taught racial group, with 84.8% of teachers reporting that they were covered weekly or more frequently. Blacks were the second most frequently taught group, with 47.8% of teachers reporting that they were covered weekly or more frequently. Less than 25% of teachers reported covering Asians, Latina/os, Arab/Middle Easterners, or Indigenous people on a weekly basis.

Figure 2 shows males were the most frequently taught gender group, with 88.7% of teachers reporting that they were covered weekly or more frequently (and 60.2%

Figure 1: The frequency that teachers report teaching each racial group in their social studies classroom.

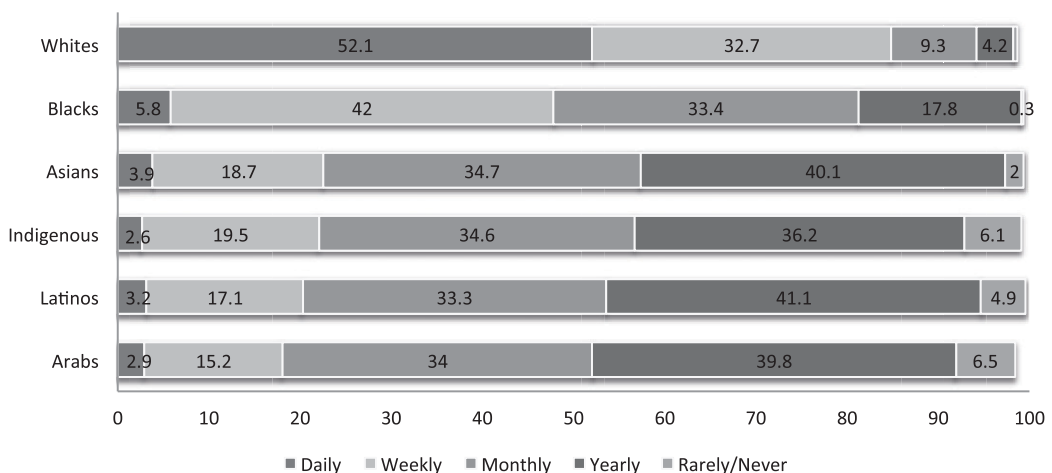
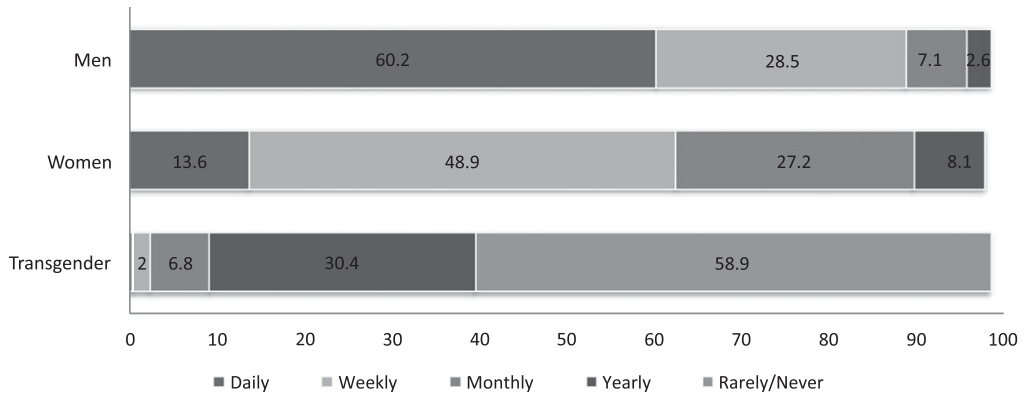


Figure 2: The frequency that teachers report teaching each gender group in their social studies classroom.



covering men daily). 62.5% of teachers reported that they covered women weekly or more frequently. 9.1% of teachers reported covering transgender people on a weekly basis and 58.9% of teachers reported rarely or never teaching about transgender people. These findings suggest that social studies teachers are primarily focusing course content on men and Whites.

While many teachers reported including diverse racial and gender perspectives in their classrooms, several groups were dramatically underrepresented. Aligning with several qualitative studies (Almarza & Fehn, 1998; Castro et al., 2015; Martell, 2013), the coverage of transgender, Asian, Latina/o, and Indigenous people in the teachers' social studies classrooms is infrequent, with most reporting covering those groups monthly or less. As such, despite the social studies teachers' agreement that the curriculum should include everyone's history, it appears that in practice, their classrooms are almost exclusively teaching White history or male history.

To better understand how teachers were covering race, we asked questions about specific race-related topics that were covered (or planned to be covered) in that school year. When teachers were asked questions about specific race-related current events, the Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri (75%) was the most commonly taught event, followed by current immigration policy (59.5%), and the Trayvon Martin shooting (57.6%). Other commonly listed race-related events (in order of percentage) included: the killing of Eric Garner, the removal of American Indian Mascots, Hurricane Katrina, the Tamir Rice shooting, the model minority myth associated with Asian Americans, inequity in school/municipal spending, Black and Latina/o incarceration rates, treatment of Arab Americans after 9/11, the Islamic State of Iraq and Syria, and perceptions of Africa. It was notable that more than half of the teachers taught about three race-related issues, namely Ferguson, Missouri (which had occurred in August of that school year), immigration policy, and the Trayvon Martin shooting.

We also asked questions about specific gender-related topics that were covered (or planned to be covered) in that school year. When teachers were asked questions about specific gender-related current events, the gender pay gap (72.8%) was the most commonly taught event, followed by the Ray Rice elevator assault incident (34.0%) and incidences of rape on college campuses (30.1%). Other commonly listed gender-related events (in order of percentage) included: affirmative action, gender stereotypes

in the media, and transgender athletes. It was notable that only one issue, the gender pay gap, was taught by more than half of the teachers who responded to the survey.

Research Question 2: How does the teaching of race and gender vary by student population?

We employed one-way ANOVAs to determine if there was a difference in the means of responses by teachers in urban, suburban, and rural districts. There were no significant effects. Next, we employed one-way ANOVAs to determine if there was a difference in the means of responses by teachers by school poverty level. There were significant effects for Latina/os [$F(5, 286) = 3.678, p = .003$], Asians [$F(5, 286) = 2.517, p = .030$], Arabs/Middle Easterners [$F(5, 284) = 2.271, p = .048$], and Indigenous people [$F(5, 285) = 3.079, p = .010$]. Teachers at schools with moderate poverty levels (between 30-69%) were more likely to teach about Latina/os, Asians, Arabs/Middle Easterners, and Indigenous people monthly (See Tables 1-4). Because this survey did not ask teachers to explain why specific groups were included or excluded in their curriculum, we are unable to explain this. When we examined our sample of moderate poverty schools, we found a correlation between moderate poverty and racially integrated student bodies (racial segregation was much more prevalent in the districts that were high- and low-poverty). If we connect this finding to the larger body of work on gender and race in social studies (Martell, 2013, 2016; Martell & Stevens, 2017; Stevens & Martell, 2016), it is very possible that the teachers who work in racially diverse settings were more committed to presenting a more diverse view of history.

Research Question 3: How does the teaching of race and gender vary by teacher's background?

To determine differences in perceptions based on teachers' background, we employed independent samples *t*-tests to determine if there was a difference in the means of

Figure 3: The percentage of teachers who report teaching specific race- and gender-related recent events in their social studies classroom (2014-2015 school year).

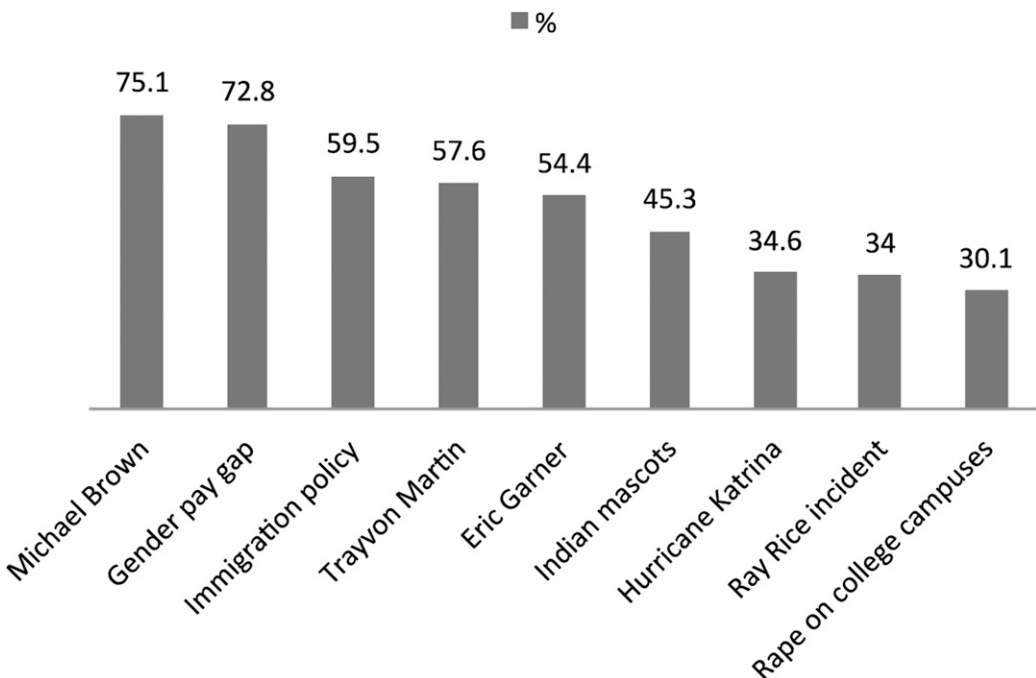


Table 1: Responses to Teaching Latina/os Question, Differences Teachers by Student Poverty-Level

Source	<i>Df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between Groups	5	49.636	9.927	3.678	.003*
Within Groups	286	772.035	2.699		
Total	291	821.671			

NOTE: One-way ANOVA.

* $p < .05$.

responses by teachers of color and White teachers, as well as female and male teachers. There was no significant effect between White teachers and teachers of color. Two questions had significant effects between male and female teachers. Male teachers were more likely than female teachers to agree that it is not a teacher's place to bring up issues of racism [$t(288) = 13.20, p < .05$] and sexism [$t(288) = 12.86, p < .05$]. Although we are unable to draw out the causation behind this finding, we can speculate that the Whiteness and patriarchy in society might influence this. Female teachers were more likely than male teachers to agree that they would teach about gender more if they had more time in the curriculum (See Table 5). Since this survey did not ask teachers to explain why specific groups were included or excluded in their curriculum, we are unable to explain this. There are also relatively few studies that examine differences between men and women in how they teach social studies to inform this finding.

Research Question 4: What would support teachers in teaching about race and gender?

We asked several questions about support for teaching about race and gender. These questions focused on curriculum materials, time dedicated in the curriculum, and professional development opportunities. A low percentage of teachers were satisfied with the amount that women (31.7%) and people of color (37.2%) were covered in the curriculum. Only 13.0% of teachers were satisfied with how much transgender people were covered in the curriculum. One teacher responded that race and gender are an "under-covered, under-explored and under-discussed aspect of our curriculum, and our lives." A majority of teachers said they would teach more about gender (66.1%) and race (62.1%) if they had more time. One teacher explained, "I wish there was more time. It feels like there's always enough time to oversimplify it (Women faced prejudices, then it got better. Gays faced prejudice, then it got better.), but I wish there was more time to REALLY teach it." Similarly, a majority of teachers said they wanted more professional development on teaching gender (69.9%) and race (66.7%). One teacher wrote, "I feel it is difficult to keep gender lessons from becoming boys against girls. I wish I had more curriculum support with this." The teachers reported being constrained by the state/local curriculum, but they also desired more professional development around issues of race and gender, with more than 2 in 3 teachers reporting this need.

Table 2: Responses to Teaching Asians Question, Differences Teachers by Student Poverty-Level

Source	<i>Df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between Groups	5	32.336	6.467	2.517	.030*
Within Groups	286	734.907	2.570		
Total	291	767.243			

NOTE: One-way ANOVA.

* $p < .05$.

Table 3: Responses to Teaching Indigenous People Question, Differences Teachers by Student Poverty-Level

Source	<i>Df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between Groups	5	43.914	8.783	3.079	.010*
Within Groups	285	812.877	2.852		
Total	290	856.790			

NOTE: One-way ANOVA.

* $p < .05$.

Discussion

The findings from this study highlight three important dilemmas that teachers face in centering race and gender in their social studies classrooms. First, despite being comfortable with teaching about race and gender equity, teachers may be inclined to teach the curriculum the way they always have or the way their colleagues do. Although the social studies teachers in this study reported being comfortable teaching about sexism and racism, they continued to heavily focus their curriculum on the White and male experiences of the past and present. Their comfort in teaching about race and gender did not translate to relatively high levels of content related to women or people of color in their classrooms. Tyack and Tobin (1994) have argued that there is a “grammar of schooling,” or the regular structure and rules of schools, that prevents changes in schools. We speculate that the grammar of schooling may also impact attempts to change the way race and grammar is taught in schools. The maleness and Whiteness of social studies (Chandler, 2015; Crocco, 2003; King & Chandler, 2016; Noddings, 1992, 2001) is so entrenched in our schools that the teachers in this study, despite a desire to more often teach about race and gender, have been hesitant to go against the traditional curriculum. It can be incredibly difficult, and professionally risky, for one or even a small group of social studies teacher in a school to center race and gender in their classrooms without support from their colleagues. It may also be difficult to engage in this work when colleagues or parents may even disagree with or oppose it.

Second, teachers often rely on what Noddings (2001) called an “add and stir” approach to diversity in the curriculum. Our survey results could not tell us if the social studies teachers in this study were truly integrating discussions of race and gender or simply implementing discrete lessons on particular groups. While the majority of teachers reported teaching about race and gender regularly, we cannot know if those lessons are presented separate from the mainstream curriculum or examine the role of race and gender in wider social structures (King & Chandler, 2016; Noddings, 2001). For instance, teachers could be routinely teaching standalone lessons, such as the role of women during World War II or racial disparities in police stops, rather than embedding race- and gender-related perspectives throughout their regular lessons.

Table 4: Responses to Teaching Arabs Question, Differences Teachers by Student Poverty-Level

Source	<i>Df</i>	<i>SS</i>	<i>MS</i>	<i>F</i>	<i>p</i>
Between Groups	5	30.892	6.178	2.271	.048*
Within Groups	284	772.777	2.721		
Total	289	803.669			

NOTE: One-way ANOVA.

* $p < .05$.

Table 5: Responses to Selected Survey Items, Differences Female ($n = 217$) and Male Teachers ($n = 291$)

	Female <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	Male <i>M</i> (<i>SD</i>)	<i>t</i> - Value ^b	Effect Size ^c
It is not a teacher's place to bring up racism. ^a	1.28 (.575)	1.48 (.764)	2.487	.013*
It is not a teacher's place to bring up sexism.	1.29 (.578)	1.48 (.765)	2.505	.013*
I would teach about gender more if I had more time in the curriculum.	3.98 (.920)	3.54 (.939)	4.045	.000*

^aMaximum score = 5 (Strongly Agree).

^bTwo-tailed independent *t*-test.

^cEffect Size: Calculated using Glass's Δ ; $r^2 = t^2 / (t^2 + df)$.

* $p < .05$.

Third, we must acknowledge the role of Whiteness and maleness in social studies standards as influencing how teachers approach this work. Several studies have described the influence of state and national standards on teachers' instruction, especially on content choices (Grant, 2001, 2007). At the same time, social studies standards often lack a focus on racial or gender equity (Au, 2009, 2013; Engebretson, 2014). In Massachusetts, where this study took place, the history and social science framework is primarily a content list dominated by White and male figures (Massachusetts Department of Education, 2003). If teachers are required to cover the content included in the state standards, we assume that is a major influence on what content they cover, even if they express a desire to cover race and gender more often. A lack of attention to race and gender in the standards may also allow teachers, and specifically White and male teachers, an easy reason to avoid teaching race and gender in their classrooms.

Implications

This study makes several contributions to our understanding of social studies teachers' perceptions around teaching race and gender in their classrooms. First, this study is the first to survey a large number of social studies teachers specifically on their perceptions of race and gender in their classrooms. Since this study is bound by its context, it would be helpful if similar surveys were replicated in more states or nationally. While there are a growing number of studies that examine social studies teachers' practices related to race and gender inequity, there are no known surveys of teachers' perceptions that ask specific questions related to race and gender. This survey also asked teachers about their needs related to teaching gender and race. Moreover, connecting to CRT and CFT, this survey specifically asks questions related to racial and gender inequity, which have not been commonly found on other surveys of social studies teachers. This study helps us better understand if the teachers perceive their role as teaching not only about race and gender, but specifically gender and racial inequity (King & Chandler, 2016; Lather, 1992). Our assumption is that few policymakers or teacher educators are gathering this level of feedback from teachers on their professional development needs or their views of the state-level curriculum.

There is a need to know more about teachers' views of race and gender in social studies. Do similar perceptions exist in other states and across the United States? We encourage others to replicate this study in other states to help us understand a national picture of race and gender in social studies. Additionally, any future national surveys of social studies

teachers should include questions that better home in on the perceptions of teachers related to race and gender and ask questions specific to each. Moreover, this survey did not ask specific questions about the types of practices social studies teachers are using to teach about race and gender. We encourage future surveys of social studies teachers' perceptions on race and gender that would specifically ask questions about pedagogy, so we may better understand how teachers are addressing these issues in their classrooms.

The teachers' responses in this study highlight the need for greater inclusion of people of color, women, and transgender people in the social studies curriculum. Clearly certain groups, namely Latina/o, Asian, Indigenous, Arab/Middle Eastern, and transgender people, are severely underrepresented in the social studies classroom. Additionally, Blacks and women, while receiving more coverage than the aforementioned groups, are relatively underrepresented in the curriculum compared to Whites. We speculate that the voices of these groups are often relegated to the margins of the social studies classroom and generally appear in a handful of civil rights related units, such as slavery, modern civil rights, women's rights, immigration, and forced migration to reservations. This study shows that more research needs to examine how teachers can move race and gender to the center of their social studies classrooms.

The teachers' responses in this study highlight the need for more professional development around issues of race and gender. There is limited research on how much preservice preparation or inservice professional development teachers receive around teaching race (Castro, 2014; Castro, Field, Bauml, & Morowski, 2012) or gender (Crocco, 2008). The data in this study showed that the social studies teachers in this study received little support around teaching race and gender, but also desired it to be a major component of their professional learning. Previous studies also highlighted the difficulty teachers face in approaching race and gender, which many teachers may consider controversial or taboo topics (Chandler, 2010, 2015; Crocco, 2008; Hess, 2004). Instead, we need professional development that helps teachers regularly approach race and gender in their classrooms. In her recent review of the impact of professional development on teachers' instruction, Kennedy (2016) found that most effective programs: (1) focused not only on content but also improving student learning, (2) included strategies or insights, rather than prescriptive methods, and (3) involve coaching specifically related to lesson planning. We envision professional development programs that focus on ways to integrate race and gender-related content into the curriculum in a way that will improve student learning through making the content relevant. There is a growing body of research that shows making social studies content culturally relevant increases student learning (Aronson & Laughter, 2016), and this work should help offer strategies for social studies teachers on how to center race and gender in their classrooms. It would not be enough to simply expose teachers to new race and gender-related content; they should be supported in constructing lesson plans around that content and in their teaching of those lessons in the classroom, possibly through instructional coaching. While a good first step would be to make the content of professional development more racially and gender diverse, it is equally important that professional development help teachers root the teaching of race and gender upon a larger understanding of inequity. Furthermore, it should integrate race- and gender-related themes across lessons, especially when the content of those lessons may not typically include race or gender-related perspectives. We envision race- and gender-conscious teachers and scholars more regularly visiting schools and educating teachers on the nuances of teaching these complex topics as a continued part of their curriculum, rather than in the margins. Additionally, we hope to see professional development in which those educated teachers, in turn, lead their own communities to focus on how to teach race and gender as part of the mainstream curriculum. Ultimately, by

making the social studies curriculum better representative of the racial and gender experiences of all people, as well as increasing professional development and support, we may see the practices of social studies teachers become more centered on gender and race.

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Appendix A
Survey Questions

1. I am comfortable discussing issues of race/ethnicity in my classroom.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

2. I am comfortable discussing issues of gender in my classroom.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

3. I teach about Blacks/African Americans/Africans/Afro-Caribbeans in my social studies (including history) courses.

- 1-Every Day
- 2-A Few Times per Week
- 3-Once a Week
- 4-A Few Times per Month
- 5-Once a Month
- 6-A Few Times per Year
- 7-Once a Year
- 8-Rarely or Never

4. I teach about Latinos/Hispanics/Brazilians/Latin Americans in my social studies (including history) courses.

- 1-Every Day
- 2-A Few Times per Week
- 3-Once a Week
- 4-A Few Times per Month
- 5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

5. I teach about Asians/Asian Americans in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

6. I teach about the Indigenous people/American Indians/Native Americans in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

7. I teach about Arab Americans/Arabs/Middle Easterners in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

8. I teach about Whites/European Americans/Europeans in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

9. I teach about women in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

10. I teach about men in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Every Day

2-A Few Times per Week

3-Once a Week

4-A Few Times per Month

5-Once a Month

6-A Few Times per Year

7-Once a Year

8-Rarely or Never

11. I teach about transgender people in my social studies (including history) courses.

- 1-Every Day
- 2-A Few Times per Week
- 3-Once a Week
- 4-A Few Times per Month
- 5-Once a Month
- 6-A Few Times per Year
- 7-Once a Year
- 8-Rarely or Never

12. The social studies classroom is place where issues of racial inequity should be addressed.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

13. The social studies classroom is place where issues of gender inequity should be addressed.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

14. I am satisfied with the amount that people of color are covered in my social studies (including history) courses.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

15. I am satisfied with the amount that women are covered in my social studies (including history) courses.

- 1-Strongly disagree

2-Disagree

3-Neither agree nor disagree

4-Agree

5-Strongly agree

16. I am satisfied with the amount that transgender people are covered in my social studies (including history) courses.

1-Strongly disagree

2-Disagree

3-Neither agree nor disagree

4-Agree

5-Strongly agree

17. I am satisfied with the amount that people of color are covered in the curricular materials (including textbooks) that I use.

1-Strongly disagree

2-Disagree

3-Neither agree nor disagree

4-Agree

5-Strongly agree

18. I am satisfied with the amount that women are covered in the curricular materials (including textbooks) that I use.

1-Strongly disagree

2-Disagree

3-Neither agree nor disagree

4-Agree

5-Strongly agree

19. I am satisfied with the amount that transgender people are covered in the curricular materials (including textbooks) that I use.

1-Strongly disagree

2-Disagree

3-Neither agree nor disagree

4-Agree

5-Strongly agree

20. I would teach about race more if I had more time in the curriculum.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

21. I would teach about gender in more if I had more time in the curriculum.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

22. I would like to have more professional development on teaching about race.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

23. I would like to have more professional development on teaching about gender.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

24. One of the goals of my teaching is to reduce racism.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

25. One of the goals of my teaching is to reduce sexism.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

26. It is not a teacher's place to bring up issues of racism.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

27. It is not a teacher's place to bring up issues of sexism.

- 1-Strongly disagree
- 2-Disagree
- 3-Neither agree nor disagree
- 4-Agree
- 5-Strongly agree

28. I cover issues related to race. . .

- 1-in my required courses more.
- 2-in my elective courses more.
- 3-about equally in my elective and required courses.
- 4-Unable to answer: I only teach required courses.
- 5-Unable to answer: I only teach elective courses.

29. I cover issues related to gender. . .

- 1-in my required courses more.
- 2-in my elective courses more.
- 3-about equally in my elective and required courses.
- 4-Unable to answer: I only teach required courses.
- 5-Unable to answer: I only teach elective courses.

30. I taught (in the past) about the following events this year (check all that apply):

- 1-Hurricane Katrina
- 2-The Trayvon Martin shooting in Sanford, Florida
- 3-The death of Eric Garner in New York, New York
- 4-The Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri
- 5-Current immigration policy (i.e. DREAM Act, Obama’s use of executive action, Murrieta California Immigration Protests)
- 6-Protests of use of American Indians as sports mascots (i.e. Washington Red Skins, Cleveland Indians)
- 7-The gender pay gap
- 8-Incidences of rape on college campuses
- 9-Ray Rice elevator assault incident

31. I plan (in the past or the future) on teaching about the following events this year (check all that apply):

- 1-Hurricane Katrina
- 2-The Trayvon Martin shooting in Sanford, Florida
- 3-The death of Eric Garner in New York, New York
- 4-The Michael Brown shooting in Ferguson, Missouri
- 5-Current immigration policy (i.e. DREAM Act, Obama’s use of executive action, Murrieta California Immigration Protests)
- 6-Protests of use of American Indians as sports mascots (i.e. Washington Red Skins, Cleveland Indians)
- 7-The gender pay gap
- 8-Incidences of rape on college campuses
- 9-Ray Rice elevator assault incident

32. If you taught a particular race- and gender-related recent event not included in Questions 29 or 30, please list here.

Demographic Information

33. Years teaching (including this year):

34. Grade levels

- 1-Early Childhood [Answer 1 will skip to question 37]
- 2-Elementary [Answer 1 will skip to question 37]
- 3-Middle school

4-High school

35. In your current school, what social studies courses have you taught (check all that apply)?

1-U.S. History

2-World History

3-European History/Western Civics/Ancient European Civilizations

4-Global History/Non-Western History/Ancient Asian/African/American Civilizations

5-Government (U.S. or Comparative)

6-Economics (Macro or Micro)

7-Geography/Environmental Studies

8-Ethnic Studies (i.e. African American History, Latino Culture, Asian Studies)

9-Women Studies/Gender Studies

10-Sociology

11-Psychology

12-Law

13-Social Justice (i.e. Facing History and Ourselves, Peer Tolerance)

36. In your current school, what course levels have you taught (check all that apply)?

1-Advanced Placement/Advanced Work

2-International Baccalaureate

3-Upper Level/Honors

4-Middle Level

5-Lower Level

37. What is your racial identity (check all that apply)?

1-Asian/Asian American

2-Black/African American

3-Brazilian

4-Indigenous/American Indian/Native American/Native Hawaiian/Pacific Islander

5-Latino/Hispanic

6-Middle Eastern/Arab American

7-White/Caucasian/European American

8-other

38. What is your gender identity?

- 1-female
- 2-male
- 3-other (please specify)

39. What is your current age?

40. Which best describes your school district?

- 1-urban
- 2-suburban
- 3-rural
- 4-private

41. What percent (%) of your school's population are on free and reduced lunch?

- 1- less than 5%
- 2- 5-9%
- 3- 10-29%
- 4- 30-49%
- 5- 50-69%
- 6- more than 69%

42. What percent (%) of your school's population are students of color (includes Black/African American, Latino/Hispanic, Brazilian, Asian, Native/American Indian)?

- 1- less than 5%
- 2- 5-9%
- 3- 10-29%
- 4- 30-49%
- 5- 50-69%
- 6- more than 69%

43. This survey is anonymous, but to ensure we have a diverse geographic sampling of schools, please enter your school district:_____

Open Response

44. Is it important for teachers to teach about race in their social studies classrooms? If so, why? If not, why not?

45. Is it important for teachers to teach about gender in their social studies classrooms? If so, why? If not, why not?

46. If you have recently taught lessons related to race, could you describe the specific topics and methods that you used with your students?

47. If you have recently taught lessons related to gender, could you describe the specific topics and methods that you used with your students?

48. Please use this space to elaborate on any questions or leave a general comment.

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