This article is taken from the Rethinking Childhood Series book: Earick, E. E. (2009). *Racially Equitable Teaching; Beyond the Whiteness of Professional Development for Early Childhood Educators*. NY: Peter Lang. The book utilizes a critical race theory lens to examine how education is being used as a tool to maintain white privilege. The specific text reprinted here calls attention to the racist ideologies that are being perpetuated in the classroom, gives examples of how these practices are harming children and challenges teachers to begin using transformative practices to create racially equitable teaching for everyone. The reader is referred to the complete book for a more in-depth discussion on race in early childhood education.

Ideology, Race, and Education

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Our public educational system supports White power and privilege that manifests itself in White supremacy. This is accomplished through the reproduction of White racial ideologies in our schools and best exemplified by the widely publicized achievement gap. Scholars in the field of critical race theory have identified prominent racial ideologies and structures that support specific racial projects driving U.S. policy, which I will present shortly. I intend to build on—in theory in the fields of ideology and race—what has been qualitatively and empirically documented in education and explain the need to envision a new theoretical framework for teaching, that of racial equity. This chapter serves as the foundation for RET, theoretically and practically.

In the first section of this chapter, I explore the connection between ideology and critical race theory, specifically looking at how racial ideologies are used as tools to maintain the over-empowerment and privilege of Whites. In the second section, I show, through a discussion of how students have fared traditionally in U.S. public urban schools, how race is the decisive indicator as to whom we privilege in education. My conclusion calls for the awareness of the presence of

race and explicates how White early childhood teachers could begin the process of emancipation from racist ideologies. This process is needed to bring us to the consciousness of how our roles as classroom teachers can perpetuate White supremacist educational practices and to apply trans- formative pedagogies in classrooms that support RET for all students.

Ideology and Critical Race Theory

I present ideology as non-essentialist, not placing it solely in the realm of the conscious as seen in Marxism or unconscious as presented by Marcuse and Althusser, but as multidimensional and moldable. Althusser (1971) argues that Ideological State Apparatuses (ISAs)—institutions such as education—instill in us values, desires, and preferences through ideological practice, which deem individuals and groups as subjects influenced by social contexts. Central to Althusser's theory of ideology is a shift from the subject as a self-conscious agent to a product of society. Although the role of ISAs in the formation of dominant ideologies is critical, the role of agency in transforming our dominant ideologies is equally important. For these reasons, I ground my definition of ideology in the work of Giroux and Eagleton.

Giroux (2001) defines ideology as "the production, consumption and representation of ideas which can either distort or illuminate behavior" (p. 143) that has positive and negative moments. These positive and negative moments either promote social action or become hegemonic. Equally important to the definition is the location of one's behavior. Giroux argues that "human behavior is rooted in a complex nexus of structured needs, common sense, and critical consciousness, and that ideology is located in all of these aspects of human behavior and thought so as to produce multiple subjectivities and perceptions of the world and everyday life" (p. 146). He builds on Italian political theorist Gramsci's notion of ideology as a hegemonic process; however, he critiques Gramsci's view that this process is achieved through the consent of individuals and groups, recognizing that ideology "promotes human agency but at the same time exerts force over individuals and groups" (p. 145), through the "weight" ideology "assumes in dominant discourses, selected forms of socio-

historical knowledge, specific social relations, and concrete material practices" (p. 145). This is a critical point because it allows for structural change in society through the identification of the processes and artifacts that promote hegemony. If we can shift the weight associated with hegemonic ideologies through counterideologies, then the possibility for transformation exists.

Equally important in the discussion of ideology is Eagleton's (1991) assertion that ideology is not simply theory but sets of beliefs that impact our daily lives by possessing the power to control nondominant peoples. To Eagleton, ideology is composed of "ideas and beliefs which help to legitimate the interests of a ruling group or class specifically by distortion and dissimulation" (p.30). This allows for the manifestation and identification of dominant ideologies in the everyday workings of a given society. One method of identifying dominant ideologies is to examine social systems such as education. In public education, White, heterosexual, Eurocentric curriculum distorts the reality of the lived experiences of People of Color in the U.S. (Banks, 1993; Barba, Pang, & Tran, 1992; Janzen, 1994; McIntosh, 2000; Rist, 1991) and projects White power and privilege as natural outcomes of meritocracy and capitalism, thus justifying the racial nature of the achievement gap. This dominant ideology has created a false reality in education that is based on the perception that low-performing students are not hardworking and are maladjusted because of low socioeconomic status. Poverty rates for children are widely publicized and used to support this rhetoric. Educators will say that it is common knowledge that the majority of children living in poverty are Black followed by His- panic/Latino. Indigenous Peoples of the Americas are typically invisible to educators. Policymakers use these statistics to support initiatives such as NCLB, laden with intervention models of education aimed at addressing perceived deficits. If we critically examine the poverty statistics, we see a different reality.

Table 1: Children Under Eighteen Living in Poverty by Race, 2006

Category	Number	Percent
All children under eighteen	13,286,000	17
White only, non-Hispanic	4,507,000	10
Hispanic or Latino	4,112,000	27
Black or African American	3,776,000	33
Asian	358,000	12
American Indian	229,000	33

Data source: Kids Count Data Center http://www.kidscount.org/datacenter/

If we look at the number of children living in poverty (see Table 1), we find that the majority are White, closely followed by Hispanic or Latino and Black or African American. The percent of children living in poverty is based on the total number of children in their racial subgroup, not actual numbers correlated with the total number of children in poverty. We see that a disproportionate number of Hispanic or Latino, Black or African American and Native American children live in poverty and Whites comprise the largest number of children living in poverty. If in fact economic status is the major cause of the low performance in schools, Whites should represent the lowest performance rates in public schools; yet they consistently outperform People of Color on standard measures of success. On the basis of this information, we can observe that low socioeconomic status no longer can account for the racial nature of the achievement gap, and that it is a distortion of reality used by the dominant ideology to justify their overempowerment and privilege in U.S. society. This leads us to the realization that race is in the everyday workings of our belief systems and therefore a central component of ideology.

For critical race theorists, realities such as this have been shaped over time by a series of "social, political, cultural, economic, ethnic, and gender factors and then crystallized into a series of structures that are now inappropriately taken as

'real'" (Guba & Lincoln, 1994, p. 110). Therefore, history and its context are meaningful and rich methodological tools to gain insights and understand the structural components of social inequities. Critical race theory is composed of two strands: equity and democracy. These strands encompass the values, ethics, and beliefs of both individuals and society. In other words, the ideologies held by dominant racial groups translate into whether a society is rooted in equity and democracy. As I exemplified with the current poverty rates of children in the U.S., our educational system distorts data to support a perceived class-based, rather than critical, argument for the achievement gap; this is an effort to justify the overrepresentation of Whites in high-performing schools. This support of the status quo, rather than equity and democracy, is a clear example of why a critical perspective on race is needed in society.

Critical race theory, as Lopez (2001) states, "abandons the neutral concept of a color-blind society in favor of a critical perspective that recognizes the normality and thus invisibility of racism in our daily lives" (p. 30). This promotes a society that understands the permanence of racism, what Bell (1992) terms a "racial reality." I use a critical race lens because the racial reality of early childhood students is one of indoctrination that spreads into notions of a meritocracy through a racialized teacher work force and an educational testing system that privileges Whites over all other peoples. This indoctrination process supports what Hill Collins (2000) terms a "matrix of domination" framework. Within this matrix, wealthy, heterosexual White males are at the top, owning the most power and privilege, and poor, lesbian, third world Black females are at the bottom, owning the least power and privilege. All others fall within this hierarchical matrix in descending order based on perceived racial identity, and thereafter on gender, sexual, and class identities by those of a socially constructed higher status.

In schools this allows for a standards-driven model on the basis of a White criterion group (Blau, 2003, p.1) that privileges White students. Giroux (1995) views this process of schooling as stressing "the primacy of choice over com-

munity, competition over cooperation, and (perceived) excellence over equity"
(pp. ix-xi), or what Freire (1970) terms a "banking model of education" (p. 2).
This ideology supports racial stratification systems historically and currently in
place in the U.S. Race is a salient component of ideology because it is a visible
aspect of ourselves that we present to society. Gender, sex, and language can be
hidden in our society, if one chooses to do so, but race is permanent and
public, playing a defining role in our daily lives.

Racial Ideology

Prominent racial ideologies include color-blind racism,   Whiteness   as
property, the Other, legitimizing invisibility, and racial realism. These
ideologies bridge the conscious and unconscious aspects of race in our society.
A strong point of critical race theorists who study and present racial ideology is
their attention to the relationship between sociocultural-political contexts and
real outcomes for raced peoples. Rather than focusing on a perceived utopian or
humanistic system of beliefs, they critique and illuminate the racist reality of
our society, giving us counternarratives   to the distorted White supremacist
ideologies that have become commonsense notions of reality.

Color-Blind Racism

Grounded in structuralism, Bonilla-Silva builds on Omi and Winant's (1986)
(concept of "racialized societies," categorizing   actors   as those   who are
beneficiaries or subordinates in racialized social systems[i] (2001, pp. 11-12). He
presents the case in White Supremacy and Racism (2001) and Racism without
Racists (2003) that our racialized social system preserves White supremacy
through the racially based frameworks he terms racial ideologies. Ac- cording to
him, color-blind racism is a post–civil rights ideology.

He defines color-blind racism as an ideology that "explains the contemporary
racial inequality as the outcome of nonracial dynamics," allowing Whites to
"rationalize minorities' contemporary status as the product of market
dynamics, naturally   occurring   phenomena and blacks' imputed cultural

limitation" (2003, p.2). Therefore, Whites perceive accepted racial norms as being of nonracial origins, allowing them to justify their position of power and privilege based on perceived moral deficits in People of Color and lower socioeconomic class Whites. And, as we will see, this belief in moral deficits found in color-blind ideology is a result of social and property rights gained by Whites through the Constitution. In effect, color blindness is not what one says but what one does.

Whiteness as Property

Legal scholar Cheryl Harris (1995) deconstructs the relationship between race and property rights that have supported dominant and subordinate roles in US society, through the racialization of identity. She states, "The racialization of identity and the racial subordination of blacks and Native Americans provided the ideological basis for slavery and conquest" (p. 277). It was this domination of People of Color that promoted the legislation of property rights in the U.S. to ensure that Whites were racially and economically superior.

Language surrounding this dominant and subordinate relationship has

shifted over the years from "slave" and "free" to "Black" and "White" (p. 278) and more recently from "underprivileged" and "privileged" to "at risk" or "target population" and "high achieving," in an effort to mask the reality of race in society. Yet one only needs to examine our laws to see that Whites legislated to dominate, and the ramifications of those laws are the lived experience of all Americans today. Therefore, if our legal rights represent liberty and jus- tice, what is good and true and righteous in the U.S., they also constitute a system of beliefs that is racially motivated and maintained.

This ideology of Whiteness as property is grounded in material rights that have become accepted social norms. Harris explains how the ideology came to be invisible:

> Materially, these advantages became institutionalized privileges: ideologically, they became part of the settled expectations of whites—a product of the unalterable original bargain. The law masks as natural what is chosen; it obscures the consequences of social selection as inevitable. The result is that the distortions in social relations are immunized from truly effective intervention, because the existing inequities are obscured and rendered nearly invisible. (p. 287)

> To change the historical and current ramifications of Whiteness as property, the legal system must initiate and support legislation, such as affirmative action, to counter the belief that property is "the right to prohibit infringement on settled expectation, ignoring countervailing equitable claims predicated on the right to inclusion" (p. 290).

The "Other"

As we have seen with the ideologies of color-blind racism and Whiteness as property, subordination of People of Color has been sustained by social norms rationalized through stereotypes embedded in belief systems. These beliefs give the appearance of being "logical and natural," resulting in what Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, and Thomas (1995) call legitimating ideology. The structure, in place and supported through legitimating ideology, has created a hierarchy in which the "existence of a clearly subordinated other group is contrasted with the norm in a way that reinforces identification with the dominant group" (p. 112). This dichotomy empowers those perceived as the dominant group to avoid being identified with the Other, constituting a less than human status. Fanon identified in Black Skins, White Masks (1967) the fear based on skin color and race embedded in Western thought that creates this Other. He explains how we only need to look at metaphors embedded in our language to illuminate the concrete and/or symbolic aspects of racism:

> The black man stands for the bad side of the character
> blackness, darkness, shadow, shades, night, the labyrinths of
> the earth, abysmal depths, blacken someone's reputation;
> and on the other side, the bright look of innocence, the white
> dove of peace, magical, heavenly light. (p. 189)

Crenshaw et al. present a legal case of how legitimating ideology uses the Other to promote racism. They argue that "Racism helps to create an illusion of unity through the oppositional force of a symbolic "other" creating a bond, a burgeoning common identity of nonstigmatized parties—whose identity and interests are defined in opposition to the other" (pp. 112-113). Laws awarded social and property rights to Whites, creating structural racism and the need for the symbolic Other.

Legitimizing Invisibility

Land acquisition in the U.S. was based on the right of explorers to colonize and conquer, and thus legitimize the extermination of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. On South Carolina's Sciway Web page it reads that the Congaree Indians are "extinct." Yet it is documented on the same Web page that at least half of the Congaree Indians who survived a smallpox epidemic in 1698 were taken as slaves in 1716 by the European settlers in Columbia and Charleston after the Yemassee War of 1715. It is more than possible that these people gave birth to children in South Carolina, calling into question the use of the word extinct. Congaree National Park mentions only the Congaree In- dians' smallpox deaths on a timeline. Both groups relegate these first peoples of South Carolina as invisible Others. Sciway accomplishes this through the use of the term extinct and the Congaree National Park through exclusion. South Carolina is by no means unique in its legitimization of invisibility of Indigenous Peoples of the Americas. In fact, it one of the thirteen states that allows for state recognition of tribes to self-govern.

The U.S. mandates that Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, whom they identify as Native peoples, can be recognized by the federal government only if they meet the criteria that include "The petitioner has maintained political influence or authority over its members as an autonomous entity from historical times until the present" (25 CRF Part 83-b). As we can see with the Congaree Indians, 25 CRF Part 83-b would be impossible to accomplish since the surviving peoples were enslaved. As these laws legitimize invisibility, they allow society to do the same. Ruth Frankenberg (1993) studied forty White women across the U.S. and found that "racist discourse frequently accords a hyper visibility to African Americans and a relative invisibility to Asian Americans and Native Americans" (p. 12). For Blacks and African Americans in the U.S. the one-drop rule provided a level of visibility not applied to Indigenous Peoples of the Americas, since their existence was and is based on petition.

Racial Realism

Idealist ideologies include capitalism and the American Dream. Each is an example of legitimating ideologies as presented by Crenshaw et al. that are dependent upon the Other to justify the subordination of peoples in the U.S. Each creates and supports the myth that hard work will result in economic and social rewards, when in reality each is based on extracted labor resulting in commodity marketing that rewards a small dominant population. Social realism developed to counter idealism, which was viewed as a study of abstractions leading to false consciousness. Realists focused on what they saw and recorded these artifacts in a dispassionate manner, critiquing dominant ideology.

Legal realists challenged the traditional law structure to reform legislation toward a more equitable and just society (Bell, 1995, pp. 302-304). This was done by focusing on logic as applied to rights theory and its precedent. Bell holds that because racial equality is not possible, there is a need to narrow the field of realisms to racial realism to support equitable and just legal and social efforts. Adopting this ideology acknowledges the need for a "mechanism to

make life bearable in a society where blacks are a permanent, subordinate class" (p. 307).

Bell identifies the logic of racial realism when she argues that

> casting off the burden of equality ideology will lift the sights, providing a bird-eye view of situations that are distorted by race. From this broadened perspective on events and problems, we can better appreciate and cope with racial subordination. (p.308)

Although Bell originally presented racial realism as a Black project, this logic has applications for all groups in the U.S. subordinate to Whites since the reality for all People of Color is that they were, and are, subject to White supremacy. With this in mind, I present racial realism as an ideology that can deconstruct structural racism by exposing color-blind racism, Whiteness as property, Othering, and legitimizing invisibility.

Racial Structures

To perpetuate these racial ideologies, society uses theoretical structures that allow for the distortion or illumination of social behaviors. Three prominent structures are hegemony, racial formation, and White supremacy. These structures mark a movement toward re-envisioning race as a central component to ideology, legitimizing race as the framework of privilege and power, and moving it into the realm of reality rather than perception.

Hegemony

Gramsci presented his theory of hegemony, which recognized the importance of ideology, human agency, and culture in society, in an effort to eliminate economic determinism from Marxism and present a more dialectic theory to explain how society is ruled and organized. Four major tenets of hegemony are as follows:

1. A dominant group succeeds in gaining consent from the masses to accept their moral, political, and cultural values and to follow their leadership;
2. Methods of gaining consent can include physical force, coercion, intellectual, moral, and cultural enticements;
3. Social and class struggles often serve as the catalyst of new hegemonic relationships and serve to shape ideas and beliefs of society;
4. Dominant ideology becomes "common sense" and widely accepted.

Hegemony was presented as "the practices of a capitalist class or its representatives to gain state power and maintain it later" (Simon, 1982, p. 23). Hegemony to Gramsci was the infusion of a system of values, attitudes, beliefs, and morality throughout a society, supporting a status quo in power relations. Hegemony thus becomes an "organizing principle" disseminated in everyday life through a socializing process that is a combination of coercion and con- sent. This results in the creation of "common sense" notions of reality that benefit the dominant group, normalizing their privileged place in society. Gramsci advanced Marx's notion of superstructures by categorizing them as those overtly coercive and those that were not. Overtly coercive superstructures were what he called the state or political society, predominately   public institutions such as the government, police, armed forces, and the legal system. Noncoercive superstructures or civil society included churches, trade unions, political parties, cultural associations, clubs, and families. Although schools were originally categorized as non-coercive, with NCLB and the promotion of national standards and testing   we can argue that public education   today is overtly coercive.

It is important to note that to Gramsci, a Marxist, society had three inter-related components: production, the state, and the civil societies. Therefore, hegemony

was originally grounded in a class argument that explains the domination of the masses as a result of their own consent. He believed that to change society from capitalism to socialism, an elite group of revolutionaries, which he referred to as intellectuals, had to create a counterhegemony for the masses. He discussed two types of intellectuals: traditional and organic. Traditional intellectuals were those individuals who viewed themselves as autonomous from dominant society; they included clergy and academics. Organic intellectuals emerged from the working class, were indoctrinated into the dominant system, and assisted in keeping the status quo until they shifted their ideological beliefs to counterhegemony. Gramsci advocated agency and discussed the need for alliances between traditional and organic intellectuals to create the counterhegemony and then gain support of the masses.

Although Gramsci did not directly address race, I view his concept of "commonsense" ideas as a tool to identify ways in which domination is racially manipulated in society today. I will use television as a point of analysis because it reaches the widest cross-section of society. In the U.S., our children watch an average of three and a half hours of television per day, starting as young as eighteen months of age. This translates into twenty-four hours of TV viewing a week. If we calculate our children's viewing patterns through secondary education, we find that they will have, on average, spent 13,000 hours in the classroom and 18,000 hours in front of a TV (Cben, 1995). During this viewing time the children are exposed to the following racial images on average: 75% White; 17% African American; 3% Asian Pacific; 2% Latino/Hispanic; 2% Other; 2% not known; 2% Native American (Children Now, 2001, 2003). Comedy programs have the least diverse cast; yet these are the primary viewing choices of young children. In addition, the majority of diverse casting is in drama programming aired after 10 p.m. Young children have this narrow lens to adopt role models on American television.

U.S. Demographic-Diversity of Children reports that in the U.S. 65% of children identify as White; 16% Latino/Hispanic; 14% African American; 4% Asian

Pacific; and 1% as Native American. According to the Children Now 1996 report "Through the Eyes of a Child," the number of children in the news were 64% White; 22% African American; 12% Latino/Hispanic; and 2% Asian American. Although on the surface these numbers do not seem grossly dissimilar, analysis of the context of these news reports was disturbing. "Through the Eyes of a Child" (Children Now, 1996) reported:

African American and Latino children were more likely than other children to be placed in the context of violence; 62% of the stories aired involved African American and Latino youth focused on crimes involving weapons, assault, and the taking of hostages, twice the proportion of stories about White youth in similar contexts; African American and Latino children were most likely to be the subject of murder stories;

1. White children were the focus of stories about missing children;
2. White females were most likely to be depicted as victims;
3. African American males were more likely to be portrayed as perpetrators of crime and violence than any other group.

U.S. media studies tell us that Whites are overrepresented in positive mes-saging while People of Color are overrepresented in negative messaging in both entertainment and news television (Children Now, 2000, 2003), creating a commonsense idea that Whites are better than People of Color and informing the identities of our children.

Print media have similar trends. During news coverage of Hurricane Katrina, two photos on August 30, 2005 portrayed individuals wading through water and holding grocery items in their hands. The first photo read, "Two residents wade through chest-deep water after finding bread and soda from a local grocery store after Hurricane Katrina came through the area in New Orleans, Louisiana."

Photo 1: Katrina Victims. AFP/Getty Images/Chris Grythen

The second photo read, "A young man walks through chest-deep flood water after looting a grocery store in New Orleans."

Photo 2: Katrina Victims. August 30, 2005/Associated Press

Photo 1 is of two White individuals and the term "finding" is used to de- scribe their actions. Photo 2 is of an individual of color and the term "looting" is used to describe his actions. These terms project Whites as hardworking, who earn/find what they need to survive, with honorable and intelligent at- tributes, while the person of color is opportunistic and unethical.

On the basis of the commonsense notion of racial inferiority, media distortions are supporting beliefs around race and identity that privilege Whites over all other peoples. Therefore, current hegemonic ideas use race to influence these beliefs and persuade society that People of Color are less educated, make less money, have a higher rate of involvement in crime and lower ethical standards. This creates an ideology that promotes the status quo that Whites are superior to People of Color. This in turn encourages People of Color, who do not wish to be associated with these negative images, to support White power and privilege.

Racial Formation

The historical evolution of hegemony and projects "in which bodies and social structures are represented and organized" are central to Omi and Winant's

(1994) racial formation theory (RFT) (pp. 66-67). Racial formation is "the sociohistorical process, by which racial categories are created, inhabited, transformed, and destroyed" (p. 55). It was first presented in response to reductionist theories that treated race as an epiphenomenon of class, ethnicity, or nation. In this theory race "is a matter of both social structure and cultural representation" (p. 56). One cannot exist without the other. Structure and representation are linked through racial projects that are "simultaneously an interpretation, representation, or explanation of racial dynamics, and an effort to reorganize and redistribute resources along particular racial line" (p. 56). How these racial projects are mediated in society present outcomes that are the processes of racial formation.

Because this process is situated in history, it has changed over time and will continue to do so in the future. Omi and Winant trace the evolution of modern racial awareness from its emergence and religious justification during the rise of European power and colonization of the Americas. The shift from religious justification to biological justification and essentialism occurred in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries while anticolonialism and civil rights movements of the twentieth century marked the recognition that race was socially constructed and politically motivated.

Prior to the Civil War, only Whites were allowed to engage in U.S. politics. Omi and Winant define this as a time of racial dictatorship (p. 65). They identify three key consequences of the period: (1) American identity as White; (2) organization of the colorline; (3) consolidation of oppositional racial consciousness and organization (p. 66). After the Civil War a transition to democracy began that is still in progress today. The ruling class historically and currently is White and dominates all others. Omi and Winant introduce hegemony to explain how this is possible. They "locate the origins of hegemony right within the heart of the racial dictatorship" (p. 67), using the example of slaves taking the religious and philosophical tools of the oppressor to gain emancipation. So dictatorship and domination led to democracy and hegem-

ony. It is at this point that "hegemonic forms of racial rule—those based on consent—eventually supplant those based on coercion" (p. 67). Specific political projects concerning class, gender, and sex are not omitted in RFT but referred to as "regions" of hegemony just as race is a region, each intersecting and mediating the others.

Racism

Omi and Winant use RFT to present a reformulated concept of racism. First, race and racism are differentiated. They stress that the two terms should not be interchanged and that not all racial projects are racist. They present race as having "no fixed meaning, but is constructed and transformed socio-historically through competing political projects, through the necessary and ineluctable link between the structural and cultural dimensions of race in the U.S." (p. 71). For a racial project to be racist, it must "create or reproduce structures of domination based on essentialist categories of race" (p. 71). Omi and Winant are careful to differentiate between essentialism and strategic essentialism. Essentialism works toward domination while strategic essentialism works toward emancipation. Second, they address the debate surrounding whether racism is structural or ideological. They argue that "ideological beliefs have structural consequences and that social structures give rise to beliefs, therefore racial ideology and social structure mutually shape the nature of racism in a complex, dialectical, and overdetermined manner" (pp. 74-75).

Omi and Winant do not believe that racism is only a White problem. They discuss how Jewish and Arab peoples can be victims of racism by both Whites and People of Color and argue that racism and racial political projects are not all equal. For instance, White supremacists hold more power to coerce other groups because they use dominant hegemonic discourse to rearticulate their ideologies, creating standards and norms in society. In fact, they hold that today racial hegemony is not only messy but complex and rooted in the historical inequities—structural and ideological—that have emerged since World War II (pp. 75-76).   It is made up of "multi-polarities of racial identities" (p. 158) that cross and weave with gender and sex. They conclude that although racism

and White supremacy exist today, "the achievement of victim status (by People of Color), beginning in earnest around the turn of the century, was a challenge to White supremacy in some ways as serious as the civil rights and egalitarian challenges of the post–World War II period" (p. 158) and that these events demand that today we notice race, see race, and challenge racism rather than live in a color-blind society.

White Supremacy

Scholars of critical race and pedagogy have recently called for a critical analysis of White privilege (Allen, 2005; Bonilla-Silva, 2005; Leonardo, 2005). Omi and Winant present White supremacy as a specific racial project whereas scholars of critical race and pedagogy present it as the underlying structure that allows racial hierarchies and racism to exist and proliferate both globally and nationally from which White privilege is an outcome. Zeus Leonardo argues in Critical Pedagogy and Race (2005) that

> A critical look at white privilege, or the analysis of white racial hegemony, must be complemented by an equally rigorous examination of white supremacy, or the analysis of white racial domination. This is a necessary departure because although the two processes are related the conditions of white supremacy make white privilege possible. In order for white racial hegemony to saturate everyday life, it has to be secured by a process of domination, or those acts, decisions, and policies that white subjects perpetrate on people of color. (p. 37)

Whites discussing Whiteness studies. These are terms that White liberals can feel good about using; they assist in an idealist belief that equity is just around the corner. White conservatives can accept these terms as outcomes of capitalism and living in a meritocracy, I present these as safe White words in the discussion of race and racism. The terms can be useful and productive as a place to

begin discussions with Whites on their racial reality, but when they are the sole focus of antiracist work they simply mask the root assumptions of White supremacy from which they evolved, giving the illusion that racial equity is currently in action. It is, therefore, understandable why so few alliances have been forged between critical race scholars of color and critical White scholars. Ricky Lee Allen addresses this phenomenon in Whiteness and Critical Pedagogy (2005). In his analysis of why People of Color on the U.S. educational left have difficulty accepting critical pedagogy, he argues that "our (Whites) diminution of race has alienated those who do not have the privilege to ignore White supremacy—no matter what economic form it takes" (p. 54).

This movement marks a departure from the ideological focus of Omi and Winant's RFT and recognition of the need to move toward a more general concept of racialized social systems (Bonilla-Silva, 2005) as a way to understand racial phenomena. Bonilla-Silva argues that racialized social systems refer to "societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races" (p. 11). He uses the term White supremacy as "shorthand" for the concept of racialized social systems "since they emerged as part of the momentous expansion of the world-system in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries which included the development of global white supremacy" (Balibar & Wallerstein, 1991; Mills,1997).

Bonilla-Silva (2005, pp. 17-18) presents "New Racism" as a series of elements that have developed since the 1960s and constitutes our new racial structure. They are

- The increasingly covert nature of racial discourse and racial practices;
- The avoidance of racial terminology and the ever-growing claim by Whites that they experience reverse racism;
- The elaboration of a racial agenda over political matters that eschews direct racial references;
- The invisibility of most mechanisms to reproduce racial inequality;

- • The rearticulation of some racial practices characteristic of the Jim Crow period of race relations.

White supremacy now is a structural term used to understand racial phenomenon, and the elements, tenants, and root assumptions of New Racism can be used as tools of analysis when discussing racial ideology, discourse, and outcomes. This is not to say that racial projects as presented by Omi and Winant (1997) are not useful tools of analysis. They simply are one way of looking at larger racial phenomena within a White supremacist structural theory where White racial hegemony and White racial domination are a racial reality.

White Racial Projects and U.S. Policy

Omi and Winant's racial projects are a useful tool in examining how White privilege and the associated power outcomes of White supremacy are shaped. This is presented in detail by Winant in Behind Blue Eyes: Whiteness and Contemporary U.S. Racial Politics (2004). Using racial projects as a lens, he "examines racial politics and culture as they shape the status of whites" (p. 3) in the post–civil rights era. He calls it the "new politicization of whiteness" and analyzes Whiteness through current political projects. As I stated earlier, racial projects are a critical component to RFT (Omi & Winant, 1994) and can be classified by historical and/or current political ideology. Winant focuses on five racial projects he argues are key to understanding how meaning is made of Whiteness and White identities. They are the far right, new right, neoconservative, neoliberal, and new abolitionist, each of which I will review and encapsulate below.

The Far Right

To Winant this is the "cornerstone of white identity," grounded in the belief in "unalterable differences between Whites and People of Color" (p. 6). It is characterized by traditional beliefs of biological superiority and modernizing

tendencies of fascism and neofascism. Fascists openly support Nazi and separatist racial ideologies. Neofascists advocate White supremacy and White nationalism based on racial grounds. Therefore, if there is a group to advance people of color, there should be a group to advance Whites. They view themselves as victims of an inequitable racial system that privileges People of Color through government-supported financial incentives.

The New Right

Winant (2004) grounds the new right in the "resistance" to the Black movement of the 1950s and 1960s. The new right, as with the far right, also holds that Whites are disenfranchised, but they differ on three key issues (p.7):

1. It presents racism and White supremacy covertly through the use of words rather than overtly;
2. It accepts and embraces mainstream political activity;
3. It can accept some non-White social and political participation and membership if it is "color-blind" and adheres to the authoritarian nationalist formula.
4.

The Wallace campaign of 1968 successfully resulted in the formation of a right-wing populous aware of the existing racial hierarchy and the power associated with that hierarchy for Whites. The new right knows that to keep the status quo, they must present White ideology as normal and thus coerce People of Color to accept their values, morals, and beliefs as truth.

The Neoconservative

Neoconservatives use universalism and individualism, which deny racial difference, to preserve their power and privilege and support the status quo. Universalism allows for the language and terms of equity and democracy to be applied in issues of race but does not account for undeniable inequitable outcomes in society. This is accomplished by focusing on individual rights over collective rights. In matters of race, neoconservatives adhere to an antistatist

and laissez-faire ideology, opting to recognize and accept ethnicity paradigms. Winant (2004) presents Williams' (1982) analysis that neoconservatives "argue that the state cannot ameliorate poverty through social policy, but in fact exacerbates it" (p. 8), effectively causing society to question if racial inequities can be tracked in society. This conflicts with census and public employee demographic data collection, which races each of us on a daily basis.

The Neoliberal

Neoliberals also deny racial differences but rather than preserve their position they present a need to limit it. The neoliberal response to race- and class- based forms of subordination is to "systematically narrow the differences that divide working- and middle-class people as a strategy for improving the 'life chances' of minorities who are disproportionately poor" (p. 9). So neoliberals focus on social rather than cultural structures in society. This allows for class-based arguments concerning equity to proliferate. Central to the success of neoliberalism is its attention to the need for a transracial political agenda. Yet its unwillingness to address the structural components of White supremacy gives little substance to that agenda and, in fact, can be viewed as a new form of coercion to promote White racial hegemony.

The New Abolitionist

This project stresses "the invention of whiteness as a pivotal development in the rise of U.S. capitalism" (Omi & Winant, 1994 p. 10) and accepts the reality of White supremacy in society. In addition, it recognizes the construction of Whiteness as central to the rise and continuation of capitalistic rule. Abolitionists work to reject White privilege and identity through critical analysis of what Whiteness means and becoming "race traitors" or those that "re- fuse to collude with white supremacy" (p. 11). Although new abolitionists "adhere to a social construction model of race, they employ it chiefly to argue against biologistic conceptions of race, which is fine; but they fail to consider the complexities and roots of social construction, or as I term it, racial formation"

(p. 11). Winant argues that due to the complexity of Whiteness it would be more productive to rearticulate it rather than reject it.

Each of these racial projects gives us insights into how Whites identify with political agendas to make meaning of their existence. Inherent in each is the need for Whites to address the structural components of racial formation in the U.S. (rooted in White supremacy) if we want a racially equitable society. To begin such a process is to look at social structures, such as public education, and analyze them not only from local perspectives but also state, national, and when possible, international ones. Where we fit in a broader view of society will assist us in identifying the forces that keep us from transforming systems that reproduce cycles of inequity.

Early Childhood Academic Success and Racial Ideology

Up to this point we have looked at the major theories, structures, and projects surrounding ideology and race. But what do they look like? And what are the resultant impacts on our daily lives? I will discuss this through a review of qualitative and quantitative data that exposes how our public educational system supports White power and privilege that manifests itself in White supremacy. This is accomplished through the reproduction of White racial ideologies in our schools and exemplified by the widely publicized achievement gap.

Nationally

In 2002, Frankenberg and Lee published their findings on racial segregation in U.S. metropolitan countywide districts in Race in American Public Schools: Rapidly Resegregating School Districts. They analyzed enrollment data collected by the U.S. Department of Education in the NCES Common Core of Data from the school year 2000 to 2001, examining the 239 school districts with total enrollment greater than 25,000 and found that "[S]ince 1986, in almost every district examined, black and Latino students have become more racially segregated from whites in their schools" (p. 4). Frankenberg and Lee drew upon

the work of Orfield[ii] (1995) when they concluded that "minority schools are highly correlated with high-poverty schools and these schools are also associated with low parental involvement, lack of resources, less experienced and credentialed teachers, and higher teacher turnover—all of which combine to exacerbate educational inequality for minority students" (p. 6).

Linda Darling-Hammond synthesizes current statistics and law suits serving primarily urban inner city schools in From Separate but Equal to No Child Left Behind: The Collision of New Standards and Old Inequalities (2004) when she states, "[S]chools serving large numbers of low income and students of color have larger class sizes, fewer teachers, and counselors, fewer and lower quality academic courses, extracurricular activities, books, materials, supplies, and computers, libraries, and special services" (pp. 6-7). Her findings are supported by the Condition of Education NCES report, which documented that nation- ally

> Black and Hispanic students are more likely to be concentrated in high-poverty schools. Six percent of Black and Hispanic fourth graders were in the lowest-poverty schools (with 10% or less of students eligible) in 2003 versus 29% of White fourth graders. In contrast, 47% of Black and 51% of Hispanic fourth graders were in the highest-poverty schools (with more than 75% eligible) versus 5% of White fourth graders. (p. 4)

The relationships between these factors highlight the widely publicized achievement gap between Whites and People of Color. The NAEP reported in 2004 that in both the fourth- and eighth-grade reading assessments Whites and Asian/Pacific Islander students averaged higher scores than their American Indian, Hispanic, and Black peers.[iii] The same results were reported in science, math, geography, history, and writing. These trends have shown little change historically. In addition, national racial percentages (see Figure 1) report that 90% of elementary school teachers are White, while only 60% of the students

they teach are White. The White teacher to White student ratio nationally is 1.5:1 while the teacher of Color to student of Color ratio is a disturbingly low.25:1.

Figure 1: 2002–2003 NCES Teachers/Students by Race/Ethnicity

	White	Hispanic	Native Am	Black	Asian Island
■ Teachers	90	3	1	5	1
□ Students	60	17	1	17	4

National Racial Percentages
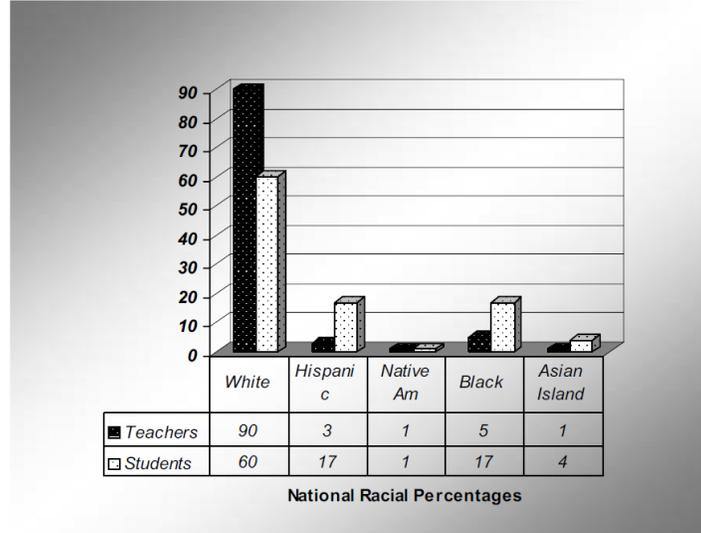
In the State of New Mexico

These statistics are consistent with state and local information. For example, in the state of New Mexico, the National Assessment of Educational Progress reported that in fourth grade, White students had an average scale score in math, reading, science, and writing that was higher than those of Hispanic, Black, and American Indian students, and the percentage of White students performing at or above the proficient level was greater than those of Hispanic, Black, and American Indian students. The gap grew in math and writing in eighth grade by 30%.[iv]

On the state level White teachers make up 66.1% of the teacher work-force, yet only 32.8% of their students are White (see Figure 2). Although the percentage of Hispanic teachers greatly increases in New Mexico in comparison to national statistics, it still does not negate the fact that the White teacher to White student ratio of 2:1 still privileges White students over all other groups. In New Mexico the White teacher to White student ratio is 2.9 times higher than the Hispanic teacher to Hispanic student ratio of .7:1, 5 times higher than the Asian teacher to Asian student of .4:1, and 6.7 times higher than the Native American teacher to Native American student ratio of .3:1. Most disturbing is that it is 29 times higher than the Black teacher to Black student ratio of .07:1.

Figure 2: 2003–2004 New Mexico DCIS PK –4 Public School Teachers/Students by Race/Ethnicity

	Anglo	Hispanic	Native Am	Black	Asian
Teachers	66.1	29.6	2.8	0.8	0.47
Students	32.8	52.5	11.1	11	1.2

New Mexico Racial Percentage
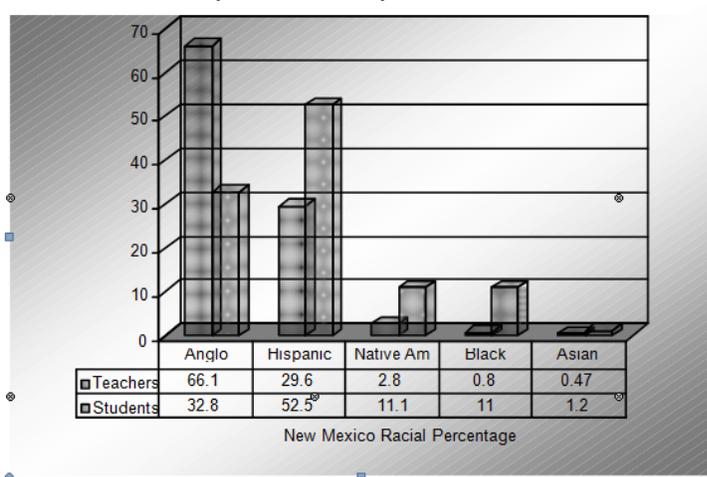
Albuquerque Public Schools System

The 2003 "Achievement Gap Report"[v] prepared by the Albuquerque Partnership reports the following statistics for the 2001-2002 Albuquerque

Public Schools year: Hispanic, African American, and Native American students' scores are significantly lower than Anglo students' scores in all grades and all content area, with Native Americans scoring the lowest.

1. Comparing the gap for Hispanics and Anglos in the third grade and the ninth grade in reading shows an achievement gap of 20.7 percentile points in the third grade and 20.9 in the ninth grade.
2. Comparing the gap in the third and ninth grade in mathematics for An- glos and Hispanics shows a gap of 16.1 percentile points in the third grade and 21.5 in the ninth grade.
3. The Native American/Anglo gap in the third and ninth grade in reading is 30.2 and 28 percentile points.
4. In mathematics, the third and ninth grade   gap for Native Ameri- can/Anglo is 24 and 27.1 percentile points.
5. The achievement data indicate that for the 2001-2002 school year, there is a significant achievement gap among Anglo students and Hispanic and other minority students.

White teachers comprise 70% of the Albuquerque Public Schools teachers (see Figure 3), while White students comprise only 37.9 % of the student population for a ratio of 1.9:1. Teachers of Color to students of Color ratios are closely related to the state results.

Figure 3: 2002–2003 Albuquerque RDA PK-4 Teachers/Students by Race

	Anglo	Hispanic	Native Am	Black	Asian
■ Teachers	70	25.7	1.1	2.4	0.2
□ Students	37.9	50.5	4.7	3.8	1.9

Albuquerque Racial Percentages.
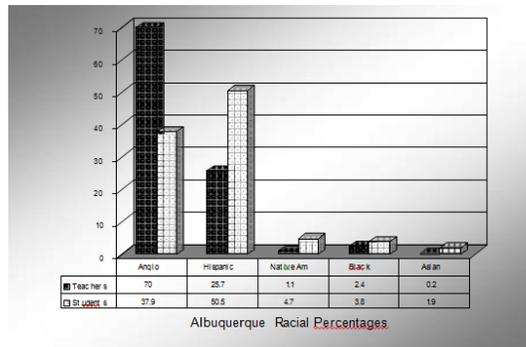
National, state, and local data on standardized measures of success in U.S. public schools clearly place White students in overprivileged educational settings and non-White students in disprivileged educational settings both currently and historically situated. The "Albuquerque Partnership Education Achievement Gap 2004" reported that "based on the National Assessment for Educational Progress, the Education Trust publication, Education Watch, found that New Mexico students in all ethnic groups have shown little test-score progress since the 1990s" (p. 2). And as with each of the databases I examined, the results in New Mexico differ little from national trends. To sup- port this conclusion, I draw on the work of sociologist Judith Blau—Race in the Schools: Perpetuating White Dominance (2003). She concludes, after analyzing ten years of two longitudinal education data sets—developed by the Department of Education's National Center for Educational Statistics and designed to measure individual variation in educational outcomes—that "the best single indicator of children's vulnerability (in school) is the color of their skin" (p.203). This places race in society as a decisive indicator as to whom we privilege in education.

Internationally, similar results have been documented and formally linked to race. One example is the study Education Inequality: Mapping Race, Class and Gender: A Synthesis of Research Evidence (Gillborn & Mirza, 2000) commissioned by the Office for Standards in Education (OFSTED) in the United Kingdom. It reported a "growing gap between white pupils and their peers of Black and Pakistani ethnic origins" between 1988 and 1997 (p. 14) and that "in one large urban authority African-Caribbean pupils enter compulsory schooling as the highest achieving group but leave as the group least likely to attain five high grade GCSEs" (p. 15). This report indicates the global nature of White supremacy in education.

Gross racial inequalities are well documented in our teaching workforce, applied pedagogies, and disbursement of resources. The question now is, how do we transform public education to a system that truly strives for racial equal-

ity? In other words, how do we support RET? First, we must begin with our ideology and accept the reality of race in society, grounding ourselves in racial realism as presented by Bell. Second, we must address the structures that perpetuate White supremacy, namely White racial hegemony and RFT, to look for insights into how we can shift power positions and build alliances. Third, we must locate how we currently use racial political projects in teacher education and assess whether or not they support equity or domination. Fourth, we need to identify what root assumptions would guide a truly anti-White supremacist professional development project and what such a project would look like in practical terms. It is critical to structural change that theory is directly linked to practical applications if we wish to move transformative pedagogies and agendas forward. I posit that through anti-White supremacist professional development, we can begin the process of changing the currently accepted norm in society of racially inequitable teaching to one of racially equitable teaching.

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[i]   For an extensive critique of the role of beneficiaries and subordinates in society, see Mills (1997, p. 63).

[ii]   Orfield, G. (1995). *Schools more separate; Janet Ward Schofield.* Review of research on school desegregation's impact on elementary and secondary school students. Banks & C. Banks (Eds.), *Handbook of research on multicultural education (pp. 597-617).* New York: Simon & Schuster; and Orfield, G. & Eaton, S. (eds.) (1996). *Dismantling desegregation: The quiet reversal of Brown vs. Board of Education.* New York: New Press.

[iii]   Taken from NAEP (National Assessment of Educational Progress) Web data tool (http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/naepdata/search.asp), U.S. Department of Education, NCES, NAEP, selected years 1992-2003 Reading Assessments.

[iv]   The science assessment was reported only for fourth grade. For more detailed information on the achievement gap in New Mexico, see the NCES report card at http://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/state/profile.asp.

[v]   The 2003 Albuquerque Partnership "New Mexico Achievement Gap" Report focused on the need for highly qualified teachers and for University of New Mexico to enroll non-White students. In addition, the report stated that "the year 2004 differs from years past in terms of quality and equity questions about education in the state of New Mexico. There is no longer the denial that students are performing at different levels. Now the question is, "which programs will helps us narrow the achievement gap?" (p.4). The executive summary and full report can be accessed at http://www.abqpartnership.org/.

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