

Early Childhood Educators' Beliefs, Attitudes, and Classroom Practices
Regarding Race and Gender

by

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ABSTRACT

Early childhood educators' beliefs and practices regarding race and gender were examined via two, mixed-methods studies. Study 1 assessed 341 early childhood educators' beliefs and classroom practices regarding race and gender via an online survey. Educators filled out a largely multiple-choice survey about topics such as colorblindness, sexism, and multicultural teaching practices. Study 2 involved a case study of two preschool teachers who were intentional about addressing racial and gender diversity via anti-bias education. Study 2 explored how early childhood teachers use anti-bias practices, how teachers discuss race and gender with young children, and teachers' experiences using anti-bias curricula. Study 2 involved semi-structured teacher interviews, naturalistic observations of teacher-child classroom interactions, audio-recorded book reading activities, and observations of the classroom environment (e.g., classroom toys, posters). Findings from both studies indicate that educators feel more comfortable and skilled at addressing gender than race in their classrooms. Findings also indicate that there are discrepancies between educators' beliefs and classroom practices with regard to race, gender, and anti-bias practices. Implications for children's prejudice and stereotype development, as well as for teacher professional development, are addressed.

DEDICATION

To my grandmothers, Évi Nagyi and Magdi Nagyi, Holocaust survivors whose stories and strength have fueled this work, have given me roots as well as wings to fly. Although you are very far, you are close in my heart. I hope to make you proud. Nagyon szeretlek benneteket (I love you very much!).

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION AND CONTEXT FOR THE TWO STUDIES

As a result of immigration and demographic trends, students and teachers in the U.S. are experiencing more diversity in their lives than ever before (e.g., Plaut, 2010). Almost half (43%) of children under 5 in the U. S. are from ethnic backgrounds other than European American; many of these children also speak languages other than English and participate in a wide variety of cultural and social practices (see Lim & Able-Boone, 2005). These children of color often face the stark realities of an education system that does not serve their needs, like it serves those of their White peers. Children of color are consistently overrepresented in special education (e.g., Scott & Blanchett, 2011), underrepresented in gifted programs (e.g., Ford, 2012), and disproportionately represented in discipline referrals (e.g., U.S. Department of Education, 2014). Additionally, boys of color, particularly Black boys, are marginalized in the education system and fare worse in educational outcomes than Black girls and their White peers (see Barbarin, Chinn, & Wright, 2014; Rowley et al., 2014). Although the reasons for these phenomena are complex and multi-faceted, teachers' beliefs and practices regarding race and gender may be contributing factors.

The overwhelming majority of early childhood teachers in the U.S. are White (78%; see Saluja, Early, & Clifford, 2002), many of whom have not received adequate training to teach in racially and ethnically diverse classrooms (e.g., Gay & Howard, 2000; D'Andrea, Daniels, & Noonan, 2003). Teachers' lack of knowledge, stereotypes, and appreciation of diverse racial groups can result in negative consequences, such as lower teacher expectations of academic ability in racial minority students (e.g., see Horm, 2003;

see Tenenbaum & Ruck, 2007 for a meta-analysis) and inequitable assignment of minority students to special education classes (e.g., Gay & Howard, 2000). In sum, the overwhelmingly White teaching force is ill- or under-prepared to deal with an increasingly diverse student body, and teachers' beliefs about diversity may be contributing to this issue.

It is especially important to understand teachers' beliefs and practices in early childhood settings because these are the environments in which children in the U.S. have their first introduction to the school context (Cost, quality and child outcomes in child care centers, Public Report, 1995). Given the sheer amount of time students spend in school, and therefore around teachers, the ways in which teachers manage and structure children's learning environments have the potential to influence children's attitudes and behaviors.

When examining racial inequities in the educational system, and teacher beliefs and classroom practices that may contribute to inequities, it is important to examine gender *in combination with* race. Gender and race do not exist in isolation from one another; rather, these categories intersect because all people belong to *multiple* categories. Belonging to multiple social categories uniquely shapes individuals' experiences and perceptions, rendering these experiences different from those one would encounter by being a member of solely one social group (for a review of the concept of *intersectionality* see Cole, 2009). For instance, the experiences of a Black boy presumably differ from those of a Black girl or a White boy. The intersection of race and gender becomes particularly important to take into account when one considers that girls of color, especially Black girls, face higher suspension rates from school than Black boys

and White peers (U.S. Department of Education Office for Civil Rights, 2014).

Additional evidence corroborating the intersection of race and gender comes from studies that show that Black boys are particularly vulnerable to a host of negative psychological and social outcomes as compared to children belonging to other racial and gender groups (for a review see Barbarin, 2013; Barbarin et al., 2014).

In addition to teachers' cultural or racial competence, teachers' "gender competence" needs to be examined. Research indicates that teachers, especially during free play, are most likely to reinforce (e.g., join in, praise) feminine activities with girls and masculine activities with boys (Fagot, 1984; Granger, Hanish, Kornienko, & Bradley, in press; M. E. Lamb, Easterbrooks, & Holden, 1980). It also appears that teachers are less accepting of boys' cross-gender behaviors than those of girls (Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977). Additionally, teachers' gender-related behaviors, such as use of category labels (e.g., "Good morning boys and girls") can influence children's stereotype development (Hilliard & Liben, 2010). It seems that teachers can play a special role in relaying information about the meaning of social categories to young children; however, not much is known about how teachers discuss (or omit) information about race and gender, or teacher beliefs surrounding these practices, including anti-bias education.

Although there are some studies assessing teachers' beliefs about racial and cultural diversity (e.g., MacNaughton & P. Hughes, 2007; Spanierman et al., 2001), most of these studies have focused on White pre-service teachers (i.e., college students in teacher education programs) and have not linked beliefs about diversity to teaching practices (see Shivers & Sanders, 2011). Research on teachers' gender-related beliefs and practices is similarly scarce, although recently an online survey of preschool, 2nd, and 5th

grade teachers found that teachers' gender role attitudes and stereotypes about sex differences predicted their self-reported gendered practices (i.e., use of gender labels) (Farago, Kornienko, Martin, Granger, & Santos, under revision). Studies examining early childhood teachers' attitudes about race in combination with their attitudes about gender and related classroom practices are absent from the literature.

Thus, the current research aims to fill this gap by providing a more comprehensive view of early childhood educators' beliefs and classroom practices, with a focus on race and gender. To meet these research aims, two interlinked studies were conducted. Study 1 was a largely quantitative, online survey study assessing 341 early childhood educators' beliefs and practices regarding race and gender. Study 2, using qualitative methods, involved a case study of two preschool classrooms, including interviews with and observations of two teachers who were intentional about implementing anti-bias education. The questions guiding the proposed studies were as follows:

Study 1 – Online Survey Study (Quantitative)

Question 1: What beliefs and attitudes do early childhood educators hold about addressing race and gender?

Question 2: What is the relationship between early childhood educators' beliefs and attitudes regarding race and gender?

Question 3: What is the relationship between early childhood educators' attitudes and (self-reported) practices regarding race and gender?

Study 2 –Case Study (Qualitative)

Question 1: How do two preschool teachers, who are intentional about using anti-bias practices, discuss race and gender with children?

Questions 2: What classroom practices and activities do these two preschool teachers rely on to address race and gender?

CHAPTER 2

STUDY 1: EARLY CHILDHOOD EDUCATORS' SELF-REPORTED ATTITUDES AND CLASSROOM PRACTICES REGARDING RACE AND GENDER

One of the primary roles of educators is to provide the skills and understandings that will allow children to operate in a pluralistic society (Kirmani & Laster, 1999). Researchers have long argued that it is the job of educators to foster the belief in children that diversity is an asset to society (e.g., Thompson, 1993). Educators can critically engage their students in discussions about race and racism, gender and sexism, and use instances of bias or exclusion as opportunities for what Havighurst (1972) coined as “teachable moments,” or opportunities when learning a particular idea is easiest. However, research about early childhood educators’ beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding race and gender is scarce (e.g., Pollock, 2004; Sleeter, 1992), therefore the current study explores these topics via an online survey.

Educators’ Attitudes and Practices about Race

Although there are a number of studies that have assessed educators’ beliefs about racial diversity, the bulk of these studies have examined White, *pre-service* teachers’ attitudes (i.e., college students in education programs), leaving questions unanswered about the beliefs, attitudes, and practices of *in-service* educators and educators of color (E. L. Brown, 2004; Dee & Henkin, 2002; Hachfeld et al., 2011; Hlebowitsh & Tellez, 1993; Middleton, 2002; Milner, 2006; Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne, 2000; Ponterotto, Baluch, Greig, & Rivera 1998; Ross & Smith, 1992; Taylor & Sobel, 2001; Wang, Castro, & Cunningham, 2014). The majority of studies have relied on qualitative methodologies (e.g., Boutte, Lopez-Robertson, & Powers- Costello, 2011; Castagno,

2008; Lewis, 2001; MacNaughton & P. Hughes, 2007) or have relied on methodologies that have not allowed for the assessment of reliability and validity of the findings, leaving questions about the generalizability of the results (see Pohan & Aguilar, 2001).

Additionally, very few studies (e.g., Vittrup, in press) have focused on early childhood educators. The literature review that follows predominantly includes studies on K-12 teachers, as research on early childhood educators and their beliefs about diversity is limited.

The bulk of survey studies on educators' diversity beliefs has assessed pre-service teachers' changing beliefs as a result of enrollment in a diversity course (E. L. Brown, 2004; Middleton, 2002), and pre-service teachers' definitions of and comfort level with racial diversity (e.g., Dee & Henkin, 2001; Taylor & Sobel, 2001). For instance, Taylor and Sobel (2001) asked pre-service teachers to define diversity and found that the most frequently listed themes surrounded ethnicity, cultural background, race, religion, and socio-economic level. Ponterotto and colleagues (1998) found that pre-service teachers who held more positive attitudes about racial and gender equity issues in society were more aware and sensitive of cultural diversity in the classroom and school, indicating that racial and gender beliefs about society at large may be related to beliefs more directly tied to teaching practices.

However, quantitative versus qualitative studies yield some contradictory findings about teachers' beliefs regarding racial and cultural diversity. Quantitative studies have found that pre-service teachers are respectful of diversity (e.g., Dee & Henkin, 2001; Hlebowitsh & Tellez, 1993), in contrast to qualitative studies that have found that in-service teachers are unprepared to deal with diversity and adopt colorblind attitudes (e.g.,

Boutte et al., 2011; Lewis, 2001; Pollock, 2004; MacNaughton & P. Hughes, 2007). Castro's (2010) review of qualitative studies of pre-service teachers' views of cultural diversity indicates that pre-service teachers may endorse simplistic, uncritical, and stereotyped notions of diversity. Two quantitative studies have found that White, pre-service teachers displayed moderate level of colorblindness (Neville et al., 2000; Wang et al., 2014). In one of these studies, racial colorblindness in pre-service teachers predicted lower levels of cultural diversity awareness (Wang et al., 2014). Overall, questions remain about the type of diversity beliefs in-service educators, particularly early childhood educators, hold and how these beliefs and attitudes relate to their classroom practices. Therefore, these questions are explored in the current study in the arenas of gender and race.

Abelist Terminology: Colorblind and Colormute, or Neither?

“Colorblind” and “colormute” reflect terminology widely used in the literature. These terms are used for consistency's sake with existing scholarship, however the author acknowledges that such terms reflect abelist language that potentially perpetuate negative stereotypes about people with disabilities. As suggested by Walton and colleagues (2014), scholars should explore the use of alternatives, such as “racelessness” (Kempf, 2012), “racially inhabited silence” (Mazzei, 2008), as well as “color-invisibility.” “Color evasiveness” (Frankenberg, 1993), “color-denial” (Bullock, 1996), and “race-neutrality” are other terms that could replace “colorblindness” and “colormuteness.” Additionally, some scholars use the term “color-consciousness” or “color-filled” (e.g., Ullucci & Battey, 2011), also referred to as “race-consciousness” or “color awareness,” to describe the intentional acknowledgment of White privilege and racial oppression, and the

recognition of the role that race and racism play in shaping everything from daily interactions and discrimination, to inequitable societal structures, education, and policies. In reference to working with children, color- or race-consciousness is a commitment to discussing race and racism with children to prepare them to work towards racial justice (see www.raceconscious.org).

Colorblind Racial Ideology

Colorblind racial ideology minimizes or ignores the existence of race and racism in contemporary society (Neville, Awad, Flores, & Bluemel, 2013; Neville, Gallardo, & Sue, 2016; Neville et al., 2000). Hypothetically, educators espousing colorblind beliefs may avoid discussing cultural differences altogether, and may emphasize that race and ethnicity are not important when understanding students (Hachfeld et al., 2011).

Colorblind educators may favor a common curriculum and give students' cultural background little consideration in their lesson planning (Hachfeld et al., 2011). However, no studies to date have linked educators' beliefs and attitudes, regarding diversity, to their corresponding self-reported classroom practices (e.g., use of multicultural activities, discussions regarding differences).

Social psychological research on colorblindness indicates that for Whites, colorblindness appears to be the default diversity belief, and that this belief has insidious consequences for the experiences of minority groups (see Plaut, 2010; Plaut, Thomas, & Goren, 2009). In general, colorblindness is associated with negative outcomes for both minority and majority group members, whereas multiculturalism is associated positive outcomes (see Plaut, Garnett, Buffardi, & Sanchez-Burks, 2011 for a review). Among White adults, multiculturalism predicts lower bias, whereas colorblindness predicts

greater bias (Neville et al., 2000; Richeson & Nussbaum, 2004; Steinfeldt & Wong, 2010; Verkuyten, 2005; Wolsko, Park, & Judd, 2006); among minority group members, colorblindness predicts lower psychological engagement (Plaut et al., 2009). Thus far, the sole study involving teachers (pre-service) has found that colorblindness predicts low levels of awareness of cultural diversity (Wang et al., 2014).

Colorblindness, Color-muteness, and Color-consciousness in Educational Contexts

Although quantitative studies are largely lacking, there are a few qualitative studies that have examined colorblindness in educators (e.g., Castro-Atwater, 2016; Castagno, 2008; Lewis, 2001; Pollock, 2004; Schofield, 1986, 2007; Walton et al., 2014). Schofield (1986, 2007), in a 4-year ethnographic study, found that middle school teachers claimed not to see color in their students (i.e., “I don’t see color – I just see children”), and consequently ignored discriminatory institutional practices toward students of color such as higher suspension rates for African American males. Similarly, Sleeter (1992), in a 2-year study of 26 White teachers, found that teachers denied the salience of race by adopting a colorblind approach and viewed the experiences of students of color as if they were White, ethnic immigrants who would eventually assimilate into mainstream society. In another ethnographic study, elementary teachers downplayed the salience and importance of race, and adopted colorblind attitudes (Lewis, 2001).

Along a similar vein, Pollock (2004), in a multi-year ethnographic study documented that *color-muteness* was expressed through teachers’ strategies for promoting equality in classrooms (e.g., routinely emphasizing that “race does not matter” and “we are all the same”). Walton and colleagues (2014) examined varieties of colorblind beliefs and practices among 27 3rd-6th grade teachers across three schools in

Australia. Two schools encouraged colorblindness, and teachers in these schools discussed racism as it happened in the past but not as a current problem. When teachers discussed differences, they “exoticized” other cultures by singling out students from particular groups as cultural ambassadors. While some teachers in this study did discuss racism and critically discussed race, most teacher-led discussions did not help students understand the social construction and significance of racial differences (Walton et al., 2014).

Although these studies have not explicitly focused on early childhood educators, early childhood education scholars argue that teachers may express intimidation in approaching the topic of culture and race with young children because of their fear of offending children and families, fear of drawing attention to children’s differences, and fear of instilling prejudice and racism in young children (Gay & Howard, 2000; Marshall, 1998). Early childhood educators may also believe that children are simply too young to engage in discussions about race (e.g., Boutte, 2008; Boutte et al., 2011; Gay & Howard, 2000; Husband, 2012; Ramsey, 2004). However, remaining silent about issues of oppression may connote agreement; “although we are not teaching children prejudice, we are not teaching them not to be prejudiced” (Boutte, 2008, p. 171). Two studies to date that have examined early childhood educators’ self-reported beliefs and practices have shown that teachers justified colorblind practices by referring to children’s young age and innocence (Han, 2009; Vittrup, in press).

As a push back against colorblind and color-mute ideologies, scholars and educators have started to refer to *race-* or *color-conscious* practices (see Bell, 2016 for a review). Race-conscious practices or policies are intentional about foregrounding the

impact of racial inequality on different groups in society (Bell, 2016). As Lee Anne Bell (2016) writes, “Race consciousness not only counters fictions of racial color blindness by actively seeking to perceive, understand, and challenge racism, but also paves the way for imagining what [a] more just and inclusive community could look like.” Race-consciousness entails being informed and transparent about the existence and causes of racial inequality, and how to intentionally redress it (Bell, 2016). Although yet to be empirically tested, some benefits of race-conscious discourse are theorized to be prejudice reduction, improved inter-group relations, and a greater sense of empathy and perspective taking (see Bell, 2016 for a review). One study involving 8-11 year-old children found that those primed with a colorblind message, by reading about a teacher who endorsed colorblind beliefs, were less likely to recognize racial discrimination as compared to children who were primed with a diversity-valuing message, similar to race-conscious discourses (Apfelbaum, Pauker, Sommers, & Ambady, 2010).

A literature review by Castro-Atwater (2016) about the implications of colorblind ideologies in K-12 contexts indicates that the following four variables are important in determining teachers’ willingness to engage in racial discourse: teachers’ cultural worldviews (e.g., colorblindness vs. multiculturalism), teachers’ ethnic-racial group membership or identity, teachers’ level of support by administration for color-conscious practices, and teachers’ exposure to cultural pedagogy (e.g., critical race theory, anti-bias practices) in teacher education programs. However, much of this research involves educators working with older children.

Overall, colorblindness or racial attitudes have rarely been examined in early childhood samples. One exception is a recent study that assessed 77 Pre-K-2nd grade

teachers' (47% White) perceptions of and experiences with racial diversity, bias, and multicultural education via an online survey (Vittrup, in press). Although the majority of teachers (86%) indicated that it is important to discuss race-related issues with children, only 42% said that discussions of race were part of their regular curriculum, and only half of these teachers could identify specific discussions. Seventy percent of the teachers took on a *color-mute* approach (avoided discussing race or discussed race in vague, superficial ways) and only 30% took on a *color-conscious* approach (explicitly discussed race, racism, and race relations), out of whom only three addressed *current* inequality and discrimination. Reasons for *not* discussing race included: belief that race is irrelevant to the curriculum; belief that children are colorblind; lacked comfort/confidence; viewed it as parents' responsibility; lacked time; and parent objections. Curiously, most teachers perceived children to be bias free, yet almost half (48%) reported witnessing biased or discriminatory behaviors, however did very little to address these incidents.

An important note here is that although very little work has explicitly examined early childhood educators' attitudes about race, recent research on the causes of racial disparities in preschool suspensions and expulsion indicates that teachers' implicit racial biases play a role. Using eye-tracking technology, Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti, and Shic (2016) found that early childhood teachers gazed longer at Black children, especially at Black boys, when *expecting* challenging behaviors (there were no actual behavioral problems taking place in the videos shown). This work indicates that teachers are far from being colorblind and harbor implicit racial biases about challenging behaviors of children of color, biases that very likely contribute to the disproportionate rates of expulsions and suspensions of young children of color, particularly Black boys

(Gilliam et al., 2016). Social psychological research with K-12 teachers similarly indicates that teachers harbor racial stereotypes that impact their decisions about discipline (Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015; Okonofua, Walton, & Eberhardt, 2016). In one study, teachers were more disturbed by the offenses of a Black student and were more likely to recommend severe punishment for a Black student compared to a White student with the identical record (Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015). Overall, there is increasing attention paid by policy makers and researchers to the roles of racial and gender bias in teacher-child interactions, particularly in the arena of discipline.

However, the relation between educators' diversity beliefs and related practices beyond the arena of implicit racial bias and discipline remains unclear. One study has found a positive association between educators' multicultural teaching awareness and self-reported multicultural teaching skills (Spanierman et al., 2001). This study has also shown that higher levels of multicultural competence (i.e., skills and knowledge) were associated with lower levels of colorblindness. Aside from this study, the bulk of research on educators' diversity-related beliefs has not examined how beliefs correlate with classroom practices.

Educators' Attitudes and Practices about Gender

Although scholars have posited that educators' beliefs about gender predict their practices (e.g., Delamont, 1990; Sadker & Zittleman, 2009), this hypothesis remains to be empirically tested. Educators' gender-related beliefs and attitudes may influence their behavior, such as gender-related classroom practices, as suggested by *gender schema theories* (Bem, 1981, 1983; C. L. Martin & Halverson, 1981). These theories posit that schemas about gender guide behavior. However, there is a scarcity of research exploring

teachers' beliefs and attitudes about gender, as well as how these beliefs and attitudes affect teachers' classroom practices. One study indicates that even teachers who consciously attempted to avoid sexism used gender to organize children's space and activities (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992). This is likely due to the salience of gender as a social category and the normative functional use of gender to categorize and divide people (e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2006).

Teachers' use of gendered classroom practices impacts children's cognitions, feelings, and behaviors toward same- and other-gender peers (e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007; Hilliard & Liben, 2010); however, how often these practices occur is unknown. A limited number of studies have shown that teachers across China and the United Kingdom engage in gender labeling (e.g., Chen & Rao, 2010; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992; Farago, Kornienko, Martin, Granger, & Santos, under revision), which refers to the use of terms "boys" and "girls" (and their synonyms) when interacting with students.

Developmental intergroup theory (DIT; Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007) and *gender schema theories* (Bem, 1981, 1983; C. L. Martin & Halverson, 1981) propose that gender labeling contributes to the formation, amplification, and maintenance of children's gender stereotypes and prejudice by increasing the salience, or noticeability, of gender. Previous experimental research suggests that teachers' use of gender labels, as well as the functional use of gender to organize their classrooms (e.g., grouping boys and girls by gender), increase students' gender stereotyping (Bigler, 1995; Hilliard & Liben, 2010) and decrease students' preference for and frequency of play with other-gender peers (Hilliard & Liben, 2010).

In addition to or accompanying gender labeling, teachers may use gender to organize activities and manage students in their classroom. For instance, teachers may divide up bulletin boards by gender (Hilliard & Liben, 2010), line children up by children (Chen & Rao, 2010; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992), group students by gender (Granger et al., under revision), promote competition between boys and girls (Chen & Rao, 2010; Thorne, 1993), make comments about girls' appearance and boys' strength (Chick, Heilman-Houser, & Hunter, 2002), use gendered linguistic bias (e.g., sweetie, honey, buddy) (Chick et al., 2002), and promote certain activities as appropriate for one gender and less appropriate for another (Chick et al., 2002). However, these gendered classroom practices have been largely unexplored, aside from a few ethnographic studies (e.g., Chapman, 2016; Chick et al., 2002; Blaise, 2005; K. A. Martin, 1998).

In addition to stereotype-reinforcing behaviors, some teachers may reinforce gender-bending behaviors (i.e., counter-stereotyped/anti-bias classroom practices) by paying attention or commenting on girls who show interests in athletics and male-dominated professions, or supporting boys' engagement in dress-up activities (Chick et al., 2002). However, little is known about early childhood teachers' gender socialization strategies (two ethnographic studies: Chick et al, 2002; K. A. Martin, 1998), especially in the form of verbal comments and use of classroom materials and activities. Hence, the current study examines these topics.

Attitudes: Relationships between Race and Gender

Some studies have examined the relation between racial and gender attitudes, such as racism and sexism (Aosved, Long, & Voller, 2009; Gianettoni & Roux 2010; Glick & Fiske, 1996; Nicol & Rounding, 2013; Sidanius, 1993; Swim, Aikin, Hall, &

Hunter, 1995), and have found that although attitudes about race and gender are distinct, they are highly correlated. Swim and colleagues (1995) developed the modern and old-fashioned sexism scale based on McConahay's (1986) modern and old-fashioned racism scale, and argue that although racism and sexism are conceptually distinct, they are also closely related. In general, those who are prejudiced against one group tend to be prejudiced against others (Adorno, Frenkel-Brunswik, Levinson, & Sanford, 1950; Allport, 1954; Altemeyer, 1988; Esses, Haddock, & Zanna, 1993).

Sidanius (1993) found that even after controlling for covariates, such as political ideology, educational achievement, religion, and general anti-egalitarianism, racism and sexism were correlated. Similarly, Neville and colleagues (2000) showed that higher colorblind racial attitudes were positively associated with greater gender and racial intolerance. Much like colorblind racial attitudes are related to greater racial prejudice, gender-blind attitudes may be related to greater gender prejudice, or sexism. In fact, Aosved and colleagues (2009) developed the *Intolerant Schema Measure* which assesses prejudice in six domains, including racism and sexism. The authors of the *Intolerant Schema Measure*, as well as Sidanius (1993), note the similarities among racism and sexism, and yet also remark how rarely these constructs are examined simultaneously.

Early childhood scholars and policy makers are paying increasing attention to the intersections of race and gender, particularly in the arena of discipline. Organizations, such as the Society of Research for Child Development (SRCRD), are prioritizing intersections of race and gender, as evidenced by the recent special topic meeting titled "*Babies, Boys, and Men of Color.*" Although developmental science has historically examined race and gender in isolation, increasing importance is placed on how these

social categories influence development in tandem (e.g., Barrios, Chauveron, MacDonnell, Linver, & Urban, 2016; Ghavami, Katsiaficas, & Rogers, 2016).

Overall, little is known about early childhood educators' beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding race and gender, and even less is known about the intersection of teachers' attitudes about race and gender. Understanding educators' beliefs and practices about race and gender is important so we can better understand ways in which educational contexts may amplify or attenuate stereotype and prejudice formation in children and may contribute to race and gender inequity in educational experiences and outcomes. Therefore, the current study examines early childhood educators' beliefs, attitudes, practices regarding race, gender, and anti-bias education via an online survey.

The Current Study

The study was guided by the following research questions and predictions:

Question 1: *What beliefs and attitudes do early childhood educators hold about addressing race and gender?*

No specific predictions were made. Based on the principle of colorblindness, the trivialization or denial of the importance of race and existence of racism, I devised a gender-blindness scale, mirroring the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS, Neville et al., 2000; see Appendix G). The Gender-Blind Attitude Scale (GBAS; see Appendix H) assesses the unawareness of male privilege, unawareness of institutional gender discrimination, and the unawareness of blatant gender issues. It assesses the trivialization or denial of sexism. To validate the GBAS measure, an abbreviated version of the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996; see Appendix I) was included, which assesses hostile and benevolent sexism. *Hostile sexism* refers to

explicitly hostile or negative attitudes toward women (e.g., “Women are manipulative”), whereas *benevolent sexism* refers to seemingly positive, however, patronizing views of women that restrict women to stereotypical roles (e.g., “In a disaster women should be rescued before men”). Sexist attitudes have rarely been assessed in teachers, much like other gender-related attitudes and beliefs. To the author’s knowledge, the ASI has not been used in teacher samples.

Question 2: *What is the relationship between early childhood educators’ beliefs and attitudes about race and gender?*

Colorblind racial attitudes (CoBRAS) were expected to be negatively associated with a belief in anti-bias strategies of addressing race in the classroom (Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs race sub-scale [TRGDB]; Appendix F) (Hypothesis 1). Gender-blind (GBAS) and sexist attitudes (ASI) were expected to be negatively associated with a belief in anti-bias strategies of addressing gender in the classroom (TRGDB gender items) (Hypothesis 2). Colorblind racial attitudes (CoBRAS) were expected to be positively associated with gender-blind attitudes (GBAS) and sexism (ASI) (Hypotheses 3 & 4). Further, the race and gender sub-scales of the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs scale (TRGDB see Appendix F, Farago & Sanders, 2015) were expected to be positively associated (Hypothesis 5).

Question 3: *What is the relationship between early childhood educators’ attitudes and (self-reported) practices regarding race and gender?*

Stronger colorblind racial attitudes (CoBRAS) were expected to predict lower multicultural teaching skills (MTCS) (Hypothesis 6). A stronger belief in anti-bias strategies of addressing race and gender in the classroom (TRGDB) was expected to be

positively associated with multicultural teaching skills (MTCS) and with the less frequent use of gender-stereotypical classroom practices (GCPS) (Hypothesis 7 & 8). Stronger belief in gender-blindness (GBAS) and sexism (AIS) was expected to be positively associated with the use of gender stereotypical classroom practices (GCPS) (Hypothesis 9).

Design and Methodology

An online survey containing a battery of questionnaires assessing early childhood educators' beliefs, attitudes, and practices regarding gender and racial diversity was administered to participants (see Appendices A-J). The current study excludes analysis of open-ended responses (measures listed in Appendices B and E). The survey was administered in English as it was anticipated that teachers teaching in center-based settings would be proficient in English. Before participating, educators were informed about the length of the survey (20-30 min), their rights as participants, as well as about the compensation they may receive in exchange for participation (see Appendix V). The survey was administered using Qualtrics software and began with a screening question (see Appendix A, e.g., "Are you currently a preschool, kindergarten, or child care center teacher working in the United States?"). Participants who did not pass the screening question (i.e., answered "No") were not permitted to access the survey.

Next, participants who answered "Yes" to the screening question were provided with the following instructions: "Please answer the survey questions as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, we are simply interested in your beliefs and practices in working with diverse groups of children. Avoid answering as you think you 'should' feel or as how you would expect others to answer." Survey instructions

were followed by the presentation of measures in the exact order listed in Appendices A-J. The order of questions was randomized for select measures as noted. Before the survey was widely distributed, a pilot study was conducted to assess the length of the survey, clarity of survey items, and the comprehensibility of instructions. Based on the pilot study of 11 participants including nine educators or former educators, among them six early childhood professionals, the original survey was slightly modified.

Close-ended Survey Measures

Attitudes and beliefs about race and gender. To assess educators' beliefs about color/gender-blind and anti-bias orientations, the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs scale (TRGDB; Appendix F) was created for the current study. The TRGDB scale is based on an adapted version of the *Diversity Orientation Scale* (DOS; Sanders, 2005, unpublished) and includes 18 items (race-subscale 13 items and gender-subscale 5 items). The TRGDB scale borrowed 4 items from the original 11-item DOS measure (e.g., "I believe that young children can learn prejudice") and replaced DOS items assessing fitting into U.S. culture and immigration with items about race and gender issues in early childhood (e.g., "I believe that it is important to teach children about differences between racial groups" or "I believe that preschool children are too young to learn about sexism"). Items created for the purpose of this study were based on MacNaughton's (2006) and Derman-Spark and Edwards' (2010) description of different ways of addressing diversity in early childhood settings (e.g., "tokenism"; "anti-bias"; "colorblind"). Items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 7 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating belief in anti-bias classroom

practices, and lower scores indicating a belief in colorblind and gender-blind (non-inclusive) classroom practices.

To assess educators' colorblind attitudes an abbreviated, 16-item version of the *Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale* was used (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000; see Appendix G). The CoBRAS addresses unawareness of cultural diversity and denial, distortion, and minimization of racism in the U.S., and includes the following three sub-scales: *(Un)awareness of racial privilege* (e.g., “Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich”); *(Un)awareness of institutional racial discrimination* (e.g., “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people”); and, *(Un)awareness of blatant racial issues* (e.g., “Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations”). Items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating stronger colorblind attitudes.

To assess educators' “gender-blind” attitudes, or the trivialization of sexism and male privilege in the U.S., a 17-item Gender-Blind Attitudes Scale (GBAS) scale, mirroring the Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale, was constructed (see Appendix H). The GBAS includes the following sub-scales: *(Un) awareness of male privilege* (e.g., “Everyone who works hard, no matter what gender they are, has an equal chance to become rich”); *(Un) awareness of institutional gender discrimination* (e.g., “Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against men”); and, *(Un) awareness of blatant gender issues* (e.g., “Sexism against women in the U.S. involves rare, isolated situations”). Items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1

(*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating stronger gender-blind attitudes.

To assess the validity of the newly created GBAS measure, an abbreviated, 10-item version of the widely validated Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Glick & Fiske, 1996; see Appendix I) was administered. The ASI assesses benevolent and hostile sexist attitudes. Four items assessed benevolent sexism (e.g., “Women should be cherished and protected by men”) and six items assessed hostile sexism (e.g., “Women are too easily offended”). Items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating stronger benevolent and/or hostile sexism.

Multicultural and gendered classroom practices. To assess educators’ multicultural teaching skills, the 10-item multicultural teaching skills sub-scale of the Multicultural Teaching Competency Scale was used (MTCS; Spanierman et al., 2011; see Appendix C) (e.g., “I plan many activities to celebrate diverse cultural practices in my classroom”). Items were rated on a 6-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*strongly disagree*) to 6 (*strongly agree*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating stronger multicultural teaching skills.

Finally, to assess the use of gender-related or gendered classroom practices, such as the use of gender labels (e.g., “I say good morning/afternoon boys and girls”), lining up and segregating children by gender, complimenting girls for their appearance, and encouragement of gender typical and atypical play (e.g., “I encourage girls/boys to play with dolls”), the 23-item Gendered Classroom Practices Scale (GCPS) was created (see Appendix D). Five items were adapted from Gaertner and Miller’s Gendered Classroom

Practices Questionnaire (2010, unpublished) and 18 items were created for the purpose of the current investigation. Seven items assessed practices that may enhance gender salience in the classroom (e.g., “I call children ‘boys’ and ‘girls’ ”), and 13 items assessed gender typical and atypical classroom practices (e.g., “I frequently encourage boys to play with trucks” vs. “I frequently encourage girls to play with trucks”). Items were rated on a 7-point Likert-type scale ranging from 1 (*very untrue*) to 7 (*very true*). Mean scores were calculated with higher scores indicating more frequent use of gender salient classroom practices (items 1-7), more frequent use of gender typical practices (items: 9, 10, 14, 15, 16, 18, 19, 23), and more frequent use of gender atypical practices (items: 8, 11, 12, 13, 17, 20, 21, 22). Mean scores were also calculated for how often girls were encouraged to play in gender typical (items: 14-16) and atypical ways (items: 12, 13, 17), and for how often boys were encouraged to play in gender typical (items: 18, 19, 23) and atypical ways (items: 20-22), with higher scores indicating either more frequent encouragement of gender typical or gender atypical play in girls versus boys, depending on the items assessed.

Demographic characteristics. At the end of the study, participants filled out a demographic questionnaire about their centers, themselves, and their classrooms (see Appendix J). Questions assessed center characteristics, such as location and type of program; educator characteristics such as ethnicity, gender, and education level; and classroom characteristics such as the number of boys and girls in the class. It is important to account for demographic characteristics, as they may influence teachers’ perceptions, beliefs, and practices (e.g., age, gender, ethnicity, education level) (e.g., Vartuli, 1999; Wilcox-Herzog, 2002).

Recruitment

Early childhood educators were recruited through multiple avenues. The primary investigator attended three annual early childhood education professional development conferences in the Southwestern and Southern United States to recruit participants. Two out of the five conferences were organized by Head Start. Additionally, the primary researcher emailed NAEYC chapter affiliates across 50 states and asked for the survey to be shared in newsletters and on chapter social media sites. Participants were also recruited via a state-wide email list of child care providers signed up for the Child Care Resource & Referral (CCR&R) network. Finally, university colleagues working in the field of early childhood education as well as early childhood educator friends and colleagues were asked to distribute the online survey.

Participants

A total of 341 early childhood educators (99% female; 61% White; 18% Hispanic; 7% Mixed; 5% Black; 5% Asian; 4% Native American) participated in the study. The average age of participants was 41.74 years ($SD = 11.01$; range = 20-69). Twenty-three percent of participants held a two-year college degree, 62% held at least a four-year college degree, and 26% of the sample held a master's degree (or in rare cases, a doctorate). An additional 14% attended some college or were currently attending. Only 1% of the sample has never been to college. The average number of years participants have worked as early childhood educators was 12.68 ($SD = 8.97$; range = less than 1-45 years). Forty percent of participants have also taught in elementary, middle, or high school for an average of 6.03 years ($SD = 5.36$; 6 months – 25 years).

The majority of participants, or 74%, taught in the state of Arizona, 6% in Texas, 4% in California, and the rest, or 16%, taught across 18 states of the continental United States. Eighty-eight percent of participants were lead or assistant teachers (18% of teachers were also directors/administrators), 10% were solely directors/administrators, and 2% were consultants, mentors, or family advocates. 25% taught in public pre-K/K programs, 24% taught in privately-owned settings, 19% in Head Start, 14% in faith-based programs, 13% in non-profit settings, 9% in home-based settings, 8% in corporate-owned settings, 4% in university-based programs, and 3% in Montessori programs (multiple answer choices could be selected). 97% of participants used primarily English when talking to children, and out of these educators 18% used Spanish and English equally often. In addition to using English, 4% of educators indicated using American Sign Language (ASL) and 2% indicated speaking Native languages. Three percent of educators only used Spanish with children.

The majority of respondents worked with children between ages 3-5. 11% of teachers worked with infants, 18% with 1 year-olds, 28% with 2 year-olds, 66% with 3 year-olds, 73% with 4 year-olds, 63% with 5 year-olds, 11% with 6 year-olds, and 5% with 7 year-olds or older (multiple answer choices could be selected). Approximately half of the sample worked with classrooms where 51%+ of children were children of color, and half of the sample worked with majority (51%+) White classrooms.

Results

Fifty-seven percent of participants have heard about anti-bias curriculum or anti-bias education. Thirty-eight percent of those who have heard about anti-bias education have attended a training on anti-bias education. Out of the participants who have heard

about anti-bias education ($n = 168$), 64% indicated they were “a little familiar,” 24% indicated they were “somewhat familiar,” and 12% indicated they were “very familiar” with anti-bias curriculum or with the work of Louise Derman-Sparks. Twenty-seven percent of participants who indicated they were “very familiar” or “somewhat familiar” with anti-bias curriculum have never attended a training or workshop on it. What this means is that approximately 20% of the entire sample has indicated more than minimal familiarity with anti-bias education (13% moderate familiarity and 7% serious familiarity) and 22% of the sample has attended a training or workshop on the topic.

Question 1: What beliefs and attitudes do early childhood educators hold about addressing race and gender?

The average score on the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs Scale (TRGDB; Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.78$) was 4.92 out of 7 ($SD = .83$), meaning that early childhood educators’ responses about anti-bias beliefs (e.g., children do notice race; it is important to teach children to recognize and confront racial and gender bias; it is important to teach children about differences and similarities across racial and gender groups) fell between the *Neutral/Not Sure* (4) and *Slightly Agree* (5) responses, but closest to the latter. The mean score for the TRGDB Race sub-scale was 4.83 ($SD = .85$; Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.70$) and for the TRGDB Gender sub-scale was 5.14 ($SD = 1.00$; Cronbach’s $\alpha = 0.51$), both means falling closest to the *Slightly Agree* (5) answer choice. Findings suggest that although educators recognize that racial and gender inequalities need to be addressed, they do not necessarily take a strong anti-bias stance. Although not against these issues, they tended to be cautious about suggesting that race and gender should be salient when teaching young children.

The average score on the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Cronbach's alpha = 0.82) was 3.06 ($SD = 0.79$) out of 6, with the mean falling closest to the *Slightly Disagree* (3) response option, meaning that early childhood educators on the whole slightly disagreed with colorblind ideologies. On average, educators scored significantly higher on the CoBRAS *Unawareness of Racial Privilege* sub-scale ($M = 3.83$, $SD = 1.12$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.85) as compared to the CoBRAS *Unawareness of the Institutional Discrimination* sub-scale ($M = 2.86$, $SD = 1.06$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.77 if item # 10 is dropped) ($t(290) = 12.43$, $p < .001$) and as compared to the CoBRAS *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* sub-scale ($M = 2.12$, $SD = 0.79$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.61 if item #13 is dropped) ($t(292) = 23.97$, $p < .001$). Educators in turn scored significantly higher on the CoBRAS *Unawareness of the Institutional Discrimination* sub-scale as compared to the CoBRAS *Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues* sub-scale ($t(293) = 11.43$, $p < .001$). T-tests revealed no significant differences in attitudes and practices based on race when White teachers ($n = 178$) were compared to teachers of color ($n = 109$).

The average score on the Genderblind Attitudes Scale (GBAS; Cronbach's alpha = 0.80) was 3.02 out of 6 ($SD = 0.70$), with the mean falling closest to the *Slightly Disagree* (3) response option, meaning that early childhood educators on the whole slightly disagreed with genderblind ideologies. On average, educators scored significantly higher on the GBAS *Unawareness of Gender Privilege* sub-scale ($M = 3.66$, $SD = 0.96$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.89) as compared to the GBAS *Unawareness of the Institutional Discrimination* sub-scale ($M = 2.90$, $SD = 0.79$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.68 if item #10 is dropped) ($t(287) = 14.17$, $p < .001$) and as compared to the GBAS

Unawareness of Blatant Gender Issues sub-scale ($M = 2.35$, $SD = 0.83$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.70 if item #12 is dropped) ($t(285) = 23.29$, $p < .001$). Educators in turn scored significantly higher on the GBAS *Unawareness of the Institutional Discrimination* sub-scale as compared to the GBAS *Unawareness of Blatant Gender Issues* sub-scale ($t(287) = 10.83$, $p < .001$).

The average score on the Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI; Cronbach's alpha = 0.79) was 2.94 out of 6 ($SD = 0.92$), meaning that early childhood educators on the whole slightly disagreed with sexist ideologies. The average score fell between the *Somewhat Disagree* (2) and *Slightly Disagree* (3) response options, but closest to the latter.

Teachers scored significantly higher on the *ASI Benevolent Sexism* subscale ($M = 3.06$, $SD = 1.17$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.80) ($t(281) = -3.27$, $p = .001$) than on the *ASI Hostile Sexism* subscale ($M = 2.85$, $SD = 1.03$; Cronbach's alpha = 0.76 of item # 6 is dropped).

Question 2: What is the relationship between early childhood educators' beliefs and attitudes about race and gender?

There was no significant difference between the mean score on the CoBRAS and GBAS ($t(270) = .60$, $p = n.s.$). In other words, educators held similarly relatively low levels of colorblind and genderblind attitudes ($M_s = 3.05$ and 3.03), and slightly disagreed with both colorblind and genderblind ideologies, with the mean scores falling near the *Slightly Disagree* (3) response choice on both scales. However, on both measures, the unawareness of privilege was the strongest, followed by the unawareness of institutional discrimination, which in turn was stronger than the unawareness of blatant racial or gender issues. This means that educators were more likely to deny the existence of White or male privilege, and in turn were more likely to deny the existence of

institutional racial or gender discrimination than to deny the explicit existence of racism or sexism. In other words, color- and gender-blindness were the strongest (i.e., scores were the highest) in the arena of privilege and the lowest in the arena of explicit or blatant racism and sexism.

As expected (Hypotheses 1 and 2), the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs (TRGDB) scores negatively correlated with colorblind attitudes (CoBRAS) ($r(285) = -.47, p < .001$), gender blind attitudes (GBAS) ($r(281) = -.46, p < .001$), and sexism (ASI) ($r(278) = -.25, p < .001$), meaning that educators who held stronger beliefs in anti-bias classroom ideologies held weaker colorblind, genderblind, and sexist attitudes. Furthermore, as expected (Hypotheses 3 and 4), colorblind racial attitudes (CoBRAS) positively correlated with gender-blind attitudes (GBAS; $r(269) = .79, p < .001$) and with sexism (ASI; $r(268) = .49, p < .001$). As expected (Hypothesis 5), the race and gender sub-scales of the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs scale (TRGDB) were positively associated ($r(296) = .97, p < .001$).

Question 3: What is the relationship between early childhood educators' attitudes and (self-reported) practices regarding race and gender?

The average score on the Multicultural Teaching Competency Scale – Multicultural Skills subscale (MTCS; Cronbach's alpha = 0.87) was 4.70 out of 6 ($SD = 0.93$), meaning that early childhood educators somewhat agreed to the use of multicultural teaching practices, with the mean score falling between *Slightly Agree* (4) to *Somewhat Agree* (5), but closest to the latter. The average score on the Gendered Classroom Practices Scale – Gender Salience subscale (GCPS; Cronbach's alpha = 0.62) was 2.36 out of 7 ($SD = .98$), meaning that early childhood educators reported that they

infrequently use classroom practices that make gender salient (e.g., use of gender labels) with the mean score falling between *Somewhat Untrue* (2) and *Slightly Untrue* (3), closest to the former. The average score on the Gendered Classroom Practices Scale – Encouragement of Gender Atypical Play Sub-scale (GCPS; Cronbach’s alpha = 0.93) was 4.82 out of 7 ($SD = 1.80$), meaning that early childhood educators reported that they slightly frequently encourage gender atypical play, with the average score falling between the *Undecided* (4) and *Slightly True* (5) response options, closer to the latter. The average score on the Gendered Classroom Practices Scale – Encouragement of Gender Typical Play Sub-scale (GCPS; Cronbach’s alpha = 0.95) was 4.30 out of 7 ($SD = 1.98$), meaning that early childhood educators were undecided on the frequent encouragement of gender typical play, with the average score falling between the *Undecided* (4) and *Slightly True* (5) response options, closer to the former.

Scores on the Multicultural Teaching Competency –Multicultural Skills sub-scale and the Gendered Classroom Practices Scale – Encouragement of Gender Atypical Play were significantly, positively correlated ($r(301) = .12, p < .05$). The use of gender salient classroom practices positively correlated with the encouragement of both gender atypical ($r(308) = .155, p = .006$) and gender typical play ($r(302) = .239, p < .001$). As expected (Hypothesis 7), scores on the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs (TRGDB) scale positively correlated with the use of multicultural teaching practices (MCTS) ($r(297) = .174, p = .003$). The relationship between the scores on the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs (TRGDB) scale and use of gender-stereotypical classroom practices (GCPS) (Hypothesis 8) was not examined as the TRGDB Gender sub-scale had low reliability (Cronbach’s alpha = 0.51). As expected (Hypothesis 9), gender salient

classroom practices positively correlated with sexism ($r(276) = .272, p < .001$), gender blind attitudes ($r(276) = .123, p = .04$), and colorblind attitudes ($r(281) = .158, p = .008$).

Despite predictions (Hypothesis 6), there was no significant relationship between colorblind-attitudes (CoBRAS) and multi-cultural teaching skills (MTCS). Hierarchical regression revealed that educators' level of education was negatively associated with the use of gender salient classroom practices ($\beta = -.16, p = .008$). At Step 2, we found that sexism (ASI) was positively associated with the use of gender salient classroom practices ($\beta = .26, p < .001$), supporting Hypothesis 9. Overall, sexism explained 9% of the variance in educators' use of gender salient practices ($R^2 \Delta = .09, F \Delta(3, 258) = 8.13, p < .001$). Level of familiarity with anti-bias education was significantly, negatively associated with the use of gender salient classroom practices ($r(158) = -.22, p = .006$) and with the level of unawareness of White privilege ($r(158) = -.16, p = .046$), and significantly, positively associated with the belief in anti-bias ideology with regard to race ($r(157) = .18, p = .02$).

Running t-tests indicated that educators were more likely to compliment girls' appearance ($M = 3.74, SD = 2.11$) than those of boys ($M = 3.50, SD = 2.10$), but this is just based on a 2-item scale and the mean difference was 0.2 on a 7-point scale ($t(323) = -4.50, p < .001$). Similarly, educators were more likely to compliment girls' strength/abilities ($M = 4.40, SD = 2.10$) than those of boys ($M = 4.24, SD = 2.10$), but again, this is just based on a 2-item scale and the mean difference was 0.2 on a 7-point scale ($t(325) = -2.96, p = .003$). Average scores were significantly higher for encouraging gender atypical play in girls ($M = 5.12, SD = 2.02$) than in boys ($M = 4.53, SD = 2.18$)

($t(315) = 8.89, p < .001$). Average scores were significantly higher for encouraging gender typical play in boys than in girls ($M = 3.99, SD = 2.18$) ($t(308) = 9.94, p < .001$). On average, teachers were significantly more likely to encourage gender atypical play ($M = 4.84, SD = 1.79$) as compared to gender typical play ($M = 4.30, SD = 1.97$) ($t(302) = 7.60, p < .001$).

Discussion

Overall, findings indicate that very few early educators were familiar with anti-bias education and anti-bias practices, particularly in the arena of race. These findings mirror studies that have found that early childhood educators in the Southwestern and Southern U.S. are largely unfamiliar with anti-bias education (Gaias, 2014; Vittrup, in press). Educators teaching in socio-politically conservative contexts, especially regarding racial justice and immigration issues, may feel less supported in pursuing anti-bias work than educators in the Pacific Northwest for instance. Anecdotal evidence suggests, as the author of this study uncovered in her quest to find educators espousing anti-bias principles, that the vast majority of early childhood centers with an explicitly anti-bias mission are located in the Western, Northwestern, or Eastern United States (e.g., California, Washington, Massachusetts).

The findings are also hardly surprising given the emphasis on and push down of pre-academic skills and school readiness in early childhood programs and kindergarten, constraints that likely leave educators scrambling to find time to address curricular themes related to socio-emotional development and diversity. In fact, in a study conducted about early childhood educators' multi-cultural and race-conscious practices, Vittrup (in press) found that one of the barriers to implementing anti-bias and

multicultural practices resulted from the lack of time and perceived lack of relevance to the academic curriculum. In Vittrup's (in press) study, one teacher mentioned,

Teachers are overwhelmed with teaching academic content. Their main concern is preparing students for tests. Higher order cognitive skills are a priority in our academic system, but cultural diversity does not necessarily fall under this category. Cultural diversity requires thinking about our purpose in life, our relationship to others, and our perceptions of existence. This type of philosophical inquiry is completely absent from our educational system.

Although addressing gender and race may seem like “extra-curricular” issues to overtaxed teachers in this age of neoliberal reform that prizes academics at the cost of nurturing social-emotional and interpersonal skills, the development of cooperative and prosocial behaviors, empathy, conscience, and sense of fairness must be met according to the standards of Developmentally Appropriate Practice (DAP; Copple & Bredekamp, 2009), a set of early childhood curricular recommendations published by the National Association for the Education of Young Children (NAEYC). Indeed, a long-standing criticism of DAP is the lack of cultural sensitivity to the needs of diverse cultural communities (e.g., C. P. Brown & Lan, 2015; Grieshaber & Cannella, 2001; Sanders & Farago, in press). Critics may be appeased upon the integration of anti-bias standards into DAP.

The themes of racial and gender diversity, or racial and gender literacy or competence, can be interwoven in the curriculum to address both academic and non-academic goals set forth by DAP and NAEYC (see Farago, Sanders, & Gaias, 2015). As in the 1980-90s (see Farago & Swadener, 2016), educators need space, time, and resources to internalize and enact anti-bias and multicultural pedagogies. Therefore, it is important that they have support from their centers, schools, and administration for the

enactment of anti-bias education and opportunities via continuing education programs to learn about enacting anti-bias practices.

Although the current research assessed barriers to implementing anti-bias teaching via open-ended measures, the analysis of these responses does not fall under the scope of the current study. However, future analyses of barriers to enacting anti-bias education are critical for better understanding how these barriers can be eliminated and overcome by teachers, schools, administrators, and policy makers.

Scores on the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs Scale (TRGDB) suggest that although educators recognize that racial and gender inequalities need to be addressed (e.g., young children learn prejudice), they do not necessarily take a strong anti-bias stance and implement anti-bias practices. The current sample of educators seems cautious about suggesting that race and gender should be salient when teaching young children. This is understandable as preliminary findings from the open-ended data as well as from other studies (e.g., Vittrup, in press) indicate that parents and administrators may object to anti-bias messages. However, research also indicates that children develop racial and gender stereotypes and prejudice as young as 2-3 years-of-age (e.g., Levy & J. M. Hughes, 2009; C. L. Martin & Ruble, 2010), and without guidance and support to counter these biases, children may develop stereotypes that are difficult to change at a later time.

Early childhood scholars recognize that educators may express intimidation when approaching the topic of race and gender with young children. Educators may fear offending children and families, fear drawing attention to children's differences, fear instilling prejudice and racism into young children, and fear being unprepared (e.g.,

Boutte, 2008; Boutte et al., 2011; see Farago, Sanders, & Gaias, 2015 for a review; Husband, 2012; Vittrup, in press). However, remaining silent about issues of oppression may connote agreement; “Although we are not teaching children prejudice, we are not teaching them not to be prejudiced” (Boutte, 2008, p. 171). As both early childhood and developmental psychology scholars argue (e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007; Boutte, 2008; Boutte et al., 2011; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Vittrup, in press), if children are not given explicit explanations for phenomena, such as racial segregation, they may draw erroneous, stereotypical conclusions on their own. Therefore, early childhood educators need the preparation, time, and resources to be able to pre-emptively address race and gender, rather than waiting for incidents to arise. According to anti-bias principles, it is the teacher’s responsibility to initiate conversations regarding diversity, rather than waiting for children to broach the subject (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010). Preparedness and practicing specific responses to racial and gender teasing and exclusion is important to provide teachers the skills to handle these situations which will inevitably arise.

Scores on the colorblindness and gender-blindness measures (CoBRAS and GBAS) indicate that educators on the whole slightly disagreed with colorblind and genderblind ideologies. An interesting, yet somewhat unsurprising, finding is that educators scored higher on the unawareness of racial and gender privilege sub-scales as compared to other sub-scales assessing color- and gender-blindness. It may be that privilege is a harder concept to identify and more difficult to detect as compared to blatant discrimination for instance. Privilege may act in more invisible ways and be less

evident to teachers, especially to White teachers (Ullucci & Battey, 2011), who have been socialized to espouse White as “normal” (see Castro-Atwater, 2016).

In regards to classroom practices, educators reported moderate use of multicultural practices, and infrequent use of gender salient practices. However, the use of multicultural practices may be over-reported due to social desirability. Regarding gendered practices, even mothers with egalitarian attitudes use gender labels (Gelman, Taylor, & Nguyen, 2004) and even teachers who consciously attempt to avoid sexism use gender to organize children’s space and activities (Lloyd & Duveen, 1992). This is likely due to the salience of gender as a social category and the normative functional use of gender to categorize and divide people (e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2006). Educators most likely under-report their use of gender labels as also evidenced by observational findings of Study 2.

Educators reported the frequent encouragement of gender atypical play and were less likely to report encouraging gender typical play in girls, however not in boys. These are somewhat encouraging findings that may indicate that educators recognize the importance of exposing girls to diverse skills and abilities via gender atypical play and toys. As with most findings resulting from this study, classroom observations are needed to confirm these results.

In terms of the relation between attitudes and classroom practices, there was some consistency and some inconsistency between educators’ attitude and practices: Scores on the Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs (TRGDB) scale positively correlated with the use of multicultural teaching practices (MCTS). Moreover, sexism, gender-blind attitudes, and colorblind attitudes positively correlated with gender salient classroom

practices. However, despite predictions, there was no significant relationship between colorblind-attitudes (CoBRAS) and multi-cultural teaching skills (MTCS). The lack of relation between colorblind attitudes (CoBRAS) and multicultural teaching practices (MTCS) may stem from the following: The colorblind attitudes scale (CoBRAS) measured racial attitudes in society at-large, whereas the multicultural teaching scale (MTCS) assessed cultural sensitivity specific to the classroom. It is possible that educators' racial attitudes about the justice system and White privilege may not directly translate to their classroom practices with young children. Another possibility is that to identify relationships between attitudes and practices, measures need to assess identical constructs: CoBRAS assessed race whereas MTCS assessed cultural diversity. Although race and culture are certainly related, they are disparate constructs, nonetheless.

Results indicate that educators were more likely to compliment girls' appearance and strength/abilities than those of boys. Educators were also more likely to encourage gender atypical play in girls than in boys, and gender typical play in boys than in girls. On average, educators were significantly more likely to encourage gender atypical play as compared to gender typical play. Some of these findings are encouraging and may indicate a shift toward less gender-stereotypical and more gender-fluid classroom practices. Findings regarding the encouragement of gender atypical play in girls vs. boys are in line with studies indicating that adults feel less comfortable with boys crossing gender boundaries than girls doing so (Kane, 2006; C. L. Martin, 1990), a finding that has also surfaced in teacher and director interviews in Study 2.

Adults, including teachers (Cahill & Adams, 1997; Fagot, 1977), are generally more accepting of girls acting "masculine" than boys acting "feminine" (Kane, 2006; C.

L. Martin, 1990). These findings reflect ways in which heteronormativity operates in broader society as well as in early childhood classrooms; boys or men crossing gender boundaries and displaying stereotypically feminine behaviors threatens the status of men and traditional notions of masculinity, and feeds into homophobic attitudes about boys “turning gay” (see Farago & Swadener, 2016).

Limitations and Future Directions

Although this study fills important gaps in the literature, there are some obvious limitations to consider. First, the study included a relatively non-diverse sample of educators. All educators were female, teaching in the Southwestern United States, and over 60% White. The nature of the sample limits the generalizability of the findings to other ethnic groups within the U.S. as well as to educators teaching outside of the Southwestern U.S. The sample had significantly higher levels of formal education as compared to national samples: Nationally, 19% of early childhood educators have a bachelor’s degree or more, whereas in the current sample 62% of educators did. Another limitation is that the study was based on educator self-reports, raising the issue of common-method variance (Podsakoff, MacKenzie, Lee, & Podsakoff, 2003). Self-report may not be the most accurate way to measure educators’ gender-and race-related attitudes and classroom practices. Future studies would benefit from measuring educators’ attitudes through the Implicit Association Test (IAT; Greenwald, McGhee, & Schwartz, 1998), which can tap into subconscious attitudes and biases about gender and race. Implicit attitude measures such as the IAT tend to be less affected by social desirability.

Furthermore, to get a more accurate assessment of gendered and racialized classroom practices, and how attitudes are related to classroom practices, future

investigations may consider using naturalistic, observational methodologies. In fact, Study 2, related to the current investigation, employs such methods. Regarding additional measurement limitations, some of the questionnaires used have been newly developed and are undergoing validation, with acceptable but relatively low reliabilities. In future research, it would be helpful to develop a larger pool of items about both topics and validate these measures against observed behavior and/or multi-reporters' data.

Additionally, researchers should examine how educators' background characteristics, as well as professional and personal experiences, shape their anti-bias journeys. Again, Study 2 investigates some of these topics; however, future investigations that clarify educators' motives and reasons for using anti-bias practices, as well as personal and professional experiences that have inspired them to practice anti-bias education, will be important to conduct. The current sample did not allow for the comparison of racial and gender attitudes and practices among teachers of different racial backgrounds, an important future research endeavor as some studies indicate that Whites adults are more likely to espouse colorblind beliefs than persons of color (see Neville, Gallardo, & Sue, 2016).

Beyond curricular implications, teachers' attitudes about gender and race likely shape their everyday interactions with children, and as mentioned earlier, impact disciplinary decisions that lead to disproportionate expulsion and suspension of children of color as early as preschool (Gilliam et. al, 2016; Okonofua & Eberhardt, 2015).

Scholars and policy makers in the arena of discipline disparities recognize that research on implicit racial attitudes and conversations surrounding race and racism have to be foregrounded to eliminate early disparities that feed into the school-to-prison pipeline

(Carter, Skiba, Arredondo, & Pollock, 2014). Future work on early childhood educators' explicit and implicit racial biases, and their related child-level outcomes including the impact of bias on teacher-child interactions, need to be examined if we hope to reduce and eventually eliminate unjust disciplinary measures that devastate children and families of color, particularly Black and Brown children.

In addition to research with educators, research with children is needed to better understand how educators' classroom practices affect children's gender- and race-related cognitions and relationships. Understanding how and why educators' classroom practices may amplify or weaken gender stereotypes and prejudice is a promising area of research. Research involving the collection of child-level data (e.g., children's perceptions of classroom practices, children's stereotypes and prejudice as outcome variables) is needed to create classrooms where gender and race serve to unify, not to divide.

CHAPTER 3

STUDY 2: ANTI-BIAS CLASSROOMS: A CASE STUDY OF TWO TEACHERS

Study 2, building on Study 1, explored via a case study the classroom practices of two preschool teachers who were using anti-bias teaching practices. This study provides a contextualized, nuanced view of how race and gender are addressed via anti-bias practices in two early childhood classrooms. Two preschool teachers who were intentional about using anti-bias practices were interviewed and observed, particularly with regard to their anti-bias practices, pertaining to race and gender. There is a scarcity of research examining how anti-bias curriculum is enacted in early childhood settings, including how teachers serve as agents of racial and gender socialization; hence the current study explored these themes. Although anti-bias research with in-service teachers is relatively scarce, some experimental studies and studies with parents can feed into the current investigation. These bodies of work are reviewed next.

To Discuss or Not to Discuss Racial and Gender Diversity?

The dilemma of how to best address diversity, such as race, without inadvertently reinforcing stereotypes is referred to as the *diversity education dilemma* (Amoroso, Loyd, & Hoobler, 2010). This dilemma occurs when discussions of diversity-related issues in a classroom, such as discussions of social categories and social hierarchies, draw attention to group differences, and therefore reinforce stereotypes and prejudices they aim to debunk. For instance, according to *developmental intergroup theory* (DIT; Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007), the explicit labeling and organization of children along perceptually salient social categories, such as race and gender, contribute to stereotype and prejudice

development (e.g., see Bem, 1983; Bigler, 1995; Bigler, Brown, & Markell, 2001; Bigler, Jones, & Lobliner, 1997; C. S. Brown & Bigler, 2002; Hilliard & Liben, 2010).

For example, in experimental classrooms where teachers use gender labels and gender for organization purposes, preschoolers show increased levels of gender stereotyping and decreased preference for play with other-sex peers (Hilliard & Liben, 2010). Along a similar vein, when children are assigned to novel color groups, and adults label and organize children based on these color groups, children develop biased beliefs (Bigler et al., 2001; Bigler et al., 1997; Patterson & Bigler, 2006). However, the complete avoidance of discussing categories, such as race, is not feasible or desirable; it is important for children to learn about their own group identities, as well as about the oppression and marginalization of groups of people throughout history. Indeed, ethnic labeling is necessary for racial identity development (Aboud, 2005). Avoiding the mention of social groups could trivialize the experiences and identities of historically marginalized groups, and as alluded to in Study 1, may teach children that racism and sexism are no longer concerns in society (e.g., Derman-Sparks & Ramsey, 2006).

Although educators' practices regarding race and gender remain largely unexplored, decades of research indicate that parents, especially parents of color, engage in ethnic-racial socialization practices that are beneficial for children (D. Hughes et al., 2006). This body of work may inform teaching practices about race and gender in early childhood classrooms. In the following section, the literature on parental ethnic-racial socialization of young children is reviewed.

Parental Ethnic-Racial Socialization & Communication about Race and Gender

Ethnic-racial socialization is defined as parental communication about race to children (D. Hughes & Chen, 1999; D. Hughes & Johnson, 2001). Ethnic-racial socialization has primarily been studied in African American, and to some extent, in Hispanic parents (e.g., D. Hughes, 2003; D. Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; D. Hughes et al., 2006; Phinney & Chavira, 1995). The established dimensions of ethnic-racial socialization include (1) *cultural socialization*, or teaching children about their ethnic heritage and instilling ethnic pride (e.g., celebration of cultural holidays, reading books, teaching about cultural customs), (2) *preparation for bias*, or teaching children about racism and preparing them to face discrimination, (3) *promotion of mistrust*, or warning children about the need to distance themselves from other racial/ethnic groups, and (4) *egalitarianism or promotion of pluralism*, or emphasizing the similarities among, and equality of, all races (D. Hughes, 2003; D. Hughes & Chen, 1997, 1999; McAdoo, 2002). Egalitarian socialization can either involve exposure to history and traditions of many different groups or silence about race (D. Hughes & Chen, 1999).

Although most studies on parental ethnic-racial socialization have involved school-age children and adolescents, some studies report that the majority of parents of young children, particularly Black parents, do practice at least one dimension of ethnic-racial socialization (Caughy, O'Campo, Randolph, & Nickerson, 2002; D. Hughes & Chen, 1997; Suizzo, Robinson, & Pahlke, 2008). Parents of young children are most likely to emphasize positive aspects of ethnic-racial socialization such as ethnic pride (e.g., Suizzo et al., 2008) and are less likely to discuss discrimination and racial mistrust (D. Hughes & Chen 1997; D. Hughes et al., 2006). Recent studies, involving parents of

young children, indicate that parents, particularly parents of color, discuss race and ethnicity with children as young as 3 (Barbarin & Jean-Baptiste, 2013; T. N. Brown, Tanner-Smith, & Lesane-Brown, 2009; Caughy et al., 2002; Howard, Rose, & Barbarin, 2013; Lesane-Brown, T. N. Brown, Tanner-Smith, & Bruce, 2010; Suizzo et al., 2008).

Studies examining parent-child conversations about race and gender have predominantly used picture book reading tasks to elicit discussions (e.g., Friedman, Leaper, & Bigler, 2007; Gelman et al., 2004; Katz, 2003; Katz & Kofkin, 1997; Pahlke, Bigler, & Suizzo, 2012). The current investigation similarly involves book reading tasks to elicit conversations about race and gender between teachers and children. Pahlke and colleagues (2012) examined European American mothers' ethnic-racial socialization of their 4-5 year-old children by video-taping their conversations over two race-themed books. Results indicate that nearly all mothers adopted "color-mute" and "colorblind" approaches. Katz (2003) describes similar results in an unpublished study (Katz, 2002) of European American parents and their 12- to 18-month-old children. Parents were asked to talk to their children about pictures in a story book, composed of magazine photographs that varied by age, race (African American and European American), and gender. While parents frequently discussed gender differences, they rarely mentioned racial differences. Parents did discuss pictures depicting same-race people, choosing to focus on the in-group without explicitly mentioning racial similarity or difference.

Similarly, Katz and Kofkin (1997) found that parents of toddlers were significantly more likely to mention gender than race in picture book discussions. In studies examining mother-child discussions of gender, Friedman and colleagues (2007) and Gelman and colleagues (2004) both found that mothers frequently mentioned gender

to their young children in the form of generic statements (e.g., “That girl is playing with a puzzle”). In both studies, mothers were more likely to discuss counter-stereotypical than stereotypical story content. Overall, mothers were more likely to use gender category labels and statements contrasting males and females than explicitly stereotyped comments (Gelman et al., 2004). Gelman and colleagues (2004) have also found that mothers were more likely to mention gender than other characteristics, and both children and mothers mentioned gender more than 90% of the time when discussing characters. Although the studies described in this section were conducted with parents and children, several of the findings can hypothetically be applied to teachers in early childhood settings.

Teacher Ethnic-Racial Socialization

Although parents and teachers certainly play different roles in the lives of children, research with parents on communication about race and gender can be applied to teachers. One of the biggest differences between parent and teacher interaction with children is that parents only interact with one or few children at a time, whereas teachers have an entire classroom of children to manage – who unlike in the case of parents, may come from a variety of racial backgrounds and may not match the racial background of the teacher. Nonetheless, drawing on the parental literature about ethnic-racial socialization may inform teacher classroom practices, particular anti-bias practices.

Anti-Bias Curricula

The key goals of the *anti-bias* early childhood curricula (Derman-Sparks, 1989 & the ABC Task Force; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010) closely align with messages about race that parents of color, particularly African American parents, convey to their

children. The anti-bias early childhood curricular approach advocates for the discussion of issues such as discrimination, privilege, oppression, and racism with young children so they can develop skills to identify and challenge unfairness, prejudice, and stereotypes (Derman-Sparks, 1989 & the ABC Task Force; Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010). Anti-bias practitioners view children as active participants who can confront sexism, racism, and other forms of oppression. Although anti-bias curricula do not solely focus on addressing racism and sexism, several of its key goals align with dimensions of parental ethnic-racial socialization.

The parental construct of *cultural socialization* aligns with the anti-bias goal of developing positive identities and pride in one's heritage; the parental construct of *preparation for bias* aligns with the anti-bias goal of teaching children to recognize unfairness and speak up against prejudice; plus, the parental construct of *egalitarianism* or *promotion of pluralism* aligns with the anti-bias goal of expressing joy and comfort with human diversity. In other words, both parental ethnic-racial socialization in families of color and anti-bias curricula in early childhood classrooms may teach children that they are simultaneously similar, yet different from one another. However, unlike race-related communication by parents, the types of messages anti-bias educators may convey to children, specifically about race and gender, have been largely unexplored.

According to an anti-bias approach, educators have to be intentional and proactive about addressing human diversity and related injustices, prejudices, and misunderstandings with young children (e.g., Derman-Sparks & Edwards 2010; Kemple, Lee, & Harris, 2016). The anti-bias framework (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010) calls for activities and interactions that teach children to actively counteract discrimination and

stereotyping, while celebrating diversity and identity. Children are naturally curious and may ask questions about physical differences and other issues related to diversity, and it is the teacher's responsibility to initiate conversation. Anti-bias educators are urged not only to respond to children's questions about human diversity, but also to intentionally design activities addressing human difference. Passively waiting for an opportunity to arise where race or gender becomes an issue is akin to missed opportunities (Kemple et al., 2016). Derman-Sparks (1989) defines anti-bias curriculum as:

An active/activist approach to challenging prejudice, stereotyping, bias, and the 'isms'. In a society in which institutional structures create and maintain sexism, handicappism, it is not sufficient to be non-biased (and also highly unlikely), nor is it sufficient to be an observer. It is necessary for each individual to actively intervene, to challenge, and counter the personal and institutional behaviors that perpetuate oppression (p.3).

Advocates of anti-bias curriculum argue that it should be developmentally appropriate and take children's level of understanding, cognitive development, interests, and needs into account (e.g., Swadener & Miller-Marsh, 1995). Children are encouraged to ask questions, raise issues to be discussed, and engage in critical thinking and problem solving. There are very few studies that have examined anti-bias curricula in action. One of these studies has investigated the anti-bias beliefs and practices of 6 directors and 20 early childhood teachers working in rural areas with White children (Bullock, 1996).

Interviews, document analysis, and participant observations revealed that teachers struggled to address racial and cultural diversity in their classrooms because their students have never seen a child of color. Teachers were also not sure if it was their responsibility to teach about racial diversity and mentioned that more training and education in this area would help. Teachers with least exposure to anti-bias training

endorsed a color-denial approach and claimed that children do not notice differences, and that bringing up differences leads to prejudice, or that differences do not matter, because everyone is alike. To add to the scant literature on anti-bias practices, the current study examined the beliefs and practices of two preschool teachers who use anti-bias curriculum in their classrooms.

Anti-Bias and Racial Literacy Practices

One method of discussing race and racism, as well as gender and sexism, with young children involves the use of books (e.g., Copenhaver, 2000; Copenhaver-Johnson, 2006; Lazar & Offenber, 2011). In one study, teachers teaching 9-year-old students as part of a summer literacy program read books about historical figures such as Ruby Bridges and Benjamin Banneker to children. Teachers tended to focus on the perspectives, feelings, and traits of the story protagonists rather than representing racism as a system of White advantage (Lazar & Offenber, 2011). Teachers shied away from discussing racism as a system of White advantage, power, privilege, and also shied away from discussing issues of racial oppression, White complicity and White allies. Teachers engaged in “White talk,” which insulates Whites from taking responsibility for racism (Lazar & Offenber, 2011; McIntyre, 1997). White talk involves not identifying those engaging in racist acts as White. For example, teachers used the terms “they,” “other people,” and “townspeople,” when describing the perpetrators however, did not connect these terms to Whiteness.

Also, some of the teacher discussions indicated that teachers viewed racism as a phenomenon of the past and did not connect the content of the books to racism today, preventing discussions about how history of race and racism can address the current

problem of racism. If children do not understand the underlying roots of racism and discrimination and recognize that these are contemporary problems impacting communities of color, their views of race and racism may be distorted (Lazar & Offenberg, 2011). In other words, just exposing children to multicultural literature is not enough. We need to understand what kinds of conversations teachers are having when discussing these works of literature with children, and in turn, how children respond to and interpret stories addressing anti-bias themes. Hence, the current study explores teachers' anti-bias practices through interviews and observations and relies on book reading tasks to elicit discussions regarding race and gender.

Gendered Classroom Practices: Gender Labeling and Others

Teachers' use of gendered classroom practices impacts children's cognitions, feelings, and behaviors toward same- and other-gender peers (e.g., Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007; Hilliard & Liben, 2010); however, how often these practices occur is unknown. A limited number of studies have shown that teachers across China and the United Kingdom engage in gender labeling (e.g., Chen & Rao, 2010; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992; Farago et al., under revision), which refers to the use of terms "boys" and "girls" (and their synonyms) when interacting with children. Although this practice may seem innocuous, gender labeling is considered to be one factor that contributes to the development of children's gender stereotypes (Bem, 1981, 1983; Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007; C. L. Martin & Halverson, 1981). *Developmental intergroup theory* (Bigler & Liben, 2006, 2007) and *gender schema theories* (Bem, 1981, 1983; C.L.Martin & Halverson, 1981) propose that gender labeling contributes to the formation,

amplification, and maintenance of children's gender stereotypes and prejudice by increasing the salience, or noticeability, of gender.

Studies on teachers' use of gender labeling are rare (two studies thus far: Chen & Rao, 2010; Llyod & Duveen, 1992), therefore the current study examines the different ways and contexts in which teachers label gender in early childhood classrooms and their reasons for doing so (e.g., to line-up children, to greet children). It is anticipated that even teachers who espouse anti-bias practices use gender to label and organize children. Using gender labels is likely viewed as an innocuous practice by most teachers, whether or not they are aware of anti-bias practices.

Teachers may also use gender to organize activities and manage children in their classroom. For instance, teachers may divide up bulletin boards by gender (Hilliard & Liben, 2010), line children up by children (Chen & Rao, 2010; Lloyd & Duveen, 1992), group children by gender (Granger et al., under revision), promote competition between boys and girls (Chen & Rao, 2010; Thorne, 1993), make comments about girls' appearance and boys' strength (Chick et al., 2002), use gendered linguistic bias (e.g., sweetie, honey, buddy) (Chick et al., 2002), and promote certain activities as appropriate for one gender and less appropriate for another (Chick et al., 2002). However, these gendered classroom practices have been largely unexplored aside from a few ethnographic studies (e.g., Chick et al., 2002; Blaise, 2005; K. A. Martin, 1998). For instance, Chick and colleagues (2002) found that teachers address boys and girls differently (e.g., girls called "cutie" and boys are called "buddy") and they are provided with different types of toys and activities.

In addition to stereotype-reinforcing behaviors, some teachers, especially teachers committed to using anti-bias practices, may demonstrate gender-bending behaviors. For instance, teachers may reinforce girls for interests in athletics and male-dominated professions, as well as support boys' engagement in dress-up activities (Chick et al., 2002). However, little is known about early childhood teachers' gender socialization strategies (two ethnographic studies: Chick et al., 2002; K. A. Martin, 1998), especially in the form of verbal comments and the use of classroom materials and activities.

In an ethnographic case study of two multicultural day-care centers, Swadener (1988) found that few activities were planned around racial and ethnic diversity, however some attempts were made to use nonsexist language (e.g., "firefighters," "police officers," "mail carriers") and to counter gender-stereotyping. For instance, teachers provided alternative evidence to sexist assumptions, such as "girls can't carry heavy stuff." Teachers also frequently presented men and women doing a variety of jobs. The present investigation adds to the literature on gendered classroom practices by examining gendered practices, such as gender labeling and stereotype reinforcing behaviors, of teachers who espouse anti-bias teaching principles. Overall, questions remain about the types of classroom practices early childhood teachers rely on to prompt discussions about race and gender with children, and about *how* teachers practicing anti-bias practices address race and gender in their classrooms. Therefore, the current study examines how teachers intentionally address race and gender diversity in their classrooms via qualitative classroom observations and teacher interviews.

The Current Study

The current study was guided by the following research questions:

Question 1: How do two preschool teachers who are intentional about using anti-bias practices discuss race and gender with children?

Question 2: What classroom practices and activities do these two preschool teachers rely on to address racial and gender diversity?

Design and Methodology

The current study relied on a case study design. A case study is an empirical inquiry which investigates a phenomenon within its real-life context (Yin, 2003). It is an in-depth examination of a specific phenomenon or situation, such as an event, social group, or a person (Merriam, 1998). In the case of the current research, two classrooms and two teachers were selected who practiced anti-bias pedagogies. One strength of using case studies to study social phenomena is that researchers can rely on a variety of sources evidence, such as documents, artifacts, interviews, and observations. This type of research endeavor does not require any particular methods for data collection or data analysis and allows for all available methods of gathering data to be used (Merriam, 1988). Another advantage is that case studies generate a great amount of description and detail (Yin, 2003), and they can provide rich accounts of real-life phenomena (Merriam, 1998). The current study relied on interviews and classroom observations to examine teacher-child discussions regarding race and gender.

Quality Concerns in Qualitative Research

Reliability of qualitative work relates to the ability to achieve similar findings and replicate data during secondary attempts (Creswell, 2007; Merriam, 1998; Yin, 1989). The term *trustworthy* or *credibility* may be used in place of validity (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). For a study to be trustworthy, it must be conducted so that its conclusions are both

believable and logical (Merriam, 1988). Creswell (2007, p.202-209) describes eight strategies that could be used by researchers for validation of qualitative research and recommends that researchers apply at least two of the eight methods to a study. The strategies relevant to the current investigation are as follows:

1. ***Prolonged engagement*** and ***persistent observation*** in the field: In the case of the current investigation, each teacher or classroom was observed for about 50 hours over the course of two months.

2. ***Triangulation*** or the use of multiple data-collection methods, multiple sources, multiple investigators and/or multiple theoretical perspectives: In the case of the current investigation, multiple data-collection methods (i.e., interviews, observations, survey data) were used and these multiple sources of data were cross-examined to confirm the accuracy of the evidence.

3. ***Negative case analysis***: Conscious search of disconfirming evidence.

4. ***Initial clarification of researcher bias*** (subjectivity): The manner in which people make sense of their experiences is referred to as *subjectivity* (Morgan & Drury, 2003). In any qualitative study, the initial clarification of researcher bias (subjectivity) is important to ensure validity (Creswell, 2007). The primary researcher is a White, Jewish, immigrant, feminist woman living in the United States whose interest in researching anti-bias curricula stems from her experience with sexism and anti-Semitism in Budapest, Hungary. The stories of ethnic discrimination and genocide passed down by her grandmothers, who were Holocaust survivors, sparked the researcher's interest in social justice advocacy and researching how children develop their understandings of race and gender, and how educational and other contexts shape these understandings and biases.

5. *Rich, thick descriptions* that allow readers to make a decision about research transferability (external validity). The primary investigator kept a field journal to record details about teachers' classroom practices regarding race and gender. Additionally, the technique of memoing was used to explore meanings and sustain the momentum of research (Birks, Chapman, & Francis, 2008). Through the use of memoing, the researcher can engage with the research in an in-depth way that would otherwise not be possible (Birks et al., 2008). Memos were used both as a data collection and analysis tool to engage with the data. Memos included the researcher's thoughts, feelings, reflections, and ideas about the data and the data collection process.

Recruitment

Purposive sampling was used to select participants, as this form of sampling can provide good interview subjects and information-rich examples for the study (Patton, 2002). A purposive sample is selected in a deliberative and non-random fashion to achieve a certain goal. In the case of the current study, teachers who intentionally practiced anti-bias teaching were interviewed and observed. Given the need to have a high-likelihood of observable anti-bias teaching practices, purposive sampling was critical to the success of the study.

A three-pronged approach was followed for recruitment. First, teachers and directors were identified through a community nomination process – local researchers and early child care professionals referred teachers and directors who may intentionally incorporate anti-bias practices into their teaching. Additionally, in Study 1, 12 out of 341 teachers indicated they were very familiar with anti-bias education, *and* have attended an anti-bias training. Seven of these teachers taught out-of-state, leaving five teachers who

qualified for inclusion, all of whom have expressed interest in Study 2 and gave permission to be contacted.

Finally, a thorough internet search for centers and early childhood educators practicing anti-bias education yielded a few options; however, the majority of centers and educators identified resided in California or the Pacific Northwest. Both the community process and the survey identified a particular teacher in town, who turned out to be a director, for inclusion in the study. She agreed to recruit some of her teachers familiar with anti-bias education who have also participated in a diversity professional development program. Both teachers recruited indicated familiarity with anti-bias education and agreed to participate in the study.

Participants

Two early childhood teachers working for a corporate child care provider, both of whom were participating in a professional development program focusing on diversity and anti-bias education, were included in this study. The participating teachers worked in separate centers but were both part of the same professional development support and study group focusing on anti-bias education and diversity. One teacher was a 30-year-old, White, gay, female, who has participated in the diversity program for two years, and the other teacher was a 45-year-old, White, heterosexual, female, who has participated in the diversity program for one year. Both teachers have earned their Child Development Associate (CDA) Credential. One teacher has worked as an early childhood educator for 14 years and the other teacher for 25 years. One teacher indicated that she was somewhat familiar with anti-bias education, and the other teacher indicated that she was very familiar with anti-bias education. The teachers were both nominated by their directors as

well as volunteered or agreed to be part of the diversity professional development program.

Centers and Classrooms

Two preschool classrooms were observed, in two separate child care centers, in the Southwestern U.S. One center exclusively served children and families of employees of a national company, meaning that only employees were allowed to enroll their children at the center (i.e., client-based center). This site was NAEYC accredited. The other center was open for enrollment from anyone in the community and was not tied to an employer (i.e., community-based center). This center did not have NAEYC accreditation. Children were between 4.5– 5 years-old in both classrooms, with most children being below 5 at the time of the study. Classroom 1 had 13 children and Classroom 2 had 24 children. The larger classroom also had an assistant teacher present at all times. In Classroom 1, located in the community-based center, there were 9 boys and 4 girls. Nine out of 13 children were White, with all four girls in the classroom being White. Two boys were Southeast Asian (from India, however, the teacher mislabeled them in the survey as being from the Middle East), one boy was Korean/White, and one boy was Hispanic (Uruguayan), adding up to 4 out of 9 boys of color. The teacher indicated that the majority of children came from middle-income families.

In Classroom 2, there were 10 boys and 14 girls. Sixteen out of 24 children were White. Three boys and two girls were Black (the teacher reported all but one Black child as Mixed, not as Black), one boy and one girl were Latino/a, and one girl was from the Middle East (Moroccan). Four out of 10 boys were children of color, and 4 out 14 girls were children of color. In Classroom 2, two children (one Mixed [Black/White] girl and

one White girl) were not included in any observations because their parents declined to consent to participate in the research. The teacher indicated that the majority of children came from upper-income families.

Between the two classes, the majority, or about 70%, of children in both classrooms were White.

Child Care Corporation and Professional Development Context

The teachers participating in the study were part of a professional development program and support group focused on diversity and anti-bias education at their company. As part of the support group, which is a component of the company-wide diversity- and inclusion-centric professional development program, six teachers (two of whom participated in the present study) and one director meet 4-5 times a year to discuss readings from *Anti-Bias Education for Young Children and Ourselves* (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010), and to share and discuss incidents that have come up with children and families surrounding various aspects of diversity. At the time of the study, the group was on Ch. 5 of the book (i.e., Ch. 1: What Is Anti-Bias Education?; Ch. 2: Children's Identity Development; Ch. 3: Becoming an Anti-Bias Teacher: A Developmental Journey; Ch. 4: Creating an Anti-Bias Learning Community; Ch. 5: Learning about Culture, Language, & Fairness).

In addition to studying the anti-bias book, the teachers blog about the book, and also discuss current events, personal biases through self-reflection, and participate in team building activities – as well as share teaching resources related to diversity both with each other and with teachers and directors in the states of California and Washington. Teachers also participate in regional phone calls several times a year and

attend an annual conference surrounding diversity with their colleagues in California. Teachers are encouraged to support, share, and inspire other educators in their respective centers to address issues surrounding diversity – this way the program is expected to have a ripple effect and impact educators who are not explicitly participating in the professional development program.

Data Collection Procedures

The study lasted for approximately two and a half months, or 11 weeks. Classroom observations were conducted for 9 weeks, twice a week per classroom in the two centers. Teachers were interviewed, one at a time, before any classroom observations took place, and directors were interviewed together during the 6th week of observations (however, interview data from directors is excluded from the current study). Additionally, teachers filled out the online survey (identical to the survey in Study 1; see Appendices A-J) within two months of the last day of classroom observations.

Interviews. Teachers were interviewed, separately, at the beginning of the study, before any classroom observations took place. The semi-structured interviews were conducted in the child care setting and lasted 1-1.5 hours and included predetermined as well as spontaneous questions listed in Appendix K, as well as follow-up questions to obtain details and clarifications. The teacher interviews focused on ways in which teachers addressed racial and gender diversity, the rewards and challenges of anti-bias education, and teachers' experiences in the diversity professional development study and support group, as well as the perceived impact of the support group on teachers' classroom practices. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed.

Interview analysis. Audio recordings of the interviews were reviewed multiple times to check for accuracy of transcriptions. Next, interviews were summarized to help organize the data and to serve as reminders of the main points of the interview (Creswell, 2007). After the primary researcher gained a general sense of the interviews, the interviews were coded for salient themes, keeping the research questions in mind. Qualitative coding is not a linear process; it is more of a spiral or iterative process in which the researcher constantly evaluates the codes, compares them with the data, and moves back and forth between the data and the codes (Creswell, 2007).

The first step of the coding process was making a list of descriptive codes and statements that could be helpful in answering the research questions (Miles & Huberman, 1994). After listing all possible significant statements and descriptive codes, the statements were classified based on similar meanings or themes (Creswell, 2007). The codes were compared to the transcripts to ensure that the grouped codes remained reflective of the data. The final phase of coding involved interpretation and meaning making in which the researcher looked for patterns and themes among the data (Creswell, 2007).

Observations of classroom interactions (unstructured). Observations were conducted for approximately 100 hours total (50 hours/classroom) over the course of nine weeks. The researcher visited each classroom twice a week for approximately three hours before lunch time (noon). For the most part, the researcher took a non-participant observer role, and did not engage in classroom activities. On occasion, the researcher interacted with children, especially if the children approached the researcher with questions or comments. Rarely, if an incident arose regarding race or gender during free

play, the researcher asked follow-up questions from the children. Overall, the researcher took on a non-intrusive, passive role in the classroom. However, on rare occasions, the teachers involved the researcher in the planning of classroom activities. For instance, one teacher posed a “Question of the Day” to the children, and asked the researcher to come up with questions that would be meaningful for the purpose of the research.

Overall, the researcher closely followed the lead teacher, without interrupting classroom processes, and noted in the field notes any verbal incidents related to race and gender, anti-bias activities or conversations, and on occasion, also noted incidents related to religious, cultural, and linguistic diversity (however, these data were excluded from the current study). Children’s toy selection was also noted. Teacher-child, and occasionally child-child, verbal interactions were observed during structured activities (i.e., book reading task, carpet group time), semi-structured activities (center time/small-group time), and unstructured activities (inside and outside). The researcher used the “scan and focus” technique (Swadener, 1988), meaning that she was constantly observing and listening for relevant exchanges between children and teachers, and children and children, related to research questions guiding the study.

During observations, detailed field notes were taken about instances where gender and race came up. The field notes included descriptions of the setting, people, activities, direct quotations of what people said, and observers’ comments. Particular attention was paid to the use of linguistic markers noting gender or race (e.g., boys/sir/man/buddy/guy; girls/ladies/woman; light skin/dark skin). Comments made about children’s appearance (e.g., “You look so cute”), strength or ability (e.g., “You are so strong”), occupations or roles (e.g., “Are you playing doctor?” “Are you being mommies and daddies?”),

linguistic bias (e.g., “sweetie,” “honey,” “baby,”), as well as teachers’ responses to teasing or exclusion (e.g., “Boys can’t play this game”) were noted, and children’s gender was recorded. The ethnicity of children was also recorded when deemed relevant to an interaction.

Observations: Book reading (structured). In addition to unstructured observations, teachers were asked to discuss gender and race in two book reading tasks. The teachers and the researcher (relying on guidance from the dissertation committee) worked together to identify two books to be read— one addressing gender and one addressing race. The books chosen addressed racial and gender diversity, were developmentally appropriate for 3-5-year-old children, and had photographs or illustrations that suggested children’s individuality (as in Kemple & Lopez, 2009).

Further information is provided in the results section about the book selection process, which lead to teachers reading the same book about gender, however different books about race. Both teachers read *Jacob’s New Dress* (Hoffman & Hoffman, 2014), about a boy who loves playing dress-up and wearing dresses. Some kids at school tell Jacob he can't wear "girl" clothes, make fun of him and bully him, but Jacob wears a dress to school anyway. The book speaks to the unique challenges faced by boys who do not identify with traditional gender roles, and shows examples of adults being supportive and unsupportive.

Regarding race, one teacher read *Shades of People* (Rotner & Kelly, 2010) about skin colors like cocoa, tan, rose, and almond. This exploration of one of the most noticeable physical traits uses vibrant photographs of children and a short text to inspire young children both to take notice and to look beyond the obvious. The other teacher read

Chocolate Me (Diggs, 2011), about a Black boy who is teased for looking different than the other kids. His skin is darker, his hair curlier. He tells his mother he wishes he could be more like everyone else, and she helps him to see how beautiful he really, truly is.

Teachers were asked to read and discuss the books as they would have any other book during carpet time. The book readings, including discussions with children, lasted anywhere from 12-17 minutes. The book about gender was read during the 6th week of observations, and the book about race was read during the 9th (last) week of observations in both classrooms. Book reading episodes were audio-recorded and transcribed. The primary researcher read through all transcripts and identified salient themes. Codes were centered on teachers' responses to children's inquiries, interpretations of race and gender, and the ways in which teachers facilitated children's understanding of the anti-bias messages presented.

Observations: Teacher Notebooks. Teachers were asked to record any incidents that came up regarding race or gender, or diversity in general, when the researcher was not present in the classroom. A notebook was left in each classroom for this purpose.

Observations: Classroom Materials. The researcher observed and recorded how racial and gender diversity were represented in classroom materials, such as in books, pictures, posters, art materials, and toys (e.g., dolls, instruments, dramatic play materials). The researcher examined the content and group composition of the materials. The researcher also documented the use of these materials in classroom activities and in spontaneous conversations.

Observational analysis. An inductive thematic analysis approach was used to code qualitative data, as outlined by Braun and Clarke (2006). The first step in this

iterative process involved immersing oneself in the data by reading the participants' responses multiple times. Subsequent steps involved generating coding categories and grouping these categories into meaningful themes. The raw data gathered through field notes was coded, and the codes were categorized according to themes.

Results

Findings presented answer the following questions:

Question 1: How do two preschool teachers who are intentional about using anti-bias practices discuss racial and gender with children?

Questions 2: What classroom practices and activities do these two preschool teachers rely on to address racial and gender diversity in their classrooms?

Results are presented across two classrooms. In other words, data were combined across the two teachers, but no direct comparisons were made between the two participants, partly to protect participant anonymity, and partly because the data collected from the two classrooms are meant to, in an additive manner, collectively strengthen the evidence.

Discussing Differences and Similarities

One of the teachers described how important it is to teach children about differences and similarities and not to shut down or silence children's conversations, particularly surrounding differences. The teacher mentioned that she feels strongly about "helping the children be comfortable in uncomfortable situations." She further said that,

...it's very important to me to make sure that I show the children that it's okay to notice the differences in people, but to accept them. We are all different so it's okay. I feel like when teachers correct children for noticing difference in other children, because they are nervous about 'oh my gosh, they walked right into that stereotype', that child did, so now I have to correct it. No, it's okay. You can

correct the stereotype but let's not correct the fact that they noticed the difference. You know that teaching a child as early as possible anything -- I mean it really is helpful to them.

In response to a follow-up question, the teacher mentioned that teaching about similarities is important too. Although the teacher disclosed the importance of not silencing conversations surrounding differences; later findings reveal that she herself struggles with explicitly addressing differences, particularly in the arena of race.

Gender More Salient than Race

One of the teachers mentioned right at the beginning of the interview, without any solicitation from the researcher, that "...something big for me is like gender norms." The same teacher mentioned, when asked if she can think of a time when she did not speak about a diversity-related issue, "I can't really think of a time, that I haven't said something...especially when it comes to gender.... that comes up a lot." This teacher disclosed in the survey that,

I address gender diversity in my classroom all the time. It is the most frequent topic that arises naturally. Children seem to think that color has gender or toys have gender and I make sure to let them know that anyone can like or play with anything no matter if they are a boy or a girl. I have a diversity board in my classroom and I make sure to have pictures of people in non-traditional gender roles. Example: A male dancer and a female construction worker.

Both teachers and children were more likely to label gender than race. Both teachers in the study were White, as well as the majority of the children in each classroom (about 70%), which likely played a role in the silence surrounding race. White teachers and parents are less likely to discuss race compared to teachers and parents of color (Hamm, 2001). In this study, although both teachers have been exposed to anti-bias teaching, race or racism was rarely explicitly addressed. In fact, although one teacher

read books such as *White Socks Only* (Coleman, 1996) and *The Other Side* (Woodson, 2001) to her class, stories of historical racial segregation and racism, as well as simulated Jane Elliott's blue-eye/brown-eye exercise. She did not once mention the words "race," "skin color," or "racism" to children.

Teachers' Use of Gender Labels

Teachers, as expected, often relied on gender labels such as "bud," "buddy," "sir," "gentlemen," "boy/boys," "papi," "dude," "guy," "man," and "fellow" to label boys or male characters, and used labels such as "ladies/lady," "girl/girls," "woman," "ma'am," "mamma," "mami," "madamme," "girlfriend," and "missy" to label girls or female characters. On three occasions, a teacher used the term "bud" or "buddy" to address a girl. Additionally, teachers would occasionally refer to children as "Mr." or "Miss," and children addressed teachers by their first name, preceded by "Miss," such as in "Miss Flora." As expected, the use of gender pronouns, such as "he/his" and "she/her," was widespread. All of these linguistic markers render gender as a salient social category (whereas the labeling of racial groups was rare/non-existent) to young children who learn gender labels as early as infancy (e.g., Zosuls et al., 2009). Interestingly, in their survey responses, both teachers indicated that the frequent use of gender labels (e.g., buddy, boy, girl) was "untrue" for them (2 or 3 on a scale ranging from 1 -*Very Untrue* to 7-*Very True*). It is likely that the use of gender labels is something outside of teachers' conscious awareness, and therefore they may underestimate the use of gender labels.

On a few occasions, teachers or administrators emphasized gender when managing children. For example, during "picture day," the assistant director was overheard telling the teacher, "I'm gonna mix them up a little bit...too many girls is too

much drama, too many boys is too much drama.” Interestingly, although mixing up boys and girls stemmed from a need to discipline children and resulted in the use of gender labels, it could have an unintended positive impact on cross-gender peer relations and reduction of gender segregation. Later that day, the teacher told the children, “Miss Sarah’s group, let’s have the girls at the blue table and the boys at the orange table. Girls at blue table and boys at orange table.” Additionally, the bathrooms’ (see Appendix M) and children’s self-portraits (see Appendix N) had gender labels on them. What is noteworthy is that the two bathrooms in the classroom were single-stall, so technically they each had the potential to be used by any child, one-at-a-time. Yet, the teachers created ceramic signs, a blue moon with yellow stars for boys and a blue and pinkish red bumble bee for girls, to denote “boy” and “girl” bathrooms.

Gender also appeared in colloquial expressions such as in “Oh boy!” and “Oh man!,” and in names of characters such as “Batman,” “Spiderman,” “Gingerbread Man,” “Wonder Woman,” and in terms like “cowboy” and “ladybug.” Instead of “Hang Man,” the teacher played “Sink the Man” with children, again with a gender label present in the name of the game. Gender was also made salient when children and teachers were talking about families, such as using terms like “mom/dad” and “brother/sister,” and when talking about roles in society such as “fireman,” “king/queen,” “prince/princess.”

Teachers used some gender neutral terms, such as “firefighters” and “police officers,” in combination with their gendered counterparts (e.g., “policeman”). Teachers used a mixture of gender neutral and gendered terms, such as “I’m not a police officer or a fireman” or “Fireman...have you met John? His dad is a firefighter too.” Teachers did

not correct, but rather, often repeated when a child used a term like “fireman”. At times, teachers offered gender neutral versions of gendered-specific terms used by children.

Gender labels also appeared in the books that teachers read— including books addressing race or ethnicity (e.g., *The Other Side*, *White Socks Only*) and gender non-conformity (*Jacob’s New Dress*). However, unlike gender, race or ethnicity was rarely explicitly pointed out in books, even when the book was about race or racism. A note about the use of gender labels is the use of these labels in “anti-bias” contexts may in fact reduce prejudice, not increase it (Pahlke, Bigler, & Martin, 2014; L. M. Lamb, Bigler, Liben, & Green, 2009). In some ways, it is impossible and possibly undesirable to avoid the use of labels when dispelling stereotypes associated with these labels. In fact, research with children indicates when social categories are emphasized in the context of anti-bias or prejudice reduction interventions, children’s gender and racial prejudice decreases (J. M. Hughes et al., 2007; Pahlke et al., 2014; L. M. Lamb, Bigler, Liben, & Green, 2009).

How Teachers Addressed Gender

The Use of Diversity Boards

The use of diversity boards reflected that anti-bias messages surrounding gender were more salient than messages surrounding race, consistent with earlier findings. Teachers discussed in the interviews and were also observed, using their “diversity boards” (see an example in Appendix L) to prompt discussions about diversity with children (and with parents). In the interviews, one of the teachers discussed displaying a photo of a man with long hair and a female construction worker on the diversity board to help kids “break” gender stereotypes about appearance. This teacher also discussed

having a picture of a family with two dads to expose children to same-sex families. The other teacher discussed showing a man wearing a pink shirt to demonstrate that colors do not have gender and mentioned that it is important for children to have visuals to draw on:

One of the things that is really common, especially at this age, is children looking at colors as if there is a gender attached to the color. So that's one of the things that we try to explain to them is that colors don't have a gender. Pink is for boys too. Purple is for boys. So there is no gender attached to a color. Our diversity board is going to show a man wearing a pink shirt and stuff like that, so that they can have a visual with it.

Teachers demonstrated being aware of children's need for concrete examples to counter-stereotypes about appearance, families, and colors – rather than relying on abstract concepts. The diversity boards in both classrooms depicted males and females in non-traditional gender roles (e.g., female construction worker, male nurse, male ballerina) and with non-traditional appearance (e.g., boy with long hair, man wearing pink). The photos depicted were germane to conversations surrounding gender-nonconformity and gender flexibility.

In one of the classrooms, the teacher asked a child, a Black girl, who was showing interest in the diversity board, if a picture depicting a Black family looked like the girl's family. Next, the teacher talked about boys having long hair, a man being a nurse, a female being a firefighter, a boy wearing pink, and how colors are for everyone. The teacher also mentioned a doctor with tattoos, talked about some people wearing glasses, and about children in the class having different eye colors. The teacher mainly asked questions but did not tell children her own opinion. The teacher did not directly challenge

what the child said, and aside from asking whether the interracial family looked like the child's family, did not address skin color or race.

This silence surrounding race directly contrasted with the explicit ways in which the teacher countered gender stereotypes about families, occupations, appearance, and colors. By directing the conversation to some people wearing glasses and having different eye colors, the teacher placed gender and racial discrimination on the same footing as physical differences that are less likely to be stigmatized than gender or race. This strategy of “watering down” discussions about gender or racial discrimination by alluding to differences based on hair or eye color was a salient theme during the book readings. These findings are further discussed in upcoming sections.

In the other classroom, the teacher referred to the diversity board when countering an incidence of gender exclusion. Two boys and a girl were digging in the woodchips, and one of the boys told the girl that only boys can dig. First, the teacher asked the boy why he thought that. He replied “because girls are not strong.” The teacher pointed out that she is strong and that girls can be just as strong as boys. The boy replied, “Yes, but you are a teacher.” The teacher then asked if the boy remembered the diversity board with the female construction worker. Then she said, “It’s ok if you don’t remember, but I wanted to let you know that she can play with you too.” In this incident, the teacher used questions and concrete examples, namely herself and a picture of a female construction worker, to counter a child’s stereotype that girls are not strong. However, the difficulty in countering established, rigid stereotypes can be seen: the boy viewed the teacher as an exception to the stereotype that “girls are not strong.” Furthermore, as demonstrated in

earlier examples, the teacher did not tell the child that he is wrong, but rather asked the child to explain his answer and then offered alternative ways of thinking.

Other incidents addressing gender. Classroom observations, including classroom materials, teacher interviews, and the open-ended survey data revealed that teachers countered or reinforced children's stereotypes in the domains of appearance, traits/abilities, occupations, likes/dislikes, colors, gender exclusion, play/toys, and relationships (romantic and family). Teachers' anti-bias responses usually arose in response to children's stereotypical statements or children's curiosity (about the diversity board for instance). Occasionally, teachers responded to gender-exclusion, but rarely did they spontaneously discussed anti-bias themes.

Appearance stereotypes. One of the teachers mentioned in an interview that children express stereotypes about appearance, such as "boys have to have short hair" and "girls have to have long hair." She disclosed that she uses herself to demonstrate that girls can have short hair, as a counter-stereotypic example – this teacher also put a picture of a man with long hair on her diversity board. This demonstrates that the teacher was making anti-bias information concrete and explicit for young children, who have difficulty understanding abstract terms and who think in concrete ways (e.g., Nicholls & A. T. Miller, 1983). The classroom observations confirmed interview data regarding the use of diversity boards to counter children's stereotypes.

Teachers often used questions to challenge or to better understand children's gender stereotypes. For example, the following incident demonstrates that children hold stereotypes about appearance (like in C. F. Miller, Lurye, Zosuls, & Ruble, 2009) and that the teacher, although questioned the child, did not explicitly counter the stereotype:

Teacher: Adam, I love your outfit. You look fantastic over there (child is wearing a large, leopard -print hat and a jacket in the kitchen /dramatic play area)

Child (girl): He looks handsome, not pretty.

Teacher: Why can't he be pretty?

Child (girl): He is a boy.

Teacher: So you can't call boys pretty?

In the above excerpt, it is evident that the child believes that boys can be handsome and girls can be pretty. Although the teacher questioned this notion, she did not challenge or directly contradict the child's stereotype. Similarly, in the excerpt below, a child mentioned that his mom would not want him to wear a tutu. The teacher repeated and questioned this statement; however, she did not dig deeper to find out why mom would not want her son to wear a tutu or if the child believes it is ok for him to wear a tutu even though mom disagrees.

Child (boy): I don't wear a tutu because mommy doesn't want me to wear a tutu because I would fall over.

Teacher: Mommy doesn't want you to wear a tutu?

Child (boy): Shakes his head.

Teacher: Oh my goodness.

In another instance, children and the teacher were discussing painting nails. The teacher asked, "If John wanted to paint his nails, would it be ok?" and children replied "yes." Here, the teacher was asking if gender non-conformity would be acceptable, and since the children did not take issue with it, quickly moved on from the topic. Yet in another incident, the teacher directly countered a child's stereotype that boys do not wear dresses, as follows:

Teacher and children were dressing up felt figures (see Appendices O and P)

Child (girl): Boys don't wear dresses.

Teacher: Why can't a boy wear a dress?

Child (girl): I don't like it.

Teacher: Some boys wear dresses ...how do you know that's a boy?

The teacher told the child that *some* boys wear dresses, directly countering the child's gender stereotype.

Traits/abilities. Another domain of gender stereotypes was related to strength. In one instance, also mentioned earlier, a little boy told a girl she cannot dig with him. When the teacher asked why, he replied: "Because girls are not strong." In response, the teacher pointed out that she is a girl, yet she is strong, as well as referenced the female construction worker depicted on the diversity board. In another instance, a boy told the teacher that she, the teacher, is not strong. The teacher replied, "Why I'm not strong? I lifted these cots. Does that not make me strong?" In response to which the boy flexed his muscles and said, "I'm strong."

In these instances, the teacher was overheard directly countering children's stereotypes. However, as surfaced in the "digging" incident, children may view the teacher as a separate, more powerful entity than an average girl peer. The boy who said that girls are not strong replied to the teacher, in response to her stating that she is a strong girl, "Yes, but you are the teacher." This latter comment speaks to the difficulty in countering rigid gender stereotypes, and stereotypes in general – children may look at counter-examples as exceptions to the rule, or distort their memories to fit stereotypes (see Arthur, Bigler, Liben, Gelman, & Ruble, 2008 for a review; Martin & Halverson, 1983), as also evidenced in the book reading activities described in later sections.

Occupations. In addition to stereotypes about physical appearance and strength, teachers also made an effort to address gender stereotypes related to occupations. One teacher mentioned that she countered children's gender stereotypes about occupations, by stating,

I want them to see that they may think that doctors are only males but there are female doctors or vice versa. There's male nurses, when lot of people think nurses and they think women. So I try to break that stereotype because it's just not true.

In regards to the diversity boards described earlier, teachers mentioned that they post photos of and point out male nurses, female doctors, and female firefighters and construction workers to counter children's occupational stereotypes. One of the teachers mentioned the following way in which she addressed gender diversity in her classroom:

Only boys can like Batman, Spider Man and other male super heroes. We created a lesson around this about real life heroes and showed the children males and females in different careers that are looked as gender specific. We created super hero shirts for all the children.

Likes/dislikes. Children also disclosed stereotypes about likes and dislikes, such as in the following incident recorded by one of the teachers in a notebook, which serves as an example of children acting as “gender detectives,” or inserting gender into their environment even when it is idiosyncratic or inaccurate (see Martin & Ruble, 2004).

Child (boy): Boys like steaks and snakes.

Teacher: Well, I like steak and I'm a girl and I had a snake in my home.

Child (boy): No, boys like steaks and snakes.

Teacher: Well I think girls can like that too.

The teacher was using herself as a counter-stereotypic example while also generalizing to girls and women at large and directly countering the child's stereotype. However, as demonstrated here, changing children's stereotypes is a challenging task (see Arthur et al., 2008), especially considering constant exposure to and reinforcement of gender stereotypes in the media, books, schools, and families (see Blakemore, Berenbaum, & Liben, 2009).

Colors. Related to likes/dislikes, as well as to appearance, are colors. Both classroom observations as well as teacher interviews revealed that children stereotyped colors and assumed that pink is a “girl color.” One of the teachers mentioned,

Another thing...is a lot of times like when they're coloring...you know pink is a girl color. And I just try to tell them, colors don't have gender. They're not boy or girl. They're for everyone. There's colors in the world everywhere and they're not specifically yours or mine. If you're a boy, you don't own these colors.

Gender exclusion. Classroom observations as well as incidents that teachers recorded in the notebooks confirmed that children occasionally excluded a peer from an activity due to gender. For instance, as mentioned earlier, two boys were digging with a girl and one of the boys declared “only boys can dig” because “girls are not strong.” The teacher countered this stereotype by using herself as an example of a strong “girl” as well as bringing up an example of a female construction worker. Finally, the teacher told the boy that “she can play with you too.”

On another occasion, boys told a girl that only boys can play a game involving a math puzzle, and the teacher told the girl that girls can play too. The girl repeated this to the boys, and all of them started playing together as a result. In another instance, a teacher saw that girls were not permitting a boy to join them so the teacher asked why and questioned if boys also like to play with dogs. One girl kept repeating that only girls can come to the table, but in the end allowed the boy to join saying that “Only girls can come to the table...but I guess he can because he is James.” In other words, the child made an exception for a particular boy. The teacher did not probe further.

Further, the teachers recorded the following incidents, all involving gender exclusion:

Child 1 (boy): You have to stop, only boys can play football
Child 2 (girl): No I can play too!
Teacher: (Stepped in and talked about women's professional football.)

Child 1 (boy): Boys can't be ballerinas.
Child 2 (girl): Yeah only girls.
Teacher: Actually boys can! (Showed a video clip of the "Nutcracker.")

As the excerpts above indicate, when children explicitly excluded another child from play, teachers stepped in and directly addressed the exclusion. In some cases the teachers directly countered children's gender stereotypes (e.g., said that "girls are strong", talked about women's professional football, showed a video of male ballerinas). In other cases, the teachers told children that girls and boys can both play with a game or a toy. It seems that in cases of exclusion, teachers were more likely to directly address children's stereotypes as compared to other, less explicit gender-related scenarios.

Missed opportunities for gender inclusion. A more subtle form of exclusion involved teachers perpetuating genderblind ideologies by failing to notice that in some instances children, particularly girls, did not have opportunities to play with tools. Boys flocked to activities that involved tools, and by the time girls showed an interest, the centers would be "full," as the classrooms had rules about the number of children who can play at a center at a time. In a sense, this form of gender exclusion was a by-product of children's gender-typed play choices and teachers' classroom management rules about the number of children who were allowed to play at each center, rules that ignored the gender segregated nature of play. These findings mirror Powlishta's and Maccoby's (1990) findings regarding resource utilization between the sexes in the presence vs. absence of an adult – explained further in the discussion section.

In one of the classrooms, two boys were unscrewing screws placed in pumpkins, and used tools, like screwdrivers, to practice their fine motor skills. A girl walked up to the center and asked to join, to which the teacher responded, “Not right now...because we have two people here.” The two people in this case were two boys. A similar incident took place in the other classroom, where two boys were taking a radio apart at the “take-apart station” and a girl asked to join. The teacher responded, much like in the other classroom, “We already have two people there.”

Pretend Play & Toys. Another domain of gender stereotyping involved pretend play and toys. One teacher disclosed that,

I mean obviously, yes, like “mother” is a term for women...But when they're playing and if a boy is like, “I want to be the sister,” and then they're like “sisters are girls”, I say yeah, sisters are girls but you know he can pretend that he is the sister. You know, if he wants to.

In the excerpt above, the teacher is encouraging children to allow for gender role flexibility. The same teacher was overheard discussing gender roles pertaining to Halloween costumes, as follows:

Teacher: What if you wanted to pretend to be Spiderman for Halloween?

Child (girl): I'd die ...because someone would hit me in the face.

Teacher: Did you know Frankie is a boy?

Child (girl): You are a girl.

Teacher: I am, but I'm pretending to be a boy. Because I really wanted to be Frankenstein. Have you ever dressed up in Peter's play costume? (Peter is the child's brother)

Child (girl): He doesn't let me because he is a boy ...and those are boy costumes.

Teacher: Superman or Batman....?

Child (girl): No.

Teacher: Are you allowed to dress up like that?

Child (girl): No....

Teacher: You don't know...who tells you that you are not allowed to? Your dad?

Child (girl): Shakes her head.

Teacher: He doesn't tell you....?

In the excerpt above, the teacher raised the hypothetical question to a girl, whether it would be permissible for her to dress up as Spiderman. The child told the teacher “no,” and upon further questioning, told the teacher that it would not be permissible for her to dress up in her brother’s costumes. Although the teacher initiated the discussion of the topic of gender non-conformity and even pointed out that she herself was pretending to be a male character, Frankenstein, the teacher did not challenge the child’s stereotypical responses. Similarly to earlier scenarios, the teacher questioned what the child believed and where those beliefs came from, but did not delve deeply into anti-bias messages.

In another instance, the teacher asked a child to tell her about female superheroes, and then asked if it would be acceptable for his mom to dress up as Captain America, a male superhero. The child responded that his mom would be a “girl Captain America.” The teacher pointed out, as in an earlier incident, that she herself was a “boy” Frankenstein, and then asked the child, who was dressed as Captain America, if it would be ok for him to dress as “Elsa” (a Disney princess). The boy responded that he did not like dressing as a girl. The teacher mentioned that this was ok, and asked if it would be ok for another boy to dress up as a girl. In other words, the teacher emphasized gender non-conforming roles (boy dressing as a girl, and vice versa), and used questioning to encourage the child to consider possibilities he may not have thought of. As reflected in earlier incidents, the teacher used “indirect” methods, such as questioning, rather than “direct” methods, such as telling or informing, to discuss gender non-conformity.

Teacher: Can you tell me about her?

Child (boy): Black Widow is a girl Superhero. She has weapons.

Teacher: What are her superpowers?

Child (boy): She doesn't have one... she does tricks on her motorcycle.
Teacher: Are there more female Superheroes?
Child (boy): Captain America.
Teacher: Captain America is a boy. Are there any others?
Child (boy): There is a girl in Snoopy....she is a superhero.
Teacher: What does she do?
Child (boy): (inaudible)
Teacher: What if your mom wanted to be Captain America? Could your mom be Captain America?
Child (boy): Well she would be a girl Captain America.
Teacher: Could your mom be Captain America?
Child (boy): She doesn't have the ...(costume?/shield?)
Teacher: What if she wanted to buy it?
Child (boy): I'd go with her.
Teacher: I'm Frankenstein. Frankenstein is a boy so I'm pretending to be Frankenstein.
Teacher: What if you wanted to dress as Elsa? (to boy dressed as Captain America)
Child (boy): Noooo.I don't like dressing as a girl.
Teacher: That's ok. But is it ok if another boy wanted to dress as a girl? Like the Punisher...he is a guy...he is a boy.

The same teacher disclosed in the interview:

A lot of times that happens, yesterday, they were talking about super heroes and well a boy was like, well you know no we can't have you girls in here because we're being super heroes and I said did you know that there are female super heroes, there are girls that are super heroes and so I listed some. I was telling them about these super heroes that are all girls and he was like, oh, well then yeah you guys can totally play with us. And just like bringing those things to their head that it's so easy for me to tell them. Because that it's just something that's in my mind that way.

Similarly, the other teacher also mentioned that the theme of “girls can't be Batman” comes up in her classroom. However, this teacher further explained that children's conceptions of gender and their gendered relationships are more complicated than “girls can't be this, and boys can't be that.” The teacher explained:

So when it comes to gender, that's one of the things... boys are better than girls, so that's kind of one of the things that a girl can't be Batman. But on the other hand though, we have a lot of boys and girls who will say that they are going to marry them - instead of like saying my best friend. Before the Supreme Court

changed that law, it was a harder conversation with the kids when it was like boys can't marry boys and girls can't marry girls. So it was a conversation that we had before the law that it was like -- but they can make a commitment to each other. Afterwards, we could say yes they can. So it is an easier conversation with the children.

This last quote reflects the nuances of gender stereotypes, and how although there may be gender exclusion and gender prejudice in classrooms; this is mixed with children's understanding of marriage, and that the majority of women and men will pair up. In children's play, the themes of having boyfriends and girlfriends as well as marriage, frequently came up. The interview excerpt also reveals how societal-level socio-political changes, such as the legalization of same-sex marriage by the Supreme Court, can shape classroom conversations and dynamics.

Regarding toys, one of the teachers mentioned that she liked to make children aware that gender stereotypes about toys are not true, and she mentioned that she challenged children to think by asking them "...did you know that's not true, that girls *can* play with trucks and boys *can* play with dolls?" This same teacher also mentioned persistence in addressing gender stereotypes,

...boys can do this and girls can't or you know things like that, and I try really hard to stop that. Pretty much immediately. And I'll talk about it every single time it comes up, even if it's with the same kid all the time. I'm not going to just stop because I don't think it's getting through to them. Because eventually that one time it might.

Persistence in addressing stereotypes may be the key to anti-bias education. Children are bombarded with stereotype-confirming information on a daily basis; to counter this information, routine, persistent, and prolonged exposure is needed to stereotype-disconfirming information.

Book Reading about Gender: *Jacob's New Dress*

Overall, as the selected excerpts indicate, one teacher did little to directly counter children's gender stereotypes during the book reading activity, and mainly repeated or asked questions about children's statements. The other teacher actively countered children's gender stereotypes during the book reading activity by questioning what "boy clothes" are, and pointing out that she herself wears clothes that children labeled as "boy clothes."

Teacher A

In discussing *Jacob's New Dress* (Hoffman & Hoffman, 2014) with the children, the teacher challenged them through questioning whether a boy has to wear "boy stuff." The teacher mainly posed questions to encourage children to think about a boy dressing as a girl and used gender labels to discuss the topic (which were also used by the children and by the authors of the book). Some children agreed that a boy does not have to wear "boy stuff," and one child even mentioned that her father wears a dress, whereas other children responded that their brothers would never wear dresses. In other words, the children brought in real-world examples of what they saw around themselves – people, in this case men, confirming or resisting gender stereotypes.

Teacher: Does he have to wear the boys stuff?

Child 1: No.

Teacher: No, how come?

Child 2: Because if he doesn't want to wear it, he just keeps the girl's ones on if he wants to pretend to be a girl.

Teacher: It's okay, right?

Child 2: Yeah.

Child 3: But, my brothers never wear girl's dresses. They don't like it.

Teacher: Okay.

As can be seen in the excerpt above, this teacher did not take up the opportunity to inquire about why a child's brothers would never wear dresses – the teacher just confirmed the response with an “Okay” and moved on. In the excerpt below, children were curious to find out and seemed somewhat confused about the gender of the protagonist, a boy named “Jacob,” who wore a dress. In fact, one child referred to “Jacob” as “Jesse,” however the teacher corrected the child by telling them that this is Jacob, a boy. Again, a child disclosed that her brothers would never wear a dress or dress as girls, and yet again, the teacher did not address this comment. She just simply repeated the child's statement.

Child 1: Who do you want to be a green guy?

Child 2: That's a girl? That's a girl?

Teacher: He doesn't want to be the green guy.

Child 3: That's a girl dinosaur?

Teacher: That's Christopher, and that's Jacob.

Child 4: That's a boy and this is a girl?

Teacher: No, this is Christopher, Christopher is a boy.

Child 5: Jesse is a girl?

Teacher: That's a boy, and his name is Jacob.

Child 6: Yeah that's the thing.

Child 7: So, why he wants to be dressed up like a girl?

Teacher: Why not?

Child 7: My brothers never do that.

Teacher: Your brothers never do that (and continues reading).

In the excerpt below, the teacher used questioning to push children's thinking about the ways boys can dress. A child disclosed that her daddy wears dresses sometimes, however, the teacher did not inquire why or when.

Teacher: “Christopher says boys can't wear dresses,” said Jacob. Can they?

Children: Yes.

Teacher: Can they?

Children: Yes.

Child: My daddy wears a blue dress and a white dress.

Teacher: He does hmm.

A child in the excerpt below stated that it is “gross” for a boy to be a princess. Another child mentioned that boys do not like being princesses, and in response to this, a child said *some* boys do. The teacher repeated the statement that some boys like being princesses and mentioned that she had seen all children in the class, including boys dressed up in dresses. One child did mention that she did not think her mom would allow her brother to wear dresses. This information that is consistent with findings from the teacher interviews about parents finding it challenging to support their sons’ gender atypical preferences and behaviors. As seen below, the teacher questioned the children and repeated their answers; however, she did not directly tell them they were wrong and did not correct them, either.

Child: Boy... that's gross, girls will be princess. Girls will be princess.

Teacher: Why can't a boy be a princess?

Child 1: Because boys, because the...

Child 2: Boys don't like being princess.

Child 3: Or boys can do ballerina.

Child 4: Some boys do.

Teacher: Some boys do, that's right, because Jacob does, doesn't he?

Child: Where's Jacob?

Teacher: I know that I have seen with my eyes, my friends, all of my friends dressing up in the dresses that are outside, right. Yeah, not just girls, but boys too.

Child: I've seen Jim wear many dresses I think. (several children start talking all at once: something about girl and boy shirts...).

Child 4: My brother wants to wear my dresses, but well mommy said that's, I think I don't know what mommy said.

Teacher: Okay [laughter].

Child 4: I think mom said no.

After the book reading, the teacher asked children to design their own dresses for Jacob. During the drawing activity, one child said that boys did not wear dresses, and one child said that she wanted to make Jacob a girl. Other children discussed the designs and

the colors they drew. The use of gender labels and children's conversations around figuring out whether Jacob is a boy or a girl were overheard.

Teacher B

In the excerpt below, a child assumed that Jacob, the protagonist boy who wore a dress, was not listening to his teacher because despite the teacher's suggestion to be a fire fighter or police man, he decided to wear a dress. Another child disclosed that their parent would not allow a boy to wear "girl clothes," a similar theme that surfaced in the other classroom. One child mentioned that their mom would not wear "boy clothes." This teacher challenged children on what "boy clothes" are and told children that she wears shirts, shorts, and pants, everything that boys wear. In other words, the teacher directly used herself as a counter-stereotypic example and outright challenged the idea that clothes have gender.

Teacher: "Miss Wilson smiled. 'Jacob you try it.' 'What new thing could you imagine being, fire fighter, a police man?' 'Miss Wilson,' Jacob said proudly 'I'm the princess.'

Child: He's not listening.

Teacher: He's what?

Child: He's not listening.

Teacher: He's not what?

Child: Listening.

Teacher: Oh yeah he's listening. He is telling Miss Wilson what he wants to be. And what does he want to be?

Children: A princess.

Teacher: A princess.

Child: But he's wearing girls' clothes.

Teacher: Exactly, he wants to be a... Yeah, he's wearing pink.

Child: But my mom doesn't tell me I should wear girl clothes.

Teacher: She doesn't tell you that you should wear girl clothes?

Child: Yeah she tells me that I should wear boy clothes.

Child2: And my mom doesn't wear boy clothes.

Teacher: What are boy clothes?

Child: They are things that boys wear when they are pretty.

Teacher: So boys wear what though?

Child: Shirts.

Teacher: Okay but I am wearing a shirt and I'm a girl. What else do boys wear?

Child: Kind of – shirts.

Teacher: I'm wearing a shirt.

Child: Shorts.

Teacher: I wear shorts sometimes.

Child: Pants.

Teacher: I wear pants.

Child: You wear underwear.

Teacher: Everybody wears underwear right?

Child: Sometimes boys don't wear skirts and dresses.

In the excerpt below, a child disclosed that “only girls wear dresses, but boys make dresses.” The teacher urged children to consider that some boys like wearing dresses, and some girls like wearing pants, and vice versa, and that all of these choices are ok. The teacher confirmed a boy's dislike of wearing dresses, but at the same time asked him if it is ok to be mean to someone if they liked wearing dresses. In other words, the teacher encouraged gender flexibility.

Child: Only girls wear dresses, but boys make dresses.

Teacher: Boys make dresses? Well he's wearing one too. But is his dad wearing a dress?

Children: No.

Teacher: And his dad is a boy so maybe just some boys like to wear dresses.

Child: I don't like to wear a dress.

Teacher: And that's fine but do you need to be mean to someone if they like to wear dresses?

Children: No.

Teacher: Just like there some girls who wear dresses and some girls who wear pants. I wear pants. I don't wear dresses.

Child: I wear pants.

Teacher: Yeah you wear pants?

Child: I like pants and dresses.

Teacher: You like pants and dresses?

Child: I like shirts and dresses. I like three of them.

Teacher: You like shirts and dresses and pants?

Child: I like shirts and dresses and pants.

Child: I like dancing in shorts and jeans.

Teacher: Okay.

Child: I like all three of them.

Both teachers asked children how they would feel if someone ripped off their dress (in the story, Jacob's toilet paper dress is ripped off by a classmate). In a sense, teachers encouraged children to step into Jacob's shoes, without necessarily emphasizing the gendered nature of the bullying.

How Teachers Address Race

Although teachers rarely explicitly addressed race, unlike they did gender, observations indicate that children, especially children of color, noticed race and commented on skin color. One of the teacher interviews confirmed this finding, as seen in the excerpt below:

We have a little boy in here who is African American. Even though we had other African American children in the classroom, they were light skinned and had green/blue eyes. So that was different than him. So when another child, another African American child came into the classroom, he identified with that and he's like – 'that child looks just like me.' He said that he looks just like me. So I asked him, 'What looks like you, what characteristics are you talking about?' 'He has my hair. He has my eyes. My eyes are brown and this child's eyes -- has kind of my skin but it's not my eyes' ...then they've bonded and that brought him a real interest. But the children as a whole don't really -- no, not all [mention race]. I have not had that experience here at all. There has been no derogatory [just curiosity] when it comes to race.

Classroom observations also confirmed that children noticed skin color, and children of color, especially Black boys, showed enthusiasm in recognizing that dolls matched their own appearance. For instance, two children were playing with light and dark felt figures (see Appendix P), and one of them, a little Black boy, pointed to the dark figure and said, "That's my guy." A few minutes later he said, "Look it, I found my brown. Look it, I found my brown. I found my brown. I found my brown," indicating that he was enthusiastic about finding a figure that matched his own skin color, and that

looked like him. Later, the same child repeated, “I found my brown” and “This is my guy.” At another time, a White boy separated the felt figures by color, placing the “peach” or “light” figures and the “brown” or “dark” figures in separate piles. The following conversation was overheard between children:

Child 1 (girl): He has a dress and a hat. “A girl hat.”

Child 2 (Black girl): A dark skin doll is being dressed up.

Child 3 (White boy): Dark one is a girl. And light one are the boys.

Child 2 (Black girl): The dark one are girls and white ones are boys.

These excerpts demonstrate that children notice both gender and skin color, and are apt to categorize human figures along these dimensions. Children of color were more likely to point out skin color. Furthermore, observations indicate that children, both White and children of color, chose dolls (see Appendix Q) to play with that matched their own skin color.

Race: Teacher Silence and Missed Opportunities

Teachers were rarely overheard explicitly addressing race or racism, not even when children’s comments opened up opportunities for such discussions. Although racial diversity was present in books and classroom materials, teachers largely took on a *color-mute* approach – race was visible but not audible. For instance, one of the teachers read a book to the children titled *Somewhere Today: A Book of Peace* (S. M. Thomas, 1998), a book illustrated with photos of multi-ethnic children and adults. The premise of the book is that all over the world, people are helping each other, and in doing, so they are bringing about peace. During the book reading, children noticed that a family was eating with chopsticks, the presence of a piñata, and one girl (White) pointed out that the characters in the book “don’t look like us.” The teacher did not respond to these comments, aside from repeating what children said.

The same teacher read a book titled *The Other Side* (Woodson, 2001) to the children, which is about a Black and White girl who are not allowed to go to each other's houses because they are not supposed to cross a fence in a racially segregated town (before the civil rights era). The fence symbolizes racial segregation. However the teacher read the story to the children without discussing race, racism, or segregation. The teacher asked the children questions; however, since the children never pointed out race or made a connection between the fence and racial segregation, the teacher did not bring up this topic.

The other teacher read a book titled *I Like Myself* (Beaumont, 2010) to the children, in which the protagonist is a Black girl with wild, curly hair. One of the children called the protagonist's hair "silly" and "crazy." The teacher engaged the children in a discussion about hair, and how we can all have different hair, and that is ok. However, race was not part of the conversation.

At another time, a Black boy said to one of the teachers, "Police officers kill people. Police officers are all bad," to which the teacher responded, "Well police officers are good. They protect people. Wouldn't you call a police officer if you were in trouble?" Although the teacher mentioned in the interview that the anti-bias study group emphasizes the importance of addressing current events, since these may be issues that the children overhear as part of their parents' conversations or hear on the news, the teacher simply negated the child's comment about the police and moved on. The study was conducted in the fall of 2015, at a time when police brutality impacting communities of color, and the shooting of unarmed Black men in particular, was making national headlines. The Black Lives Matter Movement was picking up momentum and

conversations surrounding race, racism, and racial bias in police shootings were salient in the news. However, the teacher did not take the child's comment as an opportunity to delve into current events and inquire why the child may think negatively of police officers, demonstrating a "missed opportunity" for a teachable moment.

Teacher interviews confirmed that race and racism were rarely explicitly addressed in the classrooms. One teacher noted,

Ummm you know racial diversity, it is kind of funny, because it is a big topic. Yet, I don't really see it coming up in my classroom as much. I mean, I intentionally try, and I think a lot of this is the diversity professional development program aspect of it and everything, I want to include all the families, but right now, especially, I mean I have a pretty diverse group. But like I had a woman come in and read in Spanish because her son, they only speak Spanish at home.

The teacher went onto describing how she invited the mother during Hispanic Heritage Month to read a book in Spanish to the children. Although the mom, originally from Uruguay, said that she had never heard of Hispanic Heritage Month, she happily came in and read to the children in Spanish. The teacher did mention that she had first asked the parent if they knew about Hispanic Heritage Month because she wanted to avoid making assumptions about anyone's culture or family. Addressing race, racial diversity, ethnic and linguistic heritage are closely related concepts, and teachers may have different understandings of what racial diversity means (a finding that surfaced in the preliminary analyses of open-ended survey data in Study 1).

As a White teacher, discussing cultural or linguistic diversity may be deemed as a safer topic than addressing race or racism. The other teacher, when asked about how race or racial diversity is addressed in her curriculum or with children, described an incident with a parent who expressed discrimination towards a Latina teacher and asked for

Spanish to be removed from the classroom. Again, linguistic and cultural diversity was mentioned, and what is noteworthy is that in both cases the teacher referenced ways in which parents either had an issue with linguistic or racial diversity or conversely participate in promoting inclusion. Teachers mentioned incidents involving parents surrounding race but rarely mentioned incidents of directly addressing race or racism as teachers.

In terms of classroom materials, one of the classrooms largely lacked dolls, books, and materials that represented racial diversity; the other classroom had plenty of multicultural supplies and books representing racial, cultural, and gender, diversity, including books that depicted girls in counter gender-stereotypical roles and families of color, as well as books about racism (see Appendices R-S). Some of the multicultural books represented include: *Happy to Be Nappy*; *White Socks Only*; *The Other Side*; *The Colors of Us*; *Shades of Black*; *Chicken Chasing Queen of Lamar*; *Too Many Tamales*; *Big Moon Tortilla*; *Is There Really a Human Race*; *Why Am I Different*; *Talk Peace*. Books defying gender stereotypes include: *Madam President*; *Princess Smartypants*; *A Fire Engine for Ruthie*.

Interestingly, regardless of the materials present, *both* teachers were largely silent on the topic of race. Even activities and books that held the potential to facilitate discussions about race and racism were used in ways to avoid explicitly addressing the topic, as reflected in the findings discussed in the next section. One of the teachers had books about historical racism (e.g., *White Socks Only*, *The Other Side*), featuring stories from the civil rights era, such as forced segregation of Blacks and Whites. This teacher also had several books featuring families of color (e.g., *Too Many Tamales*, *Chicken*

Chasing Queen of Lamar) and children of color taking pride in their heritage or appearance (e.g., *Happy to be Nappy*, *Shades of Black*).

Based on the survey data, both teachers disagreed with colorblind ideologies – one teacher more so than the other ($M = 2.0$ vs. $M = 3.4$ on scale of 6). Neither teacher was strongly colorblind according to the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000). Teachers' scores on the CoBRAS were not indicative of the largely colorblind stance they took in the classrooms, which raises questions about the degree to which attitudes about race and gender in society at-large translate to educational practices in classrooms. Teachers could potentially acknowledge the existence of racism in the world, yet not address this topic with young children for a host of different reasons. Barriers to discussing race and gender are currently being explored via analyses of open-ended survey data from Study 1.

There was more consistency between teachers' attitudes about gender and their classroom practices, in the sense that teachers scored low on gender-blindness and sexism, and accordingly both countered gender stereotypes in their classrooms. Overall, these findings raise interesting questions about the relation between racial and gender attitudes and classroom practices – and when and how these attitudes about race and gender translate to teacher behavior.

Both the teacher interview and classroom observations (book readings) revealed that one of the teachers used Jane Elliott's famous "blue-eye/brown-eye" exercise to teach children about fairness and injustice. The teacher disclosed in the interview that she reads books about the Civil Rights Act to prepare children for the "blue-eye/brown-eye" activity. She described doing the following:

One of the other activities that we do with the children is that brown eyed/blue eyed/green eyed activity. I do that with the children, but before I lead up to it because it's such an intense activity for them and they are only 4 - we use books that talk about the Civil Rights Act. There is one that's called "The Other Side" where there is a little White girl on one side and an African American girl on the other side. We kind of lead up to that. "The Other Side" and "White Socks Only" are two books that really get a reaction from the children because it's like - "that's not fair." "Why?" They get angry. "That's not fair." I love that, "that's not fair." Once I see that the majority has got that, then it's easier to lead into that activity because then you get more of a feedback from them. "No, I'm going to go play with my friend who has green eyes even though I have brown eyes. You can't tell me that's not okay, it's not nice of you." There will be this feedback that you get that they'll recognize that. I would say, stand up brown-eyed friends, stand up brown-eyed friends. I would sing it and they'll all stand up and I'll be like - "okay, you guys may go and choose the center." The rest of the children will be sitting on the carpet still. I'll let it wait for a while, once the other children get settled until that first half says - "well what do *we* get to do?" I'm like - "we're just going to sit here." They'll ask why. "Well, because you have blue eyes and green eyes and only brown-eyed friends are going to go to the learning center." Oh [they get] mad, that's not fair. They know that it's an injustice. Sometimes, there is one or two children who just look at me like - "are you serious?" You can't be serious kind of a thing... then I'll let a couple of days go by, and then reverse it with the brown eyed children sitting there. The one thing that's interesting is when all of the light eyed children go and realize that the other children are still sitting there, they will kind of stop and go like, "Where's my friend, why aren't they coming, I want them to be here too." It's just not something that we go too deep into, it's kind of like, okay they've recognized that was an injustice, and they know that's not okay, but it also teaches us, and gives them that social skill about fairness.

Although, the teacher's efforts to engage young children about social exclusion and injustice are commendable, she did not explicitly mention race or racism or racial inequality when reading the books or when conducting the "blue-eye/brown-eye" activity. In fact, the teacher mentioned that they do not "delve too deeply" into the topic. From a cognitive-developmental perspective, young children think in very concrete terms and have difficulty understanding abstract concepts; therefore they likely do not make the connection between injustice based on eye color and racial discrimination unless explicitly stated so.

Similarly, in another instance, the same teacher mentioned that when she was teaching children about civil rights, and children made their own picket lines. The teacher mentioned,

We made our own picket, so the children made signs of things that they would like to see changed at the center, and then picketed, so their voice was heard... And so what was great about that... is they wanted more fruit at lunch, and a bit more variety, so [the director] took that into consideration, and she changed it. Their voices were heard, and that's the way we did it, and not only did we walk with our picket signs throughout the center, we walked all through the campus. It's not purposeful, me sitting down and saying, "this is what racism is," but them seeing it.... children need visuals and the activity hands-on to go with it. Just sitting down there, and talking to them about it isn't going to work. The "I Have a Dream" speech, that Martin Luther King does, they have a child friendly version of it, so there's Martin Luther King as he's a cartoon, and there's parts of the speech that are things that children can understand, rather than just him saying it out there, and showing them that.

The example above reflects that although the teacher was cognizant of the importance of using developmentally appropriate hands-on activities to teach young children about difficult concepts, such as racism, much like she mentioned the importance of using visuals in countering gender stereotypes, she did not explicitly connect picket lines, Martin Luther King, or civil rights to race and racism. As reflected in the book reading sections that follow, a reason for this may be that the teacher believes that the explicit use of words like "racism" implants negative ideas in children. In some sense, it is understandable that the teacher is concerned that by exposing children to the concept of racism, the possibility of perpetrating, experiencing, or witnessing racism becomes a reality.

The other teacher mentioned that it can be challenging to teach children to be open-minded and accepting, yet not imposing views on them. This teacher stated,

It's tricky... Because you don't want to, kind of like anything, like art, you want them to just create. Right, you don't want to tell them what to create. So it's kind of like that. You don't want to tell them what to think, but you want to try to phrase things and word things, so that they can like open their mind to the possibilities of other things. So that's kind of challenging. You know because like once again, sometimes I just want to like, blurt out and say it, but I'm like, first of all, I'm talking to a child, so I have to say things in a way that they're going to understand...so that I'm not just telling them what to think. I want them to kind of come up with it. Not on their own, but kind of just like I said open their mind. So that's difficult you know.

This excerpt reveals that the teacher, on one hand, wishes for children to be open-minded and accepting, yet on the other hand, does not want to tell children how and what to think. Curiously, teachers in both classrooms had no qualms about telling children that violence, such as pretend weapons, fighting sounds, and any sort of play that mimics violence is off limits in the classroom. One teacher mentioned that if she were to read *White Socks Only* (Coleman, 1996) to the children, in which a White man threatens to “whoop” a Black girl who drinks out of a “Whites only” water fountain, she would replace the word “whooping” with “shouting,” to avoid reading about physical violence. However, the same teacher disclosed in the interview that if a book mentioned God or faith, she would not censor it “because it is someone’s publication.” In other words, there were contradictions in teacher practices – these contradictions were especially salient with regards to book readings regarding race and gender. While gender non-conformity was explicitly addressed, teachers were largely silent, or *color-mute*, about the topic of race and racism.

Teachers took a strong moral stance regarding violence and were prepared to respond when a spontaneous classroom incident arose entailing violence. However, in case of race and gender, the morality lines seemed to be more vaguely drawn. Teachers

were much less likely to explicitly address classroom issues regarding gender or race, as compared to classroom issues surrounding violence. Potential reasons behind this are explained in the discussion section.

Book Readings about Race: *Shades of People and Chocolate Me*

Book selection process. While both teachers swiftly agreed to read *Jacob's New Dress* (Hoffman & Hoffman, 2014), the book selection process for a book that addressed race or racism was considerably more challenging, particularly with one of the teachers. One teacher agreed to read the book suggested by the researcher, *Chocolate Me* (Diggs, 2011), a story about a Black boy who is teased for his hair, skin, color, and physical features. He tells his mother that he wishes he could be more like everyone else, and she helps him to see how beautiful he is. The other teacher did not want to read *Chocolate Me* because she felt that there was not enough push back against the racial teasing and bullying in the story. The teacher was worried that children may walk away thinking teasing is the norm. The teacher also mentioned that she felt that children are usually not that explicit about this kind of (racial) teasing and that the book was more appropriate to be read at home.

The director also disclosed that she felt that the book set up teasing to be expected. The director mentioned that the book dives right into teasing and bullying, and she was worried about setting up an expectation that this will happen to a child because of their skin color. The researcher discussed having the teacher read *Let's Talk about Race* (Lester, 2008) and *The Skin I'm In: A First Look at Racism* (P. Thomas, 2003); however, the teacher disclosed that she did not find one of the books engaging (i.e., too long for young children/not developmentally appropriate) and took issue with the other

book because it used the word “racism” or “racist” which the teacher felt was too explicit and not developmentally appropriate because using these words could implant negative ideas into children.

It is interesting to note that the teacher had no qualms about discussing or reading about gender-based teasing. *Jacob’s New Dress* (Hoffman & Hoffman, 2014) entailed explicit teasing and bullying (e.g., a boy ripped off Jacob’s home-made dress; kids excluded Jacob from the “boys’ team”). Since much of the bullying and teasing did not take place in front of adults, the story did not present explicit disapproval of the teasing and bullying; yet, the teacher did not find this aspect of the story problematic like she did with *Chocolate Me*, a story that addressed racial bullying.

What is also fascinating is that this teacher had books about civil rights and about historical racism and segregation, such as *White Socks Only* (Coleman, 1996) and *The Other Side* (Woodson, 2001), and read these books to children. However, she never named race or racism when reading these stories – messages about racial segregation and racism were implied, but never explicitly stated. The book the teacher ended up reading, one she picked out on her own, was titled *Shades of People* (Rotner & Kelly, 2010). This book explores hues of skin color, such as cocoa, tan, rose, and almond-people via vibrant photographs of children and adults. .

Teacher B: Reading of *Chocolate Me*

This teacher agreed to read the book addressing race selected by the researcher, or *Chocolate Me* (Diggs, 2011). In the excerpts below, it is evident that the repetition of the phrase “chocolate me” and pictures of cupcakes distracted the children from the story’s main message. The teacher attempted to correct children’s perception that the Black

protagonist is made out of chocolate and told the children that he just has dark skin and is being teased for it. Much like in the other classroom, the story and the illustrations prompted children to compare their skin colors to that of the protagonist – and the teacher, much like the other teacher, repeated and affirmed children’s statements about skin color.

Teacher: Okay let’s see. Chocolate Me.

Child: Oh he is sad.

Teacher: Why is he sad?

Child: Maybe he wants chocolate.

Child: Maybe it is, maybe because he is made out of chocolate he can never get the chocolate out of his plate.

Teacher: So here’s the thing. This kid is not made of chocolate. But he does have dark skin that looks like the color of chocolate right?

Child: Yeah.

Teacher: He is not made of chocolate. He’s just a boy. Let’s see what happens next. “When he played they’d say, ‘Look where your skin begins! It’s brown like dirt. Does it hurt to wash off?’ Chocolate Me.” What do you think about this picture?

Child: It’s about a piece of Chocolate Me. Maybe he has a chocolate inside of him.

Teacher: No he’s saying “chocolate me” because of the color of his skin. The color of his skin is like chocolate. And they are saying that it looks brown like dirt.

Child: Mine is brown like a little bit of dark.

Teacher: Yours is a little bit darker?

Child: Mine is not.

Child: Mine is just lighter.

Teacher: Your skin is lighter?

Child: Oh oranges.

Teacher: Oranges what?

Child: Like, he is like chocolate.

Teacher: He has darker skin like chocolate.

Child: That’s what I am saying. My skin looks tan.

Teacher: Your skin looks tan? Okay.

Child: My skin looks blonde.

Teacher: Your skin looks blonde? Okay. Let’s keep reading and see what happens.

As reflected in the excerpt below, the teacher asked children what they would say to someone who teased them for “looking different.” Children came up with strategies, such as “walking away,” “using your words,” “telling the teacher,” and “telling them to stop.” The teacher also suggested “telling them how it makes you feel.”

Teacher: They are teasing him about his hair and about his skin, color. They are teasing him because he looks different than them. Is that very nice to do that?

Child: No because mine looks kinda like him, because his is little darker than mine.

Teacher: Yes.

Child: Because no one would do that to me. If somebody did that, “hey your skin looks like brown.”

Teacher: Well what would you say?

Child: I would say, I would just walk away from them.

Teacher: You would just walk away from them? That would maybe be a good choice. If they’re hurting your feelings and you don’t like what they’re telling, you could walk.

Childs: Or you could use your words.

Teacher: You can use your words. What would you tell them if they are making fun of you?

Child: I know, I know. Tell a teacher.

Teacher: What would you tell them?

Child: Tell a teacher.

Child: Please stop it.

Teacher: Please stop it? Maybe tell them how it makes you feel?

Child: Yes and

Teacher: Yes?

Child: If I was walking away, I would just see who likes me and who don’t tease about me.

Teacher: So you’d go to someone who is not going to tease you. That’s right, that’s good.

Child: And I would never go to those teaser guys... boys again.

The teacher, in response to a child’s comment about the protagonist “turning yellow,” later made the point that being different is a good thing and is something to be proud of. She later returned to this theme of celebrating physical differences, such as having different types of hair, skin color, mouths, height, and even tattoos, when she discussed the moral of the story with the children.

Teacher A: Reading of *Shades of People*

This teacher did not agree with the books suggested by the researcher and instead read *Shades of People* (Rotner & Kelly, 2010) to the children. In the excerpt below, the teacher asked children if they have noticed different shades of people – however, did not correct children’s responses when their comments revealed that they did not understand what “shade” meant, and instead answered about “shapes,” not “shades.” Later on, the teacher asked children what a “shape” is – but did not correct their incorrect answers. Eventually, the teacher and children discussed how pictures of children in the book resembled children in their class. The discussions focused on hair and some involved discussion of skin color, however these discussions stayed at a surface level.

Teacher: “Have you noticed that people come in different shades? Not colors exactly, but different shades.” They look all different, don't they?

Class: Yeah.

Teacher: What different shades do you see?

Child: I see ovals.

Teacher: You see ovals?

Child: I see his glasses ...I see ovals.

Teacher: On his glasses you see ovals, okay.

Child: I see squares.

Teacher: You see squares? Where do you see squares?

Child: I see squares somewhere.

Teacher: Like around their faces? Okay. What else do you see? It says, "Have you ever noticed that people come in many different shades?" What is a shade?

Child: Like when the sun makes a shade on the people. And the shade follows you.

Teacher: Okay, the shade follows you.

Child: When you're driving, the sun follows you.

Teacher: Okay. “There's creamy ivory.” Is there anybody in the classroom that looks like this? That has this color?

Child: ...that ...with the smile who is pretty.

Child: Mary.

Teacher: You think Mary looks like that? Why do you think Mary looks like that?

Child: Because she has curly hair.

Teacher: Because she has curly hair? Yeah. What about “sandy and peach?”

Child: Sandy peach means it's so sandy that you get sand in your eyes.
Teacher: Okay. Look at these little girls. Look at their skin. "Coffee and cocoa." Coffee and cocoa. Is there anybody in our classroom that looks like these two girls? That looks like these two colored girls?
Child: I am.
Child: Lilly.
Teacher: Is Lilly in our classroom right now?
Class: No.
Teacher: No.
Child: Tomas and Kyle.
Teacher: Tomas and Kyle do? Anybody else?
Child: Arianna's hair.
Teacher: Arianna's hair, okay.
Child: That looks like Selma.
Teacher: This looks like Selma?
Child: No. That one.
Teacher: This one?
Child: Yeah that really looks like me.
Teacher: That really looks like you? Okay. This says "copper and tan."
Anybody else?
Child: That one looks like Lilly.
Teacher: It does, because of the curly hair?
Class: Yeah.
Teacher: Okay, let's see. There's "pink and rose." Pink and rose.
Child: The one on the left looks like Julie.
Teacher: Look at these! "Shades of gold, and bronze and brown." Look at that.
Different colors, different shades.
Child: That one looks like me.

The children clearly recognized the resemblance between children portrayed in the book and themselves and their friends. However, children's comments largely centered on physical features like hair and although the teacher repeated and affirmed these responses, she did not draw explicit attention to skin color. As part of the book reading, the teacher proceeded to do Jane Elliott's "blue-eye/brown-eye" exercise with the children, much like when she mentioned in the interview that she occasionally does this activity.

Blue-Eye/Brown-Eye Exercise

Teacher: Let me ask you a question. Stand up if you have blue eyes. Now what if I was to say, only our friends with blue eyes get to go to sing at the concert.

Child: That would not be fair.

Teacher: Why not?

Child: Because then the friends with the green eyes won't get to see their mommy or daddy.

Teacher: Well, I think only the blue eyed friends get to go because they have the prettiest eyes.

Child: and black....

Teacher: I feel like the blue eyed friends have the prettiest eyes.

Child: and brown...

Class: Nu-uh. No.

Teacher: No? Well how come?

Child: That's not fair.

Teacher: It's not fair? How come it's not fair?

Child: Because everybody needs to come.

Teacher: Everybody needs to come? How come everybody needs to come?

Child: Because that's not fair that only blue eyes get to come.

Teacher: It's not fair? How do you think it's going to make all your other friends feel?

Class: Sad!

Teacher: It'll make them feel sad? Okay, sit down my blue eyed friends. Stand up my brown eyed friends. How about if all of my brown eyed friends--I'm going to let you guys do centers today. And all of my green and blue eyed friends don't get to.

Child: But that's not fair. But all of them...but the parents want to see their kids.

Teacher: But I know that you want to play with your friends, but your friend has blue eyes.

Child: But my mom says that whenever anyone sees me with black eyes, my mom thinks I'm beautiful with black eyes.

Teacher: Your mom thinks you're beautiful with black eyes? Alright, let's sit down.

Child: But that's not fair.

Teacher: You know what though? I think all of you are beautiful no matter what color your eyes are. What do you think?

Class: Yeah.

Next, the teacher asked, "Do they all look different [photo of children's hands]?"

Let's see what ours looks like." The teacher asked the children to make a circle and put

their hands in the circle – then told the class, "Now, do all of our hands look the same?"

The children unanimously respond “no,” so the teacher asked them to name the colors they saw. The children said “brown,” “blonde,” and “white.” After the book reading, the teacher mentioned to the researcher, “Isn’t it interesting how they didn’t talk/notice race, they talked about shapes and hair....we had to pull it out of them.”

Overall, both teachers discussed skin color in the context of physical differences – such as hair, eyes, and facial shapes. However, neither teacher used the terms “race” or “racism” when reading books that could have prompted discussions about race. In some ways teachers placed skin color differences and gender differences on the same footing as any other physical difference. The important distinction, however, is that while children will likely encounter discrimination based on gender and race, they will not encounter discrimination solely based on hair color, eye color, and other physical markers. As mentioned earlier, this strategy of “watering down” discussions about gender or racial discrimination by alluding to differences based on hair or eye color was also a salient in classroom observations. Teachers seemed to be focused on hypothetical discussions of accepting all differences and including everyone, and in their efforts in doing so, they have decreased the salience of race- and gender-based exclusion and discrimination.

Discussion

Findings indicate that even teachers who are familiar with and are motivated to use anti-bias practices struggle with its implementation, particularly regarding race and racism. Teachers were more comfortable with addressing gender stereotypes and sexism as compared to racial stereotypes and racism. One reason for this may lie in teachers’ identities and past experiences with discrimination. Both teachers identified as female and have presumably been the victims of sexism at some point in their lives; therefore

their personal identities and experiences may motivate them to break down gender barriers for children. On the other hand, both teachers identified as White, and therefore, likely have limited personal experiences with racism and related motivations to address race and racism in the classroom.

Another note about teachers' identities and personal experiences is that teachers seemed to address issues regarding diversity that they have had personal encounters with. For example, one of the teachers had many visible tattoos and piercings and expressed that she had faced discrimination, as a result. Therefore, she discussed inclusivity pertaining to looks and physical appearance. This teacher also identified as gay; hence she addressed topics pertaining to non-traditional gender-roles and same-sex families in her classroom. Along the same lines, the other teacher had a strong religious identity, and this may be the reason why she said she would not censor a book that mentioned religion; however, she would censor any reference to physical violence.

The theme of how teachers' personal and professional identities and experiences with discrimination play a role in their anti-bias teaching was explored as part of this research project. However, these data have not been analyzed. Overall, the major questions for researchers and educators become, how can we prepare teachers to address issues pertaining to diversity about groups they do not belong to, identify with, or have experiences with? For instance, how do we motivate and prepare White teachers to talk about racism? By the same token, how do we engage cis-gendered educators to address homophobia or trans-phobia? As the findings indicate, it is easier to address issues related to diversity when those issues hit close to home.

Another important concept to consider is that it is not enough that teachers address gender and race; they need to address these topics in developmentally appropriate ways. As, recommended by Cristol and Gimbert (2008), social learning and cognitive developmental models need to be understood when designing curriculum interventions targeting prejudice. Similarly, advocates of anti-bias curriculum argue that it should be developmentally appropriate and take children's level of understanding, cognitive development, interests, and life experiences into account (e.g., Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010; Ramsey, 2009; Swadener & Miller-Marsh, 1995).

Additionally, teachers' comfort level addressing racial issues is likely rather low. According to another study involving early childhood educators indicates, teachers often feel unprepared or uncomfortable discussing race and racism with young children and need support and training in this area (Bullock, 1996; Priest et al., 2014; Vittrup, in press). Research indicates that even when teachers *do* feel comfortable addressing race in the classroom, there is often a disconnect between their comfort level and their reported practices, which tend to be colorblind or color-mute (Vittrup, in press). This discrepancy or inconsistency between educators' professed attitudes and classroom behavior has been documented in other studies (e.g., Wilcox-Herzog, 2002). Theoretical work, such as *gender schema theories* (Bem, 1981, 1983; Martin & Halverson, 1981), also posits that although schemas about gender (or race) may guide behavior, schemas do not definitely determine behavior.

Part of the reason between the attitude-behavior disconnect may be that educators are not aware of certain classroom behaviors (and attitudes), such as gender labeling, and the impact of these behaviors on children's stereotyping. It is very likely that teachers do

not view the use of gender labels and the functional use of gender to categorize children as problematic and are likely unaware how frequently they use gender to guide children's behavior. Another pertinent issue entails considering how, when, why, and which attitudes about gender and race translate to classroom practices. Although according to scores on the CoBRAS, teachers in the current study were not strongly colorblind, this did not translate into intentionality surrounding addressing race in the classroom.

There is a possibility that attitudes regarding structural inequalities and privilege at a societal-level do not have any bearing on classroom teaching in early childhood contexts. On the other hand, teachers need to be aware of societal inequalities to be able to redress these in the classroom. For instance, research has shown that boys gain access to scarce resources, or dominate mixed-sex groups in the absence of an adult, whereas resources are shared equitably when an adult is present (Powlishta & Maccoby, 1990). Due to the highly gender-segregated and stereotyped nature of play, boys would rush to centers involving tools, and by the time a girl wanted to join, the centers would be full. In some sense, teachers need to put on "gender-conscious" and "race-conscious" proverbial glasses, and be aware of the limited opportunities girls have in STEM, to implement anti-bias pedagogies. In the case of this study, teachers could have offered taking turns, had they considered the gender segregated nature of play and occupations, particularly in regards to use of tools and occupations involving their use, such as construction and engineering.

Although it is encouraging that teachers explicitly addressed gender exclusion and gender stereotypes, they tended to rely on indirect methods, such as questioning children, rather than telling children or providing them with explicit anti-bias information. On one

hand, teachers may feel that it is not developmentally appropriate to explicitly teach children about anti-bias information and to “impose views” on children. On the other hand, young children think in concrete terms and may not understand implied or abstract anti-bias messages about gender and race, unless these messages are explicitly laid out both verbally and visually. Unless an explicit connection is made between a social justice activity and racism for instance, it is unlikely that children will outright make a connection. The connection needs to be made *for* and *with* children, and this is why the critical role of early childhood teachers is indispensable to anti-bias teaching.

Another related issue is whether teachers in the study, and early childhood professionals in general, view it as their professional duty to address social justice and controversial or sensitive issues in their classrooms. There is some indication that teachers view it as the responsibility of parents to discuss racism (Vittrup, in press). However, in Vittrup’s study only 25% of teachers indicated that parents were doing a good job, and some teachers even blamed parents for children’s biases. On the other hand, parents, especially White parents, tend to view racial socialization as the responsibility of teachers and schools and rarely discuss race and racism with their children (e.g., Pahlke et al., 2012; Hamm, 2001). What this suggests is that unless White children, such as the majority of the children in the current study, are exposed to the topics of race and racism in educational settings, they will likely not be exposed to these topics at all and will not be prepared to identify and interrupt racism and White privilege.

Yet, another interesting finding pertains to one teacher in particular whose classroom was filled with racially diverse books, dolls, and other classroom materials reflecting ethnic-racial diversity. The anti-bias curricular approach recommends that

teachers create a classroom environment that sets the stage for conversations about topics, such as skin color, racism, and sexism (Derman-Sparks and the ABC Task Force, 1989). However, in spite of the presence of these materials, race was rarely explicitly discussed, mirroring findings that even in classrooms filled with multicultural materials, there can be a culture of silence or color-muteness where diversity is seen but not heard (Park, 2011). The other classroom did not have materials reflecting racial diversity, and as the teacher explicitly expressed in the interview as well as in the survey, racial diversity was not a topic she addressed.

Limitations & Future Directions

Although this study makes an important contribution to anti-bias scholarship, certain parameters of the research warrant examination. Due to the difficulty of identifying and recruiting educators who labeled themselves as “anti-bias” educators, the participating teachers were only somewhat familiar with anti-bias education and had not attended formal trainings on anti-bias education. The teachers, at the time of this study, have not fully read the anti-bias book by Derman-Sparks and Edwards (2010). Therefore, the findings should be interpreted with caution and may not be generalizable to educators who are self-described “anti-bias teachers.” It is possible that in explicitly social justice oriented early childhood classrooms, more could have been done to address race and gender.

However, it is also worth mentioning that the researcher’s presence may have lead teachers to hyper-emphasize and demonstrate anti-bias practices. The researcher was transparent about the anti-bias nature of her work, and as a result, there were times when teachers asked the researcher to contribute to activities. For instance, one teacher posed a

“Question of the Day” to the children once a week. The teacher asked the researcher to come up with questions that would be meaningful for the purpose of the research, and in turn, the teacher asked a few questions that revolved around gender diversity.

Moreover, teachers participating in this study were White mainly working with White children. Future research should investigate classroom practices of anti-bias educators of color to gain a more nuanced understanding of what addressing race and gender looks like in racially diverse early childhood contexts. Future research endeavors may also examine the background characteristics of teachers who use anti-bias practices. Specifically, it would be important to understand what personal and professional experiences initiate and sustain teachers’ interest in anti-bias education. A few studies have found that teacher characteristics, such as teacher ethnicity and classroom characteristics, such as classroom SES composition, predict classroom practices that promote acceptance of diversity in children (Perlman, Kankesan, & Zhang, 2010; Sanders & Downer, 2011). A better understanding of the profile of “anti-bias” educators can inform teacher education programs, assist pre-service teachers on their gender- and race-conscious journeys, and inform educators of the impact of this work on children.

This leads to the last point, about future research that can play a critical role in collecting child-level data, both to better understand children’s perceptions of teachers’ practices as well as potential child outcomes. So far, only one study has linked teachers’ attitudes about diversity to child outcomes: 3rd and 4th grade teachers’ more inclusive attitudes toward diversity predicted Mexican immigrant children’s low perceptions of discrimination and positive ethnic identity (C. S. Brown & Chu, 2012). Although the importance of discussing race and racism with young children lies at the heart of anti-bias

education, if not done in a developmentally appropriate way, these discussions may traumatize children who are most likely to see themselves as victims of racism or sexism (see Farago & Swadener, 2016).

Hence, it is important to take children's cognitive development level, unique life circumstances, and personal histories into account when planning anti-bias practices, as to avoid unintentionally harming children, and children of color in particular (see Farago & Swadener, 2016). One consideration to take into account from a developmental perspective is that children's level of cognitive development impacts how they interpret messages about race and gender. Children are not passive recipients of information and may misunderstand adults' messages about race and gender (see D. Hughes & Chen, 1999; D. Hughes et al., 2008). Future studies should include children's voices and understandings of anti-bias principles.

Although much is known about experimental work on prejudice reduction, few of these findings ever reach teachers and teacher educators. Teachers need support to be equipped with skills to build an inclusive school culture and practice anti-bias curricula (Dessel, 2010). Educators and researchers must collaborate, and draw on theories of prejudice development and intergroup relations, to effectively evaluate how their curricula impact children's perceptions of social groups such as race and gender (Cameron & Turner, 2010). Ultimately, teachers need support and resources to create early childhood spaces where the roots of prejudice can be identified, addressed, and ultimately eradicated.

CHAPTER 4

GENERAL DISCUSSION

Overall, little research has explored early childhood educators' attitudes, beliefs, and classroom practices regarding race and gender. Examining these topics within and outside of the context of anti-bias curricula is important, as educators' beliefs and practices may contribute to educational inequality as well as shape stereotype and prejudice development in children.

Findings from both studies indicate that practicing anti-bias education is both a rewarding as well as a challenging undertaking, with many nuances, interpretations and complex dynamics. Although in both studies educators recognized the need to address racial and gender diversity, there was a discrepancy between this recognition and the enactment of anti-bias teaching, particularly in the arena of race. Educators may fear offending parents, angering administrators, and implanting prejudice in children. Therefore, many do not discuss racial diversity and the topics of race and racism with young children. Educators seemed more at ease with addressing gender; however, even gender was often addressed in indirect ways and explicit discussion of gender stereotypes, gender conformity, and sexism was infrequent. The lack of explicit messages about discrimination, sexism, and racism stand in stark contrast to very clear and concrete messages about classroom rules, such as the prohibition of toys and games that mimic violence.

This research underscores the importance of self-reflection and examination of one's own biases and privilege, particularly as educators. D'Angelo and Dixey (2001) urge teachers to reflect on their own racialized beliefs and prejudices and offer resources

for teachers to create an unprejudiced and supportive learning environment for all children. Similarly, Van Ausdale and Feagin (2001) urge teachers to reflect on their own biases, take instances of racism very seriously, and invite community members to the classroom who are engaged in anti-racist work. Some scholars urge early childhood educators to examine how current racial ideologies are used to maintain White privilege and provide anti-racist classroom applications for teachers and administrators (Earick, 2009). Teacher education and professional development programs can assist teachers in identifying and interrupting their own and children's biases. Future investigations will involve analyses of open-ended survey data exploring educators' reports of specific strategies, incidents, and activities that surfaced regarding race and gender in their classrooms. Interview data will be analyzed to better understand the personal and professional trajectories of anti-bias educators, the joys and challenges of enacting anti-bias education, and barriers that surface in this work. Future analyses will also entail a focus on child-level data that was collected (however excluded from Study 2) to clarify children's experiences of anti-bias classroom practices. Finally, interview data will be analyzed, both from teachers and directors, to better understand the administrative and organizational support systems that allow teachers practicing anti-bias education to thrive.

CHAPTER 5

RESEARCHER REFLECTIONS

Conducting this two-part research project has opened my eyes to both the constraints and opportunities that early childhood educators face in addressing anti-bias themes pertinent to race and gender in their classrooms. In some ways, the enthusiasm for participation in the study, as well as feedback from educators revealing that the survey had been “eye-opening,” “thought-provoking,” and encouraged self-reflection, are encouraging. A few educators even inquired about anti-bias trainings and expressed a desire to participate.

On the other hand, some educators expressed the sentiment that by talking about race and gender children’s innocence is ruined and problems abound (e.g., prejudice). As studies from the 1980’s indicate (e.g., Swadener, 1988), little has changed in early childhood educators’ willingness to discuss race and racism in the classroom. Although as a scholar-activist, this can be disheartening and frustrating, movements such as Black Lives Matter and teachers’ committed to anti-bias work have confirmed my conviction that despite resistance and challenges, pursuing interdisciplinary research on anti-bias education is an important and worthwhile effort.

My hope is that this work, along with other scholarly research, can prompt both educators and researchers to self-reflect on their biases. In fact, the themes of self-reflection surfaced in interview excerpts that were excluded from this study. Interviews with directors also revealed that familiarity with anti-bias education and participation in a support group with colleagues, who are passionate about addressing diversity, can

instigate a change in teachers' classroom practices. This theme of change and the potential for change inspired me throughout this project.

Conducting this work has also revealed that engaging young children in anti-bias education comes with its own set of challenges, including objections from parents, teacher attitudes such as colorblindness, the lack of time, and beliefs about children being too young to be expected to learn about such heavy topics. Teachers are being asked to do and are blamed for more and more in the face of very little compensation and appreciation. Thus, imposing "anti-bias" principles on teachers could backfire. As Lousie-Derman Sparks emphasizes, self-reflection and examination of personal biases must go hand-in-hand with discussing sensitive issues with young children. Practicing anti-bias education without fully understanding it and embodying it, as one of the directors expressed, can lead to superficial practices that can reify stereotypes.

Early childhood educators likely view their profession as a-political and may choose to avoid topics that are controversial. It is fascinating, however, that one of the teachers in this study conducted Jane Elliott's segregation activity and even taught the children about picketing. The other teacher emphasized that girls can be strong and can pursue male-dominated careers. Although much can be said about what educators failed to do in the studies, there are also countless examples of activities and incidents indicating that teachers are doing their best within the constraints of their settings to build inclusive environments for children. In the future, I hope to collaborate with teachers and directors in designing anti-bias activities and curricula, and via researcher and educator partnerships, evaluate how these curricular interventions impact children (as suggested by Cameron & Turner, 2010).

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APPENDIX A

STUDY 1 SURVEY SCREENING QUESTION

Are you currently a preschool, kindergarten, or child care center teacher working in the United States?

Yes No

APPENDIX B

STUDY 1 TEACHING FOR DIVERSITY SURVEY

Teaching for Diversity Survey (TDS; abbreviated and modified)

Adapted from MacNaughton & P. Hughes (2007)

Please answer the survey questions as honestly as possible. There are no right or wrong answers, we are interested in your beliefs and practices in working with diverse groups of children. Avoid answering as you think you “should” feel or as how you would expect others to answer.

1. As a teacher, what does respecting diversity mean to you when working with children?
2. Can you share a time when you recently addressed racial diversity in your classroom?
3. Can you share a time when you recently addressed gender diversity in your classroom?
4. Can you think of a moment when you wanted to talk about a diversity-related issue but didn't?
5. What do you see as the main issues you face in this work?

APPENDIX C

STUDY 1 MULTICULTURALTEACHING COMPETENCY SCALE (MTCS)

Multicultural Teaching Competency Scale (MTCS) Multicultural Skills subscale*

Spanierman, Oh, Heppner, Neville, Mobley, Wright, Dillon, & Navarro (2011)

Please rate the degree to which you agree or disagree with the following statements about your teaching practices.

Answer scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Somewhat Disagree	3 Slightly Disagree	4 Slightly Agree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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Multicultural teaching skills subscale

1. I plan many activities to celebrate diverse cultural practices in my classroom.
2. My curricula integrate topics and events from racial and ethnic minority populations.
3. I rarely examine the instructional materials I use in the classroom for racial and ethnic bias. **R**
4. I often include examples of the experiences and perspectives of racial and ethnic groups during my classroom lessons.
5. I consult regularly with other teachers or administrators (or families) to help me understand multicultural issues related to instruction.
6. I integrate the cultural values and lifestyles of racial and ethnic minority groups into my teaching.
7. I plan school events to increase students' knowledge about cultural experiences of various racial and ethnic groups.
8. I make changes within the center or preschool environment so that racial and ethnic minority children will have an equal opportunity for success.
9. I often promote diversity by the behaviors I exhibit.
10. I establish strong, supportive relationships with racial and ethnic minority parents.

R = Reverse scored

*Presentation of questions was randomized

APPENDIX D

STUDY 1 GENDERED CLASSROOM PRACTICES SCALE (GCPS)

Gendered Classroom Practices Scale (GCPS)

Some items (#1-5) adapted from Gaertner & Miller (2010)

Please rate how true or untrue the statements are regarding your classroom practices:

Very Untrue 1	Somewhat Untrue 2	Slightly Untrue 3	Undecided 4	Slightly True 5	Somewhat True 6	Very True 7
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1. I frequently greet students “Good morning/afternoon boys and girls.”
2. I frequently call students “boys” and “girls.”
3. I frequently line students up by gender (e.g., separate “boy line” and “girl line”; or “boy-girl-boy-girl”).
4. I intentionally segregate boys and girls for some activities (e.g., group activities).
5. I frequently set up competitions between boys and girls.
6. I frequently refer to boys in my class as “buddy” or “bud.”
7. I frequently refer to girls in my class as “princess.”
8. I frequently compliment boys in my class based on their appearance (e.g., “You look so handsome”)
9. I frequently compliment girls in my class based on their appearance (e.g., “You look so pretty/cute/adorable”)
10. I frequently compliment boys in my class based on their strength or physical abilities (e.g., “You are so strong”; “You are so fast”).
11. I frequently compliment girls in my class based on their strength or physical abilities (e.g., “You are so strong”; “You are so fast”). **C**
12. I frequently encourage girls to play with trucks. **C**
13. I frequently encourage girls to play with blocks or Legos. **C**
14. I frequently encourage girls to play with dolls.
15. I frequently encourage girls to play dress up.
16. I frequently encourage girls to play feminine pretend games (teacher, mommy, nurse).
17. I frequently encourage girls to play masculine pretend games (construction worker, firefighter). **C**
18. I frequently encourage boys to play with trucks.
19. I frequently encourage boys to play with blocks or Legos.
20. I frequently encourage boys to play with dolls. **C**
21. I frequently encourage boys to play dress up. **C**
22. I frequently encourage boys to play feminine pretend games (teacher, mommy, nurse). **C**
23. I frequently encourage boys to play masculine pretend games (construction worker, firefighter).

C= Gender atypical/reverse scored

APPENDIX E
STUDY 1 ANTI-BIAS PRACTICES

Anti-Bias Practices

Based on Derman-Sparks and Edwards' (2010) *Anti-Bias Education for Young Children and Ourselves*.

Please read each scenario and imagine these were children in your class. How would you respond to each of these incidents? Please select all the answer choices that apply and list any additional response strategies that you would use.

1. You have a guest in your class and a child remarks as the guest walks in: "Look, she has chocolate milk skin." (check all that apply)
 - a) Ignore the comment and possibly come back to it later
 - b) Tell the child that it is rude to point out people's skin color
 - c) Tell the child that we all have different skin colors, and the guest's is brown
 - d) Use this as "teaching moment" to design a class activity addressing skin color
 - e) Other strategy, please explain:

2. You over hear a child (a boy) climbing a structure: "No girls allowed. No girls allowed. We're big. We're superheroes. No girls." (check all that apply)
 - a) Tell the child that we are all friends in this class and excluding is not nice
 - b) Tell the child that boys and girls play together in this class
 - c) Tell the child that girls can also be superheroes
 - d) Use this as "teaching moment" to design a class activity addressing gender
 - e) Other strategy, please explain:

3. You over hear a group of children talk about a boy with long hair and nail polish as "Looking funny." (check all that apply)
 - a) Tell the children that telling people "they look funny" is not nice
 - b) Tell the children that boys can have long hair and wear nail polish if they want to
 - c) Tell the children that yes indeed that boy looks funny because he is dressed as a girl
 - d) Use this as "teaching moment" to design a class activity addressing LGBTQA issues
 - e) Other strategy, please explain:

4. You over hear a White 4-year-old tell an African American friend: "You can't be the princess. Princesses have blond hair and white skin." (check all that apply)
 - a) Tell the child that anyone can be a princess in this class
 - b) Tell the child that is not a nice thing to say
 - c) Tell the child that princesses can have different hair and skin colors

- d) Use this as “teaching moment” to design a class activity addressing race and gender
- e) Other strategy, please explain:

APPENDIX F

STUDY 1 TEACHER RACIAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY BELIEFS SCALE
(TRGDB)

Teacher Racial and Gender Diversity Beliefs Scale**

Some items are based on the Diversity Orientation Scale (DOS) (Sanders, 2005)

Please rate the extent to which you agree or disagree with each statement. The statements ask about your personal beliefs regarding discussing issues surrounding race and gender with young children.

Answer scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Somewhat Disagree	3 Slightly Disagree	4 Neutral/ Not Sure	5 Slightly Agree	6 Somewhat Agree	7 Strongly Agree
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1. I believe that young children can learn prejudice.*
 2. I believe that young children don't notice race. **R**
 3. I believe it is important to teach children about similarities between racial groups.
 4. I believe it is important to teach children about differences between racial groups.
 5. I believe it is important to teach children about similarities between boys and girls.
 6. I believe it is important to teach children about differences between boys and girls.
 7. I believe that too much talk about differences will make children prejudiced.***R**
 8. I believe that ignoring differences among children is one of the best ways to ensure they will not be prejudiced. **R**
 9. I believe that children of color (e.g., Black, Latino/a) face disproportionate challenges compared to White children in our society.*
 10. I believe that girls face disproportionate challenges compared to boys in our society.
 11. I believe that if we expose and teach children about racial and cultural differences, they are less likely to become prejudiced.
 12. I believe that an effective way to teach children about different ethnicities and cultures is to designate "special times" in the year to focus on particular ethnicities and cultures. **R**
 13. I believe that an effective way to teach children about different ethnicities and cultures is to designate "special experiences", such as having Indian food for lunch or using chopsticks. **R**
 14. I believe that preschool children are too young to learn about racism. **R**
 15. I believe that preschool children are too young to learn about sexism. **R**
 16. I believe it is important to teach young children how to name and recognize racial bias around them.
 17. I believe it is important to teach young children how to name and recognize gender bias around them.
 18. I believe it is important to treat children as if I did not see the color of their skin. **R**
- *Original or modified DOS items

**Presentation of questions was randomized

R = Reverse scored

Race: 1,2,3,4,7,8,9,11,12,13,14,16,18

Gender: 5,6,10,15,17

APPENDIX G

STUDY 1 COLORBLIND RACIAL ATTITUDES SCALE (CoBRAS)

Color-Blind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS)*

Neville, Lilly, Duran, Lee, & Browne (2000)

Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues about race in the United States. Please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement.

Answer scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Somewhat Disagree	3 Slightly Disagree	4 Slightly Agree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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Unawareness of Racial Privilege

1. White people in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin. **R**
2. Racial and ethnic minorities do not have the same opportunities as White people in the U.S. **R**
3. Everyone who works hard, no matter what race they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
4. White people are more to blame for racial discrimination in the U.S. than racial and ethnic minorities. **R**
5. Race plays a major role in the type of social services (such as type of health care or child care) that people receive in the U.S. **R**
6. Race is very important in determining who is successful and who is not. **R**
7. Race plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. **R**

Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination

8. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against White people.
9. Racial and ethnic minorities in the U.S. have certain advantages because of the color of their skin.
10. Due to racial discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality. **R**
11. White people in the U.S. are discriminated against because of the color their skin.

Unawareness of Blatant Racial Issues

12. Racial problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.
13. Talking about racial issues causes unnecessary tension.
14. Racism is a major problem in the U.S. **R**
15. Racism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not an important problem today.
16. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of racial and ethnic minorities.

R = Reverse scored items

*Presentation of questions was randomized

APPENDIX H

STUDY 1 GENDER-BLIND ATTITUDES SCALE (GBAS)

Gender-Blind Attitudes Scale (GBAS)*

Based on the Colorblind Racial Attitudes Scale (CoBRAS; Neville et al., 2000)

Below is a set of questions that deal with social issues about gender in the United States. Please give your honest rating about the degree to which you personally agree or disagree with each statement.

Answer scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Somewhat Disagree	3 Slightly Disagree	4 Slightly Agree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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Unawareness of Male Privilege

1. Men and boys in the U.S. have certain advantages because of their gender. **R**
2. Women and girls do not have the same opportunities as men and boys in the U.S. **R**
3. Everyone who works hard, no matter what gender they are, has an equal chance to become rich.
4. Men are more to blame for gender discrimination in the U.S. than women. **R**
5. Gender plays a major role in the type of social services that people receive in the U.S. **R**
6. Gender is very important in determining who is successful and who is not. **R**
7. Gender plays an important role in who gets sent to prison. **R**

Unawareness of Institutional Discrimination

8. Social policies, such as affirmative action, discriminate unfairly against men.
9. Women in the U.S. have certain advantages because of their gender.
10. Due to gender discrimination, programs such as affirmative action are necessary to help create equality. **R**
11. Men in the U.S. are discriminated against because of their gender.

Unawareness of Blatant Gender Issues

12. Talking about gender issues causes unnecessary tension.
13. Sexism is a major problem in the U.S. **R**
14. Sexism may have been a problem in the past, but it is not a problem today.
15. It is important for political leaders to talk about sexism to help work through or solve society's problems. **R**
16. It is important for public schools to teach about the history and contributions of women. **R**
17. Gender problems in the U.S. are rare, isolated situations.

R = Reverse coded

*Presentation of questions was randomized

APPENDIX I

STUDY 1 THE AMBIVALENT SEXISM INVENTORY (ASI)

The Ambivalent Sexism Inventory (ASI)*

Glick & Fiske (1996)

Below is a series of statements concerning men and women and their relationships in contemporary society. Please indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement using the 6-point scale.

Answer scale:

1 Strongly Disagree	2 Somewhat Disagree	3 Slightly Disagree	4 Slightly Agree	5 Somewhat Agree	6 Strongly Agree
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1. Many women are actually seeking special favors, such as hiring policies that favor them over men, under the guise of asking for "equality."
2. Most women interpret innocent remarks or acts as being sexist.
3. Women are too easily offended.
4. Women should be cherished and protected by men.
5. Women seek to gain power by getting control over men.
6. Men are complete without women. **R**
7. When women lose to men in a fair competition, they typically complain about being discriminated against.
8. A good woman should be set on a pedestal by her man.
9. Men should be willing to sacrifice their own well-being in order to provide financially for the women in their lives.
10. Feminists are making entirely reasonable demands of men. **R**

R = Reverse scored

*Presentation of questions was randomized

Hostile Sexism Score = average of the following items: 1, 2, 3, 5, 7, 10

Benevolent Sexism Score = average of the following items: 4 (BP), 6 (BI), 8 (BP), 9 (BP)

BP = Protective Paternalism; BI = Heterosexual Intimacy

APPENIX J

STUDY 1 DEMOGRAPHIC QUESTIONS

The last set of questions ask about the demographic characteristics of your classroom, center, and you as an educator. Please answer to the best of your knowledge. No identifying information will be tied to your responses and your answers will be kept confidential and completely anonymous.

Center Level

1. List the name of the child care center, preschool, or kindergarten where you are employed:
2. List the city, state, and zip code of your center/school:
3. What is the name of the school district you teach at (leave blank if doesn't apply):
4. Which of the following best described your program?
 - Privately owned (e.g., only 1-3 different locations)
 - Montessori
 - Corporate child care (e.g., Kindercare; La Petite Academy; Bright Horizons)
 - University pre-K
 - Head Start
 - Non-profit center
 - Faith-based program (e.g., at a church)
 - Public Pre-K/K (e.g., part of an elementary school)
 - Home-based care
 - Other (please describe):

Educator Level

1. What is your age?
2. What is your race/ethnicity?
 - White/Caucasian
 - Latino/Hispanic
 - Black/African American
 - American Indian/Alaska Native
 - Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander
 - Asian
 - Middle Eastern
 - Mixed (please describe which ones):
 - Other:
3. What is your gender?
 - Male
 - Female
 - Other:
4. What is your highest level of education?
 - Finished middle school
 - Some high school but no diploma
 - High school diploma/GED
 - Some college but no degree
 - Child Development Associate's degree (CDA)
 - Associate's degree/two-year degree (AA)

Bachelor's degree (BA or BS)
Some graduate school but no degree
Master's degree
Doctoral degree
Other (please describe):

5. What is your role in your child care program? (Check all that apply)
Teacher
Assistant Teacher/Teacher Aid
Administrator/Director
Other:
6. Have you ever heard of Anti-Bias Education or Anti-Bias Curriculum?
Yes
No
7. If so, how familiar are you with Anti-Bias curriculum or the work of Louise Derman- Sparks?
A little familiar
Somewhat familiar
Very familiar
8. Have you ever attended a training or workshop on anti-bias education/curriculum?
Yes
No
9. For how long (in years) have you worked as an early childhood educator?
10. Do you have any additional teaching experience (elementary, middle, or high school)?
Yes
No
11. If you answered "Yes" to the previous question, please describe how many years of teaching experience you have teaching elementary, middle, and high school students?

Classroom Level

12. Please list the total number of boys and girls in your classroom. If you teach a morning and an afternoon class please **ONLY** answer questions based on your **morning class**:
Boys:
Girls:
Other:
13. What is the number of boys in this class who are:
White/Caucasian:
Latino/Hispanic:
Black/African American:
American Indian/ Alaska Native:
Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander:
Middle Eastern:
Asian:

- Mixed (please specify the number of children and their racial backgrounds):
 Other (please specify):
14. What is the number of girls in this class who are:
 White/Caucasian:
 Latino/Hispanic:
 Black/African American:
 American Indian/Alaska Native:
 Hawaiian Native/Pacific Islander:
 Middle Eastern:
 Asian:
 Mixed (please specify the number of children and their racial backgrounds):
 Other (please specify):
15. The majority of families of children in my classroom are . . .
 Lower income
 Middle income
 Upper income
16. What age range(s) do you serve (example: 2-5 year-olds):
17. I mainly use the following language(s) with my students: (Check all that apply)
 English
 Spanish
 Other (please specify):

Thank you for your participation!

18. Please provide your work or school email address if you wish to be entered into the Amazon gift code drawing (email addresses will be removed when answers are analyzed):
19. If you are interested in participating in a follow-up study (interview/observation) for additional compensation or know a colleague who may be interested please provide your email address and/or phone number:
20. Please leave any general observations, feedback, questions, or comments about the survey:

APPENDIX K
STUDY 2 TEACHER INTERVIEW QUESTIONS

Teacher Interview Questions

Some items adapted from MacNaughton & P. Hughes (2007)

1. How did you end up at [company name]? Do you have a degree in early childhood?
2. How long have you been teaching this age group?
3. What does diversity mean to you? When you hear that term, what are some thoughts or some classroom practices that come to your mind?
4. Could you share with me a time you addressed racial and ethnic diversity or race or any topics related to race as part of your curriculum or with the kids as part of an activity?
5. How did you navigate that incident [related to race or gender] with the family?
6. Do children they mention – “what’s this language” or “skin color” or do they mention anything about race?
7. When it comes to different languages and cultures, is that addressed somehow in terms of your activities or curriculum? What different languages are represented in your classroom?
8. What kind of issues come up regarding gender in your classroom?
9. Have you witnessed other children trying to resist that [gender non-conformity]?
10. Does that [same-sex families] come up in the curriculum or maybe there are like same-sex parents bringing their kids here or does same-sex parenting come up?
11. Do you honor the parents’ requests, let’s say, they say “I’m not comfortable with you reading a book about these kinds of families”, like would the child be actually moved to another classroom for that? Like how would you like negotiate honoring I guess the parents or the families but at the same time or that parent. But at the same time, not going along with something that's exclusionary or derogatory.
12. What are some down sides of discussing gender with a child? What are some down sides discussing race? What are some benefits?
13. Have you ever witnessed gender and racial exclusion in the classroom? Can you think of an instance when a child either explicitly used a gender or racial stereotype or maybe excluded another child based on gender or race and how did you react?
14. Was it addressed in front of the parent or afterwards or later?
15. What did you tell the child who made this remark?
16. How did you address it with the child who was hurt or who was sunk into him/herself?
17. How is religious diversity addressed in your classroom? How is that navigated when it comes to holidays? Do you celebrate all holidays?
18. What is the company policy about celebrating holidays?
19. How do you accommodate the diverse dietary needs?
20. Can you add to the curriculum or how does that work? If you wanted to design an activity around cultural diversity or whatever, do you have the liberty as the teacher to add to it?
21. Is that something the parents would disclose to you, that we’re going through a divorce or how would you know?
22. What resources do you find helpful in anti-bias work or in addressing diversity?

23. In terms of the diversity professional development program, what has been your experience in that? What has been meaningful, rewarding, or challenging?
24. Do you feel like you do something differently in the classroom as a result of your participation in the diversity program?
25. What changed?
26. Do you as part of the diversity professional development program discuss specific activities or conversations to have with the kids?
27. Sometimes you draw on those resources [provided as part of the diversity professional development program] and use them in the classroom?
28. What would be some examples of either activities or just anything you've added? How has the diversity professional development program contributed to what you were already doing?
29. How did you do that activity [blue-eye/brown-eye Jane Elliott activity] with the kids?
30. How does that look in the classroom when you do that activity and how often do you do it?
31. How do children react to it?
32. Do you do a debriefing activity with them after the Blue eyed Brown eyed activity is done?
33. What do you find most rewarding related to diversity and anti-bias curriculum?
34. What are some challenges of anti-bias work, or just addressing diversity issues?
35. Have you had any other anti-bias training, besides the diversity professional development program? Like have you heard about anti-bias curriculum before you came to [company name]?
36. Back to the diversity professional development program, what prompted your [involvement]...Because you have to volunteer for that, or are you picked? Did they approach you to see if you would like to join?
37. What sucked you in about it I guess? Where does your passion/interest in diversity stem from?
38. How does the anti-bias education book (Derman-Sparks & Edwards, 2010) look in practice? What are your thoughts about the book?
39. I know that, as part of anti-bias curriculum, they also encourage teachers to teach children how to, or like support children in standing up against racism, against sexism, against oppression. How do you feel that finds ways into an actual classroom? What does this look like in the classroom?
40. Was there a time when you felt like you wanted to say something about a diversity related issue, like whether that's racial, or cultural or gender, but you couldn't, and you didn't maybe for some reason, like you couldn't speak up?
41. Is there some topic or issue related to anti-bias education or diversity that you feel bringing up and talking about? Is there anything else that you want me to know about your experience with diversity or anti-bias education?

APPENDIX L

DIVERSITY BOARD IN CLASSROOM 1



APPENDIX M

GENDERED BATHROOM SIGNS IN CLASSROOM 2



162APPENDIX N

GENDER LABELS IN CLASSROOM 2



APPENDIX O

FELT FIGURES IN CLASSROOM 2



APPENDIX P

FELT FIGURES OF DIFERET SHADES IN CLASSROOM 2



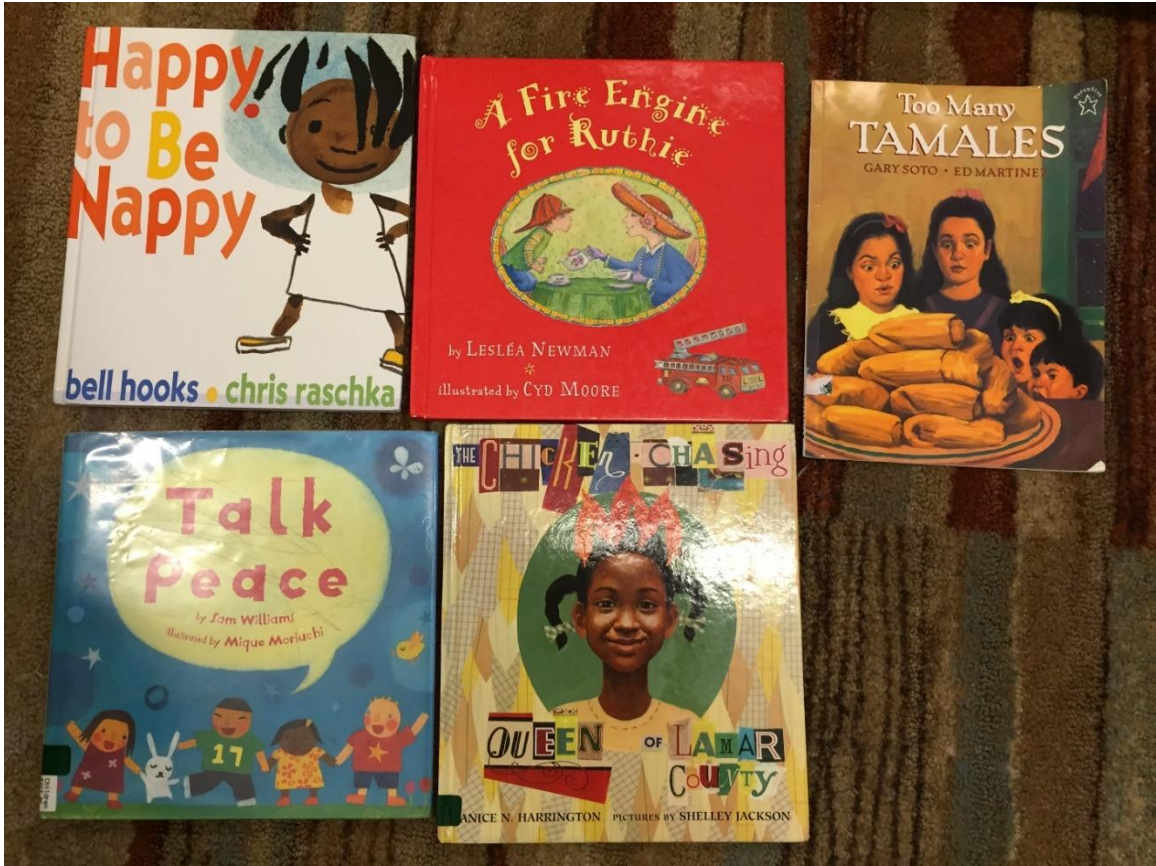
APPENDIX Q

RACIALLY DIVERSE DOLLS IN CLASSROOM 2



APPENDIX R

BOOKS PORTRAYING RACIAL AND GENDER DIVERSITY IN CLASSROOM 2



APPENDIX S

BOOKS PORTRAYING DIVERSITY IN CLASSROOM 2



We're
NOT
SO DIFFERENT
AFTER ALL!

Ms. Kelly

Story by LISSETTE LENT Illustrations by JESSICA FRAMPTON

Two Homes

Claire Masurel
Illustrated by Kady MacDonald Denton

Kelly Hendricks

Mama,
Do You
Love Me?

Property of Kelly

by Barbara M. Joosse illustrated by Barbara Lavalée

SCHOLASTIC

White
Socks
Only

Everina Cottone
Illustrations by Tyrone Geter

APPENDIX T

MORE BOOKS PORTAYING DIVERSITY IN CLASSROOM 2



APPENDIX U
STUDY 1 IRB APPROVAL



EXEMPTION GRANTED

Elizabeth Swadener
Social Transformation, School of
480/965-1452
Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 6/9/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Early Childhood Teacher Beliefs and Practices Surrounding Race and Gender
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00002792
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none">• Survey measures.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;• IRB Application Flora Farago.docx, Category: IRB Protocol;• Recruitment%20Flyer.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials;• Teacher%20Consent%20Online%20Survey.pdf, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB determined that the protocol is considered exempt pursuant to Federal Regulations 45CFR46 (2) Tests, surveys, interviews, or observation on 6/9/2015.

In conducting this protocol you are required to follow the requirements listed in the INVESTIGATOR MANUAL (HRP-103).

APPENDIX V

STUDY 1 TEACHER CONSENT LETTER

Dear Early Childhood Educator:

I am a PhD student in the Family & Human Development program at Arizona State University. I am conducting an online survey research study about teachers' beliefs and practices surrounding working with diverse groups of children.

I am inviting your participation, which will involve filling out an online questionnaire. The whole survey will take about 20 to 25 minutes to complete. If you say YES, then you will be given a link to the secure survey. As part of the survey, you will be asked to report on your beliefs and experiences as a teacher in the classroom.

As appreciation for your time and participation, upon your agreement, you will be entered into drawings to win \$25 gift codes to Amazon.com. Once the survey is completed, I will ask you to provide an email address to which I can send the Amazon gift code. Your email address will not be stored along with your survey responses and will be kept confidential. Your email account will ONLY be used to provide you with the gift code if your name is drawn.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty and your relationship with ASU will not be impacted.

This study may help you to reflect on your own teaching. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

All information obtained in this study is strictly confidential. Findings from the project may be published, but your name will NEVER appear in these published documents. We are interested in describing groups of people based on hundreds of responses, not any individual person.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact my dissertation committee chair, Dr. Beth Blue Swadener at bswadener@asu.edu or at 480-965-1452.

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

Returning the questionnaire is your consent to participate in the study.

Thank you,

Flora Farago, M.S.
Doctoral Candidate
Family & Human Development
T.D. Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics

APPENDIX W
STUDY 2 IRB APPROVAL



APPROVAL: EXPEDITED REVIEW

Elizabeth Swadener
 Social Transformation, School of
 480/965-1452
 Beth.Swadener@asu.edu

Dear Elizabeth Swadener:

On 8/10/2015 the ASU IRB reviewed the following protocol:

Type of Review:	Initial Study
Title:	Anti-Bias Education in Action in Preschool Settings
Investigator:	Elizabeth Swadener
IRB ID:	STUDY00002958
Category of review:	(6) Voice, video, digital, or image recordings, (7)(b) Social science methods, (7)(a) Behavioral research
Funding:	None
Grant Title:	None
Grant ID:	None
Documents Reviewed:	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Survey measures Study 2.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • IRB Application Flora Farago Study 2.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Recruitment Flyer Study 2.docx, Category: IRB Protocol; • Consent Form Teacher.pdf, Category: Consent Form; • Recruitment Flyer Study 2.pdf, Category: Recruitment Materials; • Consent Form Parent.pdf, Category: Consent Form;

The IRB approved the protocol from 8/10/2015 to 8/9/2016 inclusive. Three weeks before 8/9/2016 you are to submit a completed Continuing Review application and required attachments to request continuing approval or closure.

APPENDIX X

STUDY 2 PARENTAL INFORMATION AND CONSENT LETTER

Dear Parent:

I am a PhD student in the T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to explore the beliefs and classroom practices that preschool teachers use to interact with diverse groups of children in their classrooms. Your child's preschool teacher has agreed to participate in this project, which will involve (a) observation of children's interactions with the teacher and with each other in the classroom and (b) observation of the physical environment of the classroom. Some teacher-child interactions will be audio-recorded, particularly those involving book reading— however, all other interactions will only be recorded as part of the notes (field-notes) of the researcher. At no point will video recording take place.

By giving your permission for your child to participate, you are giving permission for our trained project staff to observe the strategies that your child's teacher uses in the classroom when interacting with your child.

I want to let you know how I will observe and record teacher-child interactions in the classroom and on the playground. I will take notes on teacher-child interactions and as mentioned before, audio-record parts of interactions. These observations are an important aspect of the project because they provide information on the kinds of behaviors that teachers engage in with children.

Your child's participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to have your child participate in the study and be observed or if you choose to withdraw your child from the study at any time, there will be no penalty and it will not affect your child's care or education. The results of the research study may be published, but your child's name will not be used.

Although there may be no direct benefit to your child, the possible benefit of your child's participation is to increase the understanding of the ways that young children interact with their teachers, and to inform the development of school-based programs designed to enhance the quality of teacher-child interactions and designed to promote productive classroom environments in preschool. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your child's participation. Finally, your child's classroom will receive educational supplies in exchange for participating.

In all cases the information we gather on teachers and children is confidential. We will not report any information that can identify specific teachers and children. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your child's name will not be used, and results will only be shared for the group of teachers as a whole.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at Dr. Beth Blue Swadener at bswadener@asu.edu or at 480-965-1452.

Sincerely,

Flora Farago, M.S.

Doctoral Candidate
Family & Human Development
T.D. Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics

****Please turn to the other side to sign****

By signing below, you are giving consent for your child
_____ (Child's name) to participate in the above
study.

Signature

Printed Name

Date

If you have any questions about you or your child's rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you or your child have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.

APPENDIX Y

STUDY 2 TEACHER INFORMATION LETTER AND CONSENT

Dear Teacher:

I am a PhD student in the T. Denny Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics at Arizona State University. I am conducting a research study to explore the beliefs and classroom practices that preschool teachers use to interact with diverse groups of children in their classrooms (anti-bias curricular practices). I am inviting your participation in this project, which would involve (a) an initial center visit that will serve as screening tool to determine your eligibility for inclusion in the study, (b) an in-person interview about your teaching philosophy, beliefs, and practices, (c) filling out a questionnaire about your beliefs and practices working with diverse groups of children as well as answering some demographic questions (if you have not filled out these questions as part of an earlier study), (d) observation of children's interactions with you and with each other in your classroom, including book reading activities where I will ask you to read a book and discuss it with the children, and (e) observation of the physical environment of your classroom. The interview and the book reading tasks will be audio-recorded – however, all other interactions will only be recorded as part of the notes (field-notes) of the researcher.

The initial screening visit will assess evidence of anti-bias practices in the classroom. The interview will last for about an hour and I will ask you about your beliefs and practices regarding racial and gender diversity, and working with diverse groups of children. I will also ask you about your anti-bias curricular practices. The interview, with your permission, will be audio-recorded so it can be transcribed and analyzed later. The questionnaire should take 25 minutes to fill out. It will ask about your beliefs and classroom practices surrounding racial and gender diversity, your background as an educator, as well as about the characteristics of your classroom and center or school. The classroom observations will take place over a period of 8-10 weeks, twice a week, for approximately 8 hours a week (2 four hour sessions). The observations will be non-intrusive and will not disrupt classroom activities or practices. The researcher will take notes during these observations. As part of the classroom observations, you will be asked to read two books to children addressing the topic of diversity, and discuss these books with your students. These book reading tasks will be audio-recorded and transcribed.

To compensate you for your time and for sharing your valuable experiences in the classroom, we will provide educational supplies for your classroom (from companies such as Lakeshore and Kaplan). You will also be provided with a \$50.00 Amazon gift certificate. You have the right not to answer any questions, and to stop participation at any time.

Your participation in this study is voluntary. If you choose not to participate or to withdraw from the study at any time, there will be no penalty. Although there may be no direct benefit to you, possible benefits of your participation include an increased understanding of the ways that young children interact with their teachers, knowledge that may guide the development of school-based programs designed to enhance the quality of teacher-child interactions and designed to promote productive classroom environments in preschool. There are no foreseeable risks or discomforts to your participation.

In all cases, the information we gather is strictly confidential. We will not report any information that can identify specific teachers or children, and when we collect information, we use a number, not the real names. The results of this study may be used in reports, presentations, or publications but your name and the names of children in your classroom will not be used, and results will only be shared for all classrooms as a group.

If you have any questions concerning the research study, please contact the research team at Dr. Beth Blue Swadener at bswadener@asu.edu or at 480-965-1452.

Sincerely,

Flora Farago, M.S.

Doctoral Candidate
Family & Human Development
T.D. Sanford School of Social and Family Dynamics

This form explains the nature, demands, benefits and any risk of the project. By signing this form you agree knowingly to assume any risks involved. Remember, your participation is voluntary. You may choose not to participate or to withdraw your consent and discontinue participation at any time without penalty or loss of benefit. In signing this consent form, you are not waiving any legal claims, rights, or remedies. A copy of this consent form will be offered to you.

Your signature below indicates that you consent to participate in the above study.

Teacher's Signature

Printed Name

Date

If you have any questions about your rights as a subject/participant in this research, or if you feel you have been placed at risk, you can contact the Chair of the Human Subjects Institutional Review Board, through the ASU Office of Research Integrity and Assurance, at (480) 965-6788.