

Realizing Wokeness

**White schools, White Ignorance:
Toward a Racially Responsive Pedagogy**

Brandon Buck

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy
under the Executive Committee
of the Graduate School of Arts and Sciences

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

2020

© 2020
Brandon Buck
All Rights Reserved

Abstract

The purpose of this research is to construct a comprehensive, analytic framework to clarify the construct of white ignorance and then illustrate how the framework can be applied to education research, theory and practice.

To develop the framework, I consolidate and synthesize the extant literature around white ignorance, delineating a typology and conceptual vocabulary for the three core elements of the construct: 1) doxastic white ignorance, 2) active white ignorance, and 3) meta-white ignorance.

Then, I show its application. First, I illustrate how researchers can use the framework to guide investigation into the ways that mostly white schools operate to reproduce and sustain white ignorance. Next, I illustrate how teachers can use the framework to combat and undermine the proliferation of white ignorance in their school and classroom. Toward that end, I develop a conception of wokeness, conceived not as the absence of ignorance but as the recognition of one's own ignorance and the capacity to neutralize its effect on one's judgment.

Finally, I show how teacher educators can use the framework to transform the way we prepare teachers for social justice education. Ultimately, my project conceptualizes an approach called "racially responsive pedagogy," which serves to formalize a common diagnostic and pedagogical methodology between culturally responsive/sustaining pedagogies and anti-white ignorance pedagogies.

In mostly nonwhite schools, white supremacist patterns of practice promote subtractive schooling and cultural erasure. In response, culturally responsive/sustaining pedagogies are warranted to reincorporate indigenous epistemologies back into the classroom. In mostly white

schools, it's the inverse. White supremacist patterns of practice promote white ignorance, which educators should work to resist and exclude.

A racially responsive pedagogy elevates racial analyses, inviting educators to decode white supremacist patterns of practice, so they can activate a response and confidently advance their social justice mission regardless of the context in which they teach.

Dissertation Committee:

Associate Professor,
Megan J. Lavery, Ph.D. (Sponsor)

John L. and Sue Ann Weinberg Professor in
Historical and Philosophical Foundations of Education,
David Hansen, Ph.D. (Chair)

M. Moran Weston/Black Alumni Council Professor of
African-American Studies, Professor of Philosophy,
Robert Gooding-Williams, Ph.D.

Distinguished Professor of Philosophy,
Charles W. Mills, Ph.D.

Distinguished Professor, Liberal Arts and Education,
Professor of Philosophy,
Lawrence Blum, Ph.D.

Table of Contents

Acknowledgements	ii
Dedication	v
Preface	1
Introduction	5
Chapter One	26
<i>Foundations of White Ignorance</i>	
Chapter Two	38
<i>Doxastic White Ignorance</i>	
Chapter Three	62
<i>Active White Ignorance</i>	
Chapter Four	85
<i>Meta-white Ignorance</i>	
Chapter Five	100
<i>White Schools, White Ignorance</i>	
Chapter Six	130
<i>Realizing Wokeness</i>	
Chapter Seven	158
<i>Toward a Racially Responsive Pedagogy</i>	
Conclusion	171
References	175

Acknowledgements

Here's to all the many people in my life to whom I'm grateful beyond words, and without whom this project could never have been realized.

First: I love you, Krista Katers—my wife, partner, friend and soul. Krista is the rock of our family. I couldn't even be a graduate student without her support and love, let alone finish a PhD. She's everything.

Next, thank you to my project sponsor, Dr. Megan Laverty, who has had my back since day one. At every step, she's helped me think through and navigate all the theoretical, practical and logistical challenges associated with a project like this. From my successful Spencer fellowship application through writing and the defense, her wisdom, insight and sincere concern for my well-being kept me motivated and on track. Dr. Laverty is the paragon of everything good in academia and I hope she remains a lifelong friend.

To Dr. David Hansen, who invited me to join the Philosophy and Education program at Teachers College. In the history of this program, it's hard to imagine a wiser, steadier steward. Dr. Hansen carries on our proud tradition, while pushing the program forward, strengthening it every year. Our conversations during long walks through the park helped me gain perspective that will stay with me forever.

I'm also incredibly fortunate to have assembled an amazing, accomplished dissertation committee. Dr. Larry Blum's insight and ongoing feedback has transformed my project for the better. His questions and counterarguments push me to think harder, more precisely and with greater rigor.

Dr. Bob Gooding-Williams taught me what it means to read and think well. In his courses on W.E.B Du Bois and black political thought, I discovered a level of academic practice that I haven't seen anywhere before or since. Bob is an inspiration—and his ongoing support has meant the world.

Dr. Charles Mills, who coined “white ignorance” and brought the concept into the academic mainstream, thank you for your unrelenting commitment to racial justice. Mill's generation-defining research doesn't just pose a challenge to academics across nearly every discipline, but he poses a challenge to *everyone* to live better and work toward justice. My project is a modest attempt to live up to that challenge.

I also owe an enormous debt to the organizations that financially supported this project. Teachers College awarded several fellowships to support both my graduate studies and dissertation research. I'm especially grateful to the Department of Arts and Humanities and the Department of Education Policy and Social Analysis. Thank you as well to the Spencer Foundation, which in partnership with the National Academy of Education provided a generous fellowship that enabled me to focus exclusively on research and writing during my first year after coursework.

Finally, I want to say thank you to all the mentors and colleagues who challenged me to do better every step of the way. I regularly think about the perspectives of my peers in our program's dissertation proposal seminar. As I make final revisions and edits even to this day, I still hear their voices pushing me to clarify my ideas and simplify my writing.

In addition, thank you to several professors at Marquette University: Dr. Joan Whipp, Dr. Sharon Chubbuck, and Dr. Bob Lowe. Together, they helped me transition from a raw, excitable

20-something into a functional, mostly competent graduate student. Hard to imagine I could do any of this without their dedication and guidance.

And Dr. Kerry Hunter, my undergraduate politics professor: From my first semester in college until this day, he's sparked my imagination and pushed me to think in new directions. Kerry's mentoring instilled a foundation of good habits and careful writing that enabled me to finish a PhD at one of the best programs in the world. Thank you, Kerry, for being there.

One more thing: I want to say thank you to our dear family friend, Gregg Verbeten. Every year—and I mean, *every* year—Gregg asks: “Are you done yet?”

Yes, Gregg, I'm finally done.

Dedication

For Pat

Preface

“This Great, Red Monster of Cruel Oppression” —W.E.B. Du Bois

When I started this project, I believed the concept of white ignorance explained a lot about how racial inequality could survive for so long in a country that avows “liberty and justice for all.” But, when I started this project, Donald Trump hadn’t yet announced his candidacy. Now, more than two years into Trump’s presidency, I’m not sure the white ignorance construct explains nearly as much as I once believed.

When we identify certain ideas and behaviors as instances of “white ignorance” we assume a certain degree of sincerity and good intention. Ignorance often reflects a kind of naivete and limited experience, and sometimes even reflects a genuine desire to know. Even where people exhibit more active and motivated ignorance, we must assume they act in good faith, not out of malice, but instead because of fear or maybe anxiety. They don’t want to know the truth because it’s too hard to face.

But now I’ve watched millions of people wholeheartedly support a political movement that is nakedly and unreservedly racist. They want to erase the first black presidency; they want to ban Muslims; they want to expel and fortify against brown immigrants; they equivocate about Neo-Nazis.

Trumpism is not ignorance. Trumpism actively desires to preserve and reify the status quo of white racial domination. Trumpism *wants* white people in charge. They don’t want

liberty and justice for all; they want liberty and justice for *white people*. Everyone else can go fuck themselves.

I'm not talking about a small number of people either. I'm talking about millions: Your colleagues and neighbors, your friends and your family. They're not ignorant. They see what Trump is doing—and they *like it*. They like all of it and they want more of it.

It's not ignorance when they say it out loud. It's not ignorance when it's all out in the open. It's not ignorance — but malice, hostility, animosity and ill will.

So, that's where we are and that's where my project is. I see now white ignorance simply doesn't explain as much as I imagined. Likely, it's because of my own ahistorical perspective. Trumpism is not new. We might even say Trumpism is the norm in the history of American political culture. This time it's just under a different banner, a different slogan. So, I probably should've recognized the reality we confront even before Trump's candidacy. In any event, I didn't.

W.E.B. Du Bois describes a similar perspective shift in an autobiographical essay, “The Shadow of Years,” which first appeared in a collection titled *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*. Reflecting on his past work, he says that when he wrote *The Philadelphia Negro*, a landmark sociological study of black communities in the eponymous city, he was a “cold and scientific investigator, with microscope and probe.” This approach to scholarship, he implies, caused him to miss crucial aspects of our social reality. Then he recounts an awakening:

“It took but a few years of Atlanta to bring me to hot and indignant defense. I saw the hatred of the whites as I never dreamed before—naked and unashamed! The faint discrimination of my hopes and intangible dislikes paled into nothing before this great, red

monster of cruel oppression. I held back with more difficulty each day my mounting indignation against injustice and misrepresentation.”

Du Bois captures it better than I ever could. I fear now that the problem we face is not ignorance, but malevolence—this great, red monster of cruel oppression. So, a dissertation geared toward disrupting white ignorance feels increasingly ignorant in its own right. Feeble. Misguided. Comically limited. – Just a few descriptions that come to mind.

At the same time, however, this project is principally about education and children. And it’s hard to ascribe malice to children. Therefore, I believe this project still has some purpose and application, however limited in scope. Educators fundamentally assume—for good or ill—that children are mostly ignorant and that it’s the job of education to help young people manage and overcome that ignorance. Indeed, it’s the basic assumption that underwrites this project. Education, on this account, is about epistemic revelation, helping young people confront and understand reality in richer, more accurate ways.

To be sure, we conceptualize education in other ways too. Sometimes we say it involves socialization or liberation or actualization or character development or professional preparation and so on. The enterprise of education can make room for plural and varied—even sometimes conflicting—aims. But it’s hard to quarrel with a conception of education-as-epistemic-revelation.

On this account, the project that unfolds in the following pages is firmly in line with our liberal tradition. I think often of Plato’s Cave Allegory: It’s the work of educators to help turn white children away from shadows on the wall to perceive and more directly confront aspects of our social reality. This project is thoroughly Socratic too. My main contention is that pedagogy designed to disrupt white ignorance should aim toward helping persons

recognize and awaken to their own ignorance. Wokeness doesn't mark a lack of ignorance; wokeness instead is the recognition *that* one is ignorant. Wokeness also involves the reflective aptitude to name and identify the ways in which one is ignorant, so one can recalibrate their judgement toward more accurate conclusions.¹

In summary, I drafted this preface because I don't want this project construed as excuse-making for white people. Lots of white people are bad, not ignorant. And for them, a different diagnosis and response is warranted. But, if you ascribe the problem exclusively to malice, then there is no promise for education, no possibility for hope. At least the next generation always renews the hope that education matters—and that epistemic revelation can make a difference.

¹ Six years of scholarship and hard thinking and I arrive at Socrates. Go figure.

Introduction

A significant body of research across the theoretical and empirical sciences documents malignant epistemic patterns mostly (but not exclusively) associated with white people, which Charles Mills calls “white ignorance” (2007; 2015). The empirical evidence makes clear that white ignorance is a widespread phenomenon that operates to distort the interpretive faculties of white people everywhere, preventing them from seeing the true character of American history and contemporary society. White ignorance infects and influences the way white people understand social, political and economic realities, and provides epistemic reinforcement for ongoing racial injustice and material inequality (Medina, 2013).

Despite the deep and ongoing impact of white ignorance on American society, we don’t really know how schools fit into the larger social-epistemic processes that function to reproduce and sustain those patterns of ignorance across white communities. Why not?

Schools are sites that, among other things, facilitate the systematic reproduction of epistemologies (Apple, 2004; Dewey 1991). And we know that patterns of practice in schools are organized according to the supremacy of whiteness (Embid, 2016; Vaught, 2011; Leonardo 2004; 2009). Given these twin realities, it seems uncontroversial to hypothesize that mostly white schools² must play some role—perhaps even a significant role—in helping

² Throughout this paper I refer to mostly white schools, by which I mean schools and classrooms that are “intensely segregated” (Reardon & Owens, 2014), specifically 90-100% white. According to Orfield & Frankenberg (2014), despite increasing enrollment diversity nationally, racial segregation is accelerating. Consider only 15% of white students in the United States attend a racially mixed school (where at least two other demographic groups represent 10% of the school population). In more than twenty-six states, mostly across the north, 80% of white students attend a school that is 90-100% white. Nationwide, the average white

to proliferate and sustain white ignorance across white communities. If schools are sites of epistemic reproduction and mostly white schools are organized according to the supremacy of whiteness, then it's logical to hypothesize that white schools likely contribute to an epistemology of white ignorance.

In fact, it would be strange to observe widespread patterns of deep ignorance across large groups of white people and imagine that schools are *not* playing a role in that social-epistemic process. Where ignorance is pervasive, it makes sense to ask how schools fit into that wider phenomenon. At best, mostly white schools are simply ignoring the problem. At worst, mostly white schools function to *actively invigorate* patterns of white ignorance among white children and within white communities. Either scenario represents a serious problem. And both warrant response.

The good news is that we already benefit from a transformative body of scholarship in education research that provides a model we can use to help guide inquiry into mostly white schools—and theorize a meaningful response.

What we might broadly describe as culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies investigate the extent to which white supremacist patterns of practice in schools operate to disadvantage children of color. Ethnographic studies like Angela Valenzuela's *Subtractive Schooling* (1999) and Ann Arnett Ferguson's *Bad Boys* (2001), for example, persuasively demonstrate how systems and patterns of practice associated with white "culture, epistemology, values, linguistic and somatic styles, and interests silently iterate and legitimize white supremacy in the seemingly neutral guise of 'the norm'" (Perry & Shotwell, 2009). The scholarship convincingly describes how white normativity, or "whiteness"

student attends a school that is 72% white. And, even in more desegregated schools, mostly in the south and southwest, tracking practices generate apartheid-like conditions between classrooms.

(Doane 1997; Dyer 1997; Frankenberg 1997; Perry 2002; Roediger, 2005), saturates educational practices in a way that promotes the cultural subtractive erasure of nonwhite students' unique background and denies access to equal educational opportunity, both of which serve to erode social and economic mobility (2003; Ortiz, 2000; Tate, 1997).

In the last twenty years, mostly in the wake of Gloria Ladson-Billings' seminal text, *The Dreamkeepers* (1994), education researchers and practitioners have generated a wide variety of important educational responses designed to undermine unjust schooling practices that stem from these white supremacist processes. Ladson-Billings, for her part, first articulated a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy (1995) to conceptualize teaching practices that are especially effective with African American students. Since then, other scholars have built on her basic framework, revising the vocabulary to shift the pedagogical emphasis.

Some frameworks, for example, have described culturally “responsive” pedagogy (Gay, 2010; Villegas & Lucas, 2002), which emphasizes that an educator must be responsive to the unique cultural background(s) of their students. Other research has described culturally “congruent” (Au & Kawakami, 1994; Howard, 2001) pedagogy, which in part emphasizes the way teaching practices and especially the curriculum must mirror the way students learn and understand the world. More recently, scholars have developed a concept called culturally “sustaining” pedagogy (Paris & Alim, 2014; Paris, 2012), which underscores a need for schools to operate as sites of cultural reproduction in order “to perpetuate and foster — to sustain — linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling” (Paris, 2012, p. 95). Each of these approaches share a similar set of motivations in that they reject deficit models of students in favor of “additive” (Bartlett & García, 2011;

Jensen, 2014; Reyes & Vallone, 2007) or “resource-based” pedagogies (Moll & Gonzalez, 1994, 2004), where educators draw on students’ “funds of knowledge” (Moll & Gonzalez, 2004). All of these frameworks aim to address the same general question: How can we make schools more equitable for nonwhite students?

It’s difficult to overstate the impact this research has had on educational theory and practice. Ladson-Billings’ “Toward a Theory of Culturally Responsive Pedagogy” is the second most cited article in the history of the American Educational Research Journal (by most measures, the flagship education research journal in North America). And her signature book, *The Dreamkeepers* (1994), is cited twice as many times (according to Google Scholar analytics). Django Paris and Arneeta Ball have said this tradition represents a “golden age” of educational research (2009, p. 382). Though no systematic studies exist to confirm or disconfirm the following, I don’t believe it is controversial to say that nearly all teacher preparation programs in the United States today include some coursework and training that emphasizes some form culturally responsive pedagogy (if only in a peripheral way). And although it is reasonable to debate the extent to which culturally responsive pedagogies have been translated into successful practice (Brown-Jeffy & Cooper, 2011; Gay, 2010; Young, 2010), one thing is certain: the literature has prompted many schools of education to completely rethink how to educate nonwhite students and how to prepare aspiring and practicing teachers for that service.

Project Thesis

Despite volumes of important research and the significant and profound changes made to the way we conceptualize education for nonwhite students, there has been no

commensurate reconfiguration of the way we conceptualize education for white children. During a time when the academy has actively worked to reshape educational practices for children of color, the status quo prevails in almost-all-white schools. While some of the best research has documented the pervasive and deleterious effects white supremacist practices across and within mostly nonwhite schools, very little research³ has aimed to conceptualize and investigate how and in what respect white supremacy affects the education of white children. In short, educational researchers have developed no comprehensive framework designed to help educators orient justice-focused practice in mostly white schools.

To help remedy this gap, this dissertation invites education researchers and teacher educators to imagine what research, theory and practice might look like if we adopt the same model that underwrites culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies and apply it to white children in white schools in white communities. The model I have in mind follows the diagnosis-response approach outlined above. Education researchers diagnose how a school's white supremacist epistemic infrastructure—that is, the constellation of curricula, textbooks, policies, images, narratives, vocabularies, teacher beliefs, etc.—impacts educational practice and student learning. Then, they conceptualize a range of pedagogical aims and design a host of complementary strategies that can help educators confront and undermine those counterproductive educational practices. Stated more concretely, the approach taken across culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies first investigates how a school's white supremacist epistemic infrastructure operates to discount and disadvantage nonwhite students' unique ways of knowing. Then the research considers how educators can displace those white supremacist epistemologies and replace them with epistemologies that validate

³ Some noted exceptions include Lewis, 2003; Perry, 2002; Castagno, 2014; Chandler, 2015. I describe their influence in subsequent chapters.

indigenous ways of knowing—and incorporate those unique epistemologies into classroom practice.

In broad outline, this is the basic approach I follow here—except I theorize how this would work for white children in white communities. To focus my inquiry, the guiding research question is this: *How can white schools in white communities operated mostly by white educators and attended mostly by white students function to disrupt and mitigate the reproduction of white ignorance?* I suggest we need a sustained, systematic approach to ameliorating white ignorance that mirrors the kind of approach we see in culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies (CRSP⁴) vis-à-vis nonwhite children. In other words, we need a comprehensive, wholesale revision to the way white children are educated in the United States.

Toward that end, the purpose of this dissertation is to consolidate and synthesize the relevant literature around white ignorance in order to construct a comprehensive theoretical framework and vocabulary that can potentially guide future research and practice. My project in this way joins an increasing number of philosophers of education who have employed philosophical methods of critique and normative analysis to inform and guide the empirical research agenda in education (Schouten & Brighthouse, 2015). The framework I elucidate will clarify what white ignorance is and how it works to shape the way white people perceive reality. Then I show how the framework itself can be used to:

⁴ To prevent reader fatigue, I will use the acronym CRSP as shorthand for the body of research described above. Though I recognize that not all scholarship cited here would identify as culturally responsive or sustaining, I need a simple convention that refers to the diagnosis-response approach encapsulated across the research.

- Guide empirical research into mostly white schools, so that we might identify how and in what ways mostly white schools function to proliferate white ignorance in white communities.
- Develop a conception of wokeness to clarify the aim of a pedagogy that can interrupt and mitigate the reproduction of white ignorance in mostly white schools.
- Propose one possible pedagogical strategy that could help achieve that aim.

Ultimately, I envision a path toward what I call “racially responsive pedagogy.” In broad terms, a racially responsive pedagogy requires that educators acknowledge and take seriously the idea that their students’ distinct racial identities are relevant to how they should be educated (in all classrooms—perhaps especially in white classrooms), and further that educators should work to teach in a way that is responsive to those identities. So far, this tenet has largely only applied to teaching practices targeting nonwhite children (typically via culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies). White children’s education has generally not been viewed as something that should be informed by their distinct *racial* background.⁵ Against these trends, a racially responsive pedagogy insists that white children are raced subjects and that their race is deeply relevant to how they should be educated.

In practice, I show that a racially responsive pedagogy can serve to formalize a common diagnostic and pedagogical methodology across both CRSP as well as anti-white ignorance pedagogies. In general outline, a racially responsive pedagogy elevates racial analyses, inviting educators to decode white supremacist patterns of practice, so they can

⁵ White classrooms and white schools are typically viewed as race-free zones (Lewis, 2001, 2003).

activate a response and confidently advance their social justice mission regardless of the context in which they teach. In mostly nonwhite schools, white supremacist patterns of practice promote subtractive schooling and cultural erasure. In response, culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies are warranted to reincorporate indigenous epistemologies (Embid, 2016) back into the classroom—and sustain (Paris and Alim, 2012) them across generations. In mostly white schools, it’s the inverse. White supremacist patterns of practice promote white ignorance. In response, educators should work to resist and exclude epistemologies of white ignorance. A racially responsive pedagogy, I argue, unifies this basic approach under one simplified umbrella.

What is white ignorance?

“White ignorance,” according to Mills (2007), is an inverted “epistemology of ignorance,” which is “linked to white supremacy” (p. 15), that “precludes self-transparency and genuine understanding of social realities” (p. 84). In my definition, white ignorance refers to *a* cognitive-affective group-based epistemic condition with perceptual, doxastic and characterological dimensions, caused either directly or indirectly by white supremacy, in which — typically white — persons misapprehend or misjudge the ways that racial phenomena structure the world and one’s perception of the world.

There are three primary components of white ignorance: 1) Doxastic white ignorance, 2) active white ignorance and 3) meta-white ignorance. Doxastic white ignorance involves ideas (or the absence of ideas) that influence how persons make sense of reality. Active white ignorance involves behaviors, discourses and attitudes that function to insulate persons from revising their beliefs and ideas about the world. And meta-white ignorance involves

ignorance of white ignorance itself. More specifically, meta-white ignorance prevents one from recognizing how and in what ways flawed epistemic practices affect their judgement. Each of these concepts are greatly expanded on in chapters two through four.

Key concepts and terms

White normativity (Mills, 1997; Ward, 2008), or “whiteness” (Chubbuck, 2004; Frankenberg, 1997; Sleeter, 2001) tends to be the principal framework by which scholars conceptualize many of the core problems associated with, or that cause, racial injustice. The concept of whiteness, however, can sometimes be mystifying or confusing, particularly because there is no conventional usage across the literature. “Whiteness” has been used to refer to anything from identities, ideologies, and institutions (Dyson 1996; Castagno, 2014) to attitudes and “actions of racism in practice” (Chubbuck, 2004). Additionally, associated concepts like “white supremacy” (Bonilla-Silva, 2001; Gillborn, 2006; Leonardo, 2004; Mills, 2003, 2005) and “white racial domination” (Mills, 2007) tend to be used synonymously with whiteness. Because the terminology can be difficult to pin down, this section explains how I intend to use these different concepts throughout the rest of the project.

Recently, some scholarship has drawn on the work of Anthony Giddens (1984) and the theory of social structuration to conceptualize “whiteness” as a *process of racialized structuration* or whiteness as a “structuring property” of our social system (Geuss 2006; Owen, 2007). This framework and attendant vocabulary represents a welcome addition to the scholarship because it can clarify some of the difficulties involved in conceptualizing whiteness. I plan to follow this line of scholarship to aid in illuminating key concepts that

underwrite the racially responsive pedagogy framework I eventually develop.

Social structuration, according to Giddens (1984), refers to the sum total of social micro-interactions that are organized according to tacit procedure, regulation, and shared practice. Social structures are produced by agents doing things, knowingly or unconsciously, according to standardized regulatory schemes and rules that delimit the plausible spectrum of sanctioned action. These regulatory schemes permit and facilitate (but also constrain and prohibit) specific activities, all of which are rendered intelligible in reference to the shared conceptual scheme. In short, social structuration refers to the institutional practice-based rules and regulations, tacit and explicit, enacted by and to which actors are subject, that organize social life.

We might say, then, that “whiteness” refers to a specific type of social structuration, what we might call *racialized structuration*, whereby systems of social structuration are organized along racial dimensions. *Race* refers to a socio-symbolic category, traced to phenotype or ancestry, constructed in specific historical and social contexts, involving patterns of behavior and social expression, which is generally mistaken as a biologically or genetically grounded construct (Desmond & Emirbayer, 2009, p. 336). Race, as Paul Taylor (2013) describes it, is a conceptual vehicle through which we assign generic meaning to human bodies and perceived bloodlines, and from which we draw inferences about more distant, often non-physical matters (p. 17).

In the context of the United States, these processes of racialized structuration operate according to the logic of whiteness, or *white supremacy* (or, if it is the same, the supremacy of whiteness) whereby a fundamental category by which human bodies are assigned meaning is “white” or “nonwhite,” and whereby the distribution of material and social goods and

resources is organized in a way that privileges or advantages “whites as a group with respect to nonwhites as a group” (Mills, 1997, p. 36). Whiteness, in this scheme, then, refers to the normative regulative logic, or *racial logics*, that underwrite processes of social structuration. Whiteness, in this respect, is the underlying regulative logic, not the system itself (the system itself is racialized structuration; conceived as one kind of system of social structuration, among others). Put differently, we might say whiteness, or the supremacy of whiteness, refers to the normative racializing logic of modern social structuration (David Owen, personal correspondence). And racial structuration operates to produce the extant *condition of white racial domination*.

I think the concept “whiteness” still carries too much conceptual baggage (largely owing to its varied use across different literatures), so I don’t use the term in this project. Instead, I will mainly employ three terms I introduced above: “racial logics,” “racial structuration,” and the “supremacy of whiteness.” To prevent reader fatigue, I alternate between these terms, and all are meant to be used interchangeably. For each, I am referring *to systems of social structuration organized according to the normative regulative logic of whiteness, which serves to produce extant conditions of white racial domination*. When I employ the terms in what follows, I mean to signal the ways that contexts and behaviors are organized, constituted, and regulated along racial lines in ways that produce and sustain conditions of white racial domination and material inequality. The core idea that animates this project is that, among other things, racial structuration generates a specific epistemic orientation — an epistemology of ignorance — inhabited by those groups that characteristically benefit from the supremacy of whiteness. White ignorance, at its most basic, refers to an inability to recognize how those racial logics operate in the world.

Why White Ignorance?

One important question is: What does the white ignorance framework bring to the table? After all, there are myriad pedagogical models and frameworks—usually designed for the college level—that address questions of race, racism and racial identity in the classroom. Most prominently, these include “critical whiteness pedagogy” (Allen, 2004; Matias & Mackey, 2016), “white privilege pedagogy,” (McIntosh, 1990), “white complicity pedagogy” (Applebaum, 2010), “anti-racist pedagogy” (Schick, 2000), and “white racial literacy” (DiAngelo, 2012a; Rogers & Mosley, 2006). Importantly, the white ignorance framework isn’t designed to replace any of these. Rather, I believe the value-added of the white ignorance construct is that it provides a more comprehensive framework, in which these other approaches can be logically situated and contextualized.⁶ My goal is simply to articulate a shared vocabulary capable of naming constituent features of structural white ignorance. Hopefully, then, we can take these plural and varied approaches, identify the relevant parallels, and show how they complement one another toward a shared end.

Additionally, I believe the white ignorance framework can help draw attention to an intuitive aim of education: We want to help students become more cognizant of their epistemic activities so they can learn to monitor and improve them over time. In other words, many other approaches to anti-racist education focus on the *substance* of white ignorance, but not the *phenomenon* itself. In my view, we can’t solely teach about racial advantage and injustice. We also need to advance a self-referential, self-reflective analysis of the ways in

⁶ For example, “white privilege pedagogy” seeks to address one aspect of doxastic white ignorance, what I call “obliviousness”—namely, white people tend not to notice their social advantage. The “white fragility” framework, which has rightly garnered enormous publicity in the last few years, focuses chiefly on active white ignorance—namely, white people tend to express behaviors, attitudes and emotions that preclude them from participating in meaningful conversations about race and racism. “White complicity pedagogy,” meanwhile, helps students address both doxastic white ignorance “obliviousness” and active white ignorance “evasion”—namely, white people actively resist learning about how their behaviors contribute to racial injustice.

which social-epistemic processes impact one's interpretation of the world. The key is to employ analyses common to various approaches of anti-racist education in order to promote self-monitoring and self-assessment; not solely to ensure that students "know" about how racial logics organize society, but to help students perceive their own limitations, blind spots and epistemic lacunae. The goal should be to encourage students to hesitate, pause, and think about what they're doing, how they're thinking, and why.

It's not just thinking about how race organizes the world "out there." It's not just how racial logics disadvantage nonwhite persons and groups. It's not just about how racial logics confer privilege on me or others. It's not just about how racial logics can structure and constitute white identity. But, more importantly, anti-racist and social justice education should be about helping students understand how racial logics organize one's field of perception, one's interpretation of the world, one's habits, attitudes, and dispositions, their vocabulary, the way they employ that vocabulary, and how it's bound up in one's emotions and one's way of being with others in the world.

Theory of Social Change

In *The Color of Our Shame* (2013) Christopher Lebron describes a pernicious contemporary problem: How is it possible that almost everyone in mainstream American society explicitly endorses and affirms the ideals of equality, liberty, and justice for all, and yet nonwhite persons and groups in the United States are nevertheless subject to exhausting injustice and inequality? In other words, why is there such a pronounced mismatch between our shared ideals and extant social realities?

This question is particularly important because it underscores a feature of contemporary racial inequality in America. As Lebron (2013) writes “What makes the problem of racial inequality peculiar is that there is almost no disagreement that inequality on account of one’s race is morally unacceptable” (p. 20). Our core problems around race, in other words, are not evidently traceable to philosophical or normative differences. We all, except for a few on the margins, agree on and share the same set of fundamental ideals, namely racism is bad, and inequality on account of skin color is wrong. So, what’s going on? How can so many people endorse the same set of ideals and yet so many people fail to advance those ideals? Why can’t people — white people in particular — apparently “see” the degree to which social conditions for persons of color depart from our highest ideals?

In my view, the concept of white ignorance helps explain this problem.⁷ White ignorance represents an epistemic aberration that diminishes white peoples’ ability and motivation to see the degree to which racial logics organize the world and the degree to which racial injustice pervades. I agree with Medina who writes, “Social injustices breed epistemic injustices; or rather, these two kinds of injustice are two sides of the same coin, always going together, being mutually supportive and reinforcing each other” (2013, p. 11). It’s difficult to determine how, exactly, white ignorance operates to reinforce the material conditions of white racial domination. One common explanation (Anderson, 2010) is that white ignorance has emerged as a kind of *post-hoc* epistemic infrastructure that functions to validate, rationalize, justify and, commonly, ignore extant material and social inequality that tracks racial lines. According to Anderson (2010) historical processes of social closure served to consolidate economic resources, creating the conditions of group-based material

⁷ But as I said in the Preface, it may not explain as much as I once thought.

inequality. An epistemic infrastructure emerged after the fact to explain and justify the presence of group-based material inequality.

Alternatively, it is also plausible that the view of the world that is anchored in white ignorance serves to motivate and guide behavior in particular ways — ways that are productive of greater material inequality. Policies and legislation are passed, institutions are arranged, and activities are regulated on the basis of a view of the world that is fundamentally inaccurate and backward. On this account, we might say that white ignorance came first, and persons and groups started making decisions and acting based on an inverted racial epistemology.

My view, however, is that irrespective of how we conceptualize the causal arrows, either case warrants intervention and remedy. Either white ignorance motivates behavior that causes material injustice, or it justifies material injustice after the fact. Neither is acceptable; and both represent mechanisms that exacerbate extant racial injustice. Both represent problems about which anyone who is committed to racial justice should be concerned.

The intuitive idea that animates this project is that advancing racial justice and dismantling patterns of white racial domination requires, in part, disrupting and eliminating white ignorance. If people gained clarity on the ways in which institutions and patterns of practice do not remotely approximate core democratic ideals, I believe they'll be more inclined to pursue projects that remedy racial injustice. But it should be emphasized, as a preemptive caveat, that I believe people will be *more likely* to pursue racial justice, not that they necessarily *will*.

George Lipsitz's seminal book, *The Possessive Investment in Whiteness*, persuasively argues that whiteness has a "cash value" (2006, p. 10). As he writes, "nearly every social

choice white people make about where they live, what schools their children attend, what careers they pursue, and what policies they endorse is shaped by considerations involving race” (Lipstiz, 2006, viii). In other words, there are material and economic structures that make certain kinds of behavior fundamentally rational, *even where white people are cognizant of the ways that their behavior reinforces racial inequality*. The point is that increased consciousness and clarity about the way that race structures the world and individual behavior may not necessarily motivate institutional or structural changes, especially where racist conduct still carries a “cash value.”

Joseph Heath (2000) makes a similar point in different terms, highlighting that critical theorists historically ascribe to “ideology” what we might better conceptualize as a “collective action problem.” He argues that just because people know something is wrong or counterproductive that doesn’t mean they will necessarily change their behavior, especially if others do not also change their behavior—or if it benefits them in some other way.

What both Lipstiz and Heath make clear is that merely raising consciousness and eliminating ignorance does not on its own achieve material equality. I highlight this potential objection up front to clarify an important point about this project: I do not believe that efforts to erode and eliminate white ignorance should *replace* the myriad political, economic, and social projects designed to disrupt, undermine, and eliminate racial inequality. This project does not, for example, directly theorize ways to meliorate inequitable school funding; tackle asymmetric access to quality healthcare; increase access to, and preparation for, higher-status, better-paying jobs; locate ways to minimize white racial terrorism perpetrated by the state; end Jim Crow incarceration; increase retirement security; or improve life expectancy.

Instead, this project represents merely one modest part of any larger strategy or set of strategies needed to achieve racial justice.

At the same time, however, I do have confidence that working to systematically undermine white ignorance across mostly white populations can make some difference, perhaps even a big difference. In this respect, I don't mean to sell this project short; but I also do not mean to overstate its capacity to achieve racial justice on its own.

Methodology

Meira Levinson's (2015) recent account of "action-guiding theory" accurately captures the method I employ in this project. Like non-ideal theory, action-guiding theory begins in the here-and-now with manifest injustice, but places emphasis on, as the name implies, developing an actionable game plan that can be implemented in the real world. Several principles Levinson identifies are especially relevant to my project.

First, Levinson says that action-guiding theory must include "a realistic set of aims for the world as it is" (p. 6). In line with this principle, my project targets the same organizing forces and voices that have already made serious waves in and across the educational landscape, and who have put CRSP at the center of many teacher education programs. The following does not, therefore, contain an argument that will persuade the kind of voices that are already opposed to, say, multicultural or anti-racist education. I am not going to defend the merits CRSP *in general*. My project merely aims to elucidate a framework that can inform the practice of educators — and, by extension, leverage extant educational institutions — already participating in similar work.

Second, Levinson argues that "fact-sensitivity" and "domain specificity" are *sine qua*

non to action-guiding theory. In this vein, I focus on the unique and very specific challenges facing white educators in mostly white school contexts, in particular. Yet, despite the emphasis on fact-sensitivity, another principle of action-guiding theory, according to Levinson, requires research to “address uncertainty and ambiguity” given that “many of our most challenging decisions . . . are taken in contexts in which *we know less rather than more* . . . in which we are agonizingly aware of crucial deficiencies in our knowledge” (p. 12). For Levinson, accordingly, action-guiding theory must give us guidance under conditions of non-knowing. Indeed, since this project is specifically about how white educators should orient themselves to their practice given their own as well as their students’ ignorance, this principle remains at the center of my research. The very thing I aim to theorize is *how* white teachers can ethically proceed under conditions of group-based ignorance.

Finally, and I believe most importantly, Levinson says that action-guiding theory must be “capable of fostering judgment” by describing the “method” of how agents in the world ought to approach a problem of action (2015, p. 10). Although the final chapter develops an account of racially responsive pedagogy, it will not furnish specific pedagogical prescriptions about how to “do” racially responsive pedagogy. As the title of this project suggests, my aim is more modest. By inviting educators to move *towards* a racially responsive pedagogy, my goal is merely to exposit the general architecture of what I believe a racially responsive pedagogy should involve. The rest of the project furnishes the rationale for the approach. Thus, the aim of this project, at bottom, is to elucidate the framework and set of questions that can help *guide and inform* the professional judgment of educators as they work to enact racially responsive pedagogy.

Project roadmap and target audience

This dissertation can be separated into two parts of approximately equal length. The first part consists of chapters 1-4. In these early chapters, I consolidate and reconstruct a unified framework based on the extant research around white ignorance, describing in each subsequent chapter one of three major components of the construct (viz. doxastic, active and meta-white ignorance). Compiling insights from across the research, I try to amass a single, cohesive framework and typology that can be used to inform research and teaching.

The final three chapters of the dissertation work to show how the framework and typology itself can be applied to research, theory and practice. In Chapter 5 I illustrate how education researchers can use the framework to identify and diagnose patterns of practice in white schools that may contribute to the reproduction of white ignorance. To this point, there is very little research that specifically explores how white schools operate to sustain white ignorance across society. If we agree that white ignorance is a major social problem, then it's incumbent on researchers to understand how mostly white schools contribute to that problem. Each section in Chapter 5 concludes with a hypothesis to guide future research.

Next, Chapter 6 illustrates how the framework might be used by educators to interrupt and resist the reproduction of white ignorance in white schools. Toward that end, I build on the normative framework developed in Miranda Fricker's research (2007). Expanding the concept of "testimonial sensitivity" (Fricker, 2007) I develop a model of wokeness, where wokeness is understood not as the absence of ignorance but the keen awareness of one's own ignorance. Further, I provide several reasons why the educational aim isn't necessarily to eliminate white ignorance, but to help students learn to live with white ignorance in more ethically responsible ways. As long as society is organized according to the supremacy of

whiteness, it will be impossible to altogether eliminate patterns of white ignorance.

Racialized processes of socialization are powerful and mostly inescapable. Educators should therefore focus more on helping young people learn to monitor, regulate and manage white ignorance, so they can minimize its impact on their judgement and interpretation of the world. In short, the educational approach for which I advocate invites educators to operationalize the framework to help students perform a self-referential, self-reflective analysis of the ways in which processes of racialized socialization distorts their day-to-day sense of reality.

Finally, in Chapter 7 I envision a path toward a racially responsive pedagogy. The purpose is to show how teaching for wokeness requires the same diagnosis-response model central to CRSP. Both models seek to displace white supremacist epistemologies. Both models seek to promote more just epistemological practices. By unifying the two under the same umbrella, I argue we can simplify teacher education and give educators a streamlined framework they can use to advance their social justice mission regardless of the context in which they teach.

On this score, I want to emphasize that the aim of this project is not to pile another “pedagogy” or framework onto educators who are already overworked and overburdened. I appreciate that the pressures and constraints on teachers are immense. Accordingly, this project simply aims to provide a conceptual framework for teachers who have *already* committed their lives and professional practice to the cause of social justice. In this respect, racially responsive pedagogy does not represent a major shift in theory or practice. In fact, because it builds on the diagnosis-response approach integral to CRSP, I’m confident this framework represents only a subtle expansion of the work educators are already doing.

More than anything I hope this project can help shift the research agenda and interrupt the logic that underwrites so much of the conversation around education in America. Too often the implicit assumption is that white schools are the paragon of educational excellence, and so the aim of social justice education should be to make all other schools work like the white schools. This project can hopefully illuminate the idea that white schools should not represent the paragon of educational excellence. Most of these schools are deeply flawed both in conception and in practice. If there are indeed educational deficiencies to identify, if there is a tangle of pathology to unweave, if there are broken schools and subpar teachers, they are likely in mostly white communities.

Chapter One

Foundations of White Ignorance

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a comprehensive overview of the core features, dimensions and elements of white ignorance. This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section provides a literature review to map the scholarly conversation and situate the white ignorance construct. Then, in Section 2, I build explicitly on Mills’s research to articulate a formal definition of white ignorance and explicitly introduce the constituent components. Finally, Section 3 discusses preliminary background concepts to further clarify what white ignorance is and is not. Ultimately, the aim of Chapter 1 is to erect a skeletal framework that I will eventually fill in across chapters 2-4. So, if Chapter 1 feels somewhat vague, stick with me—it’ll become more concrete in subsequent chapters.

Literature review

In the last decade or so there has been a burst of research investigating “ignorance” (Gross & McGoey, 2015; Smithson, 2012 & 2015), “epistemologies of ignorance” (Malewski & Jaramillo, 2011; Sullivan & Tuana, 2007), and what is often called “agnotology” (Proctor & Schiebinger, 2008), a term that refers to “ignorance studies” in general. The simplest way to conceptualize ignorance studies is to contrast it with its converse: epistemology. Historically, epistemology involves theorizing what knowledge is, how subjects can have knowledge, and — in the case of social epistemology — why some groups possess knowledge and others do not. The research in agnotology in effect retrains this focus, and instead of investigating “knowing,” investigates “non-knowing” (Proctor &

Schiebinger, 2008): what not-knowing is; how subjects don't know; and why some groups don't know and others do.

The field of ignorance studies has been described as “interdisciplinary, multidisciplinary, and transdisciplinary” (Smithson, 2015), encompassing an array of methodologies and approaches, and examining everything from the social sciences (McGoey, 2012; Stocking & Holstein, 2015) to economics, history (Trouillot, 1995) and even the hard sciences (Kourany, 2015; Firestein, 2012). Despite increasing interest, the scholarship around ignorance remains comparatively minimal, and most of the research is preliminary, programmatic and experimental (Gross & McGoey, 2015). According to Proctor and Schiebinger (2008), however, a few patterns in the literature are apparent.

First, ignorance research tends to focus on the “conscious, unconscious, and structural production of ignorance, its diverse causes and conformations, [and] whether [it is] brought about by neglect, forgetfulness, myopia, extinction, secrecy or suppression” (Proctor & Schiebinger, 2008, p. 4). And, second, these areas of focus and inquiry have coalesced into three main conceptual domains: ignorance as a native state (where not-knowing stems from lack of exposure or experience), ignorance as “selectivity” (Elliot, 2015) or choice (i.e. the pursuit of one kind of inquiry can leave another in the background [see also: Townley, 2006]), and ignorance as deliberately engineered and strategic ploy (or active construct) (Proctor & Schiebinger, 2008, p. 7).

In philosophy in particular, ignorance research (most of which is in the analytic tradition) has historically focused on modes of native ignorance, examining questions like the value and virtue of ignorance (Driver, 1989; Flanagan, 1990; Townley, 2011; Franke, 2015; Vitek & Jackson, 2008), the relationship of modesty to ignorance (Driver, 1999), the role of

ignorance in everyday life (Smithson, 1985; Zimmerman, 1997), and the relative epistemic productivity of different kinds of ignorance (Haas & Vogt, 2015). But more recently, significant philosophical scholarship that stems from, and is informed by, the research in social epistemology has turned attention to the structural dimensions of ignorance. This trend is a consequence of the influence of critical feminist methodologies, many of which emphasize contextualized epistemologies and theorize situated epistemic agents (Haraway, 1988), highlighting how the circulation of knowledge is always bound up in social matrices of power, domination, and privilege (Alcoff, 2007).

Gender ignorance has thus been the dominant locus of investigation into structural group-based ignorance, with scholars like Loraine Code (2014a; 2014b), Linda Alcoff (2007), and Shannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana (Tuana & Sullivan, 2006; Sullivan & Tuana, 2007; Tuana, 2006) tracing the manifold dimensions of gender ignorance and its social and political consequences. It is important here to note that these thinkers (among others) draw mainly on resources present in “standpoint theory” (Collins, 1990; Hartsock, 1983; Harding, 2009; hooks, 1990), a framework without which, I believe, research on structural group-based ignorance would be unintelligible. Standpoint theory, in simple terms, holds that one’s identity and one’s social location will strongly influence what one knows (and doesn’t know) and how one knows (or doesn’t know) (Walby, 2001).

But, as Mills rightly points out, although feminist social epistemology has become almost mainstream (with standpoint theory enjoying considerable purchase beyond traditional philosophy), the role of race in social epistemology remains seriously undertheorized (2007, p. 15). Mills was the first philosopher to explicitly name and diagnose structural white ignorance in *The Racial Contract* (1997), a text that elucidates a “global

theoretical framework” (p. 17) that can describe and conceptualize the political, economic, and epistemological dimensions of white racial domination. Here’s how the *Racial Contract* (1997) describes white ignorance:

On matters related to race, the Racial Contract prescribes for its signatories an inverted epistemology, an epistemology of ignorance, a particular pattern of localized and global cognitive dysfunctions (which are psychologically and social functional), producing the ironic outcome that whites will in general be unable to understand the world they themselves have created (p. 18).

Since the publication of *The Racial Contract*, a small body of scholarship on white ignorance has followed. Shannon Sullivan’s book, *Revealing Whiteness* (2006), for example investigates what she calls “white privileged ignorance,” which she says is an “unconscious habit” whereby privileged white populations tend to ignore their racial privilege. Some scholarship has tried to work out conceptual problems in Mills. Congdon (2015) for example explores plausible ways to reconcile Mills’s evidently inconsistent twin commitment to conceptualism and realism; Steyn (2012) tries to correct what she believes is Mills’s overemphasis on white populations by investigating how racialized epistemologies of ignorance also saturate nonwhite communities (a concern Mills takes up in Mills [2015b]); and Smith (2015) tries to remedy the under-theorization of “white responsibility” (p. 91) in Mills.

Bonilla-Silva (2012), for his part, uses Mills’s research to analyze the “racial grammar of everyday life.” Burroughs’s (2015) recent study also uses a white ignorance

framework to analyze Hannah Arendt's confused and potentially dangerous views about black communities, represented in her essay "Reflections on Little Rock." A small set of papers (Fricker, 2013; Medina, 2012; Mason, 2011) explore the relationship between white ignorance, epistemic injustice, and hermeneutic injustice, with Mills adding to the conversation (Mills, 2013). In this vein, Jose Medina's recent book *The Epistemology of Resistance* (2013) uses a white ignorance framework to diagnose epistemic vice and epistemic injustice. His book, in my view, contains the most systematic treatment of white ignorance outside of Mills; much of what follows in this project will draw from and critique Medina's approach.

The most prominent account of white ignorance is found in *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (2007), a collection of essays that emerged from a workshop at Penn State University in 2003. In this volume philosophers work to thematize key elements of white ignorance; some contributors include: Hoagland (2007), who argues that part of what causes white ignorance is an inability to adequately conceptualize how we are related to others; Alcoff (2007), who furnishes a typology of different kinds of structural ignorance by drawing from key concepts in feminist epistemology; Bailey (2007), who describes ways that nonwhite populations have historically leveraged white ignorance for economic and material gain; Outlaw (2007), who argues that successive generations of white children have been "nurtured systematically with both knowledge and ignorance to grow into confirmed, practicing racial supremacist white adults" (p. 197); and Sullivan (2007), who worries that education can be influenced by larger patterns of ignorance. Together, these voices provide a comprehensive accounting of white ignorance.

Section 1: Building on Charles Mills — A formal definition of white ignorance

Mills writes in his most recent essay, “Global White Ignorance” (2015), that white ignorance, at bottom, should be understood as a “particular optic, a prism of perception and interpretation, a worldview . . . which incorporates multiple elements into a [citing Feagin 2013, p. ix] ‘holistic and gestalt . . . racial construction of reality’ (p. 218), in which the supremacy of whiteness plays a decisive causal role.” In my view, his recent descriptions provide the most succinct way to think about the phenomenon. But the challenge is that terms like “optics” and “prisms” can sound more like metaphors than concrete analytic concepts. So, it requires some work to give these concepts additional meat.

At its most basic, white ignorance refers to an interpretive failure, an inability to accurately read context, from very global features of the world to narrower and more immediate. In particular, white ignorance refers to an inability to accurately appraise how racial logics organize a given context. In the introduction, I described how systems of social structuration, organized according to the normative regulative logic of whiteness, serve to produce extant conditions of white racial domination. Importantly, these racial logics organize not only social, political and economic dimensions of our shared world, *but they also organize and train our interpretive faculties in specific ways.*

As Mills writes, whatever one perceives “it is the concept that is driving the perception” (2007, p. 22). I understand Mills to mean that racialized structuration generates a specific epistemic orientation — an epistemology of ignorance — that serves to distort and constrain the way one interprets reality. White ignorance is activated at moments when conceptual schemata, organized by racial logics, occlude one’s capacity to accurately appraise and interpret a given situation. The “situation” in question can be just about

anything, and may include judgments related to global concerns, including very broad social, political and economic phenomena. I don't mean to use the term situation in a narrow, localist sense.

Based on the literature, I have identified three primary components of white ignorance:

- Doxastic white ignorance
- Active white ignorance
- Meta-white ignorance

This triad comprises the basic framework that I develop in Chapters 2-4 (and which drives the conceptual work for the rest of the dissertation). Together these elements of white ignorance include ideas and behaviors that serve to limit the epistemic vista according to which white people encounter and make sense of reality.

Doxastic white ignorance includes ideas, schemata and narrative frameworks that operate to distort and occlude one's perception. Doxastic white ignorance doesn't necessarily include false believe per se, but it does increase the likelihood of falling on false belief. In general, doxastic ignorance is problematic because it limits epistemic possibilities and drives snap judgements and hurried evaluations. In other words, doxastic white ignorance makes false, incomplete and incorrect judgements just pop into one's head without conscious reflection or notice.

Active white ignorance, meanwhile, is a form of ignorance that presents as a set of behaviors, attitudes and habits. We say someone or some group displays ignorance not simply because they express false ideas or because there is an apparent absence of salient true belief, but also because they act in ways that inhibits the acquisition of true belief or the

elimination of false belief. White ignorance thus refers not simply to false utterances, inaccurate conceptual formulations or erroneous discursive formations, but also to behaviors that mark the ignorant as such: An active inclination to ignore, dismiss, evade, misrepresent, silence, not listen, discredit, shut down, etc. We say these behaviors, attitudes and habits are ignorant because they inhibit one's capacity to access and interpret the kind of knowledge needed to accurately appraise reality.

Finally, white ignorance involves a meta-ignorance too. Persons don't merely inhabit white ignorance, but crucially they're also ignorant of the very fact that they inhabit white ignorance. And, by extension, they're ignorant of the ways in which epistemic practices associated with white ignorance affect and influence their judgment. Meta-white ignorance is a particularly sticky problem in that you can't address a problem you deny exists.

Taken altogether, here's a formal definition of the overall phenomena: White ignorance is a cognitive-affective group-based epistemic condition with doxastic, behavioral and meta-cognitive dimensions, caused by racial logics organized according to the supremacy of whiteness, in which — typically white — cognizers misapprehend or misjudge the ways that processes of racialized structuration operate in the world. To be sure, this formal definition contains a lot. So, let me try to unpack it.

Section 2: Preliminary background concepts

Below are three basic principles that serve to further unpack the definition above and clarify the concept. It's potentially easy to confuse white ignorance with other forms of ignorance. So, the purpose here is to provide principles to contrast the aspects that make

white ignorance distinct. Most, but not all, of these principles are adapted from Mills's 2012 essay, "White Ignorance."

Principle #1: *The concept is called "white" ignorance not because it's exclusively associated with whites, but because it's linked in some causal way to racial logics organized by the supremacy of whiteness.* The category of "race" that underwrites white ignorance is a socio-structural rather than a physico-biological construct (Mills, 2007, p. 20). In other words, race is a social category that has emerged in the modern world as a consequence of particular social systems (most prominently those organized according to the supremacy of whiteness) that mark certain physical characteristics salient (especially perceived phenotype thought to be traceable in some meaningful way to ancestry). For this reason, white ignorance isn't exclusive to persons of a specific race.

Though white ignorance is not exclusive to whites, it appears most prominently among whites. Here's why: Racial logics organize the world in ways that advantage some groups and disadvantage others. The effects of these racial logics are both epistemic and material. White ignorance is the corollary to material disadvantage, it helps to preserve and maintain advantage. Advantaged persons and groups, therefore, tend to be those most likely to inhabit white ignorance because patterns of racial structuration function to prevent accurate appraisal and assessment of the very patterns of racial structuration that serve to advantage them.⁸

⁸ Alternatively, nonwhite persons who are disadvantaged by patterns of racial structuration tend to not similarly inhabit white ignorance because the world intervenes. The brute reality of racial disadvantage and injustice works as a mediating force that disrupts conceptual patterns associated with white ignorance in a way it does not for persons who are advantaged by the arrangement. In simple terms, the stark reality of injustice is most apparent to the groups and persons who suffer it most.

Principle #2: *White ignorance doesn't affect all cognitive operation and modes of interpretation.* Mills, for his part, allows that various modes of inquiry and interpretation will not be affected by white ignorance. As he writes, it is important to distinguish “white ignorance from general patterns of ignorance prevalent among people who are white but in whose doxastic state race has played no determining role” (2007, p. 20). We can imagine, for example, that studying protoplasm at the bottom of the ocean does not implicate white ignorance. Similarly, if I am unaware of, or for some reason doubt, the science behind climate change, it is unlikely (though not impossible) that that specific type ignorance is a product of racial structuration.

Principle #3: *The concept of white ignorance doesn't contain easily-applied diagnostic criteria.* Ultimately, it's hard to tell whether a given judgment is an instance of white ignorance. Racial logics can influence the world and our perceptive faculties in ways we may not fully understand or appreciate. Some judgment or belief might therefore be an effect of racial logics — and thus an instance of white ignorance — without it being immediately apparent or obvious.

Principle #4: *White ignorance presents unevenly across different groups and individuals.* Not everyone inhabits white ignorance to the same extent or same degree. It appears in different ways across different populations. White people as well as nonwhite people can inhabit white ignorance to varying degrees. Given that different groups and persons can occupy different social positions, white ignorance doesn't impinge on epistemic functioning the same way across all groups and persons.

Principle #5: *White ignorance presents unevenly at different moments even within the same individual.* Similarly, individuals do not inhabit white ignorance in consistent or stable

ways all the time. The same individual can sometimes appear to express behaviors or ideas associated with white ignorance and at other times appear to not participate in white ignorance at all.

Principle #6: *Context matters*. Finally, different social contexts can mediate racial logics in various ways and therefore generate different manifestations of white ignorance. To borrow Mill's phrase: The concept *and the context* drives the perception. Later in the project I put principles five and six in greater focus to explore what they mean for education and for helping persons navigate and manage the patterns of ignorance in which they might participate. Eventually, I argue that different contexts can activate white ignorance in unique—though sometimes patterned ways—and that individuals can learn to identify contexts or situations most likely to activate white ignorance.

Conclusion

The thesis of white ignorance is not designed to contain a diagnostic checklist. There are no hard-and-fast criteria that will help answer whether a given person's beliefs or associated behaviors are definite instances of white ignorance. Yet, there are still myriad paradigm examples—and I identify them throughout subsequent chapters. As Mills rightly points out, “the existence of problematic [or fuzzy] cases at the borders does not undermine the import of more central cases” (2007, p. 23).

Although we can confidently identify central cases, it's important to keep in mind that the purpose of theorizing white ignorance isn't merely to diagnose instances of the condition. Rather, the aim should be to incite individual and social change. To that end, the goal is to make persons aware of how they might be subject to white ignorance, so that they can reflect

on, monitor and regulate the way it affects their interpretations and judgements. The aim, in short, is to inspire attentive vigilance to neutralize and minimize the *possibility* of being in error. That's achieved, in part, by helping persons recognize constituent elements of white ignorance. So, let's turn to that work. The next chapter describes and explains the first major component of white ignorance: Doxastic white ignorance.

Chapter Two

Doxastic White Ignorance

In the previous chapter, I described preliminary concepts to situate the construct of white ignorance in general outline. In the next three chapters I flesh out in much greater detail the three main components of white ignorance: Doxastic, active and meta-white ignorance. The purpose of these chapters is to provide a vocabulary and conceptual framework that can help educators systematically identify constituent elements of white ignorance. As I said at the conclusion of the previous chapter, my goal isn't to diagnose others; my goal is to provide a framework that can guide and coordinate education and ultimately self-reflection.

Doxastic white ignorance principally involves ideas and beliefs—and, often, an absence of ideas and beliefs—concerning the world (i.e. phenomena, systems, social activities and arrangements), the self (i.e. one's sense of identity) and one's positionality (i.e. the relationship between self, world and others). More specifically, doxastic white ignorance typically appears as an ignorance of and about the way that racialized structuration organizes our shared world. Doxastic white ignorance manifests in three primary ways:

1. *Incognizance*, in which an individual does not notice, recognize or understand the ways in which race might structure a given context or situation.
2. *Minimization*, in which an individual is cognizant that race might be salient in a given context, but misapprehends or minimizes its import.
3. *Stereotypic narrativity*, in which an individual recognizes the salience of race, but activates prominent narratives that contain stereotypes, which distort judgement and constrain interpretive possibilities.

This chapter is organized in three sections around these three dimensions. Drawing on a diverse body of literature, my goal is to describe and illustrate how these aspects of doxastic white ignorance tend to appear in the world. Note that many of the examples included in this chapter aim to identify paradigm cases. There are myriad other instances of doxastic white ignorance that are perhaps hazier and more difficult to specify. I'm hopeful that the general vocabulary and framework outlined here can help persons start to notice these more marginal, hazier instances.

Section 1: Incognizance

Incognizance is the most intuitive manifestation of ignorance. Incognizance is when one simply doesn't know. For instance, I don't know what you ate for dinner last night — I'm not cognizant of it. As it relates to white ignorance, specifically, instances of incognizance appear at moments when an individual sincerely doesn't have the slightest idea that racial logics might be relevant or implicated in a given context. For example, imagine someone being introduced to the concept of "white privilege" for the first time. Prior to actively reflecting on the possibility of systematic racial advantage, we might say that the individual was sincerely ignorant of the idea that whites could be advantaged relative to nonwhites.

Whites tend to be incognizant of the historical record, especially. Most whites do not know, for example, the history of the Commonwealth of Puerto Rico or the reasons why it's an unincorporated territory of the United States. Shannon Sullivan, in a provocative essay, concludes the reason she "know[s] so little about Puerto Rico" (2007, p. 57) is because of

extant larger patterns of ignorance among whites specifically as it relates to historical patterns of colonial oppression.

Similarly, most whites do not know that Belgian officials, under the rule of King Leopold II, systematically murdered as many as 15 million people in what is known today as the Democratic Republic of Congo (Hochschild, 1999). Much of the ignorance owes to the Belgium government's deliberate destruction of documents in the wake of the what some now call the "Congolesé Holocaust."

In fact, patterns of white ignorance can often be traced to the deliberate destruction or obfuscation of the historical record by whites. Government officials in Tulsa, Oklahoma reportedly destroyed thousands of documents and records related to the so-called "Tulsa Race Riot." Note that the popular naming convention alone serves to obfuscate the actual events. What happened in Tulsa was nothing less than white racial terrorism perpetrated by whites against blacks—not a "race riot." In 1921, in the community of Greenwood (also known as "Black Wall Street"), a white mob rampaged through the town, burning down black businesses, murdering 40 people, injuring another 600 and leaving nearly 10,000 homeless (Sulzberger, 2011). No whites were prosecuted after a brief "investigation" (Sulzberger, 2011).

Similarly, the lack of official historical recording is a big reason why many whites only have a sketchy, incomplete account of American history, particularly as it relates to race. For example, because no anti-lynching laws were ever put on the books, zero whites in the 20th century were convicted of the crime. Yet, various sources document that more than 4000 blacks were lynched between 1877 and 1950 (Robertson, 2015). The ghastly spectacle

often involved hundreds, if not thousands, of enthusiastic white onlookers. Yet, the American zeitgeist almost totally ignores—and indeed many simply do not know about—the horrifying extent of white racial terrorism that choked the country for nearly a century after the official end of state-sanctioned slavery.⁹

Incognizance doesn't just refer to patterns of ignorance about history, however. Indeed, whites are equally incognizant to the ways racial logics organize our contemporary world too. Most whites are not cognizant of how public policies, zoning and school districting can intensify the segregation and ghettoization of urban blacks (Erickson, 2016; Rothstein, 2018; Silver, 1997). They do not recognize how patterns of policing in black communities operate like an occupying military force—replete with gratuitous brutality—rather than a partnership that aims to protect and serve (Butler, 2017). They do not recognize how racial redlining is still practiced by banks, now called algorithm-based underwriting (Glantz and Martinez, 2018). They do not recognize how the mobility of capital continues to compound unemployment in black communities (White, 2018). They do not recognize that nonwhites are given 20% lengthier prison sentences than whites, for the same crimes (Schmitt, Reedt, & Blackwell, 2017). They do not recognize how court costs and fines for petty crime amplifies poverty in low-income mostly-black communities (United States Commission on Civil Rights Briefing Report, 2017).

Importantly, they also don't recognize how many black men graduate college, despite long odds and a society designed to make them fail. They also don't recognize the outsized

⁹ The near endless brutality inflicted on nonwhites in the history of the United States, usually by leveraging the mechanisms of the state, is almost never recounted in contemporary conversations about social justice and racial justice — even among liberals. And, in fact, stories and myths still prominently circulate, especially among conservatives, about the kind, gentle slaveowner, the noble Confederate, and how the Civil War could have been avoided if only people knew how to compromise (Coates, 2017).

cultural contribution of blacks relative to their population (blacks make up only a small portion of the total population, but are vastly overrepresented in esteemed music, art and literature). They also don't recognize that there are far more black men in college than in prison (Desmond-Harris, 2015). They also don't recognize that the majority of black fathers live with their children.¹⁰

And finally, they tend not to recognize how their social position in this world is tied to their race. They tend not to recognize how their family wealth is tied to their race (Jones, 2017). They tend not to recognize how the quality of their neighborhoods, schools, hospitals and parks is tied to their race (Wytsma, 2017). They tend not to recognize how their habits, attitudes, and behaviors are tied to their race (Leonardo, 2009; Sullivan, 2006). They tend not to recognize how second and third and fourth chances are extended to them, but not their nonwhite counterparts. They tend not to recognize how news programs describe black criminals as thuggish, but white criminals as mentally impaired (Wing, 2017). They tend not to recognize that the federal response to the crack epidemic (drug use typically associated with blacks) primarily involved lengthening prison sentences, while the federal response to the opioid epidemic (drug use typically associated with whites) primarily involved earmarking billions for rehabilitation and mental health services. They tend not to recognize how whites are making billions of dollars dealing pot in Colorado and California, while young black kids in Louisiana are locked up for participating in the same industry.

¹⁰ There is a pervasive belief among whites—but not only whites—that black fathers chronically abandon their children. The mistaken belief is partly a consequence of 2010 census data that reports 72% single-mothers in black households. But, this figure only indicates that mothers are unmarried, not that the father is absent. As Charles Blow writes: “While it is true that black parents are less likely to marry before a child is born, it is not true that black fathers suffer a pathology of neglect” (2015).

Ultimately, the full stock of patterned incognizance is so overwhelming it could fill multiple volumes.¹¹ The extensive documentation across time and literature makes the following claim perhaps the least controversial in this project: White people—and not only white people—tend to be largely incognizant to the ways that race structures our world. Of course, incognizance comes by degree. As I outlined in the previous chapter, white ignorance presents unevenly across different persons and even appears differently at different moments within the same person. One can, for example, be incognizant to the very fact *that* racial advantage exists, or might simply be incognizant to the specific *ways* that racial advantage exists.

To be sure, one cannot recognize or understand everything at once. The point is not to establish an unreasonably high normative standard for what one “ought” to know. In fact, the goal is not to set a standard at all. But if you’re an educator focused on racial and social justice, there are decisions to be made about what to teach, how much to teach, and when. The sheer scope of incognizance is something with which educators and education researchers should grapple. Why is this kind of doxastic white ignorance so pervasive? What role do schools play? What role should schools play? I don’t pretend to answer all these questions—but they do motivate the analysis in this chapter and throughout.

¹¹ The brief catalog above doesn’t even touch on the patterned ignorance whites have surrounding Latinx, indigenous and other nonwhite communities. In fact, ignorance surrounding indigenous communities and nations is likely more extensive and more profound than white ignorance associated with other racial groups. I’ve focused here only on the characteristic white ignorance about black communities and white-black relationality—but there is so, so much more.

Section 2: Minimization

The previous section explored patterns of incognizance to show that there are myriad aspects of reality that white people simplify don't recognize, see or understand. However, that kind of ignorance—defined as a lack—is only one small part of the overall phenomenon. So much of what we mean by ignorance refers to assertions and judgements that stake a claim to reality. In other words, ignorance involves a kind incomplete *knowledge*. Even if only on a tacit level, whites have a lot of ideas about how race structures reality. Sometimes those ideas are inaccurate, sometimes erroneous, sometimes incomplete; sometimes those ideas do, in fact, approximate reality—other times they're plainly weird.

Because whites have so many ideas about how race and racism structure reality, Zeus Leonardo, Shannon Sullivan and others prefer to talk about “white racial knowledge” instead of ignorance. As I understand it, these scholars believe “ignorance” draws too much focus on incognizance (though they wouldn't use this term) and doesn't draw enough attention to the aspects of ignorance that involve positive formulations, concrete ideas and explicit assertions.

Leonardo (2009), for example, notes that whites know very well what schools to attend, where to buy real estate, and where to socialize; they also know what things to say to make sure they sound like good and just white people (p. 71). He says they know where to go and what to say based on knowing where racial lines divide people socially and linguistically. Sullivan (2006), for her part, suggests that whites know very well what it means to act white and perform whiteness, that white people behave in specific ways because they're keyed into social cues organized according to white normativity (p. 12). I understand both Leonardo and Sullivan to be saying that it's analytically imprecise to talk exclusively

about “ignorance” per se because whites have a great deal of fluency around matters which involve race.

In my view, this isn't a conceptual disagreement, but merely terminological. If we agree that “ignorance” contains positive formulations about reality, which sometimes approximate reality with a high degree of fidelity, then we're all on the same page. I prefer the term white ignorance because it helpfully captures the *total constellation* of epistemic practices that significantly impair cognitive and behavioral epistemic activity. But that doesn't mean whites never get reality right. White ignorance doesn't mean “always wrong in every context.” But it does mean that, on balance, patterns of ignorance *increase the likelihood* that whites will misapprehend relevant aspects of the world. This section about minimization and the following section about stereotypic narrativity key into patterns of doxastic white ignorance that involve positive formulations, and which some might prefer to call “white racial knowledge.”

Minimization, the second kind of doxastic white ignorance, involves recognizing that racial logics might be relevant in a given context, but downplaying the salience of race. In other words, where incognizance refers to sheer not knowing, minimization refers to incognizance about the *extent or degree* to which racial logics shape social systems or a given context. Mills (2005) calls this phenomenon racial erasure, which he understands as “the retrospective whitening-out, whitewashing, of the racial past in order to construct an alternative narrative that severs the present from any legacy of racial domination. Racism as an idea . . . racial atrocity and racial exploitation, are collectively denied or at least causally minimized” (p. 220). Mills, in other words, applies the concept of racial erasure to patterns of collective forgetting, where such ideas function to create a picture in which past racism has

no bearing on the present. But racial erasure is not just applied to this kind of historical revisionism, it serves equally to explain our contemporary world too.

For that reason, most scholarship has employed broader terminology. John Crowley (2016), for example, calls it “downplaying the salience of race” (p. 1024). I think this is probably the best way to capture what happens. Crowley’s study draws on interviews with teachers to better understand how white privilege can impact teachers’ “social imagination” (2016, p. 1024). He found that almost every teacher he interviewed “minimized the salience of race in structuring society or educational inequality” (2016, p. 1024). Rather than talk about race, participants in his study consistently invoked class or educational status to explain racial disparity. In other words, race was deliberately subordinated to alternate explanations.

Other scholarship (Manross Guifoyle, 2015) connects minimization to “colorblind ideology,” suggesting that the latter “is a means by which societies choose to deal with racial differences by minimizing or dismissing the role of race whenever possible” (p. 42). As I describe later in the chapter, I believe colorblind ideology is a bit broader than minimization (and, indeed, even broader than white ignorance itself), so I don’t include an extended discussion of it in this section. But, I think it’s important to convey how and where the concept of minimization appears across the literature — so I mention it here.

Segall and Garrett (2013) investigated how pre-service teachers in their classes interpreted a Spike Lee documentary about Hurricane Katrina and its aftermath in New Orleans. The documentary, titled *When the Levees Broke*, makes a straightforward case that extant racial injustice exacerbated the severity of the damage (because black communities

were disproportionately in flood zones) and also explains the government's shameful disaster response (white communities would have received a faster, more comprehensive response).

Segall and Garret (2013) asked students questions about the documentary. Using discourse analysis, they identified a range of patterns in the students' responses closely associated with white ignorance. Most prominently, they found: "Repetitive instances of participants initially recognizing race . . . but then diminish[ing] its relevance, clinging to other possible explanations, ones that better accommodate rather than challenge their already existing narrative frames about race relations in America" (2013, p. 279). Among other things, students openly rejected the working theory in the film. Many said that maybe "class" is more relevant. Others, like "Lynn," had a different explanation:

"But I don't see it as a race or a class thing. Like I really don't think that if all the rich people had lived in the 9th district or whatever that the reaction would have been any different . . . I don't think the government was perfect in this situation, that's not my position. My belief is that *it was just government ineptitude*, it was not socially and racially motivated. It was ineptitude" (2013, p. 278, emphasis added.).

Lynn, in other words, believes that the aftermath of Katrina could be attributed simply to generic government ineptitude, and that race played no salient role. Similar to findings elsewhere, Segall and Garret (2013) document repeated efforts by participants to downplay the role race plays in shaping social phenomena.

Lastly, Bonilla-Silva's study, *Racism without Racists* (2006), contains an exhaustive and systematic account of minimization. The data for his study is drawn from hundreds of

interviews with social science students at a large midwestern university in the United States¹². The interview questions aimed to elicit a conversation explicitly about race. Bonilla-Silva and his assistants then coded and analyzed the responses. The analysis uncovered the various ways that participants actively downplayed the role of race even when directly asked how racism operates in the world.

In one example cited in Bonilla-Silva's (2006) study, the interviewer asks a white male student whether workplace discrimination is a problem in our society. The student replies: "I think there's probably less [racial discrimination] than it used to be, but it still happens. It's just in isolated places or, you know, happens in different places, but in most jobs, I think it probably doesn't happen" (p. 44). In this instance the participant *agrees* that race structures the world — in particular, that racial discrimination exists — but emphasizes that it doesn't happen regularly or often. In my view, this is a paradigmatic instance of the phenomenon: Agreement, followed by explicit minimization.

Bonilla-Silva also documents how minimization can involve efforts by white people to actively resist what they perceive are exaggerated accounts of the role race plays in society. Many whites believe that when others invoke race, especially when nonwhite people invoke race, it's merely an instance of exaggerating the existence of a problem. In other words, they perhaps agree that a problem exists, but they think the account is overblown. To counter perceived exaggeration, they downplay race. This is how one of the participants in Bonilla-Silva's study expresses it:

¹² Bonilla-Silva's sampling is worth highlighting. His study involves a kind of selection bias: Since all of the students in the study were enrolled in a social science course, we should expect that the participants were more likely (compared to a random sample) to be exposed to theoretical accounts of institutional racism. In other words, college students are more likely, compared to the general population, to be exposed to descriptions of reality built on race-based analysis. Yet, despite greater exposure to race-based analyses of social phenomena, participants in Bonilla-Silva's study still nevertheless exhibited patterns of white ignorance similar to what other research has documented in other contexts.

“I think if you are looking for discrimination, I think it’s there to be found. But if you make the best of any situation, and if you don’t use it as an excuse. I think sometimes it’s an excuse because people felt they deserved a job, whatever! I think if things didn’t go their way I know a lot of people have a tendency to use prejudice or racism or whatever as an excuse” (2006, p. 46).

In this case, the study participant apparently believes that race is often invoked as an “excuse” for failure. In other words, minimization is activated at moments when individuals believe racial analyses are, in truth, excuse-making frameworks.

Two common threads are worth highlighting. First, minimization characteristically relies, in part, on the notion that those who discuss race, or suggest that race might be relevant in a given context, are simply “looking for” it, and that you can find anything if you look hard enough. The implication is that those who elect to discuss race are the type of people who can “find race in anything” — so the antidote is to respond by minimizing the role of race.

Secondly, minimization characteristically relies on a notion of historical progress (Segall & Garrett, 2013; Garrett & Segall, 2013). A common refrain is that, since racism isn’t as bad as it used to be, we shouldn’t discuss it so prominently. We should focus on how society has improved — not on how bad it is. In such instances, people will point out the success of black Americans, especially former President Barack Obama. If some black people can be successful, they argue, racism probably isn’t a big deal like it once was.

At this point, I want to underline an important principle animating the analysis. I'm not trying to make a judgment about the underlying veracity or accuracy of the ideas expressed above. Of course, I have my own views about these formulations, but that's not ultimately germane to the analysis. There are many reasons why it might be appropriate in some contexts to deemphasize race and elevate instead class, educational status, or something else. I don't think that simply because you disagree with Spike Lee's analysis of the storm tragedy that somehow you suffer from white ignorance.

Sometimes economic analyses are warranted, sometimes other analytic frames are warranted. Most times using a rich combination of multiple frameworks is best. The point isn't to adjudicate in each case what counts as the most "accurate analysis." Instead the aim is to identify specific tendencies and patterns across the data in order to consider whether and to what extent these patterns can be traced to a larger phenomenon. If the evidence pointed to periodic minimization, then we should probably revisit the hypothesis. But in multiple studies across multiple disciplines the same patterns appear with unrelenting regularity.

Section 3: Stereotypic narrativity

Finally, *stereotypic narrativity* principally involves the meaning-making activity in which whites come to understand and make sense of reality. My analysis in this section follows Imani Perry (2011) who draws attention to the role of racial narrative in shaping those processes. Perry argues that narratives primarily serve an explanatory role—though the explanations are usually limited in important ways, "highlighting certain details and diminishing others" (2011, p.45). "The stories we hear," she says, "channel our attention" to help simplify complex assessments and decision-making calculations (ibid.).

The idea of “channeling attention” nicely captures what happens. Stereotypic narratives serve to constrain and distort the interpretive possibilities available to us. In other words, they limit our interpretive vista, significantly increasing the likelihood we miss or ignore salient features of reality. Perry prefers the term “stereotypic narrativity” because although narratives are larger than stereotypes (which tend to be cruder, more totalizing and easily dismissed), they give birth to stereotypes and provide the fertile ground out of which stereotypes can flourish (2011, p. 46).

In addition to channeling attention in specific ways, stereotypic narratives also generate discrete ideas that literally just pop into one’s head. Racialized narratives operate subconsciously in the background poised to prefabricate judgements at any moment. In other words, these narratives accelerate and fix the conclusions one may draw based on observations. I can personally attest to this reality: Whether I’m watching a show on TV or walking down the street, randomly and without any conscious deliberation, plainly racist judgements will organize thoughts in my mind. Owing to social habituation, these narratives are inescapable and function to inflict racist ideas onto one’s brain. The experience is automatic and incessant—I might see a black homeless man begging, and wham: Racist judgement pops into my consciousness. At this point, I can readily recognize *that* it happens, predict *when* it is likely to happen, then quickly *recalibrate* my judgement in light of that reflection.¹³ But that’s not the case for everyone. And I think this is an important thing to call out. Racist ideas do not necessarily reflect intentionality. In fact, it’s much more productive to recognize that racist ideas are an *effect* of much broader, nonindividual patterns of social

¹³ I have much more to say about this in Chapter 6, where I suggest the priority aim of education designed to disrupt white ignorance should be to promote the kind of reflection capable of neutralizing these automatic judgements.

and cultural activity—which often are mediated by and coalesce into patterns of stereotypic narrativity.

Together, this constellation of narratives tends to culminate in a set of beliefs which hold that racial disparity is best explained by assigning blame and responsibility onto the racial group in question.¹⁴ Although the substance and character of these beliefs change over time (Kendi, 2016), they always function to explain instances of racial disparity by producing the judgement that *there is something wrong with nonwhite groups*. Focus is placed on the groups in question and never on the organizing racial logics that shape our world. Many consequently hold the view that the United States is basically a race-neutral meritocracy, nonwhite citizens are largely responsible for extant social inequality, and race and racism no longer play decisive causal roles in the modern world (Alcoff, 2015). Like patterns of minimization, stereotypic narratives are well documented across an array of studies, in different times and geographies. Understanding those patterns can help us recognize how and to what extent these narratives inform the way whites think about reality.

Based on my review of the empirical research, stereotypic narrativity tends to circulate around three primary frames: (1) Naturalization, (2) White Disadvantage (3) Culturalism. Of course, there are others of infinite variety, but these three seem to appear most commonly and anchor interpretations and judgements characteristic of white ignorance.

¹⁴ By racial disparity, I mean instances in which measured indicators by racial group don't match population proportion. For example, if blacks and African Americans constitute roughly 13 percent (2010 census data) of the population, we should expect blacks to comprise around 13 percent of the doctors in the United States, hold 13 percent of the total wealth, and constitute 13 percent of prison population. If those respective numbers do not roughly match the population proportion (which they do not), then there is racial disparity. Of course, we don't need these proportions to match exactly. Even plus or minus, say, 15 percent might be acceptable. But when there is evidence of significant racial disparity within some indicator, it must be explained in some way.

Naturalization

Naturalization is a narrative frame identified in Bonilla-Silva's (2006) work, which leads whites to "explain away racial phenomena by suggesting they are natural occurrences" (2006, p. 28). In other words, naturalization is a type of narrative that attributes extant conditions of white racial domination to natural causes instead of contingent socio-historical processes of racialized structuration.

Historically, naturalization has taken decidedly perverse forms. As Darby and Rury meticulously document in *The Color of Mind* (2018), the modern world was shaped in large part by sorting races according to perceived natural intellectual ability. Phrenology and IQ testing, in particular, served to "validate" various kind of more insidious categorization (2018, p. 35). And this is not a mere relic of the past. Today, so-called public intellectuals like Charles Murray are still peddling similar accounts. His books, *The Bell Curve* (Herrnstein & Murray 1996) and *Real Education* (2009), each advance the argument that the observed racial achievement gap owes its existence, at least in part, to differences in natural intellectual ability.

Bonilla-Silva's research (2006) indicates that naturalization is most likely to appear when people discuss extant patterns of racial segregation or when prompted to explain their preference for a partner of the same race. Whites will often appeal to the idea that people of a given race *naturally* prefer to associate with people of the same race (2006, p. 53). Like is attracted to like, they say. Here's one paradigmatic example in Bonilla-Silva's study. "Sara," a white female, is asked why she believes there is such intense residential racial segregation:

Hmm, I don't really think it's a segregation. I mean, I think people, you know, spend time with people that they are like, not necessarily in color, but you know, their ideas and values and, you know, maybe their class has something to do with what they're used to. But I don't really think it's a segregation. I don't think I would have trouble, you know, approaching someone of a different race or color. I don't think it's a problem. It's just that the people that I do hang out with are just the people that I'm with all the time. They're in my organizations and stuff like that (2006, p. 71).

To understand how this stereotypic frame narrows Sara's attention, I want to contrast Sara's account with a similar kind of argument that, at first blush, appears to follow the same track. In a popular book titled, *Why are All the Black Kids Sitting Together in the Cafeteria* (2017), Beverly Tatum argues that lunchroom segregation is a consequence of the fact that persons who share similar experiences naturally tend to gravitate toward one another. In other words, Tatum argues that people naturally want to associate with those who share similar experiences. Since black children tend to share similar experiences, she argues, they tend to gravitate toward one another in social settings. The same is true of white children and other races, as well.

Although Tatum's argument appears to track the naturalization arguments Bonilla-Silva documents in his study (like Sara's above), the two arguments ultimately depart in significant ways. Most notably, Tatum recognizes that racial logics create conditions that lead white children and nonwhite children to experience the world very differently. Tatum's account in this respect includes an assessment of the way *that racial logics organize a given*

context, whereas the naturalization narratives that Bonilla-Silva reveal in his study contain no such broader assessment.

Tatum's account follows this path: Racial logics generate conditions of white racial domination → conditions of white racial domination create a unique African American experience → African Americans therefore tend to associate with others who share the experience unique to African Americans.

Contrast that with a naturalization account like Sara's above: People like to associate with people similar to them → black people are similar to black people → black people like to associate with black people and that's why there's segregation. The naturalization account omits assessment of the way that racial logics organize the broader context. The account is simplified to the degree that it corrupts the consequent judgment. Narratives, as it relates to white ignorance, almost always fails to adequately account for the way race shapes a given *context*.

White disadvantage

A second prominent stereotypic narrative promotes the view that whites, on balance, are subject to racial disadvantage vis-à-vis nonwhites. The story whites tell involves a historical narrative which describes how nonwhites have been so consistently *favored* by political and economic institutions that today nonwhite Americans enjoy distinct racial privilege. In fact, perceived white racial disadvantage is so pervasive that it's now fashionable for some commentators to talk about explicitly about "black privilege." Recent essays and books carry titles like:

- "It's past time to acknowledge black privilege" (Levinson, 2015)

- “Why white people seek black privilege” (Shapiro, 2015)
- *Black skin privilege and the American Dream* (Horowitz and Perazzo, 2013).

Importantly, these ideas aren’t relegated to the fringe. I’m not citing extremist white supremacist corners of the internet like StormFront.com or 4Chan/pol/. I’m citing comparatively mainstream voices. And these narrative patterns are not new.

In a sweeping history of the civil rights movement in the south, historian Jason Sokol documents how many whites in the 1960s and 1970s viewed civil rights achievements as threatening to white freedom. He argues that, in part, this interpretation was a vestige of how whites’ sense of liberty had long been tied up with African American bondage (2008, p. 37). White liberty was only possible because it existed alongside slavery. But even long after slavery had ended, there was another sense in which advances toward racial equality were viewed as directly targeting white freedom to conduct the white way of life. Because of the need to preserve, as George Wallace said, “segregation now, segregation tomorrow, segregation forever,” many whites interpreted the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1965 Voting Rights Act as raced-based initiatives designed to *discriminate against whites*. In other words, many whites at the time believed that the very laws and policies designed to expand civil rights to black Americans actually served to erode civil rights for white people.

Like other stereotypic narratives, narratives of white disadvantage are limiting because they similarly omit crucial context. For example, whites may have legitimate concerns about discrimination related to affirmative action. Many whites will invoke “reverse racism” when they believe they’re being unfairly discriminated against on the basis of race. However, the narrative frame then incites them to extrapolate outward and conclude they

suffer from racial discrimination in myriad contexts in which affirmative action is totally absent.

A 2016 survey by Huffington Post and YouGov found that Trump voters (and the majority of registered Republicans) believe that whites represent the group *most likely to be discriminated* against in the United States: 45% say whites are discriminated against, while only 22% believe blacks are discriminated against. The perceived discrimination makes it much harder, they believe, for whites, compared to nonwhites, to access good colleges, get good jobs and achieve economic security.

Whites also believe, for example, that they're at a disadvantage when it comes to public assistance programs. Among other things, whites believe that government assistance programs are designed to favor nonwhite people (they're not) and that between free healthcare, cash assistance, nutrition assistance and housing aid, nonwhite Americans have it much better than white Americans. Some of these ideas are traceable to the trope of the "welfare queen," a caricature of black women where, it is alleged, they deliberately have lots of children in order to get even richer on government money.¹⁵

Notions of white disadvantage surface especially at moments when whites encounter political resistance — they interpret it as a threat. The rise of the Black Lives Matter movement, for example, incited intense backlash. BLM organized protests across the country to resist police brutality and condemn our criminal justice system because it doesn't value black lives as much as white lives. In the wake of these protests, many whites said that BLM

¹⁵ More recently, a similar kind of trope called the "Obama Phone" prominently circulated in conservative circles throughout the 2010s. Obama Phones, white people say, are free smartphones handed out mostly to black people who are on welfare. The claim is that black Americans have it so good they're even getting free phones now. Whites, they argue, are at a disadvantage because they have to actually work for their phones — and, at the same time, pay for Obama Phones too!

was a form of “white bashing,” alleging that participants in the movement hated white people simply for being white. Some even claim that Black Lives Matter is pushing an “anti-white agenda” and conducting “war on whites” (Ingraham and Long, 2017). In short, white people tend to interpret efforts to advance racial equality as measures that in fact socially disadvantage whites.

Culturalism

In 1965 President Lyndon Johnson’s Assistant Secretary of Labor, Daniel Patrick Moynihan, drafted a report about black urban poverty titled, “The Negro Family: The Case for National Action.” Known colloquially as “The Moynihan Report,” the primary objective of the paper was to build coalitions that could help provide more and better jobs in black urban areas. The legacy of the report, however, generated profoundly different consequences.

Moynihan is widely credited with introducing the “culture of poverty” into the American zeitgeist. Though the word “culture” never once appears in the report, Moynihan references the “deterioration” of the black family as well as the “tangle of pathology” reverberating throughout black urban areas. The tangle of pathology represents an especially insidious concept because it points to a perceived culture common in black communities—a culture marked by laziness, indolence, shiftlessness and a general lack of ambition. Black culture, in this respect, is widely viewed as a primary cause of extent patterns of social and economic inequality that tracks racial lines. In plain terms, many white people believe that racial inequality exists because black people are lazy. And similar assessments are applied to a host of nonwhite groups.

Bonilla-Silva (2006) refers to these and similar ideas as “cultural racism,” which he says is “very well established in the United States” (p 40). Cultural racism has, over time, come to replace ideas about biological inferiority. Historically, white people believed that nonwhites had intellectual and behavioral deficiencies, traceable to genetic heritage. Today, however, white people tend to talk about cultural deficiencies that emphasize group-based moral failure. The consequence is the same. As Bonilla-Silva writes, whites “may no longer believe Africans, Arabs, Asians, Indians or blacks from the West Indies are biologically inferior, but they assail them for their presumed lack of hygiene, family disorganization, and lack of morality” (p. 40).

As I have written elsewhere (Buck, 2014), most of the talk about bad culture centers on the family—and bad parenting, in particular. The racial achievement gap, for instance, is often explained by arguing that black parents don’t value education and therefore don’t instill a sense in their children that school is important (Perry, Steele, & Hilliard, 2003). Others allege that irresponsible parenting fails to instill the values of hard work. Parents, they say, actually encourage children to prefer living off of public assistance. Still others suggest that criminality is prevalent in black communities principally because black parents don’t discipline their children.

As I mentioned above, stereotypic narratives tend to advance the notion that there is something wrong with nonwhite groups and racial disparity is best explained by assigning blame and responsibility onto the racial group in question. This is never more apparent than when white people start talking about culture. As Bonilla-Silva (2006) persuasively argues, the essence of culturalism is “‘blaming the victim,’ arguing that minorities’ standing is a product of their lack of effort, loose family organization, and inappropriate values” (p. 26).

At its most basic, culturalism provides an elaborate narrative to frame a most simple claim:
There is something wrong with nonwhite people.

Conclusion

None of these elements of doxastic white ignorance operate independently or in isolation. That's why it's crucial to pay attention to the way in which the entire constellation of incognizance, minimization and stereotypic narrativity works together to produce erroneous, limited, incomplete or plainly wrong judgements about how race shapes our world and the relations in it. Doxastic white ignorance can appear in very different ways depending on the context. Sometimes, when invited to discuss how processes of racialized structuration organize our world, white persons will take pains to *minimize* the role of race. Other times, however, they're very much inclined to *emphasize* the role of race, like when they want to allege that white people are subject to social disadvantage or when they want to allege that there is something wrong with black culture. In those moments, whites *search* for race-based analyses.

My view is that most of this is unconscious and pre-reflective. In my experience, erroneous ideas about race and racism literally just pop into my head. I don't call them up, I don't ruminate or anything or invite analysis. It's as if they're already there. The white experience is one of being constantly inundated with unexpected racist ideas, which I think is directly a consequence of these various aspects of doxastic white ignorance. Doxastic white ignorance is so integral to being in a world organized by white supremacy, it's here whether I want it to be or not. When you live in a white supremacist system, when these narratives and

ideas and patterns of thinking are socialized since birth, it's impossible to escape the onrush of doxastic white ignorance.

The point here isn't to excuse away white responsibility. Just the opposite. As I argue in subsequent chapters, the framework outlined in this project is designed to help people become alert to the ways in which patterns of white ignorance influence and generate ideas associated with white ignorance. It's true that I can't control the ideas that pop into my head. But I can control how I react to those ideas and their influence on my judgement.

Doxastic White Ignorance

Type	Definition	Paradigm Instance
<i>Incognizance</i>	Does not notice or see the ways in which race structures a given context.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Historical ignorance • Contemporary ignorance • Identity ignorance • Relational ignorance
<i>Minimization</i>	Sees that race might be salient in a given context, but misapprehends or minimizes the salience of race.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Seeks alternate explanations for racial injustice • Resists perceived exaggerated role of racism
<i>Stereotypic Narrativity</i>	Recognizes the salience of race, but holds erroneous and false conceptions of how race and racial logics structure a given context.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Naturalism • White disadvantage • Culturalism

Chapter Three

Active White Ignorance

Ignorance isn't only about beliefs (or the absence of true belief). It's not simply about how people hold incorrect or wrong ideas about the world and how it works. In a crucial sense, ignorance also involves a specific way of orienting oneself to the world that blocks the acquisition of true belief or severely impairs the capacity to correct erroneous belief. In plain terms: Ignorance isn't just being dumb, it's acting in ways that keep you dumb. And, in fact, when we see someone who maybe holds erroneous beliefs, but takes active measures to remedy that false belief, not only do we not call them ignorant, we say that they display a certain kind of epistemic virtue.

White ignorance works the same way. The problem with white ignorance — and why it's in some ways so intractable — is that erroneous ideas are generally protected by what's called “active white ignorance.” Active white ignorance refers to patterns of speech and patterns of behavior that function to insulate one from reflecting on, interrogating, revising, or correcting false beliefs about how racial structuration operates in the world. In addition, active white ignorance also prevents one from learning about and acquiring accurate ideas about how race structures the world. In short, active white ignorance enables people to preserve, undisturbed, the ignorant ways that they already think about race in the world.

The scholarship tends to refer this component of white ignorance as “active ignorance” (Code, 2007; Medina, 2013) to capture the idea that persons *actively* raise defenses to shield themselves against alternative points of view. Jose Medina has developed what I think is probably the most systematic account of the phenomenon, describing it

alternately as a kind of “insensitivity,” “numbness,” or “blindness” (2013). In a paper with Jeff Edmonds, they define active ignorance this way:

Active ignorance takes the form of insensitivity, a kind of numbness that affectively positions the learner with respect to certain phenomena and issues, acting as a shield against stimulations to question certain assumptions or to learn more about certain things. This numbness involves communicative dysfunctions such as difficulties in listening to certain considerations or in taking those considerations seriously, difficulties in seeing oneself affected by those considerations or in being moved to respond to them (Edmonds and Medina, 2015, p. 35).

In a similar vein, Robin DiAngelo’s popular research on “white fragility” (2011; 2017) describes many elements of active white ignorance, but situates the concept in a broader psychosocial—rather than purely epistemic—framework. “White Fragility,” she says, “is a state in which even a minimum amount of racial stress becomes intolerable, triggering a range of defensive moves. These moves include the outward display of emotions such as anger, fear, and guilt, and behaviors such as argumentation, silence, and leaving the stress-inducing situation” (DiAngelo, 2011, p. 57). In DiAngelo’s lights, patterns of behavior and speech serve to reinstate “racial equilibrium,” which means preserving a sense of white objectivity, authority, centrality and dominance (ibid.).

In this chapter, I discuss both types of active white ignorance: Patterns of *speech* and patterns of *behavior*. The chapter is divided into two sections, tracking these two dimensions. As with the previous chapter, the purpose here is to sketch general patterns that are observed

across the empirical literature. The reason it's useful to take this approach is because, as Barbara Applebaum persuasively argues, the rhetoric and behaviors we associate with active white ignorance are “socially sanctioned” and even “endorsed as common ways of thinking about diversity” (2015, p. 452). In other words, persons are socially habituated into enacting particular kinds of responses.

Hyttén and Warren (2003) similarly underscore that these practices are “not original — that is, they are already available, already common forms” (p. 66) of confronting racial reality. In many cases, instances of white ignorance represent much broader patterns that draw on an existing constellation of available social, linguistic and behavioral resources. It's imperative, therefore, to document and make sense of how and in what ways the sum stock of socially sanctioned responses can shape the way whites approach race in the world.

Section 1: Discourse-based active white ignorance

The patterns of speech associated with active white ignorance characteristically involve *discursive strategies*, which function to halt engagement with new data points or new perspectives that might disrupt previously held ideas. On this front, Applebaum's recent work is especially illuminating. She defines discourse as a type of talk that carries a social meaning, and therefore performs a social function, independent of the meaning that is otherwise implied in the semantic construction (2016, p. 2). In other words, as Applebaum argues, discourse is a type of expression that actively performs something in a social matrix, and the performative dimensions operate irrespective of the veracity of the utterance itself.

So, for example, Applebaum says that when white people reply that “all lives matter” to voices claiming that “black lives matter,” the statement itself is true enough — all lives do,

in fact, matter. But in the context of the dialogue, in which “all lives matter” is positioned, specifically, as a *rebuttal* to “black lives matter,” the term carries a performative meaning in addition to whatever truth is contained in the underlying claim (2016, p. 3). In her view, the performance functions to elevate the moral superiority of the speaker, which serves to silence or diminish the claims made by nonwhite voices, washing them out in a banal reply that is beside the point.

Like DiAngelo, Applebaum is interested in the psychosocial dimensions of performative speech. By contrast, I’m specifically focused on the way that this discourse operates to shut down the dialogue. In this case it serves to convey: I’m a good person *and I don’t want to hear any more about it*. In other words, discourse can contain nuggets of truth and accuracy, the function of which isn’t to describe reality, but rather to sever the dialogue in order to create conditions in which the interlocutor no longer needs to consider whatever counter-position is being expressed.

Other scholarship has homed in on similar ideas. For example, Kathy Hytten and John Warren (2003) document how teachers employ “culturally-sanctioned discursive practices” in order to “[resist] critical engagements with whiteness” (p. 65). Alice McIntyre (1997), for her part, coined the term “white talk” (p. 29) to identify the same phenomenon. White talk, she argues, “serves to insulate white people from examining our individual and collective roles in the perpetuation of racism” (McIntyre, 1997, p. 30). Following McIntyre, Alison Bailey (2015) applies the concept a bit more broadly when she defines white talk as the “lingua franca of race talk among white folks” (p. 38). Bailey argues that white talk is deployed in order to “derail conversations on race, to dismiss counterarguments, to retreat

into silence, to interrupt speakers and topics, and to collude with other whites” (2015, p. 39) — to basically do anything to avoid talking about race.

I want to underline that this section focuses on the *function* of discourse rather than the *purpose*. It’s not clear to me that people deploy these discursive strategies deliberately in order to achieve a specific aim. Most of what goes on is tacit and nondeliberate — the speaker is in most cases unaware of the ways in which they deploy discourse. As Bailey (2013) writes, white talk “usually springs from our lips without notice” (p. 39). In other words, discourse, as it relates to the preservation of ideas-based white ignorance, operates at a pre-reflective level, enacted more by habit, convention and routine rather than deliberate design.

In addition, focusing on the function of discourse helps us distinguish between instances of discourse and instances of doxastic white ignorance. With respect to ideas-based white ignorance, the analysis seeks to uncover whether a given assertion is erroneous or not. By contrast, with respect to discourse associated with white ignorance, the veracity of a given assertion isn’t part of the analysis—we’re only interested in the *function* of the assertion.¹⁶

Based on the extant literature, I’ve identified the three most common variants of discourse associated with white ignorance: (1) The discourse of moral innocence, (2) the discourse of colorblindness and (3) the discourse of evasion. The sections that follow explore each of these, in turn.

¹⁶ Note that sometimes a given assertion can play double duty: It might be an instance of ideas-based white ignorance and at the same time an instance of discourse associated with white ignorance. Allegations of reverse racism, for example, can be instances of error and at the same time operate to halt dialogue.

Discourse of moral innocence

The discourse of moral innocence refers to patterns of speech that function to position white people as morally innocent and not implicated in systems of white racial domination. Bailey's recent paper titled, "'White Talk' As a Barrier to Understanding Whiteness" (2015) contains a vivid illustration of what this kind of discourse sounds like — so I want to start this section with her essay. Her illustration is based on conversations she's had with students over the years in college philosophy courses that explore race and whiteness. This is her reconstruction of the discourse of moral innocence:

"I'm a good person. I'm not prejudiced. My ancestors never owned slaves. Anyway, that was a long time ago. I'm not responsible for the Indian Removal Act, Japanese internment, or the Black Codes. I wasn't even born yet. Yes, I know America has a history of racism and genocide, but our nation has come a long way. And, you can't dwell on the tragedies of U.S. history—that was in the past. Things are much better now. And, anyway, I'm not the problem—it's only racists that are the problem. I'm not like my bigoted father. I don't care if you're black, red, or yellow with polka dots, everyone should be treated equally. The problem is that some people don't treat others equally. It's really not a white problem; I didn't choose to be born white. Anyway, I have black friends. I regularly contribute to the Dolores Huerta Foundation. My church does charity work in the Chicago barrios. I'm from a poor white family. We suffered too, and you don't hear us complaining. The problem is that people of color make everything about race. I don't think of you as black. Right, I

understand the problem; I've read James Baldwin and bell hooks. I'm a lesbian, so I know what it feels like to be oppressed. I feel so awful about my whiteness. I don't think of myself as white. I'm Irish, Dutch, and German. I've always felt as if I were an Indian in another life. It's not like I'm a member of the Aryan Nation or some Arizona militia group or something. You can trust me! I'm on your side. I'm open-minded, fair, supportive, and empathetic. My heart is in the right place. I mean well. I'm innocent. I'm good! I'm a good white person. It's all good. There is no problem here" (2015, pp. 37-38; emphasis in the original).

Bailey explains that these kinds of assertions are typically the first thing out of her students' mouths when challenged to interrogate the relationship between white privilege and institutional racism. Rather than confront the classroom subject matter, rather than interrogate how they're implicated in systems of white racial domination, she says that her students deploy these discursive strategies to close themselves off, check out and disassociate. Bailey says, further, that such discourse enables whites to "flutter" or "float" above on the "surface of things." They never dive in and deal with race in a substantive way. As she writes, "we flutter when we look for detours, distract ourselves, and pull into our bodies. . . . We flutter to avoid hearing people of color's histories, experiences and testimonies" (p. 43). The clear function of discourse in this context is to establish oneself as one-who-is-not-guilty and therefore foreclose in advance the possibility that perhaps one is bound up in systems of injustice. Through the magic of discourse, students can insulate themselves from reflecting on their position in the world, and thus preserve what I call above ideas-based white ignorance.

Applebaum's most prominent work, *Being White, Being Good* (2010) explores the discourse of innocence from a slightly different angle. Her research documents the ways in which assertions of moral white innocence serve to reinscribe whiteness in social spaces, thus helping to nourish systems of racial oppression (where whites are historically viewed as "good whites" and those with dark skin are historically viewed as "suspicious" or "criminal"). Applebaum draws on Sara Ahmed's (2007 & 2004) research to show how *even when* students say things like "I am complicit" or "I am racist," what the discourse, in fact, functions to do is position them as *not* complicit and *not* racist. Applebaum (2016) uses the example of one who proudly claims to be a humble person (p. 4) — what they're really saying is that they're not humble at all. It's a somewhat a confusing conceptual arrangement, but it goes something like this: *I am one of the good whites because I know I am a racist.*

Applebaum's concern isn't so much that the discourse of moral innocence functions to preserve ignorance, but that it reinforces extant systems of oppression. Importantly, however, when she tries to convey this idea to her students, when she tries to explain that their protests of innocence serve to reinforce the very systems of oppression that they claim to oppose, she says they tend to double down on the discourse of moral innocence, not necessarily by asserting their innocence directly, but by citing their *motives*. In other words, she says that when she invites her students to reflect on the operation of the discourse of innocence, they insulate themselves further by appealing to the purity of their *intentions* (Applebaum, 2008 & 2010). Instead of being innocent whites, their discourse reframes them as "well-meaning" whites. But, ultimately, the function is the same. Even if their actions aren't good, their *intentions* are good—and so they are still "good whites."

Finally, what's interesting about the discourse of moral innocence is that those who deploy it are not necessarily disinclined to discuss race and racism. As Robin DiAngelo (2012a) documents, commonly the discourse of innocence manifests at moments when whites highlight the ways *other* whites are racist and then contrast themselves with those other racists. For example, many white college students will describe how their parents or neighbors are bigoted, but how they're not (DiAngelo, 2012a, p. 177). In this respect, the discourse of innocence enables the person to discuss race and racism in the world and in others while at the same time insulating them from interrogating their own role in systems of racial oppression.

In every case, positioning oneself as a morally innocent white person means they no longer must consider the alternative—they no longer have to consider how and in what respect they might be complicit in systems of racial injustice. The discourse of moral innocence is a powerful way to halt inquiry and reflection.

Discourse of colorblindness

Next, the discourse of colorblindness refers to discursive practices that deliberately choose not to use explicitly racialized language. Mica Pollack (2009) calls this discourse “colormuteness” (p. 7), where speakers “de-race” their language to avoid talking directly about race. The “muteness” in her conception refers to the way deracialized language has a silencing effect as it functions to ensure the individual need not confront race in any sustained or overt way.

The discourse of colorblindness has generated an immense body of scholarship in the last three decades. Initially, colorblindness was analyzed by critical race theorists (Delgado &

Stefancic, 2017), as legal scholars sought to understand how institutions of government navigate the twin challenges of the United States Constitution: Ensuring racial equality and at the same time ensuring that the government does not discriminate on the basis of race. Scholars wondered whether it was possible to advance racial equality if the government remained “colorblind.” In this space the analysis focuses mostly on policies and also the espoused justification for those policies.

More recently, social scientists have documented the ways whites employ specifically coded language in order to talk about race while not explicitly talking about race. Like de-racing, we might call this race-replacing language. White people may, for example, talk about geography or neighborhood instead of overtly referencing specific racial groups (Castagno, 2014, p. 68). In other cases, they might talk about ethnicity or perceived nationality instead of race (Castagno, 2014, p. 71).

In education, researchers have shown how teachers and administrators employ terms like “urban,” “at-risk” or “disadvantaged” to refer, typically, to black students (Anyon, 2007, p. 14). In many cases teachers are far more likely to discuss cultural patterns, but not racial patterns. Pollack’s (2008) study of a school district in southern California documented how district representatives and policymakers often deleted race words from their public achievement talks, burying any mention of existing racial achievement patterns (see also: Noguera, 1995; Takagi, 1992). Paradoxically, she writes “the question Americans ask most about race in education—how and why do different ‘race groups’ achieve differently?—is the very question we most suppress” (Pollack, 2008, p. 10). In each case, the discourse of colorblindness serves to insulate whites from interrogating and considering how and to what

extent race shapes our shared world. We can't understand the racial achievement gap if we refuse to talk about it.

The discourse of colorblindness is sometimes related to the discourse of moral innocence because it can be similarly activated to position the speaker as a "good white." Colorblindness in this context follows from the idea that it is *inappropriate* to discuss race. We might, therefore, refer to this expression as "normative colorblindness." White people allege that one shouldn't mention another's race because we should live up to Martin Luther King Jr's ideal of judging people only by the content of the character and not the color of their skin. So, they interpret MLK's words to mean that talking about race is a bad thing. In cases where such whites are invited to discuss race, they may reply that they "don't see color" and that they "only see the individual."

Normative colorblindness is present across the political spectrum. Liberals, for their part, sometimes engage in what some scholars have called the politics of "politeness" (Castagno, 2014; Yoon, 2012), whereby whites believe it is valuable to avoid talking about race in order to minimize or alleviate perceived racial tensions. The idea is that "good" whites, or enlightened whites, are "beyond" race, and don't even see color at all. Elizabeth Anderson (2010) theorizes that politeness is a consequence of the fact that many whites believe that talking about race involves treading a minefield, so to speak, in that anything they say makes them vulnerable to accusations of political incorrectness or, worse, racism (p. 55). To avoid such troubles, liberal whites may counsel one another to simply avoid talking about race in the first place. DiAngelo (2018), for her part, suggests the normative colorblindness is performed in order to alleviate discomfort or perceived conflict in social settings.

Among conservatives, normative colorblindness can be especially passionate. Some conservatives believe that noticing race or discussing race *at all* is evidence of racial animus, and therefore believe even the mere mention of race is, on its face, racist. The real racists, they say, are those who see race everywhere and in everything. And they have terms for such people, too. People who discuss race are, among other things, “race-baiters,” they “play the race card,” and they traffic in “identity politics.” As Bonilla-Silva (2006) argues, normative colorblindness *prima facie* assumes a race-neutral context in order to allege that race is being brought into a context in which it doesn’t belong. At the extreme, normative colorblindness stigmatizes — and subsequently resists — every attempt to invoke race. Pundits have, for instance, called Black Lives Matter activists the real racists because they try to make everything about race.

The discourse of colorblindness operates to preserve white ignorance because it prevents people from naming fundamental aspects of reality. White people can’t alleviate obliviousness if they refuse to talk about race. White people can’t correct error if they refuse to talk about race. In every case, the discourse of colorblindness helps protect various dimensions of white ignorance because it prevents head-on confrontation with the problem.

Discourse of evasion

The final type of discourse I want to discuss is called the *discourse of evasion*. The discourse of evasion is designed to, literally, change the subject to something other than race. Here’s an illustration of how the discourse of evasion operates: As I write (in the fall of 2017), the President of the United States is continuing his ongoing attack of mostly black NFL football players who protest — or raise awareness about — racial injustice by kneeling

during the national anthem before the games. It started a few years prior, in 2015, when then-San Francisco 49ers quarterback, Colin Kaepernick, declined to stand for the national anthem. Later, he said that he wanted to draw attention to the mistreatment of blacks in America, saying our country doesn't live up to the ideals that the flag represents. Notably, instead of considering *why* Kaepernick was protesting, opponents chose instead to focus on *how* he was protesting. They said it is unAmerican to stay seated for the national anthem; they said he doesn't respect our troops. The conversation, thus, shifted. Now, when players remain kneeling for the national anthem, the conversation tends to center on patriotism, the military and respect for the flag. The conversation rarely turns to the realities of racial injustice.

In other cases, the discourse of evasion diverts attention from the subject of race onto the character of the people talking about race. Conservatives, for instance, allege that the only reason liberals talk about race is so that they can attract the minority vote and justify expanding the size and scope of government welfare programs. In this respect, the discourse of evasion enables them to change the subject from racial injustice to allegations that liberals are just self-serving politicians who want to consolidate power. More insidiously, some allege that those who talk about race are “grievance peddlers” or titans in a “grievance industry” (O’Reilly, 2014). Since the 1970s, Jessie Jackson has been a favorite target of conservatives because, they say, Jackson only talks about race because it’s *profitable*—a tool for self-promotion.

Discourses operate in concert: An illustration

One of the reasons the thesis of white ignorance is useful is that sometimes it has an almost predictive capacity. Discourses are habitual—they appear in regular patterns, synchronized across large groups of white people. Importantly, distinguishing these discourses is only useful for the purpose of analysis. In practice, these discourses tend to blend together, deployed in concert to protect and insulate patterns of doxastic white ignorance. Below is an illustration of how these discourses are typically expressed and patterns they tend to follow.

In a 2015 op-ed in the New York Times, titled “Dear White America,” George Yancy chronicles various types of discourse associated with white ignorance (though he doesn’t use this specific vocabulary to name the phenomenon). His open letter is directly addressed to white readers. His goal is to encourage white readers to—perhaps for the first time—truly listen and consider how and in what ways they’re bound up in systems of racial oppression. In the letter itself, Yancy *anticipates* how readers will respond to his letter, how they will avoid listening:

“Don’t tell me how many black friends you have. Don’t tell me that you are married to someone of color. Don’t tell me that you voted for Obama. Don’t tell me that I’m the racist. Don’t tell me that you don’t see color. Don’t tell me that I’m blaming the whites for everything. To do so is to hide yet again. You may have never used the N-word in your life, you may hate the K.K.K., but that does not mean that you don’t harbor racism and benefit from racism. . . .

“I know that there are those who will write to me in the comment section with boiling anger, sarcasm, disbelief, denial. There are those who will say, ‘Yancy is just an angry black man.’ There are others who will say, ‘Why isn’t Yancy telling black people to be honest about the violence in their own black neighborhoods?’ Or, ‘How can Yancy say that all white people are racists?’ If you are saying these things, you’ve already failed to listen.” (Yancy, 2015).

Notice the fluency Yancy has with the kind of discourses I documented above. He can predict the exact replies he is likely to get. He knows how white readers are likely to respond when they’re invited to consider the role they play in systems that reproduce white racial domination. It’s evident that he predicts the replies so easily, in part, because they tend to adhere to the same patterns. He sees that, first, his readers will express the discourse of moral innocence, saying they have black friends and voted for Obama. He sees, also, that they will invoke normative colorblindness, telling him that they don’t see color and that he’s the real racist. He sees finally that they will activate the discourse of evasion and ascribe unfair motives to his speech, calling him an “angry black man,” among other things. None of these are one-off comments. I take it Yancy didn’t need to meticulously comb through past editorial comment sections to unearth some “nuggets.” Instead it’s clear that he receives the same comments, articulated in roughly the same way, adhering to roughly the same patterns, repeatedly and endlessly all the time.

And right on cue, three days after Yancy published his letter, a columnist at the Daily Caller, a mainstream conservative publication (founded by Tucker Carlson) replied,

activating each of the discourses associated with active white ignorance. Here's what Scott Greer, in part, writes in response to Yancy:

“To say [Yancy’s] rhetoric is divisive is an understatement. It stirs up racial animosity against one group of people and places all the woes of the country upon their shoulders. It removes any degree of responsibility for the actions of minorities from themselves and allows them to blame all of their problems on whites. Most troubling of all, it’s an insidious way to demand more power for people of a certain skin color—making racialism all the more attractive in our society . . . In many ways, [Yancy’s letter] sounds like inverted white supremacy—and the consequences for society accepting that idea could be just as bad as the days when America had Jim Crow (Greer, 2015).

Here, Greer goes full throttle, almost as if he’s writing a grand symphony of discursive white ignorance. He’s prepared to say anything and do anything other than confront Yancy’s words. Whatever he can do to avoid listening, he does. It’s all there: Yancy is the real racist (colorblindness); Yancy is a race hustler (evasion); Yancy just wants more power (evasion); Yancy just wants to blame whites (moral innocence); Yancy’s words are worse than Jim Crow (colorblindness). At each step in the essay, Greer deploys paradigmatic discourse-based active white ignorance.

Section 2: Character-based active white ignorance

The second way that active white ignorance appears in the world is as a set of behaviors, habits, dispositions and attitudes that operate to insulate one from reality. As Jose Medina writes, “Actively ignorant subjects are those who can be blamed not just for lacking particular pieces of knowledge, but also for having epistemic attitudes and habits that contribute to create and maintain bodies of ignorance” (Medina, 2013, p. 33). This section draws heavily on Medina’s research to describe how white people tend to inhabit a set of character traits that make them impervious to new voices, perspectives and data points that might otherwise prompt them to reflect on, reconsider or revise their views. To contrast with the above, we might say that discourse represents the vocal and more visible element of the underlying character traits that serve to preserve varying degrees of ignorance.

In *The Epistemology of Resistance* (2013), Medina draws on the concept of the “credibility economy,” first conceptualized by Miranda Fricker (2007), to provide an account of the ways in which whites come to inhabit epistemic vice. Medina (2013) notices that at the same time stereotypes about nonwhites are disparaging, stereotypes about whites tend to emphasize merit. So, where stereotypic frames promote judgements that nonwhites are slow and stupid, other stereotypic frames promote judgements that whites are smarter and quicker. The consequence is that whites are typically afforded the benefit of the doubt relative to nonwhites.

Medina’s innovative contribution is to suggest that credibility excess tends to promote a set of corollary negative character traits in white people. It’s true, he says, that whites enjoy immense material advantage, owing to structural inequality; but whites are also, at the same time, subject to *epistemic disadvantage* (Medina, 2013, p. 44). In his view, the

social and economic forces that produce material advantage also at the same time create the conditions under which whites come to systematically inhabit epistemic vice. Since whites are usually given the benefit of the doubt, usually assumed to be correct, they're disinclined to monitor their cognitive behaviors and they're less likely to notice and regulate error. In short, because their credibility and authority are rarely challenged, whites are rarely prompted to undertake the difficult epistemic labor necessary to become sound thinkers.

One thing to note here—which will matter significantly for the analysis in Chapter 6—is that sometimes Medina's conclusions are overdrawn. Medina's account of epistemic vice appears to presuppose that epistemic character traits are unified or, at least, stable across privileged subjects—in all epistemic domains, not only those which involve race. Medina clarifies that epistemic vices associated with character-based active white ignorance are “not always present in the cognitive psychology of the powerful and privileged,” but that privileged persons “are certainly more at risk” of developing these vices. Here's the passage in the text where I believe the scope of his account is wider than necessary:

Epistemic vices . . . are flaws that are not incidental and transitory, but structural and systematic: they involve attitudes deeply rooted in one's personality and cognitive functioning. Epistemic vices are composed of attitudinal structures that permeate one's entire cognitive life: they involve attitudes toward oneself and others in testimonial exchanges, attitudes toward the evidence available and one's assessment of it, and so on. These vices affect one's capacity to learn from others and from the facts; they inhabit the capacity of self-correction and of being open to correction from others. . . . In short, these vices are deep and serious flaws in

epistemic character that limit the subject's learning capacities and contributions to the pursuit of knowledge, and therefore they also damage the social knowledge available and harm the chances for epistemic improvement of the subject's community (Medina, 2013, p. 30)

My interpretation of this section (and others) is that Medina believes epistemic vices common among white people represent flaws that extend well beyond matters which involve race. Medina is not saying merely that, when it comes to questions about race and racism, white people are subject to epistemic vice. Instead, I interpret him to mean that white people are generally subject to epistemic vice across their "entire cognitive life"—and therefore are, as he says, epistemically "spoiled" (2013, p. 30).

In Chapter 6 I argue that whites do not always inhabit epistemic vice; rather, given certain situational variables, whites are, in effect, triggered to inhabit bad epistemic character traits. In other words, sometimes whites can reason or listen very well and they don't appear to inhabit epistemic vice at all. But other times when, for example, the topic or conversation concerns race or racism, whites may suddenly abandon the epistemic virtues they might otherwise inhabit in other contexts. The point is that various situations have the tendency to prompt whites to inhabit certain traits that impair their cognitive functioning. Although I believe Medina sometimes applies his insights too broadly, that does not detract from the merit of the diagnosis itself. His description of epistemic vice in this context is spot on and extremely valuable for how we understand behaviors that mark white ignorance.

There are three kinds of epistemic vice identified by Medina. The first is *epistemic arrogance*, which refers to a propensity to inhabit over-confidence and egoistic conceit

(2013, p. 27). Medina's choice term is "know-it-all," (2013, p, 37) which he says describes whites who believe they have nothing left to learn because, of course, they've been told repeatedly that they're already the smartest. If you believe you're smarter than the next person, if you believe you know more than your interlocutor, you'll be disinclined to listen to them or take their words seriously. In fact, those who inhabit epistemic arrogance are far more inclined to talk than they are to listen because they believe that, in most cases, what they have to say is more important than what the next person has to say (Medina, 2013).

Next, Medina identifies *epistemic laziness*, which refers to a disinclination to participate in the interpretive or analytic work needed to expand or deepen understanding (2013, p. 37). Those who are always being told that they're very smart and have lots of great ideas have no reason to undertake the kind of reasoned analyses necessary to generate genuinely thoughtful accounts of the world. Similar to epistemic arrogance, if you believe that you already know everything, then you're far less likely to take the initiative to learn anything new. The fact is, it's immensely challenging to confront and interrogate views that depart from one's own, especially if those views potentially undermine deeply held assumptions. Sound thinking requires a lot of labor — it's hard work — and whites are simply predisposed to avoid that kind of work, especially when it comes to cognition that involves race and racism.

Finally, Medina identifies *epistemic closedmindedness*, which amounts to a "stubborn rigidity in outlook" or a characteristic unwillingness to inspect or revise one's views, or admit new data (2013, p. 38). This particular vice is fairly broad and could, in principle, encapsulate all the others. I think Medina distinguishes epistemic closemindedness as a distinct vice, however, because it isn't simply a condition. Closemindedness is an active way

of approaching the world, a “lack of openness to a whole range of experiences and viewpoints” (Medina 2013, p. 35). In this respect, close-mindedness operates the same as other vices and should be categorized with them.

In addition to Medina’s contributions, two other epistemic vices are worth highlighting. The first is *incuriousness*. Related to epistemic laziness, incuriousness involves a propensity not to initiate inquiry, or a characteristic disinterestedness in deepening or expanding understanding. In the first line of *Metaphysics*, Aristotle writes that “All [persons] by nature desire to know.” But what if structural conditions blunt that inclination? My view is that processes of racialized structuration infect white peoples’ epistemic faculties to the degree that one of the most fundamental human desires is muted and impaired. White people often do not desire to explore the way race and racism shapes the world. They do not desire to understand how their identity is bound up in matrices of racial injustice. They shut down. Their epistemic desire is broken.

The final vice is identified in Mills’ research: *epistemic dishonesty*. Mills says that whites have a propensity to interact in bad faith or deceptively (Mills, 2007, p. 26). He defines bad faith following Sartre: “In bad faith, I flee a displeasing truth for a pleasing falsehood” (ibid.). Bad faith involves the recognition that if one tracks an argument a certain direction, it will lead to an unpleasant conclusion — so, instead they decline to proceed and retreat to the comfort of delusion. In this context, bad faith means that one declines to undertake genuine inquiry while pretending they’ve done just that. Bad faith in this respect is especially pernicious because it enables persons to feign virtue while inhabiting vice. In this respect, Mills says that whites lack self-transparency (2007, p. 28); they’re not honest with themselves.

Conclusion

The previous two chapters outlined two of the three elements of white ignorance. First, I described doxastic white ignorance, including incognizance, minimization and stereotypic narrativity. In this chapter, I described the corollary discourses and behaviors that function, in practice, to solidify and preserve features of doxastic white ignorance. Taken together, discourse combined with epistemic vice creates a powerful cocktail that efficiently protects whites in their ignorance. Discourse serves to signal to one's interlocutor that the conversation need not proceed, it puts up a giant stop sign that says, "I'm not participating." At the same time, a host of character traits engender the behaviors needed to habitually avoid inquiry and create distance. Discourse combined with vice ensures that whites abstain from dealing with race in a sustained and serious way. Through these various mechanisms, whites are enabled to preserve and maintain a high degree of doxastic white ignorance. For this reason, any attempt to ameliorate white ignorance must involve dealing not only with ideas but also behaviors, attitudes and discourses that preserve those ideas. As with the previous chapter, I conclude with a summary table containing the key concepts discussed in this chapter.

Active White Ignorance

Type	Definition	Paradigm Instance
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Discourse-based active white ignorance</i></p>	<p>Performative speech that serves to halt inquiry and dialogue</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discourse of moral innocence • Discourse of colorblindness • Discourse of evasion
<p style="text-align: center;"><i>Character-based active white ignorance</i></p>	<p>A set of behaviors, habits, dispositions and attitudes that operate to insulate one from reality</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Epistemic arrogance • Epistemic closemindedness • Epistemic laziness • Incuriousness • Epistemic dishonesty

Chapter Four

Meta-white Ignorance

To this point, I have described two of the three components of white ignorance: Doxastic white ignorance and active white ignorance. This chapter discusses the third component: Meta-white ignorance. Meta-white ignorance is a concept also drawn from Medina's (2013) work, in which he details concepts like "meta-blindness," "meta-insensitivity" and "meta-numbness" to capture the idea that ignorance can also involve unawareness of one's own patterns of ignorance. We don't just say someone is ignorant because they hold ignorant ideas or behave in ignorant ways — we also say they're ignorant precisely because they're ignorant of their own ignorance. The mark of true ignorance is confidence in the face of ignorance. In the ignorant, we observe brashness and certitude at moments where humility and reservation are most warranted. Medina says that blind people know that they're blind, and thus readily acknowledge that there are things they cannot see (2012, p. 207). Those who suffer from meta-blindness, by contrast, erroneously believe that they see all there is to see. Meta-ignorance, in short, doesn't recognize its own limitations.

In this chapter, I develop a brief typology designed to help clarify what meta-white ignorance is and involves. In my view, meta-white ignorance isn't an either/or you-either-have-it-or-you-don't construct. Instead, meta-white ignorance can manifest in varying degrees at different levels. I believe therefore that thinking about "levels" — three levels, to be specific — of meta-white ignorance can help illuminate how meta-white ignorance represents a unique educational problem.

In addition to identifying discrete levels of meta-white ignorance, this chapter also explores some of the larger sources *outside* of white ignorance that help support and sustain white ignorance. In particular, this chapter contains a discussion of the environmental factors that contribute to and reinforce white ignorance. These factors are, first, structural conditions (namely that the United States is organized according to the supremacy of whiteness) and, second, features of our cognitive life (namely that cognitive biases operate to influence how we address and uptake evidence).

Ultimately, the goal is to provide a typology of the levels of meta-white ignorance as well as its sources in order to suggest a kind of roadmap by which educators can proceed as they to work to disrupt meta-white ignorance. As I will argue in subsequent chapters (especially Chapter 6), educators must tackle meta-white ignorance before they can tackle doxastic or active white ignorance. Or perhaps more accurately: We cannot tackle the other components of white ignorance unless we also at the same time tackle meta-white ignorance. Identifying discrete levels can help orient educators to the task, giving them signposts to reference on the journey. This chapter, therefore, will presage the educational approach I plan to develop in later chapters.

Section 1: The levels of meta-white ignorance

These are the three main levels of meta-white ignorance.

Level 3: *Unawareness of the thesis of white ignorance per se.* There are people who simply do not know that white people are subject to white ignorance. There are people who have never heard of the thesis, or perhaps have never considered that ignorance could be patterned in specific ways owing to broader social structures. This level of meta-white

ignorance is quite broad. It applied to me before I encountered the thesis in Charles Mills. It perhaps will apply to many readers of this dissertation. Level 3 involves nothing more complicated than the idea that many white people will first need to be introduced to the thesis itself. After all, one can't recognize they're subject to a certain kind of ignorance if they're unaware that it exists in the first place.

Level 2: *Acknowledging that white ignorance is a real phenomenon to which others are subject, but not noticing that one is subject to white ignorance also.* This level aims to describe the extent to which one accurately appraises whether they, personally, are subject to and manifest forms of white ignorance (among those who are aware of that concept). Recall that the discourse of moral innocence regularly manifests at moments when “good white people” diagnose and decry racism in *others* while at the same time denying that they might think or act in racist ways, too. Level 2 meta-white ignorance is similar. Whites may very well identify and condemn white ignorance in others, yet refuse to acknowledge that they also inhabit white ignorance. It's a slight departure from Level 3. Level 3 meta-white ignorance doesn't know about the thesis per se, whereas Level 2 accepts the thesis, but simply doesn't recognize that it applies to oneself.

Level 1: *Recognition that one is subject to white ignorance, but not knowing the degree or extent to which they are.* This level involves acceptance that white ignorance is a real phenomenon and also that one inhabits white ignorance. The difference in Level 1 is that the individual does not know how and in what ways they manifest white ignorance. There are two possible reasons for this. First, they may not be informed about the various ways in which one *can* be subject to white ignorance. Or, second, they may not have developed an adequate degree of self-transparency or self-knowledge. Of course, everyone lacks full self-

transparency. Basic human psychology makes plain that there are all sorts of things that, at any given moment, we don't know about our motivations, urges, reasons, behaviors, etc. Accurate self-assessment is thus extremely difficult—probably impossible. There are things others can see in us that we simply can't see in ourselves. So, in this respect, Level 1 meta-white ignorance is inescapable. But I don't want to make the application of the concept too strict. All I want to capture is that Level 1 meta-white ignorance means the individual has no idea when, how and to what extent they might be subject to ideas or activate behaviors associated with white ignorance. Level 1 meta-white ignorance involves essentially sheer ignorance about one's own comportment. Simply put, Level 1 meta-white ignorance can be captured this way: *I know I'm ignorant, but I don't know in what ways I'm ignorant.*

Why do these levels matter?

As I argue at length in Chapter 6, I believe that it is possible to ameliorate these levels of meta-white ignorance. In fact, I will argue addressing meta-white ignorance should be the central and priority aim for educators who wish to pursue social justice and anti-racist education among white students. In my view, owing to broader structural conditions, which are especially entrenched, along with certain cognitive biases, *it is not possible for white people to escape white ignorance altogether.* Whites can inhabit white ignorance to greater or lesser degrees, to be sure, but they're almost certain to be subject to white ignorance no matter what. For this reason, the aim of education shouldn't be to simply eliminate doxastic and active white ignorance, but instead to focus on helping students work through the different levels of meta-white ignorance to achieve what I call wokeness for white people.

To presage what I argue extensively later, wokeness in this context involves activating self-reflection in order to identify the various ways and extent to which one is subject to white ignorance. Although wokeness does not involve full self-transparency or completely accurate self-assessment, it does involve knowing — at least to some degree — how one might be inclined to adopt erroneous ideas, or how one might participate in certain kinds of discourse, or how one may inhabit character traits that inhibit their ability to acquire new knowledge. This is exactly why I believe developing a cohesive framework with a comprehensive vocabulary is so important: It provides conceptual resources that educators and students need to name the ways in which they might be subject to white ignorance.

The mark of true knowledge is not the absence of ignorance altogether. Rather, the mark of true knowledge is recognizing your own ignorance and the limits of your abilities. That's what educators should aim to achieve with their students. If students can learn that white ignorance is a real phenomenon, recognize that they're subject to it, and then begin to monitor the ways they may manifest white ignorance, they might be able to adopt strategies to regulate or neutralize the effects.

Meta-white ignorance

<i>The goal: Wokeness</i>	Level 1	Level 2	Level 3
Recognition of the ways one is subject to white ignorance, but still manifesting white ignorance to some degree.	Recognition that one is subject to white ignorance, but not knowing precisely how or to what degree.	Recognition that people are subject to white ignorance; but denying that one inhabits white ignorance when they do.	Denial that people are subject to white ignorance. Denial of the thesis itself. Not knowing about white ignorance.

Section 2: Conditions that support white ignorance

So far, I have described three key components of white ignorance (ideas-based, character-based, and meta-) in specific detail, arguing that white ignorance, in particular, is a product of processes of racialized structuration. At the same time, however, there are other broader factors and conditions that contribute to and sustain white ignorance also. Two factors are especially prominent across the literature: Structural conditions (i.e. material realities) and psychological microfoundations (i.e. features of human cognition). These represent the key factors *outside* of white ignorance that create the fertile conditions necessary for white ignorance to flourish. In other words, they interact with processes of racialized structuration in specific ways to help support and sustain white ignorance. In the subsections that follow, I discuss both in turn to show how they operate to make white ignorance such a uniquely difficult problem to address. The phenomena discussed below are not white ignorance per se, but bigger features of the human experience that help make white ignorance possible.

Structural conditions: “Not needing to know”

White people in America enjoy structural advantage. Given structural conditions organized according to the supremacy of whiteness, the basic social, economic and political institutions in society simply “work” for white people—at least vis-à-vis nonwhites.

Whiteness carries a kind of cash value that makes it comparatively easier for whites to live in a society organized by the supremacy of whiteness. As a consequence, there’s not much to prompt whites to question — or reflect on — the status quo.

In the book, *How We Think*, John Dewey explores the cognitive operations associated with problem solving, noting that humans aren’t inclined to *think* until they’ve encountered an obstacle of some kind. Only after they encounter a problem does the motor of cognition start humming. Before that point, Dewey says, people just more or less carry on in an almost nonconscious, nonreflective state. They carry on with business as usual until something halts them (Dewey, 2008, p. 181).

Dewey invites the reader to imagine someone who takes the same subway the same way to work every day (2008, p. 204). Over time, the person is habituated into the same schedule, the same walk, the same set of stairs, the same platform, the same train, etc. They make the trip without thinking about it. But imagine, he says, one day they’re delayed for whatever reason—and they miss their train. Now, they’ve encountered an obstacle. Suddenly, they’re shaken from their unconscious routine and prompted to reflect on the situation. They begin to explore alternate routes, perhaps they consider taking a cab instead. The point is, they encountered an obstacle that makes them think differently about what they’re doing and how they’re doing it.

To carry the analogy, white ignorance is maintained through the same kind of habituated, nonreflective, unconscious ongoings that govern one's daily commute. When you're on time and the trains are running on time, there's not much to think about — you just get in and go. It's the same with white ignorance. White ignorance is possible because the trains, so to speak, are usually running on time for white people. There are no problems or hurdles or obstacles that prompt whites to reflect on or question processes of racialized structuration. In the literature, scholars (Applebaum, 2015; Medina, 2013) refer to this phenomenon as “not needing to know,” that is, whites have no need to know about the organizing principle and governing logic that structures society and delivers a comparative advantage. They don't need to know about it because it does not present as a problem.

Problems generate curiosity. An absence of problems is usually correlated with an absence of curiosity. In short, the material conditions associated with white racial advantage serve to contribute to and preserve white ignorance because comfort associated with the racial order typically fails to inspire curiosity, inquiry and reflection.

Psychological microfoundations: “Needing not to know”

Where material conditions dull curiosity, psychological features function to actively minimize inquiry. This section centers on the psychological microfoundations and the generic features of human cognition that contribute to motivated ignorance. Motivated ignorance is a type of ignorance driven by individual desires, interests, needs, or goals. Motivations and desires govern and guide one's epistemic comportment in specific ways, affecting how they attend to and reflect on new evidence. It is generally accepted that motivations affect cognitive function "by directing people's cognitive processes (e.g., their

recall, information search, or attributions) in ways that help to ensure they reach their desired conclusions" (Molden and Higgins 2005, p. 297) — or at least avoid undesired conclusions. Although the features of human cognition associated with motivated ignorance appear at an individual level, the motivations themselves might be generated by larger social and structural patterns.

Motivated ignorance appears in all forms. Imagine, for example, a woman who feels a lump on her breast one morning, but doesn't seek a medical examination for fear of what she might find. Or imagine the shopaholic who refuses to check his bank and credit card statements for fear of what he'll discover. These are just a few ways that motivated ignorance appears: Persons refuse to attend to evidence because of second-order desires, motivations, etc. Note that the desires that underwrite motivated ignorance need not have anything to do with the ignorance itself. In fact, motivated ignorance is most typically generated by *ancillary* concerns. Here are some of the key cognitive biases that I believe animate and support white ignorance.

First is the "*good-self*" bias or, more broadly, a "self-serving bias" (Sedikides, Campbell, Reeder, & Elliot, 1998). A self-serving bias generates cognitive distortions that function to preserve a positive self-image or bolster self-esteem. In plain terms, people have a desire to feel like they're good, morally upright individuals. Research has shown that self-serving biases are especially evident at moments when "individuals formulate attributions about the causes of personal actions, events, and outcomes" (Forsyth, 2008). People attribute positive outcomes to things like hard work and internal motivation, and they attribute negative outcomes to things like bad luck, chance, or some broader unfairness. The good-self bias animates the discourse of moral innocence.

It's easy to see how the self-serving bias would inhibit whites from confronting ways that race shapes a given context. On the one hand, inquiry in this direction could undermine one's sense of goodness. If there's too much inquiry into race, some whites know — albeit at a subconscious level — that they could uncover the truth that they act in racist ways or ways that serve to reinforce the supremacy of whiteness. People simply don't want to deal with the fact that they're complicit in systems of racial oppression. They don't want to discover that their success in life is due, in no small part, to their skin color. These are difficult realities for white persons to face because they can undermine one's sense of self-worth and goodness. Self-serving biases, in this respect, underwrite motivated ignorance and, by extension, help support and sustain white ignorance.

Next is *confirmation bias*, which refers to a tendency to pay more attention to evidence that confirms what we already believe to be true (Woomer, 2015). As Woomer (2015) explains “confirmation bias can involve both selective attention to confirming evidence over other evidence, as well as cutting off searches for evidence prematurely after finding confirming evidence” (p. 77). There's a definite comfort associated with a sense of certitude, so it's only natural that persons are inclined, when possible, to preserve that sense of knowing. A sense of knowing generates a higher degree of confidence and also helps sustain a positive self-image.

It's not difficult to imagine how doxastic white ignorance is strengthened and reinforced by confirmation bias: Whites are disinclined to attend to evidence that might undermine or disconfirm what they already take to be true. Confirmation bias is at work, for example, when whites identify perceived cultural failures in black communities, but decline to pursue additional inquiry to discover what role social structures might play. They see

evidence that they believe points to cultural/moral failure in black people, and then cease further exploration and analysis. Similarly, confirmation bias is at work at those moments when whites are convinced that “America” is the greatest country on earth, and so decline to attend to evidence of racial injustice. When persons decline to further understand the world, white ignorance is thereby strengthened and nourished.

But it’s not just that whites decline to continue inquiry. Doxastic white ignorance is also sustained because whites give greater weight to pieces of evidence that support their priors, and they ignore or minimize pieces of evidence that run counter to their priors. Whites focus on, for instance, drug use in black communities while ignoring that drug use is equally—if not more—prevalent in white communities. Selective attention to evidence helps generate and support white ignorance.

Another bias worth highlighting is *shared-reality bias*. This bias refers to the fact that “people are motivated to achieve mutual understanding or ‘shared reality’ with specific others in order to (i) establish, maintain, and regulate interpersonal relationships, thereby satisfying relational needs for affiliation and (ii) perceive themselves and their environments as stable, predictable, and potentially controllable, thereby satisfying epistemic motives to achieve certainty” (Jost, Ledgerwood, Hardin, 2008, p. 3). The basic idea is that epistemic comportment and socio-relational motivations are linked in significant ways. Persons tend to think similarly to those with whom they associate. Shared-reality bias is a big reason why political propaganda can be so effective and also why we are seeing the balkanization of political ideology in the wake of increasingly specialized and niche media production.

In my view, shared-reality bias makes the problem of white ignorance especially sticky because disrupting white ignorance often requires whites to break socially from other

whites — or at least generate a certain degree of social distance. Elements of white ignorance are bound up with one's sense of self, place and identity. Disrupting white ignorance, therefore, may involve displacing white identity and splintering white solidarity. It's undoubtedly very difficult for one to think about the world in different terms when it's the only way they've ever thought about the world, and when it's the only way their family and siblings and friends and neighbors think about the world too.

It's no secret that elements of white ignorance are bound up with other identity markers, like political affiliation and cultural-linguistic cues. In this respect, there's a real sense in which expressing ideas associated with white ignorance are principally about expressing one's identity and signaling in-group affiliation. Shared-reality bias is thus related to identity preservation. The risk associated with fragmenting one's identity and social affiliation inhibits whites from attending to and accurately appraising available evidence. If one tacitly realizes that confronting new evidence may involve losing a sense of who they are, they'll be disinclined to deal with that evidence sincerely and wholeheartedly.

The penultimate bias I want to discuss is called *system-justification bias*. This bias refers to “a general psychological tendency to justify and rationalize the status quo, that is, a motive to see the system as good, fair, legitimate, and desirable” (Jost & Banaji, 1994). Humans generally tend to prefer the familiar over the unknown. They tend to prefer that into which they've been habituated versus the alternative. And because they prefer the status quo, they're also inclined to rationalize it in some way. Elizabeth Anderson argues that system-justification bias is thus closely related to a “just-world hypothesis” (2010, p. 68). That is, people don't want to imagine that the world in which they live, the society in which they participate, may be unfair or unjust. Not only is it difficult to confront the reality that others

are subject to injustice, but it's also difficult to confront the reality that one's social location may be based on something besides merit or personal motivation. If it turns out that one's race is a strong predicate of success, then one's positive self-image may be threatened.

Note that in this respect system-justification bias is strongly related to the good-self bias. In order to preserve the notion that one is good, they must also believe that the system in which they live is just. Altogether, then, persons look for evidence that confirms the world in which they live is just and that their behaviors are good. System-justification bias is unsurprisingly strongly correlated with white ignorance because it deters people from attending to the ways in which race structures the world, and thus the way race injustice pervades our world.

Finally, *complexity aversion* refers to the cognitive tendency to approach immensely complex problems and imagine they're far simpler than they are (Duttie and Inukai, 2015). As I described at multiple points throughout chapters 2-3, white ignorance tends to involve focusing, in large measure, on individual explanations and ignoring broader social structures that could also help explain individual behaviors and outcomes. I believe this tendency is at least partly a consequence of complexity aversion. It's simply easier, and requires less intellectual labor, to adopt an individual orientation rather than a structural orientation (Chubbuck, 2010). To attend to the ways race structures the world may require more sophisticated analyses and an ability to conduct nuanced reflection. Often, it's just too much trouble. Simpler explanations feel more comfortable.

Conclusion

The discussion above does not contain an exhaustive list of all the relevant cognitive biases that might be associated with white ignorance. There are, no doubt, other cognitive biases identified in the empirical literature that also help explain the phenomenon. My goal is simply to underline that when we analyze white ignorance, specifically, we shouldn't lose sight of the general features of human cognition that contribute to the phenomenon.

Importantly, the presence of these basic cognitive biases (combined with material advantage) is what leads me to believe that certain elements of white ignorance will always be present. Hence, I do not hope to eliminate white ignorance altogether simply because I do not believe that we can eliminate cognitive biases altogether. If persons are wired in specific ways, there's not much we can do about it. But we *can* make ourselves and one another more conscious of the ways that various biases influence how we interpret and assess the world. And I believe greater awareness can inspire greater self-monitoring and self-regulation such that white people can learn to neutralize the bad effects generated by these cognitive biases and other cognitive habits.

If we can help students name and identify the main components of white ignorance, as well as the features of the world that help sustain white ignorance, then we might help minimize cognitive impairment owing to white ignorance. For these reasons, this and the previous four chapters systematically synthesized the literature in order to outline the key components of white ignorance. I discussed, first, what white ignorance is, then I described, in turn, doxastic, active and meta-white ignorance. The table below contains a tidy summation of all these components. In the next few chapters, I illustrate how this framework

can be used by education researchers, teachers and teacher educators to address some core challenges I outlined in the introduction of this project.

White ignorance: A single, comprehensive framework

White ignorance

Component	Definition	Elements
Doxastic white ignorance	Ideas and beliefs (or the absence thereof) that misapprehend the way that racialized structuration organizes the world	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Incognizance • Minimization • Stereotypic narrativity
Active white ignorance	Behaviors, habits, attitudes and patterns of speech that function to insulate and preserve doxastic white ignorance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Discourse • Vice
Meta-white ignorance	Varying degrees of ignorance of one's own ignorance	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Level 3 • Level 2 • Level 1 • Wokeness

Chapter Five

White Schools, White Ignorance

The preceding four chapters were primarily conceptual and analytical, using existing research to identify and clarify the constituent features of white ignorance. The aim was to create a comprehensive, typological framework that can help us name and understand the three main components of white ignorance: Doxastic, active and meta-white ignorance. In this chapter (and the ones that follow), I endeavor to show how this framework can be applied to educational research, theory and practice.

In the introduction, I said that a central purpose of this project is to imagine what it might look like if education researchers expanded the diagnosis-remedy approach associated with culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies and brought it to bear in white contexts to inform the education of white children. In the most general outline, this diagnosis-remedy approach first identifies the way that the epistemic infrastructure in schools affects nonwhite students (specifically, how it serves to disadvantage and discount nonwhite students' unique ways of knowing). Then, the research develops a remedy designed to encourage educators to replace white supremacist epistemologies with epistemologies that validate and reflect indigenous ways of knowing—and then further incorporate those epistemologies into the classroom.

The approach I illustrate in this chapter follows the same trajectory: My goal is to consider ways the white ignorance framework can be used to guide empirical investigation. I hope to illuminate areas where education researchers can more systematically uncover exactly how and in what ways white supremacist patterns in schools serve to reproduce white ignorance in white communities. At this stage, the notion that schools are partly implicated in the proliferation of white ignorance in white communities is only an educated hypothesis,

grounded in deduction. But it's a testable hypothesis, provided we initiate the sort of systematic empirical inquiry I think the question demands. If we can understand how schools might function to promote white ignorance, we'll be in much better position to create pedagogies that can disrupt those practices.

This chapter is divided into two sections. The first section considers how policy choices might aim to preserve white ignorance. I draw on a case study examining the controversy over *Raza* Studies in Arizona to potentially identify the reasons why and in what circumstances policymakers might choose to endorse patterns of ignorance. In the second section, I move beyond explicit policy to consider how patterns of practice might function to reproduce white ignorance, even where educators are working to achieve exactly the opposite. The second section organizes findings according to the typology created in Chapters 2-4. Each sub-section ends with a hypothesis to guide future research.

A Note on methodology

Virtually all the empirical literature that deals with race, whiteness or racism in school tends to focus on schools and communities populated mostly by nonwhite students. In fact, only one study I've found directly examines the pedagogical practices associated with race and whiteness as enacted by white educators in an almost-all-white school. Prentice Chandler's seminal research (2015) investigates three high school social studies teachers and the way they teach American History in an almost-all-white high school in southern Alabama.

Other studies look at white schools, but don't necessarily examine formal teaching practices or policy consequences. Pamela Perry, for example, has a relevant and illuminating

book-length study based on her dissertation research. Titled, *Shades of White* (1992), her inquiry examines processes of identity formation in an almost-all-white high school in California. However, her research doesn't explicitly focus on teaching and pedagogy. Amanda Lewis (2004), for her part, conducted research in three elementary schools in Chicago to investigate ways children are taught (and interpret) racial messages and consequently form a racial identity. Importantly, only one of the three schools in her study was classified as mostly white.

Given the dearth of empirical research into white schools, there's no single body of literature on which I can draw to help address the empirical question at hand: *How do white schools in white communities support and sustain white ignorance?* Therefore, I draw on existing, related research that investigates mostly nonwhite contexts to develop a series of hypotheses that may warrant exploration in white educational contexts. Stated differently, I draw on findings from research in mostly nonwhite contexts and extrapolate from those findings hypotheses about what might be happening in mostly white contexts.

The research below, therefore, does not directly deal with white ignorance—and almost none of the researchers I cite use this vocabulary. However, I believe that this extrapolatory method can provide a blueprint for the kind of investigation that might illuminate whether and to what extent mostly white schools are implicated in the proliferation of white ignorance. So, although I lack the resources to draw confident *conclusions*, I believe creating actionable *hypotheses* represents a useful first step.

Importantly, these hypotheses reflect only my own conjecture based on educated deduction. The hypotheses are not always fully supported by the research (either empirically or conceptually). Sometimes I make logical leaps in order to draw attention to problem areas

and focal points. That’s why I keep insisting that the sections below contain hypotheses—not conclusions—designed to initiate more and better inquiry.

Section 1: Raza studies in Arizona

In 2010, the Governor of Arizona, Jan Brewer, signed into law Arizona House Bill 2281 which declared, among other things, “that public school pupils should be taught to treat and value each other as individuals and not be taught to resent or hate other races or classes of people” (HB 2281, p. 1). At first glance, the text of the bill doesn’t sound especially controversial. Who, after all, would advocate for an education that promotes the hate or resentment of other races? Does anyone believe that we ought not value one another, as individuals? Despite its neutral language, the passage of the bill symbolizes an ongoing war in Arizona against K-12 *Raza* Studies, officially known as the Mexican American Studies (MAS) Program. And the bill, in my view, represents an attempt at state-mandated preservation of white ignorance in public schools (see also: Cabrera 2012).

Here’s the back story. In 2002, Augustine Romero was appointed the Director of Mexican-American Studies in the Tucson Unified School District (TUSD). Shortly after the appointment, Romero created two programs: The Social Justice Education Project (SJEP) and the Critically Compassionate Intellectualism Model of Transformative Education (CCI). Together, in collaboration with other educators in high schools and nearby universities, the program created four courses: American Government (using a social justice lens), American History (from Mexican-American perspectives), Chicana/o Art (beginning and advanced), and Latino/a Literature (Cammarota, Romero and Stovall, 2014). The courses were primarily

designed for, and almost exclusively attended by, middle and high school Mexican-American students (Serna, 2013).¹⁷

According to Romero (2010), the principal aim of MAS was to elevate “barrio-organic intellectualism,” wherein intellectuals use all of their capacities and resources to advance and protect their community (p. 8). Elias Serna (2013) argues that barrio-organic intellectualism is an educational movement that represents a logical outgrowth of Chicano/a studies in higher education, which is seen fundamentally as an “epistemological confrontation” with educational institutions and the larger social sphere (p. 42). Barrio-organic intellectualism, as Serna (2013) argues, work to challenge:

The accepted patriotic, Eurocentric, male, triumphalist versions of US history, especially in the Southwestern United States. The epistemological space for the field was created by challenging lies, revealing exclusions, and making successful historical arguments over such things as the Mexican-American War. While traditional history books mentioned Mexican provocation, Chicano historians detailed a US invasion involving war hawk legislation, demographic and military provocation, and how the doctrine of manifest destiny operated ideologically (p. 44).

¹⁷ An important dimension of this controversy that is often overlooked: White children were never enrolled in these courses, were never actively offered these courses, probably never sought these courses. In much of the contemporary educational scholarship that aims to promote “epistemological confrontation” in schools, the standard rationale is that nonwhite students, in particular, need programs like MAS because they serve to “engage minority students’ interest” by employing “lesson content that resonates with students’ social and cultural backgrounds” (Almarza & Fehn, 1998). In other words, the rationale is often that programs like MAS promote student achievement by making school more consonant with the way nonwhite students view and think about the world.

The educational motivation behind MAS was a “disruptive epistemological challenge” (Serna, 2013). Educators who participated in MAS sought to create a classroom experience that contested pervasive patterns of ignorance that regulated curricula and other school practices (Cabrera, 2012).

By 2008, MAS generated severe backlash from a cadre of white legislators and policymakers across the state. In April of that year, an amendment was proposed to Senate Bill 1108 (a bill chiefly regarding homeland security), which would have prohibited “any program of instruction” (classes, courses, or school-sponsored activities) that works to “promote, assert as truth, or feature as an exclusive focus any political, religious, ideological, or cultural beliefs or values that denigrate, disparage, or overtly encourage dissent from the values of American democracy” (Cammarota, Romero, and Stovall, 2014, p. 57). According to the text of the amendment, “The primary purpose of public education is to inculcate values of American Citizenship.” The language for the amendment was drafted by then-Tuscon Superintendent Tom Horne, who argued that, “The very name ‘*Raza*’ is translated as ‘race’” and therefore *Raza* studies is racist and should be dismantled (Cammarota, Romera, and Stovall, 2014, p. 60).¹⁸

The amendment to Senate Bill 1108 was ultimately defeated, but it laid the groundwork for House Bill 2281, which was signed into law two years later. The new house bill tempered the language found in the proposed senate bill amendment, but still prohibited classes that, (1) “Promote the overthrow of the United States Government,” (2) “Promote resentment toward a race or class of people”, (3) “Are designed primarily for pupils of a particular ethnic group”, (4) “Advocate solidarity instead of treatment of pupils as

¹⁸ As Cabrera (2012) points out, *Raza* more “properly connotes the cultural and historical ties which unite Spanish speaking people” (p. 134), so it would be weird to call *Raza* “racist.”

individuals” (Serna, 2013, p 55). Despite the fact that the MAS program didn’t do any of those things,¹⁹ TUSD Superintendent Tom Horne found the *Raza* studies program out of compliance with the new law (Cabrera, 2012). It’s worth noting, as Cabrera (2012) does, that Tom Horne never attended a single *Raza* studies class (p. 133).

In a press conference, Horne said that MAS courses taught students “that Latino minorities have been and continue to be oppressed by a Caucasian majority. This harmful, dispiriting message has no place in public education” (Cammarota, Romero, and Stovall, 2014, p. 91). In January of 2012, the school board voted to end MAS courses and seven books were prohibited from the school curriculum for being in violation of the new law:

- *500 Years of Chicano History in Pictures* by Elizabeth Martine
- *Critical Race Theory* by Richard Delgado;
- *Message to Aztlán: Selected Writings of Rodolfo “Corky” Gonzalez* by Rodolfo Gonzalez
- *Chicano! The History of the Mexican American Civil Rights Movement* by Arturo Rosales
- *Rethinking Columbus* by Bill Bigelow and Bob Peterson
- *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire²⁰

The United States is marked by white racial and cultural domination, both historically and in the present day. Oppression of Latinx communities is real. Yet, legislators and state agents actively worked to disallow the circulation of ideas that confirmed and substantiated that reality. State actors literally prohibited classes that taught a basic fact about the world: White racial and cultural domination is real.²¹

¹⁹ Educators were more than willing to invite students of any race or background to participate in the course, and didn’t believe that Raza studies per se should be exclusive to a single race or ethnic group (Cabrera, 2012).

²⁰ About this text in particular, Cabrera writes: “Lost in this attack was the remarkable pedagogical accomplishment of high school students reading Freire” (2012, p. 133).

²¹ The ban on MAS only lasted one year. Federal court ruled that the ban did not comply with desegregation law. The TUSD School Board voted in 2013 to un-ban the seven books (Acosta and Mir, 2012). The MAS program has been since been revised. TUSD students can attend a single Mexican American studies course called CLASS (Chicano Literature, Art, and Social studies) offered through Prescott College in Tuscon. The course can be taken for college credit and is free of charge to all students in TUSD (Acosta and Mir, 2012).

As Cabrera argues, “While the historical and contemporary oppression of Latina/os has been substantiated, the only acceptable form of Arizona public education is one that denies this reality” (2012, pg. 132). The passage of House Bill 2281, and the events that followed, illustrate an important point: It is not simply that schools don’t do enough to disrupt the reproduction of white ignorance, but in fact schools may operate in an *active* way to sustain and reproduce white ignorance.

The reasons why legislators and policymakers resisted the MAS program are worth exploring. I do not assume that policymakers in Arizona were explicitly interested in preserving white ignorance just for the sake of preserving white ignorance. I believe there was a competing interest at stake: Social cohesion and patriotism. Henry Levin (2012) persuasively argues that a key purpose of school is to promote a sense of national pride and solidarity. Similar themes and ideas are echoed in John Dewey, who endorsed the role of schools to strengthen social bonds and address shared problems.

Many believe that talking and teaching about race and racism is ipso facto divisive and undermines the mythos that animates the American republic. Diversity, identity politics, multicultural education, social justice education—opponents say that all of these things encourage youth to focus on differences instead of solidarities, alienating them from one another, and undermining a sense of civic pride. Such patterns, it is alleged, have long-term deleterious effects on social cohesion and solidarity.

Ultimately, we don’t know the regularity with which schools block teaching around race and racism. To be sure, there are some high-profile examples of just the opposite. In May 2018, New York City Public Schools earmarked twenty-three million dollars for system-wide anti-bias education. But, notably, only 15% of the children enrolled in New

York City Public Schools identify as white. Are there any examples of almost-all-white school districts and communities deliberately advancing anti-racist initiatives at the p-12 level?

Hypothesis #1 is divided into three discrete parts: a) Mostly white school districts rarely advance anti-racist educational initiatives. b) Often they decline to advance these educational programs because they believe it undermines social cohesion and a sense of civic pride. c) In some cases, educators and policymakers actively resist attempts to incorporate race-focused educational programs.

Education researchers might explore how and in what ways policies actively resist educational approaches that might serve to undermine white ignorance. The *Raza* Studies controversy is prominently known because it was openly challenged by dedicated stakeholders and eventually made its way through the courts. But what about policies that are not challenged? What about everyday, comparatively minor efforts to silence or shelve educational lessons that might focus explicitly on race?

Importantly, the point is not necessarily to resolve how we might adjudicate competing interests to interrupt white ignorance with other interests to promote social cohesion (or even how these two interests might in fact align). My goal, instead, is to simply learn more about these processes in schools. How are policies about curriculum and race made—and how are they resisted? And by whom? Moving forward, it will be advantageous to conduct policy analyses to uncover which policies are most likely to contribute to the reproduction of white ignorance. If we can understand the policy rationales, then educators and school leaders can better prepare to confront these policies and serve as advocates.

Section 2: Practices that contribute to white ignorance

In this section I consider how practices in schools might be responsible for reinforcing and reproducing white ignorance in white communities. To frame the discussion, I center the analysis on ideas-based and character-based white ignorance. Drawing on the extant empirical literature, I discuss how and in what ways schools and teachers might be—despite the best intentions—complicit in the reproduction of white ignorance.

Doxastic white ignorance

This section is organized according to the typology outlined in Chapter 2, which described the elements of doxastic white ignorance. In turn, I discuss how schools and teachers might be responsible for reproducing incognizance, minimization and stereotypic narrativity.

Incognizance

To restate, incognizance refers to sheer not-knowing — an absence of certain kinds of knowledge. Because incognizance marks an “absence” of something, it’s hard to identify, empirically, “what” specifically causes it. Schools and teachers can’t cover *everything*, so students will leave school necessarily incognizant of many things. It is therefore unreasonable to try to document all the things schools are *not* doing—the list would be too long and somewhat arbitrary. Accordingly, this section focuses only on *affirmative* choices teachers and schools make that might contribute to incognizance.

The pervasive whiteness of the classroom

There is a great deal of scholarship in multicultural education that points to the “pervasive whiteness” of the classroom (Gangi, 2008). Much of the literature has described the way that children of color are surrounded with classroom paraphernalia that reflects white culture and white ways of thinking about the world. Many studies (described below) indicate that a significant impediment to nonwhite students’ literacy are classrooms nearly exclusively populated by books which principally involve white protagonists and depict themes and activities typical in white communities. Young nonwhite readers don’t have the requisite background knowledge to fully comprehend these school texts in a meaningful way. They are, therefore, less likely to relate to, or generate interest in, the books to which they have access. A lack of investment promotes a lack of engagement, which in turn minimizes the likelihood that children will spend time reading.

Guilfoyle’s (2015) study, for instance, found that 80 percent of the more than five-hundred children’s picture books she sampled from a popular database for p-5 literacy instructors contained white protagonists. Additionally, almost half of the nonwhite protagonists were depicted in stories in a historical context. The upshot is that less than 10% of the picture books sampled contained nonwhite protagonists in contemporary context.

Raw statistical analysis like this does not necessarily capture the core problem. But it does portend a prominent finding across the literature: Many children’s books “can be said to be both informed by and supportive of white cultural values and norms, to the exclusion of the experiences and perspectives of other cultural groups” (Pearce, 2012, p. 460).

The problem is not simply that most children’s books contain white protagonists, but that many children’s books also contains themes, narratives, and ideological frames that operate to reinforce white norms and cultural codes.

Another important study (Young, 2015) recently examined the “habits of whiteness” in popular fantasy literature. Young’s research analyzes popular texts throughout the history of the genre, from CS Lewis’s Trilogy and *The Lord of the Rings* franchise to more contemporary works like *Game of Thrones* and Phillip Pullman’s *His Dark Materials*. Young found that much of the genre is dominated by white bodies and white voices; white identity is persistently constructed through racist stereotypes, particularly those associated with blackness; and fantasy worlds tend to be structured either as a “pre-race utopia” or organized by “nostalgia for imperialism” (p. 12).

Based on this literature, an important question emerges: What effect does the pervasive whiteness of classroom literature have on white children in mostly white schools? How do all these materials centering on mostly white themes and ideas affect cognitive functioning around issues related to race, racism and whiteness?

Hypothesis #2: The “unbearable whiteness” of the classroom contributes in some substantial way to the incognizance associated with doxastic white ignorance.

Importantly, I don’t think mostly white literature, on its own, directly leads children to inhabit white ignorance. Themes in literature can operate as heuristics, drawing attention to, and even destabilizing, problematic aspects of the world in a way that may guide the reader to participate in social- and self-critique. Further, any text is open to a nearly infinite array of potential interpretations. So, none of the findings reported here can say anything *definitive* about how a young child will interpret or make sense of different texts, or what effect a text would have on a child’s view of the world. I also recognize that there are many classrooms and schools around the United States that deliberately try to incorporate more inclusive literature for all students. At the same time, however, merely incorporating more

inclusive literature may not serve as a cure-all for the incognizance associated with white ignorance. It also depends on how much and to what extent the teacher encourages interaction with these texts and helps children read and think through them.

The point, in short, is that additional research is clearly warranted. Right now, the scholarship critiquing the pervasive whiteness of the classroom is framed as a problem for young nonwhite readers exclusively. But there is good reason to suspect it may be a serious problem for white children too. In the same way that prominent white themes may impede nonwhite readers from meaningfully engaging a text, there is also the risk that prominent white themes can reinforce modes of white ignorance in young white readers.

Failures of multicultural education

Some scholarship in education has critiqued the ways in which multicultural education in white schools can serve to undermine the very aims it seeks to achieve. The motivation for different forms of multicultural education is typically to introduce white students to cultures, races and histories different from their own in order to minimize bias and increase racial and cultural sensitivity. Unfortunately, if conducted without adequate care, multicultural education carries risk.

First, research has shown that many times multicultural education tends to focus exclusively on “heroes and holidays,” and views “cultural appreciation” kind of like a cafeteria menu, giving children an opportunity to celebrate a variety of individuals and enjoy tasty food (Killoran, Panaroni, Rivers, Razack, Vetter and Tymon, 2004). Scholars (Derman-Sparks and Ramsey, 2011; Lin, Lake, Rice, 2008) worry that this approach largely ignores structural inequality and avoids critique of systematic racism. The consequence is that

children focus on culture without attending to the broader social structures that delimit social value and, by extension, limit vital economic and social resources. Because of the narrow focus, children might ascribe causal factors to culture itself — e.g. blaming extant inequality on cultural behavior. Along with incognizance, then, multicultural education can also prompt the kind of *culturalism* associated with stereotypic narrativity.

Second, other research has focused on the ways in which multicultural education treats whiteness (Ortiz, 2000; Sleeter, 2001). The main problem, it is argued, is that the focus tends to center exclusively on the cultures associated with nonwhite groups. Whiteness itself is taken as the unnamed reference norm (McIntyre 1997; 2002). Children come to believe that culture is something exclusive to, say, black and brown people—and not something associated with being white. For instance, Pamela Perry’s investigation (2004) of a mostly white high school in California uncovers some of the problems that emerge from this approach. She writes: “White students . . . usually expressed enthusiastic appreciation for ‘the chance to learn about so many cultures.’ But learning about other cultures merely gave them more references by which to define what they were not” (Perry, 2004, p. 99). For Perry, multicultural education at her school encouraged children to think of culture strictly as that which is associated with nonwhite others.

Similarly, Robin DiAngelo (2011) argues that some approaches to multicultural education fail because they encourage white children to think of “white” as an “unracialized identity or location” (p. 41). DiAngelo believes that some forms of multicultural education thus promote “a kind of blindness; an inability to think about whiteness as an identity or as a ‘state’ of being that would or could have an impact on one’s life” (p. 41). When you systematically decline to name whiteness, and when you systematically decline to critique

structural racism, it encourages children to systematically ignore the ways that their own social position is tied to their race.

Hypothesis #3: Some approaches to multicultural education contribute to the incognizance associated with doxastic white ignorance.

Minimization

In addition to incognizance, some research points to ways that teachers and classroom materials might promote the racial minimization associated with doxastic white ignorance. Racial minimization refers to the way teachers (and others) *downplay* or *diminish* the importance of race in a given context.

Minimizing racial slurs

Lewis (2003) describes myriad instances in which students in her study either casually employed racial epithets or deliberately directed racial slurs at other students. In most of the cases, Lewis reports that the white teachers at the school were inclined to treat racial slurs such as they might any other cuss word. Lewis says that teachers in her study tended to “deracialize” incidents, conveying to students that conflicts involving racial slurs “are like regular, everyday conflicts in which both parties should be held equally responsible: such ways of addressing racist events make it seem as if the victims rather than the perpetrators are the ones with the problem, as if they are making a big deal out of nothing” (p. 2003, p. 22). In other words, whenever students employed racial epithets, teachers didn’t mark those words or give them any special relevance. Instead, teachers minimized the

salience of the words, often choosing to focus on the conflict itself. The conflict was thrown into relief, while the words that animated the conflict were downplayed. In most of the cases, the presence of racial slurs did not generate alarm in the teachers. They did not believe that such events warranted additional or unique educational responses.

The risk is that when teachers and administrators respond to racist language in this way, it conveys the message that racial epithets are not a big deal. Later in life white people may struggle to adequately understand why such language is socially odious and morally problematic. It isn't always plain to them, for example, why or how using the n-word might be offensive to others. And if white children are taught that explicitly racist language is not a big deal, it's logical they would grow up to believe nonwhite persons are "overly sensitive" or "overacting" to racist language.

Hypothesis 4: The way teachers confront instances of racism in schools contributes to patterns of racial minimization among white populations.

Racial erasure

A recent study (Rogers & Christian, 2007) employed discourse analysis to uncover the construction of race in four children's books. The selected books were chosen because they contained explicitly racialized themes and are likely to be read in classrooms where the teacher has an interest in multicultural or social justice education. The authors found that two of the books in the sample contained many of the elements related to the kind of "white talk" (Rogers and Christian, 2007, p. 32) I described in Chapter 2. In addition, the authors found that two of the books in the study functioned to historicize racism by setting the context in

the distant past, depicting racism as something that happened a long time ago—and not necessarily as something that happens in the present day.

Because the books contained no effort to connect the past to the present, the authors show how the narrative arcs track the kind of “racial erasure” Charles Mills names in his research. Racial erasure is a distinct kind of minimization that emphasizes historical progress. It encourages white people to focus exclusively on the advances that have been made toward racial equality while at the same time downplaying extant racial inequality.

Amanda Lewis uncovered much of the same in her research. Many students she interviewed “saw the injustices they learned about as specific to an earlier point in time, as problems that were solved rather than being linked to contemporary forms of racial exclusion (Lewis, 2004, p. 18). She says further that, “The students did not appear to use anything they had learned about the settling of California, the genocide of Native Americans, or the subjugation of the Chinese to understand or interpret present-day racial realities (e.g. wage inequality, wealth inequality, Native Americans’ socioeconomic status)” (Lewis, 2004, p. 18).

Racial erasure is thus an effective tool for minimization because it permits white people to contrast contemporary realities with past reality in order to downplay contemporary racism by saying that it isn’t as bad as it used to be.

Hypothesis 5: The books teachers choose to teach about historical racism often serve to reinforce practices of racial erasure associated with minimization.

Stereotypic narrativity

Finally, a not insignificant body of literature points to possible ways that curricula in school serve to produce paradigmatic patterns of stereotypic narrativity associated with white ignorance. For this section, I employ the term “curriculum” somewhat narrowly to refer to a formal and planned sequence of instruction in specific content areas. Following Michael Apple’s (2004) general framework, I think of curriculum as a primary tool through which meaning is controlled and organized in school. The aim of this section is to explore various dimensions of the curriculum to locate how it might influence the way students think about race, and thus how it might contribute to stereotypic narrativity. The animating principle of this section is that the curriculum serves as a key site for the protection and preservation of white ignorance, not just because there is a lack of explicit attention to racism and cultural diversity, but because of the way curricula operates to express larger racialized narratives.

Social studies — especially history — courses have long been lightning rods for political controversy and social contest. The roots of Chicana/o Studies and African-American Studies programs in post-secondary education stem from efforts in the 1960s and 1970s to revise history curricula in which nonwhite actors were debased, marginalized or excluded altogether. Despite years of “curriculum wars” (Binder, 2009) contesting whose history should be included and represented, evidence suggests that not much has changed at the p-12 level. To be sure, culturally responsive and sustaining educators have, in fact, made meaningful strides to design and implement a more inclusive social studies curriculum. But oftentimes those efforts target nonwhite students exclusively.

Many scholars express serious concern about how nonwhite people are portrayed within social studies curricula. Ladson-Billings (2003), for instance, argues that if one

attempted to reconstruct the history of African Americans “based on the information presented in a typical U.S. History textbook” that history would be narrow and inexact, consisting mainly of a not-too-terrible boat ride across the Atlantic, some years of slavery with a friendly, caring master, maybe reconstruction, and possibly a discussion of Jim Crow social conditions, but only in the context of a Civil Rights Movement that succeeded in making racism a thing of the past (p. 26). Absent from the narrative are the years of white racial terrorism perpetrated by white people spanning from the formation of the United States up through the present day; absent are narratives that depict the agency of African Americans; absent are narratives that describe how African Americans funded and provided for their own education in the face of laws prohibiting black literacy and in states that refused to fund public education for black children; absent, too, are narratives that display the outsized cultural, artistic and literacy achievements of black Americans.

Ladson-Billings (2003) also describes the false and erroneous ideas U.S. History curriculum contains regarding American Indians:

We see American Indians as welcoming European settlers, joining them in a Thanksgiving celebration, guiding them as they explore the west, being massacred as settlers push westward, and finally being removed and subdued by Andrew Jackson. After the “Trail of Tears” American Indians disappear from the pages of our textbooks and the curriculum. For our students American Indians are museum exhibits. No discussion of the ongoing plight of Indians in America is available to most students in our schools. The contemporary Indian rarely emerges in the classroom. At most, our national discussion of American Indians focuses on gambling

casinos and alcoholism. We rarely configure race into our discussion of American Indians (p. 3).

Other scholarship has confirmed the presence of what Ladson-Billings (2001) calls the “discourse of invisibility” (p. 204), a discourse that hides nonwhite Americans or downplays how systems of white racial domination saturate the history of the United States. For example, one recent study (Shear, Knowles, Soden and Castro, 2015) analyzed five high school (three advanced placement), one middle school, and two elementary U.S. history textbooks to understand what they say about indigenous education. All of the textbooks in the sample were published after 2011.

Shear and colleagues found that the history textbooks, on the whole, describe indigenous education as a process of “peaceful reform” instead of, more accurately, a process of cultural genocide and assimilative cultural erasure (2015, p. 69). They also found that most discussion of indigenous education was relegated to the fringes of history, literally printed in sidebars on the margins of the pages. Finally, the authors found that there was no mention of indigenous education after 1900 (2015, p. 69).

Craig and Davis (2015) similarly analyzed eleven secondary textbooks to locate how the logics of white supremacy organize the presentation of history. They found that indigenous peoples were regularly described in a context of violence — depicted typically as a singularly violent people. The authors believe that history textbooks function to recycle the stereotype of the “savage” and make it seem as if Native Americans can only resolve conflict through violence (Craig and Davis, 2015, p. 91).

Prentice Chandler's recent research (2015; 2017; Chandler and Branscombe, 2015) has described these practices and pedagogies as "White Social Studies," which he argues serves to protect the "white racial code" (Chandler and Branscombe, 2016, p. 61). Chandler's (2015) research is particularly illuminating because it's the only empirical work I've found that investigates practices in almost-all-white schools and classrooms. Chandler (2015) investigates three high school history teachers at an almost-all-white high school in southern Alabama. Consistent with other research, Chandler located four pillars of "White Social Studies": "(1) silences relative to race; (2) American exceptionalism; (3) dominance through mentioning; and (4) missing in interaction" (2015, p. 66). The three teachers in his study comprise the entirety of the social studies department at the school. And, importantly, each teacher reported being trained in a teacher preparation program that included some coursework teaching about whiteness and critical race theory. They each also described themselves as being committed to social and racial justice (Chandler, 2015, p. 68).

Chandler (2015) found that all three of the teachers appeared to have "deep, personal and racial investment in the fictive imaginary of the United States" (p. 68). Accordingly, the teachers performed silences about nonwhite persons in U.S. history, which Chandler (2015) argues served to preserve "dominant white narratives about how things came to be" (p. 69). Additionally, Chandler (2015) describes how each of the teachers were invested in ideas about white exceptionalism. Consistently, he found that the teachers would frame racism or other kinds of oppression as anomalies or aberrations to — rather than central and integrated features of — a state that, according to the pedagogy of White Social Studies, represents a beacon of freedom and equality. In this respect, narratives conveying white exceptionalism

lay the groundwork for the kind of anti-black culturalism that is a hallmark of the kind of stereotypical narrativity associated with white ignorance.

Next, Chandler (2015) describes a common pedagogical practice among the teachers, which he calls “stopping short” (p. 72). Themes around race, racial dominance, and white supremacy were always “mentioned” but were rarely included in formal outlines, notes, or testing (p. 77). As mentioned above, other research has similarly noted the way “stopping short” techniques are employed in textbooks, where racial issues are mentioned, but not developed in depth. Instead, they’re positioned as marginalia. Apple and Christian-Smith (1991) call this “dominance by mentioning” which they argue is an especially insidious form of epistemic oppression because it operates under the guise of inclusion and equality (p. 8). Teachers, as Chandler (2015) writes, are able to dutifully acknowledge “a more complicated version of history” but it’s usually “followed by a ‘stopping short’ of developing” that history in order to preserve and protect dominant white narratives (p. 75).

Finally, Chandler (2015) describes ways that “White Social Studies” depict nonwhite groups as “acting with no purpose” (p. 71). Regularly the teachers would describe events involving nonwhite groups without drawing attention to, or analyzing, the motivations, experiences, or active interests that might have governed historical interactions. History is described as something that *happens to* nonwhite groups; rarely are nonwhite groups constructed as active agents in the production of important historical events or processes (Chandler, 2015, p. 79). In this respect, stopping short could contribute to the kind of naturalism that is the hallmark of error associated with white ignorance. Students are literally trained to stop short from performing the kind of structural analysis that might invite them to

consider alternative explanations to extant social realities. Instead, they're potentially encouraged to imagine that the way things appear are just the natural order of things.

Hypothesis 6: The way history and social studies is taught to white students has the effect of reifying stereotypic narrativity, laying the groundwork for narratives of naturalism, culturalism and white disadvantage.

Active white ignorance

There is plenty of evidence to suggest schools may be complicit in the reproduction of doxastic white ignorance. It's not as clear, however, that schools serve to reproduce active white ignorance. I have found no research, for instance, that points to ways that schools may encourage students to inhabit intellectual vice, such as laziness, arrogance or incuriousness. Some of the literature that theorizes epistemic virtue points to evidence that schools may not be doing *enough* to break students from poor intellectual habits. But it's another thing altogether to suggest that schools may be actively *producing* bad intellectual habits.

There is, however, a small body of research that points to ways teachers and schools might be encouraging students to adopt the *discursive practices* associated with white ignorance. In Chapter 3, I defined discourse-based active white ignorance as that which serves to insulate white people from confronting or interrogating racial dimensions of reality. In this section, I want to explore how schools may be responsible, in part, for helping students adopt and express these discursive practices.

Discourse-based active white ignorance: Colorblindness

The discourse of colorblindness, as defined in Chapter 3, refers to discursive practices that explicitly avoid racialized language to insulate oneself from dealing with race or racism in some substantive way. Multiple ethnographic and qualitative studies have documented how when teachers discuss nonwhite students, they're inclined to employ any marker *except* race. Scholars refer to this phenomenon as “white silencing” and “colormuteness.”

Lewis (2003) describes how colormuteness operates in practice. Her research documents how teachers regularly discuss race by using geographical markers (2003, p. 27). Because of the spatial racial segregation that divides Chicago along various boundaries, teachers pointed to different neighborhoods, or even relied on the “suburban-urban” split, to talk about different racial groups (Lewis, 2003, p. 28). Black communities, for example, were described as “urban” and white communities were described as “suburban.” In this way, Lewis (2003) argues, educators are able to replace racial categories with terms like “inner-city,” “welfare,” “project-kids” or “Barnsworth folks,” which serve as shorthand references to mostly-black neighborhoods in Chicago (p. 28).

Lewis’s findings mirror a recent study by Castagno (2014) who describes ways that teachers were “implicated in discourse around ‘east-side’ and ‘west-side’ schools and students” (p. 86). The west-side schools were mostly lower-income Latinx. The east-side schools, by contrast, were higher income and mostly-white.

Along with geographical markers, recent studies (Freidus and Noguera, 2015; Zirkel and Pollack, 2016) also document how teachers rely on categories like language status, socioeconomic status and refugee status to discuss race. In Castagno’s (2014) study, language-status categories supplied especially effective code words “because almost all

students of color at this school were classified as English-language learners and enrolled in ESL courses. Thus, by talking about ‘language minority’ students . . . educators could talk about and around race in ways that were perceived to be safer and less threatening” (p. 86). Freidus and Noguera (2015) similarly document how teachers rely on categories like “low-income,” “poverty,” “dangerous,” “violent” and “drug-infested” to describe nonwhite communities and schools. Lewis (2003) similarly found a willingness among educators in her study to describe other communities in terms of “dysfunction,” “chaos” and “disorganization” while tracing the cause to socio-economic status and the “culture of poverty” (p. 63).

Importantly, these analyses do not imply that only explicitly racial markers and categories are appropriate or correct. There are a range of contexts in which categories like language-status, geography, economic-status, refugee-status and so on can helpfully and productively refer to real features of the world that are relevant to education and other social projects. The reason, however, that research tends to dwell on these specific vocabularies is primarily because there is a conspicuous pattern whereby educators are evidently willing to use almost any other category *except* race. It’s therefore appropriate to infer, given the evidence, that these categories must function as racial codes precisely because explicitly racial categories are almost never otherwise employed. These discourses function to silence mention of race to insulate interlocutors from confronting race in a sustained way.

Other studies have documented instances in which teachers not only employ the discourse of colorblindness themselves, but also explicitly encourage their students not to discuss race when it comes up. Castagno (2014) suggests that the efforts to shut down dialogue around race is a consequence of what she calls a pedagogy of “niceness.” One of

Castagno's key thesis is that "whiteness" is marked by "niceness" which operates to preserve the status quo in an effort to minimize social conflict. She says that educators focus on helping students be nice to one another, and believe that race-based language will undermine that objective. Amanda Lewis, for her part, believes the phenomenon can be traced to a persistent belief that any discussion of race is inherently "divisive" (2003, p. 18). Because teachers believe that discussing race is divisive, they're inclined to halt or avert discussion of race in order to avoid controversy or conflict. In this respect, colormuteness is often motivated by the discourse of normative colorblindness.

Sometimes, educators do not enact colormuteness deliberately. In her book, *Colormute: Race Talk Dilemmas*, Mica Pollock (2009) describes how she was unintentionally complicit in performing colormuteness as a teacher. In an vivid recollection, she describes how one of her black students approached her to complain that other teachers were acting and talking in racist ways. Pollock recounts how she told the student he needed to make his case in a "calm" manner and "provide evidence" for the serious charges. In retrospect, she recognized that it was inappropriate to ask the boy to provide evidence for racism; her requirement, she said, merely functioned to ensure *that racial confrontation was thwarted*.

Castagno's (2014) study provides two especially rich examples of the way teachers may discourage students from discussing race. In one case a guest speaker gave a talk about living in Germany to students in a German-language class (the speaker was a parent of a child who attended the school; she was born and raised in Germany) (p. 94). After the talk, students were invited to ask questions. One of the students asked the guest speaker what "color" the speaker was (Castagno, 2014, p. 83). He was either asking about her race or her

nationality (Castagno can't quite work out which). The guest speaker and the teacher both told the child that it was "inappropriate" to ask that question (Castagno, 2014, p. 84). When the child asked why it is inappropriate, the teacher responded that it's not polite to ask such questions "in public" and "in front of everyone" (p. 84). According to Castagno, the teacher said to the student, "If someone came up to you and asked you about your religion or ethnicity or race, it's just not polite" (2014, p. 84).

In another case, Castagno (2014) reports an episode in which a Pacific Islander boy and a group of Latino boys were discussing the meaning of various racialized terms, such as "Spicket" and "Tonganos," and whether the terms are racist (p. 90). Castagno describes that the teacher interrupted the conversation and said, "Stop talking about race and ethnicity because it's making you upset" (2014, p. 90). Castagno's interpretation of the conversation differs, however, from the teacher's. As Castagno (2014) writes, "I did not get the sense that the students were getting upset; it seemed to me that they were having a productive conversation about race and language" (P. 91). In any case, the teacher demanded that the boys stop talking about the racial terms because "other people can hear it and may get offended" and because she wants the classroom "to be a nice environment where everyone feels welcomed" (Castagno, 2014, p. 91).

Across a variety of studies, researchers have documented markedly consistent findings. Regardless of the motivation, whether it's because, as Castagno (2014) argues, whiteness requires "niceness," or because of efforts to avoid conflict, educators often actively prevent discussion around race. To be sure, there are a host of reasons why a teacher *may* want to silence conversation about race in the classroom. Castagno's interpretation of the conversation illustrated above could have been wrong. Perhaps the art teacher knows

something about her students that Castagno does not. Perhaps there were similar discussions among the boys in the past that escalated into verbal altercation, or worse. Perhaps the teacher believed that the students' dialogue was in violation of school policy around hate speech. It's hard to tell what that teacher's motivations were, in part because Castagno does not ask. But, in a way, that particular teacher's motivations are beside the point.

My goal isn't to critique or interrogate everything a teacher does in the classroom. The point is to highlight documented patterns of practice to locate ways that educators might be responsible for the reproduction of white ignorance. My seventh hypothesis is, thus, multipronged: The discourse of colorblindness in schools has two deleterious effects. First, white students are deliberately and expressly denied a space to make sense of what race is, how race structures the world and how it affects their lives. Second, teachers who employ the discourse of colorblindness send an explicit message that it is not "appropriate" or "normal" or "acceptable" to talk about race. It seems plausible that if students are explicitly trained not to discuss race, then the outcomes will reflect cognitive and interpretive patterns consistent with character-based white ignorance. They'll be inclined to insulate themselves from new ideas that might disrupt the ideas-based white ignorance they inhabit. **Hypothesis 7: The way teachers employ the discourse of colorblindness encourages children to adopt the discourse of colorblindness and prevents children from confronting race in sustained and meaningful ways.** It seems prudent, therefore, to follow Fine (2017) and investigate the formal and informal ways schools control what can and cannot be spoken, what discourse must be controlled, and the way those regulatory schemes are productive of white ignorance.

Conclusion

Historically, education researchers have focused on mostly nonwhite schools, since those are the places in which some of the most severe educational injustices transpire. But the hypotheses developed in this chapter suggest that major problems may be found in mostly white schools too. Worst case scenario is that we have publicly funded institutions systematically inculcating deep patterns of white ignorance, serving to reify the epistemic dimensions of a white supremacy. At this point, education researchers don't have a good sense of what, exactly, is going on in these schools.

In this chapter I tried to show how the white ignorance framework can be used to guide future research. Researchers can, first, focus on how specific policies promote and validate doxastic white ignorance. At the same time, they can investigate how classroom practices may promote and validate behaviors and discourses associated with white ignorance. The goal, eventually, is to build a robust educational approach capable of undermining white ignorance. Unfortunately, that goal can't be achieved unless we first identify what the problem is. The table below summarize the seven hypothesis I identified in this chapter.

**How might schools contribute to the proliferation
of white ignorance in white communities?**

- Hypothesis 1** Policymakers are disinclined to address white ignorance because they worry it might undermine social cohesion.
- Hypothesis 2** The “unbearable whiteness” (Gangi, 2008) of the classroom contributes to the incognizance associated with doxastic white ignorance.
- Hypothesis 3** Some approaches to multicultural education contribute to the incognizance associated with doxastic white ignorance.
- Hypothesis 4** The way teachers confront instances of racism in schools contributes to patterns of racial minimization.
- Hypothesis 5** The books teachers choose to teach about historical racism often serve to reinforce practices of racial erasure associated with minimization.
- Hypothesis 6** The way we teach history and social studies reinforces stereotypic narratives like naturalism, culturalism and white disadvantage.
- Hypothesis 7** Children adopt the discourse of colorblindness that teachers practice in the classroom.

Chapter Six

Realizing Wokeness

In the previous chapter, I showed how the white ignorance framework can be used to guide empirical inquiry into mostly white schools. The purpose was to illuminate areas where we can test the general hypothesis that schools are, to some degree, complicit in proliferating white ignorance in white communities. In this chapter, I show how the framework can be applied to educational practice, not just research. More specifically, I want to show how the framework can help answer the core question that motivates this project: *How can mostly white schools in white communities operate to disrupt and undermine the reproduction of white ignorance in white communities?*

The purpose of this chapter is to identify and clarify the aim of an anti-white ignorance pedagogy that might help interrupt and undermine the reproduction of white ignorance in and across white communities. Then, I want to show how educators can employ the white ignorance framework toward that end. In sum, I plan to articulate the aim and then suggest how we might get there.²²

Because white ignorance involves three primary components—doxastic, active and meta-white ignorance—I think it’s intuitive that we should work to advance pedagogy capable of addressing all three. Lots of research exists that helps guide educators toward eliminating doxastic white ignorance. Approaches like “critical whiteness pedagogy” (Allen,

²² Of course, like the last chapter, my approach is somewhat limited because I don’t have an actual body of empirical research from which I can draw to help identify areas that warrant remedy. It’s difficult to conceive of an educational aim when we aren’t exactly sure what the problem is. I have a hunch, but not much hard evidence. Culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies are positioned, in part, as responses to specific practices in schools that are toxic and counterproductive. However, in this case I’m not sure exactly what practices in mostly white schools are toxic and therefore warrant the most immediate attention. In this respect, the aim I identify is independent of sound diagnosis. That doesn’t mean it’s wrong per se. Only that it’s limited. Should education researchers undertake more systematic investigation, expect potential revisions to my thesis.

2004; Yeung, Spanierman, & Landrum-Brown, 2013), “pedagogies of whiteness” (DiAngelo, 2012) and “white privilege analysis” (Lensmire, McManimon, Tierney, Lee-Nichols, Casey, & Davis, 2013) have gained enormous currency in the last two decades. The purpose of these pedagogies is straightforward: To help white students understand the mechanics of race, racism and racial domination. In other words, the goal is to “visibilize” the racial dimensions of our shared world (DiAngelo, 2012; Rogers & Moseley, 2006), to minimize obliviousness, moderate minimization and correct error.

The seminal voice in this tradition is Peggy McIntosh, whose essay “White Privilege: Unpacking the Invisible Knapsack” (1990) remains one of the most widely read essays about whiteness in education today. The main aim of the essay and the pedagogy that underwrites “white privilege analysis” is to help white students recognize and acknowledge their own white racial privilege. Other scholarship takes a similar approach, but seek to go beyond privilege to larger domains of racial ignorance. Barbara Applebaum, for example, developed an approach called “white complicity pedagogy.” Applebaum’s concern is that white students are taught the ways they “benefit” (2008) from systems of white racial domination, but they are not taught the ways in which they are also complicit in those same systems. So, she advocates for a pedagogy that encourages students to identify their own complicity as part of an awakening to the ways their everyday behaviors are implicated in systems of white racial domination.

Lawrence Blum’s research (2012) represents a related approach, expressing similar concern that sometimes educators focus too much on racial privilege. According to Blum, often absent from the conversation is a robust structural analysis of white racial domination. In his view, white students are not given the vocabulary and resources needed to interpret and

understand all the ways that race shapes the modern world. Blum believes that by directly teaching about race as an explicit school subject (2015), students can gain an expanded vocabulary and acquire new conceptual frameworks that help facilitate new kinds of interaction and expression, provide new ways to interpret racial phenomena in the world, and hopefully thereby promote more ethical conduct.

Together, these scholars help develop frameworks we can use to minimize and sometimes eliminate elements of doxastic white ignorance, helping students understand white privilege, white complicity and all the ways in which race otherwise structures phenomena in our world. Ultimately, what these various approaches share is a faith that minimizing doxastic can help create a society that is more just.

These approaches are worthwhile—and absolutely crucial for any educational approach that seeks to undermine white ignorance. In what follows, however, I construct several arguments to support the idea that the *priority aim* of anti-white ignorance pedagogy should be to help students overcome the levels of meta-white ignorance I elucidate in Chapter 4. In other words, although it's important for educators to help minimize doxastic and active white ignorance, I will argue that educators should prioritize meta-white ignorance above all. A priority aim is one that, when achieved, educators can be confident they've done their job. Educational success in this context means eroding the three levels of meta-white ignorance I identified in Chapter 4.

To restate, here are the three levels of the meta-white ignorance.

Level 3: *Unawareness of the thesis of white ignorance per se.* Persons simply don't know that white ignorance is a possible condition to which they're subject.

Level 2: *Acknowledging that white ignorance is a real phenomenon to which others are subject, but not noticing that one is subject to white ignorance also.* Persons may be inclined to believe that they're immune to white ignorance, even while acknowledging that the problem is real.

Level 1: *Recognition that one is subject to white ignorance, but not knowing the degree or extent to which they are.* Persons may fully acknowledge that white ignorance affects them, but they may not be able to identify how it affects them and in what context(s).

Persons who overcome all three levels of meta-white ignorance can realize wokeness. Wokeness, I will argue, doesn't mark the absence of ignorance. Rather, wokeness reflects an alertness to one's ignorance combined with the readiness and capacity to recalibrate one's judgment and neutralize the effect ignorance has on one's judgment. Here's a more formal definition to align with the definition of the levels above:

Wokeness: *Recognition that one is subject to white ignorance combined with the capacity to identify how and in what ways they're subject to white ignorance. In addition, wokeness includes a readiness to recalibrate one's judgment based on reflective meta-cognitive work.*

My theory of wokeness draws heavily on the model of "testimonial sensitivity" that Miranda Fricker elucidates in her book *Testimonial Injustice* (2007). But where she focuses on virtuous listening, I try to broaden the application of her theory to epistemic comportment in general. I will show how her model perfectly captures the reflective, meta-cognitive operations central to wokeness. Woke persons are always ready to reflect on their epistemic comportment, then monitor, regulate and adjust for their ignorance. In sum, wokeness is not

realized by eliminating ignorance altogether, but by recognizing and ethically managing one's own inescapable ignorance.

Why should we prioritize meta-white ignorance?

In this section I try to build the case that educators should aim to achieve wokeness, not conceived as independence from ignorance, but conceived as keen awareness of one's own ignorance. There are several theoretical and practical reasons why I believe this approach is crucial. First, the theoretical argument: It seems impossible to leverage educational institutions (or really any mechanism) to eliminate white ignorance altogether. As Jose Medina (2013) persuasively argues, white ignorance is the epistemic corollary to material patterns of white supremacy. The two exist side by side, together as one. You can't eliminate white ignorance unless you eliminate white supremacy. And at this stage of American history, eliminating white supremacy does not seem plausible.

Further, even if we could eliminate doxastic and active white ignorance, it seems like too high a bar and too much a burden to place on educators. Consider that I'm in the advanced stages of a PhD program, writing a dissertation focused on white ignorance. For nearly a decade now I've taken courses from some of the top scholars about race and racism, focusing much of my intellectual energy on patterns of ignorance among white people. At this point, the most foolish conclusion I could draw is that my education has made me somehow immune to white ignorance. If anything, I'm simply *more* attune to all the ways in which I still am regularly subject to patterns of doxastic and active white ignorance (and I think that's the point!). So, if the very education that helped to produce this research couldn't eliminate my own doxastic and active white ignorance, why should we expect any

educational approach to achieve that aim? The reality is that white ignorance is the epistemic water in which white people swim. You can't simply erase deeply inculcated patterns of behavior and thought. It's here whether we like it or not. The question is: How should we deal with it?

Of course, an obvious objection might be: Just because we can't altogether eliminate white ignorance doesn't mean we shouldn't work to minimize it as much as possible. As an analogy: We can't completely eliminate germs, but we still prudently wash our hands to prevent the spread of virus and illness. To respond to this potential objection: I am not suggesting that we should abandon efforts to minimize doxastic and active white ignorance. It's vitally important! But the very fact that we can't eliminate these kinds of white ignorance throws into relief the value of eliminating meta-white ignorance first and foremost. If patterns of white ignorance are guaranteed to affect white people to some extent, then it seems necessary to equip them with the skills and reflective resources to understand how they're subject to that ignorance, so they can address it.

There are several practical considerations too. Even if it were possible to eliminate doxastic and active white ignorance, it would probably be a relatively rare educational outcome. Therefore, there's decided risk in encouraging white people to imagine that they're no longer subject to doxastic and active white ignorance. The risk is that we potentially train young people to, in a sense, weaponize wokeness. Former President Barack Obama has expressed concern about what he names "call-out culture." Here's how Obama describes it:

I do get a sense sometimes now among certain young people, and this is accelerated by social media, there is this sense sometimes of: 'The way of me making change is

to be as judgmental as possible about other people.’ Like, if I tweet or hashtag about how you didn’t do something right or used the wrong verb then I can sit back and feel pretty good about myself, cause, ‘Man, you see how woke I was, I called you out.’”²³

I think Obama nicely captures how wokeness—when understood as an absence of ignorance—invites epistemic hubris and overconfidence. If Medina (2013) is correct that patterns of racial advantage tend to promote epistemic arrogance, then our educational approach should work to help students avoid that fate. If we do not help white persons eliminate all the levels of meta-white ignorance and achieve wokeness (conceived as recognition of one’s own ignorance), they might get stuck in Level 2 meta-white ignorance. They might come to believe that they’re no longer subject to white ignorance, but that others are. They might spend all their time calling out others, while ignoring their own ignorance. However, if we prioritize meta-white ignorance, then we’re more likely to promote epistemic humility. Wokeness should involve the persistent recognition of one’s own epistemic limitations.

Another practical consideration concerns how white ignorance manifests. Do we imagine white people activate patterns of active white ignorance the same way in every context? Or do we imagine epistemic vices like arrogance, laziness and incuriousness only appear sometimes in some contexts? Some recent scholarship promotes the former view, arriving at a conception of active white ignorance that I worry is too broadly applied. For example, Whitt (2105) implicitly agrees with the basic thesis I advance in this project,

²³ The former President’s remarks came at a summit for the Obama Foundation on October 29, 2019. View the video here: <https://www.nytimes.com/2019/10/31/us/politics/obama-woke-cancel-culture.html>

arguing that “it is not sufficient for teachers to make students aware of injustice, or their potential complicity in it” (p. 427). In other words, it isn’t enough to only attend to doxastic white ignorance. “Beyond this,” Whitt writes, “teachers should cultivate epistemic virtue in the classroom and encourage students to take responsibility for better ways of knowing” (2015, p. 427). This is key. Whitt says that to deal effectively with white ignorance, and specifically active white ignorance, educators must help students “cultivate epistemic virtue.” Later in the article, Whitt underlines the same point: “An adequate response [to white ignorance] requires cultivating epistemic humility, intellectual curiosity and open-mindedness” (p. 437).

Whitt’s prescription here is based on the surprising diagnosis that “many students will have little practice with these epistemic virtues” (p. 437). Whitt explains that the reason teachers need to teach epistemic virtue is because students, in general, don’t really have any; students are unpracticed when it comes to epistemic virtue. I value Whitt’s analysis. He recognizes that educators must go beyond doxastic white ignorance and seek to deal with the dialogic, emotive and behavioral responses white students bring to the classroom when discussion centers on racism and racial privilege. But I’m not confident that the response Whitt endorses is the right one — and I’m not confident his diagnosis is fully accurate.

Here's why. Whitt (2015) is reflecting on his experience as a college-level English literature instructor. He’s talking specifically about college students. What’s more, his teaching experience is at a relatively prestigious university, perennially ranked in the top 25 in the United States. Whitt seems to say that the students in his classroom simply don’t have the intellectual virtues required to learn about facts in the world in a responsible, autonomous fashion. To be fair, Whitt might very well be right. Indeed, on some level it’s plausible that

even some of the best students at one of the better schools in the United States are basically incurious, close-minded and arrogant. But that assessment feels somewhat inexact and heavy handed.

Is it accurate to say that some of the best students in the country are *altogether* unpracticed when it comes to epistemic virtue? I imagine there's a strong likelihood that student behaviors don't reflect epistemic virtue in *his* classroom, specifically amid activities and conversations which invite students to reflect on racism and racial advantage. But can Whitt claim that these students altogether lack epistemic virtue simply because they don't exhibit virtue in his classroom? I'm not sure it's fair to render an assessment of these students' entire intellectual character based on observed behaviors during some classroom lessons.

Importantly, Whitt is not alone. Medina (2012), for his part, articulates a very similar diagnosis, using sometimes even stronger, more emphatic language. As I described in Chapter 3, Medina believes that structural social advantage serves to generate a pathological condition in whites, which makes them, he says, "*absolutely incapable* of acknowledging any mistake or limitation, [and] indulging in delusional cognitive omnipotence that prevents [them] from learning from others and improving" (2012, p. 31; emphasis added). Since whites, according to Medina, enjoy "ignorance out of luxury" (2012, p. 34) they eventually assume a "habitual lack of epistemic curiosity" (p. 35), which over time "atrophies one's cognitive attitudes and dispositions" creating "blindness" that inhibit the acquisition of knowledge about the world (p. 35). Ultimately, Medina says, their character is one of "epistemic closed-mindedness," a condition in which "one's mental processing remains systematically closed to certain phenomena, experiences, and perspectives" (2012, p. 34).

In my reading, both Medina and Whitt describe whites as inhabiting full-blown epistemic vice. For example, as I quoted above, Medina says structural conditions are such that privileged white subjects are “absolutely incapable of acknowledging any mistake or limitation.” In my view, “absolutely incapable” represents unnecessarily strong language. There are other points in the text when Medina doubles down on the same analysis, writing:

Epistemic vices are flaws that are not incidental and transitory, but structural and systematic: they involve attitudes deeply rooted in one’s personality and cognitive functioning. Epistemic vices are composed of attitudinal structures that permeate one’s entire cognitive life: they involve attitudes toward oneself and others in testimonial exchanges, attitudes toward the evidence available and one’s assessment of it, and so on (p. 31; emphasis added).

Medina is not mincing words. In his lights, epistemic vice is that which infects one’s entire character — one’s entire cognitive life. In other contexts, Medina describes how privileged white subjects can become “epistemically spoiled” (2012, p. 54). Their character is rotten, literally, to the core. At each step, Medina asserts a sweeping diagnosis of the way privileged people, in general, are constituted.

I have no doubt that the behaviors Whitt and Medina observe are real and common. But the question is whether it’s accurate to assert that white people exhibit the same epistemic vice in all contexts. Would Whitt’s students, for example, exhibit the same kind of epistemic vice in, say, math class or science class? My guess is that it’s unlikely. On some

level we must imagine that the students at the top universities in the United States exhibit intellectual virtue in some contexts and classes.

The question is important because how we conceptualize the problem significantly impacts how we construct an educational approach. If we think that students lack virtue then we need to help students acquire virtue. Alternatively, if we think that most students, generally speaking, can inhabit intellectual virtue, but simply fail to do so in some contexts, then that's something else altogether.

In the next section I build on Miranda Fricker's research to advance the latter view. I argue that the *situation* significantly shapes how patterns of ignorance manifest. Whites do not always and in every case inhabit epistemic vice; rather, given certain situational variables, whites (and not just whites) are, in effect, triggered to inhabit bad epistemic character traits. In other words, sometimes whites can reason or listen very well and they don't appear subject epistemic vice at all. But other times when, for example, the topic or conversation concerns race or racism, whites may suddenly abandon the epistemic virtues they might otherwise inhabit in other contexts. The point is that various situations have the tendency to prompt whites to inhabit certain traits that impair their cognitive functioning.

In my view, then, it's inexact to say that white people *altogether* lack epistemic virtue. It's more accurate, I believe, to say that white people lack epistemic virtue on some (perhaps many) occasions—but not always! And the fact that most white people can sometimes inhabit intellectual virtue in some contexts carries pedagogical implications because educators can help students become alert to instances in which they fail to inhabit virtue. Therefore, I believe the educational goal is not exactly to eliminate active white ignorance, but rather to help students recognize and identify when and in what situations

they're likely to inhabit epistemic vice associated with active white ignorance. Wokeness shouldn't mean the absence of active white ignorance, but the aptitude to reflect on how active white ignorance affects one's epistemic comportment and the ability to recalibrate one's judgement in light of that reflection.

Miranda Fricker's Model of Testimonial Sensitivity

In her landmark book, *Epistemic Injustice*, Fricker (2007) seeks (among other objectives) to analyze why white people commonly fail to listen to, and seriously consider, the views of nonwhite others. Her research, in other words, seeks to understand why privileged whites tend to ignore others who don't share the same skin color and social status. A paradigmatic example of this phenomenon, she says, is an instance in which a white cop doesn't give appropriate weight to black witness's testimony. Fricker says, in general, white cops tend to be more suspicious of black witnesses compared to white witnesses.

The reason, she argues, that whites fail to listen to nonwhite others is because whites inhabit or activate stereotypic frames that affect their perception. When a hearer encounters a speaker to whom she has either explicitly or implicitly assigned a negative stereotype, the would-be hearer is often also inclined to ascribe less credibility to that speaker. Prejudice, she says, "will tend surreptitiously to inflate or deflate the credibility afforded the speaker, and sometimes this will be sufficient to cross the threshold for belief or acceptance so that the hearer's prejudice causes him to miss out on a piece of knowledge" (Fricker, 2007, p. 17). Fricker (2007) refers to this as a "prejudicial credibility deficit" (p. 19) owing to a negative stereotypic judgement. In other words, extant stereotypes (e.g. "black people are dumb" or "untrustworthy") causes a hearer to believe that the speaker is not credible, and therefore the

hearer doesn't listen as carefully or diligently as she might listen in other contexts to other people.

Fricker argues that there are many situations in which a similar phenomenon occurs.²⁴ For instance, prejudicial credibility deficits might also prompt men to exclude women from conversations about politics simply because it is assumed women *qua* women aren't capable of discussing politics intelligently. Whatever the topic, the key idea is that persons are assigned a certain degree of credibility on the basis of a given stereotype. Women, nonwhites, children even, are subject to operant stereotypes that involve alleged cognitive capacity and incapacity, presumed duplicitousness, foolishness etc. Given active stereotypes, women are judged unintelligent simply because they are women. Blacks can be judged as dishonest simply because they are black. Children can be perceived as unintelligent simply because they are young. There are, in short, according to Fricker, endless stereotypic frames that may function to incite a prejudicial credibility deficit.

Fricker's analysis is useful because she captures an important reality: It's not like white men are altogether bad listeners. Fricker recognizes that when white men converse with one another they're surely inclined to listen intently and ascribe appropriate credibility to their interlocutor. In other contexts, white men might even listen well to women, if the context is one in which stereotypic frames aren't activated. In fact, Fricker says that owing to evolutionary biology and the historical means by which humans gather knowledge, people tend to be pretty good listeners — our survival depends on it! And yet, as soon as a stereotypic frame is activated it all falls apart.

²⁴ In fact, Fricker believes that “the right vision of epistemic relations is such that testimonial injustice goes on much of the time, and while it may be hard enough to police one's beliefs for prejudice, it is significantly harder to reliably filter out the prejudicial stereotypes that inform one's social perceptions directly, without doxastic mediation” (2007, p. 36).

What I glean from Fricker's account is this: Several factors in a situation can cause persons to fail to inhabit epistemic virtues they might otherwise inhabit in other situations or contexts. The key idea is that some element of the situation triggers the person to call up a stereotype, which makes them view and appraise their interlocutor with less credibility. The credibility deficit, in turn, makes the hearer not exercise responsible listening, and therefore they don't inhabit concomitant epistemic virtues like humility, diligence and curiosity.

Importantly, "situation," in this context, shouldn't be conceived too narrowly. A situation might refer to literally *every instance* in which a white person interacts with a nonwhite person. By situation, I don't mean to identify a discrete event with a definite time horizon. Situation might include simply being in the world. I just mean to say that our virtue manifests differently in different situations.

Fricker focuses chiefly on interpersonal interactions, especially those influenced by negative stereotypic frames. However, I want to suggest that credibility deficits that stem from stereotypic frames are only one small aspect of the broader problem. So, it makes sense to expand Fricker's framework to encompass other aspects of white ignorance too. White ignorance is a massive epistemic condition that includes stereotypic framing, to be sure, but also much more than that. In my view, we should focus on the entire constellation of epistemic challenges, including doxastic white ignorance (incognizance, minimization, racial narratives) and active white ignorance (discourses, habits and attitudes). The problem we encounter is much broader than stereotyping and poor listening.

Consider the way two situations might trigger entirely different epistemic comportment. Imagine two white people are discussing the movie *First Man* (a movie about Neil Armstrong landing on the moon), they're not likely, during the course of the

conversation, to inhabit aspects of white ignorance. Under normal conditions, they'll probably listen pretty well to one another and enjoy a generally charitable and productive dialogue. Alternatively, consider if those *same* two white people begin conversing about the movie *BlacKKKlansman*. In this instance, I believe they are much more likely, simply based on the situation (i.e. the topic of discussion), to be subject to elements of white ignorance. In this respect, the "situation" is simply the topic under discussion. So, it's not just about stereotypes generating credibility deficits. More broadly, it's about how the topic and the situation triggers aspects of white ignorance that might otherwise be absent. All of the sudden, the same two white people who could discuss *First Man* without any problems might suddenly start inhabiting epistemic vice when the topic turns to *BlacKKKlansman*.

To give another example: A single person alone at home watching a James Baldwin documentary on Netflix is thereby involved in a "situation" where they're much more likely to inhabit vices associated with white ignorance than they would be at home alone watching a National Geographic documentary about exotic birds. The "situation," in this instance, is merely the documentary that's being viewed. A documentary about James Baldwin that includes explicitly racial themes is likely to trigger discourses and behaviors and attitudes associated with white ignorance. The situation, on this account, doesn't need to involve an interlocutor. Of course, we can imagine much more nuanced situations where it may not be immediately obvious that white ignorance is likely to trigger. There are plenty of situations in which we wouldn't imagine that white ignorance would play a role, yet it does.

The educational remedy: Teaching toward wokeness

If the account above is roughly correct, then several educational implications follow. The first and most obvious: You can't educate your way out of white ignorance. In a racist society marked by conditions of white racial domination, white ignorance will necessarily prevail — at least so long as correlate material conditions organized by the supremacy of whiteness prevail too. Fricker says that no matter how much we try to eliminate and avoid prejudiced beliefs, “stealthier, residual prejudices” will still hold sway (2007. p. 36). If conditions of white racial domination are present, then an inverted epistemology will also be present. It's just a fact of the sea in which we swim. No one can become wholly immune to stereotypes and racial framing.

The question for educators, then, is how do we proceed with education under conditions of white ignorance? Instead of an approach that aims to eliminate ignorance, we can assume ignorance is more or less inescapable. The educational task, then, is to focus on helping students think more systematically and accurately about the types of situations and social conditions likely to trigger epistemic failure. Students should learn how to identify limitations, blind spots and epistemic lacuna. The goal should be to promote epistemic hesitation and caution instead of confidence. In other words, we don't just want to help students acquire virtue, we need to help them figure out what to do in those moments when they *don't* inhabit virtue. We don't just want to provide students accurate knowledge, we need to help them figure out what to do in those moments when they *don't* possess accurate knowledge. That's what wokeness is and involves.

The conception of wokeness I have in mind tracks closely to Fricker's conception of “testimonial sensitivity.” Fricker argues that it's possible for persons to notice when the

context is one in which they're unlikely to inhabit epistemic virtue and then *neutralize their judgements* in light of that (2007, p. 67). This capacity (i.e. testimonial sensitivity), involves an "anti-prejudicial virtue," which is "reflexive in structure" and serves to "correct" for the failure in judgement that stems from a credibility deficit (ibid.).

Here's how it works. When the hearer confronts a situation in which a stereotype is likely to generate a credibility deficit, the hearer can "shift intellectual gear out of the spontaneous, unreflective mode and into active critical reflection in order to identify how far the suspected prejudice has influenced her judgement" (2007, p. 91). From there, Fricker says, they can correct the credibility deficit by recalibrating the credibility judgement "upwards to compensate" (2007, p. 91). They can, in other words, reconfigure and recalibrate credibility judgements in order to avoid ethical failure and listen more diligently. Fricker suggests further that persons can conduct step-by-step reflection to neutralize bad judgements that stem from credibility deficits.

Here's what it looks like:

Step 1: The hearer must recognize that she's in a situation in which a stereotype is likely to trigger a credibility deficit.

Step 2: Recognition should then instigate reflection.

Step 3: Reflection enables the hearer to recalibrate her judgement so that the credibility deficit doesn't affect her perception of the speaker.

Step 4: After she has corrected the credibility deficit upwards, she is able to then listen to her interlocutor more attentively.

Notice that the step-by-step framework relies first of all on the ability to *recognize* when one is in a situation in which a credibility deficit is likely to obtain. That's no small thing. In fact, it might be the whole thing. Fricker's framework provides the prescription, she identifies the target, but what's missing is the pedagogy. How do we help students—or persons more generally—learn to interpret and decode those moments when a credibility deficit is likely to activate? To state the question differently: *How do we help students recognize when they're in a situation in which doxastic or active white ignorance is likely to influence their judgement?* I believe the white ignorance framework developed in Chapters 1-4 contain the conceptual resources and vocabulary necessary to guide meta-cognitive and meta-behavioral reflection in important ways. The next section describes how educators might achieve that end.

“Going meta:” Helping students tackle meta-white ignorance

To tackle white ignorance, as stated above, I don't believe it's prudent to try to fill students up with “correct knowledge.” Yes, it's important to correct erroneous ideas about the world. But it's counterproductive to correct those views *directly*. Instead, the approach for which I advocate involves, to coin a phrase, “going meta.” Going meta means, first, that educators should focus on meta-white ignorance. A focus on meta-white ignorance involves teaching *about* white ignorance in a sustained, systematic manner — the way we might teach about any academic subject that covers a broad and complex phenomenon (e.g. economics, human psychology, sociology, etc.).

But there's also another sense in which educators should approach white ignorance on meta-terms. When the approach involves directly correcting erroneous and false ideas about

race, then active white ignorance inevitably manifests. Students display evasive and discursive behaviors that serve to divert or shutdown open confrontation with new and alternative ideas. Classroom dialogue can devolve pretty quickly, as well-meaning educators grow increasingly frustrated with the behaviors and attitudes white students often display. Educators may vent privately with one another, but they rarely have a strategy for dealing with active white ignorance when it appears in the classroom.

My (untested) hypothesis is that going meta carries the *potential* to preempt and re-frame patterns of speech and behavior associated with white ignorance. The proposed approach involves building a curriculum based on the white ignorance framework. Educators can present the evidence for white ignorance and describe the patterns of speech and behavior associated with white ignorance in dispassionate, third-person terms. White ignorance should be taught for what it is: A broad social phenomenon that shapes our social world and human behavior in significant ways.

The educational approach I have in mind should seek to erode the levels of meta-white ignorance.²⁵ First and most obviously, teaching *about* white ignorance can familiarize students with the concept itself, thus helping to erode Level 3. Then, over time, students can apprehend the breadth and depth of the evidence for the thesis itself. By working through the recognition and identification of all the elements of doxastic white ignorance as well as active white ignorance, students can start to name the constituent elements in the real world.

²⁵ To restate them:

- Level 3: Unawareness of the thesis of white ignorance per se.
- Level 2: Recognition that white ignorance is a real phenomenon to which people are subject—but which affects others, not oneself.
- Level 1: Recognition that one is subject to white ignorance, but not knowing the degree to which they do.

In this respect, the core purpose of the framework I have developed in this project is to provide educators and students with a *comprehensive vocabulary* that can be used to name and identify patterns of behavior and patterns of cognition in others (Level 2) and also, eventually, in oneself. Ultimately, the goal is to help students recognize when they're at risk of inhabiting white ignorance (Level 1). They should have the vocabulary and framework needed to regularly monitor the contours of the context, as well as the tools to identify how context shapes their own behavioral and cognitive proclivities.

In practice, the phrase going meta tries to capture the difference between individuating a concept versus framing it as part of a general pattern. Consider the differences in how similar ideas are framed on the next page. On one side is a framing that aims to correct erroneous ideas directly, on the other side is a meta-framing that invites reflection on white ignorance in more indirect terms.

Direct

You're a privileged person because of your white skin color.

It is not true that, since the Civil Rights movement, black Americans have achieved roughly the same opportunity as whites.

When you say you have black friends, you're merely trying to reassert your white innocence, while ignoring the reality in which you're implicated.

Meta

Many white Americans are unable, for a range of reasons, to recognize how processes of racialized structuration give them an advantage based on skin color. Because of the way a patterned, inverted epistemology operates, they struggle to see their own privilege. Let's discuss what might contribute to this.

There is a widespread mistaken belief among many people, most of whom are white, that, since the Civil Rights movement, black Americans have achieved roughly the same opportunity as whites. Let's discuss why this might be.

Many white people, when they're challenged to consider how race shapes their place in the world, say things like "I have black friends" in order to signal to their interlocutor that they're "not racist" and shouldn't explore their own complicity in systems of racial injustice. Let's discuss why this might be and what the consequences are.

Going meta, as the above examples illustrate, involves subtly shifting the terrain, moving away from the direct phenomenon toward exploration of the broader social pattern. Consider the first example—an assertion that one's white skin confers social advantage. Such direct framing risks confrontation animated by active white ignorance. When we discuss the phenomenon (white privilege) directly, students are essentially invited to challenge the assertion both because it directly implicates them personally and also because it inevitably activates discursive elements that aim to prevent reflection. The meta framing, by contrast, assumes in advance the validity of the reality (racial privilege exists), does not tie it to any

agent in particular, and then ultimately invites inquiry into the broader social pattern (collective ignorance). With meta framing, we don't immediately litigate whether white privilege is real. Instead, we explore why it's denied so broadly and so consistently.

Importantly, framing in meta terms only represents the entry point. Obviously, there is still space to establish the veracity of the underlying claim itself (that racial privilege exists). In addition, students may still elect to protest the underlying claim, and teachers may be challenged to document extant evidence as they might in any other context. But the way that evidence is presented can make a big difference. Consider the difference in the following: "Here's the evidence that demonstrates white privilege is real" versus "Many people deny white privilege is real despite X Y, and Z evidence." In the latter framing, educators can document the evidence at the same time that they maintain focus on the patterned ignorance per se.

I believe—but don't have much evidence for—going meta has three distinct advantages. First, it creates distance between the student and the idea/behavior. Creating distance minimizes individuated investment, and therefore alleviates the likelihood that active white ignorance will manifest. Second, it frames the student as an effect of social forces, which I believe has the capacity to generate curiosity and exploration. Finally, going meta can preempt ideas, discourses and behaviors associated with white ignorance by naming and predicting them in advance. Such preemption gives teachers the resources to invite students to inquire and reflect on whether their response(s) amount to an instance of the phenomenon of white ignorance itself. In this way they can encourage students to practice the kind of reflection Fricker endorses.

First, when we talk about patterned ignorance at the broad social level, it enables students—at least initially—to encounter these ideas at a conceptual distance. To some extent, students are able to disinvest from their commitment to specific ideas, since no specific idea is being interrogated. Instead, what's being interrogated are broad domain-specific patterns of ignorance. It's easier to scrutinize a phenomenon and set of social behaviors if the discussion centers on patterns of behavior among *others*. As an illustration: instead of directly encouraging students to imagine what it means to benefit from racial privilege, the idea is that we can encourage students to observe how *other* people deal with that reality. By examining how patterns of ignorance appear in others, students might be disarmed, which could minimize the likelihood that they'll activate active white ignorance. They might be more likely to participate in inquiry, instead of immediately shutting down. This aspect, however, only manages to erode Level 2 meta-white ignorance.

Next, the framing for which I advocate identifies each instance of white ignorance as an effect of a broad social phenomenon. Functionally, the purpose of this approach is to help students recognize that their thinking and their behavior is, in certain instances, a consequence of patterns of social habituation. In other words, we want to help students recognize that their discursive moves, for example, are not their own—they're simply predictable patterns of speech, common across myriad persons and contexts. Such framing serves to disindividuate instances of white ignorance, encouraging students to explore how broader social patterns influence and impact their thinking and judgement. This may help generate the meta-cognitive reflection needed to erode Level 1 meta-white ignorance. Encouraging students to examine themselves as an effect of processes of socialization can

invite curiosity and inquiry as students interrogate whether and to what extent their behavior and ideas are a consequence of individual agency or social habituation.

Finally, framing white ignorance in meta terms can help educators preempt expressions of white ignorance, placing educators in a better position to respond. The purpose of systematic meta-framing is to provide students and educators with a vocabulary they can use to name and interpret phenomena that appears in the classroom. Often educators confront discourse-based active white ignorance as it arises, but because the meta-framing is not conducted in advance, they lack the resources to help students recognize the expression for what it is. The consequence is that expressions of, say, discourse-based white ignorance ignite a more personal confrontation. A student, for example, may express the discourse of white innocence, and the teacher may strain to articulate why those utterances are problematic without directly impugning the student in a counterproductive way.

In my own teaching, students regularly (both in the classroom and in their writing), express a range of utterances exactly patterned according to discourse-based white ignorance. At my worst moments, such instances instigate an argument between myself and the student. If I don't undertake the meta-framing in advance, I don't have the resources available to name and describe what is happening. The best I can do is encourage the student to reflect on their own thinking. But if I do the work up front to provide a vocabulary and conceptual framework, then I have the resources to help guide reflection in an intelligent and meaningful way. It should be possible to say, "sometimes in these moments we're at risk of inhabiting the discourse of moral innocence [or whatever it might be], do you believe this [specific statement] is an instance of that?" Instead of an occasion for confrontation, the expression of

white ignorance becomes an invitation for exploration, inquiry and reflection. In turn, students may practice the meta-cognitive activity needed to realize wokeness.

Realizing wokeness

So far, I have described how meta-framing may help students work through the various levels of meta-white ignorance, starting with third-person objective analysis (i.e. identifying patterns of white ignorance in others) and moving toward first-person subjective inquiry (i.e. identifying patterns of white ignorance in oneself). Ultimately, the purpose of this approach is to train students to name constituent elements of white ignorance, so they can identify it as it appears. The goal is to achieve something similar to the testimonial sensitivity Fricker identifies in her research. “Wokeness” is a concept that I believe captures that basic aim. We want students to be able to recognize an expression of white ignorance and the context that underwrites the occasion for it. Then, hopefully, they’ll be able to neutralize the effects of white ignorance on their judgement.

Meta-dialogic and meta-cognitive analysis are the principal means through which reflective recognition is achieved. At every step, educators can encourage students to try to identify whether and to what extent they’re subject to various dimensions of white ignorance. Guided writing assignments and group discussions may help facilitate the meta-cognitive work necessary to identify, say, erroneous ideas or inclinations to activate minimization in one’s own social analyses. We want students to discern when the situation is one that generates aspects of white ignorance.

Similarly, meta-dialogic analysis can help students uncover how and in what ways their own patterns of speech and behavior involve, say, evasion or the discourse of innocence

or colorblindness. Educators may construct specific assignments that invite students to reflect on past behaviors and discourses and encourage students to name instances in which they've activated white ignorance in the past. Educators can also scaffold this inquiry by naming as it appears during discussion or in the marginalia of papers. When students activate discourses consistent with active white ignorance, educators can directly point to it and ask students whether they agree it's an instance of the phenomenon and how they believe it might influence their judgement.

Importantly, going meta is only one strategy among many that teachers might employ to try to help students realize wokeness. I don't believe that going meta works in every context or with every student. And, of course, success is predicated on an endless array of variables, most of which teachers can never control. That's why I'm more concerned in this chapter with working to identify the aim. Regardless of which strategies teachers employ, the idea is to help students practice identifying when and at what moments white ignorance risks influencing and impairing their judgement. We want students to notice when the context is one in which they're prompted to inhabit behaviors and discourses that they don't inhabit in other situations. The process of reflective recognition eventually should look something like this:

1. **Reflect:** At this moment, am I at risk of inhabiting certain kinds of white ignorance? Is this context one in which erroneous ideas or incognizance are likely to influence my judgement? Is this situation likely to prompt discourses or behaviors that prevent me from attending to the world in responsible ways?

2. **Identify:** Which elements of white ignorance am I subject to? Am I subject to incognizance? Am I practicing minimization? Am I participating in the discourse of innocence? Am I participating in the discourse of colorblindness? Am I being intellectually lazy?
3. **Monitor:** How are these elements of white ignorance influencing my judgement? Is incognizance hampering my capacity to see something new? Are my current behaviors causing me to miss out on exploring reality?
4. **Regulate:** Can I recalibrate my judgement to attend to phenomena more accurately and with greater care?

These activities associated with wokeness aren't necessarily linear. The process, in practice, is more fluid and tacit. But, perhaps initially it makes sense to encourage students to explicitly identify each step, to explicitly map their meta-cognitive activity, so they can improve their capacity to name and identify how white ignorance impacts their thinking about the world and relationships in it. In short, we simply want students to recognize when the situation triggers deviation from their normal epistemic practice. Having the tools to name and identify the type of epistemic misfire is sine qua non for that practice.

Conclusion

Over time, naming the constituent elements of white ignorance through meta-dialogic and meta-cognitive analysis can help students practice locating limits and distortions in their epistemic field. They may start to notice when they're subject to epistemic lacuna owing to racialized structuration. They may start to notice when they're activating discourses and

behaviors that depart from their normal functioning. In this respect, teaching white students about race and racism should be guided by a specific goal: to help students identify, locate and catalog potential perspectival, interpretive and cognitive *limitations* they might face as a consequence of systems of racial structuration. So, it's not just thinking about how race organizes the world out there; not just how racial logics disadvantage nonwhite persons and groups; not just how racial logics confer privilege on me or others; not just how racial logics can structure and constitute white identity. But, most importantly, thinking about how racial logics organize one's field of perception, one's interpretation of the world, one's habits, attitudes and dispositions, one's vocabulary, the way they employ that vocabulary, and how it's bound up with one's emotions and way of being in the world.

This reflective activity is called wokeness.

Chapter Seven

Toward a Racially Responsive Pedagogy

The purpose of this final chapter is to consolidate all the forgoing into a cohesive package, hopefully to illuminate a path forward for teachers and teacher educators committed to achieving social justice. My goal is to show how the white ignorance framework presented in this dissertation can be incorporated into a larger framework, which I call “racially responsive pedagogy.” A racially responsive pedagogy, I believe, creates a standardized logic to underwrite and motivate *both* culturally responses and sustaining pedagogies as well as the pedagogical approach I described in the previous chapter.

As I argue below, undermining the reproduction of white ignorance in mostly white schools represents the inverse corollary approach to what educators currently employ when they practice culturally responsive and sustaining pedagogies (CRSP) in mostly nonwhite schools. CRSP asks educators to notice and decode ways the supremacy of whiteness functions to erode and erase indigenous epistemologies (Emdin, 2016); similarly, the framework I’ve articulated here asks educators to notice and decode ways the supremacy of whiteness functions to sustain and nourish white ignorance in white schools. A racially responsive pedagogy serves to formalize this shared diagnostic approach. Before educators can decide what educational model to adopt, they must clearly acknowledge what they’re up against. I think a racially responsive pedagogy can help concretize that acknowledgment.

In my experience colleges of education focused on social justice do not typically prepare educators to pursue social justice in mostly white schools. The consequence is that teachers often abandon significant aspects of their social justice mission when they move

from mostly nonwhite into mostly white schools. Many teachers are not given a framework to think about how to operationalize social justice education in mostly white communities.

Let me share an anecdote: I recently had a conversation with a colleague who was discussing a state-wide job fair that the graduates of her teacher preparation program attend every year at the state capitol. She said she often worries that recent graduates will end up taking a teaching position in mostly-all-white schools in the suburbs. She described feeling like such an outcome amounts to a waste of time and resources. In her view, they spend years training teachers to teach effectively in Latinx communities or black communities or Hmong communities, and so when graduates immediately take positions at affluent mostly white schools, it's as if all the training was for nothing. Her position is that their college of education is committed to making an impact on society toward greater justice, and when graduates elect to teach outside of low-income nonwhite contexts, the college is failing at their mission.

I suspect her view is not uncommon. Very likely, many programs that focus on urban education, or teaching for social justice, are at pains to encourage graduates to make a difference in the most disadvantaged communities. They want graduates to teach in so-called crisis communities where efforts will make the biggest impact. Although I don't quarrel with this basic idea, I have tried to establish here that white communities are also likely in crisis. If my hypothesis is correct, white schools are at least partly responsible for reproducing and validating patterns of ignorance among white populations. These patterns of ignorance function to justify and solidify material conditions of racial inequality. It goes without saying, I think, that the systematic reproduction of ignorance (of any kind) is bad. The systematic reproduction of ignorance that helps validate white racial domination is much,

much worse. We should not ignore the deep problems in mostly white communities.

I believe, therefore, that subtle revisions to how teacher education programs approach questions of social justice can position graduates to pursue social justice *no matter where they take their first job or eventually teach*. The framework articulated in this final chapter invites teacher educators to expand on and strengthen existing practices so that novice teachers can gain the tools, pedagogies and resources to make a difference—whether that’s in white communities, nonwhite communities or more integrated districts.

The plan of this chapter is as follows. First, I provide a brief genealogy of the development of CRSP. I want to construct a narrative to outline the conceptual origins of these pedagogies to suggest that two significant practice-based problems have emerged in the wake of widespread institutional implementation. First, there’s been an outsized focus on the pedagogies themselves without regard to why the pedagogies are in the first place needed. Second, there’s an overemphasis on “culture” and so teachers end up focusing more on specific groups rather than the reasons why unique pedagogies are warranted for different groups. The purpose of this story is to illuminate the reasons why I believe a racially responsive pedagogy will help strengthen justice-focused education.

Section two argues that a vocabulary shift toward a “racially” responsive pedagogy can help make racial analyses more central and more prominent, thereby helping to overcome some of the limitations I describe in Section One. A racially responsive pedagogy, I argue, can serve as a comprehensive approach, encapsulating CRSP as well as anti-white ignorance pedagogies that aim toward realizing wokeness. My framework invites educators to perform an ongoing assessment and diagnosis of the way patterns of white supremacy organize their school and their classroom. Educators first must identify how and in what ways processes of

racialized structuration organize their schooling context and *then* decide the appropriate educational remedy. In mostly white schools the educational remedy will look a lot like the wokeness pedagogy described in the previous chapter. In mostly nonwhite schools the educational remedy will include CRSP, mostly as practiced today. Emphasizing the diagnosis in this respect enables educators to advance social justice work in every school and classroom.

Section1: A brief genealogy of culturally responsive pedagogy.

Culturally responsive pedagogy emerged because of a recognition that the fundamentally racist patterns of practice in schools functioned to — and were in some cases designed to — promote the cultural erasure of students’ and communities’ unique ways of being in the world. In particular, the key concern articulated across the scholarship is that schooling practices, curricula, assessments and textbooks are saturated by white norms and epistemologies, which function to center the Euro-American reference group. There are expectations regarding how children should talk and dress (Delpit, 2006), as well as how they should behave and comport themselves (Valenzuela, 1999; Ferguson, 2001), and these norms (and associated policies) can delimit lines of exclusion and marginalization. Children are consequently marked as deviant and subject to unfair punitive institutional response (Ferguson, 2001). Furthermore, the fabric of schools is grounded in what some scholars have called “unbearable whiteness” (Gangi, 2008), whereby the curricula, classroom materials, books, histories, and more general conversation is grounded in a white system of reality. In simple terms, the classroom doesn’t reflect how nonwhite students interpret and understand the world.

The consequences of these problems are multiple. First, schooling practices and policies have a “subtractive” effect, in that they systematically erode nonwhite students’ distinct social capital (Valenzuela, 1999). Subtractive practices, in turn, function to elicit a particular set of responses from students; students rightly reject the subtractive assimilative practices that require them to deny their background and home life. Students accordingly disengage or refuse to participate in these toxic schooling activities.

Teachers, however, misinterpret student responses. As Valenzuela writes, “rather than seeing youths’ bodies as the site of agency, critical thinking, and resistance to schools’ lack of connectedness to them, school officials see hapless, disengaged individuals who act out their defiance through their strut-and-swagger attitude toward school rules” (1999, p. 32). The interpretation from school officials and teachers, in other words, initiates a set of deficit logics. It is said students “don’t care” about school; and their families don’t “value” school. The problem is diagnosed as a problem with students’ “culture,” and so schools tend to double-down on the same set of marginalizing policies and practices. The message is clear: the students’ culture is broken and needs to be “fixed” (Anyon, 2005).

To combat these racist patterns of practice, scholars like Ladson-Billings and Villegas began to catalog and standardize teaching practices that aim to validate cultures and backgrounds that depart from the white reference norm. Instead of thinking about students’ culture as something to “overcome,” scholars started thinking about students’ culture as something to be valued. From there “asset-based” and “resource-based” pedagogies became increasingly prominent. As Alim (2007a) argues, youth cultural and linguistic practices are of value in their own right and should be creatively foregrounded. Asset-based pedagogies, thus, repositioned the linguistic, literate, and cultural practices of working-class

communities—specifically poor communities of color—as resources and assets to honor, explore, and extend (Ball, 1995; Garcia, 1993; Ladson-Billings, 1994; Lee, 1995; McCarty & Zepeda, 1995; Moll & Gonzales, 1994; Nieto, 1992; Valdés, 1996).

Over time, asset-based pedagogies became codified into an approach more broadly called culturally “relevant” and culturally “responsive” pedagogy. As culturally responsive pedagogy gained widespread appeal, advocates for the approach started to downplay explicitly anti-racist themes. Instead, focus was placed on more anodyne goals, like “higher achievement” and “closing the achievement gap.” I suspect the shift in language was born of necessity. Scholar-practitioners were making a huge push to incorporate culturally responsive pedagogy into policy-mandated practice. The truth is that it’s hard to build broad support for policies that aim to achieve “racial justice.” It’s much easier to find support for policies that aim to “close the achievement gap.” In this way, the vocabulary shifted in order to build change-making coalitions.

These subtle shifts, however, generated new problems. First, educators and teacher educators started to focus primarily on the pedagogy itself, losing sight of the reasons *why* the pedagogy was in the first place identified and elucidated. In other words, culturally responsive pedagogy was becoming all about the medicine, but teachers weren’t talking about the diagnosis. Hundreds of articles and handbooks have been put in print about what teachers can “do” to teach nonwhite youth better, but these papers tend to dwell on the practices themselves, and not so much on the reasons *why* the pedagogy is in the first place warranted.

The question isn’t merely academic. As Shery Mattias (2013) writes:

Culturally responsive pedagogy evolved, in part, as a result of racist practices, which did not account for students of color nor recognize the importance of the racial and cultural experiences these students brought into the classroom. Although cultural elements are essential, the dynamics of race and culture can never be separated because the very structure of race initially stratified which culture counted and which did not” (p. 66).

Culturally responsive pedagogy, in other words, was initially developed as a tool to *combat and resist* racist patterns of practice. Best practices therefore require teachers to perform the diagnostic work necessary to identify racist patterns of practice in school and then cease to enact those practices. It’s two sides of the same coin, one negative and the other positive. On the one hand teachers must work to *refrain* from enacting practices that promote cultural erasure, while at the same time engaging in practices that function to “[reintegrate] knowledge that was initially marginalized due to systemic racism” (Mattias, 2013 p. 68).

The main problem is that focusing mostly on the pedagogy meant teachers started to focus exclusively on their students (and specific cultural backgrounds) without paying attention to the systemic, policy-based, or larger patterns of practice and racial logics that organize schooling. Eventually, race-based structural analyses disappeared to the extent that Ladson-Billings was writing myriad articles in the late 1990s and 2000’s working to put critical race theory back into culturally responsive pedagogy (1998; 1999; 2005; 2006). The pedagogical practice, in other words, had been so far removed from racial structural analyses that the top progenitor of the approach had to advocate for reincorporating racial structural

analysis!²⁶ In short, teachers simply do not always understand the reasons this specific approach to teaching nonwhite youth is warranted. The “why” behind the pedagogy is persistently missing.

More recently, cultural “sustaining” pedagogy (CSP) has emerged as a way to foreground the justice-oriented themes initially associated with asset-based pedagogies. The purpose of culturally sustaining pedagogy is to support multilingualism and multiculturalism in practice and perspective for students and teachers. Here’s the formal definition: “CSP seeks to perpetuate and foster—to sustain—linguistic, literate, and cultural pluralism as part of the democratic project of schooling and as a needed response to demographic and social change.” Advocates for CSP believe it’s an important paradigm shift—from culturally responsive to sustaining—because educational institutions should be about more than simply high achievement. Schools should also be about promoting social justice and combating white supremacist patterns of practice. To prevent cultural erasure, educators should to work to sustain and empower distinct languages and epistemologies.

Culturally sustaining pedagogy is a welcome shift in theory and practice because it aims to retrain focus on justice and racism. But culturally sustaining pedagogy also carries its own challenges. Part of the problem, in my view, is the nomenclature associated with the paradigm. Focusing too much, or exclusively, on “culture” invites educators to ignore broader structural patterns that shape which epistemologies are valued and which are not,

²⁶ Other scholarship has also aimed to more directly incorporate a racial analytic into culturally responsive educational frameworks. Brown-Jeffy and Cooper (2011), for example, worry that culturally responsive pedagogy “does not explicitly problematize race . . . [or] critically examine the structures that feed into the cultural incongruence perspective” (p. 71). They suggest that race should play a more decisive explanatory role in culturally responsive education because racial analyses can identify the ways “privilege has been given and truncated in American society, something [cultural analysis] does not do” (ibid.)

which groups succeed and which do not. Emphasis on culture leads educators to focus on the various groups themselves and not so much on broader patterns shaping the institutional response to those groups.

As Blum (2009) argues, focusing on culture can often play into racist discourses that blame underperforming groups because “culture is generally seen as emanating from, and the responsibility of, the group itself, rather than being the result of mistreatment of others” (Blum, 2009, p. 2). In other words, when culture is elevated and race diminished, educators and policymakers tend to focus almost exclusively on perceived cultural patterns without performing the needed analysis to uncover *why* such patterns are present and *why* schooling practices are incongruent with some cultural patterns and not others. The consequence is that even colleges of education that center around culturally sustaining pedagogies still risk animating deficits of discourse if the teacher training isn’t adequately scaffolded.

In summary, there are two potential limitations in the way that CRSP is implemented in practice. First, an overemphasis on the pedagogy itself serves to obscure the reasons why the pedagogy is in the first place warranted. Teachers might attend workshops to learn how to “do” culturally responsive pedagogy without learning to decode the white supremacist patterns of practice that create the occasion for the pedagogy. Second, an emphasis on culture has the effect of inviting teachers to focus mostly on specific student groups without reference to racist background conditions, which in the worst case might invite teachers to activate stereotypes and discourses of deficit. These outcomes undermine the valuable aims CRSP seeks to achieve. In the next section, I suggest how a racially responsive pedagogy can help educators guard against these potential falls.

Toward a racially responsive pedagogy

I propose that we shift the vocabulary to employ a more race-primary framework, so that racial analysis is a central, rather than ancillary, part of the pedagogical approach. Specifically, I suggest educators use the term “racially responsive pedagogy” to refer to a global set of teaching practices and pedagogies according to which educators directly confront, resist and combat schooling practices organized by the logic of white supremacy. Instead of focusing first—and exclusively—on the student, the first move for teachers should be to interpret and assess the way their school, as well as their own teaching, activates racial logics that function in the first case to exclude and marginalize nonwhite students and in the second case to reproduce and reify patterns of white ignorance among white students.

A racially responsive framework can thus serve as a more comprehensive framework, serviceable and actionable in any school and in any context. It provides a way for educators to orient themselves to their practice no matter where they end up teaching. And, most importantly, it represents a plausible framework that can help address the twin challenges I outlined above.

A racially responsive pedagogy should emphasize that the primary purpose of teaching for social justice is to resist and undermine white supremacist patterns of practice. Therefore, colleges of education can look for ways to help aspiring teachers identify, decode and diagnose the ways that white supremacist patterns of practice structure their classroom and affect their students. This kind of diagnostic work can be employed in any context. If it’s a mostly nonwhite school, then educators can look to identify the way processes of racialized structuration underwrite subtractive schooling practices that promote cultural erasure. Enormous bodies of research have been dedicated to helping teachers achieve exactly this. If

it's a mostly white school, by contrast, then educators can look to identify the way processes of racialized structuration underwrite and promote patterns of white ignorance. So, far there hasn't been a great deal of research that can help educators and teacher educators perform this kind of diagnosis. Hopefully the contents of Chapter 5 can help illuminate a pathway forward.

The diagnostic work, then, becomes central to the pedagogy that's ultimately employed. That is, the diagnosis furnishes the rationale. All schools are organized according to the supremacy of whiteness. But those organizing logics generate different effects for different groups. In mostly nonwhite schools, where processes of racialized structuration promote subtractive schooling, culturally responsive and culturally sustaining pedagogies are warranted. In mostly white schools, where white supremacist patterns of practice promote white ignorance, educators should work to resist and undermine the proliferation of white ignorance—and work toward wokeness for white students.

Such interpretive work throws into relief the need and moral imperative for CRSP. These pedagogies aren't needed simply because nonwhite students learn differently, but because schools alienate and minoritize nonwhite students. These pedagogies aren't needed simply because students bring different ways of knowing and being to the classroom, but principally because schools exclude and erase different ways of knowing. CRSP is so effective not because it furnishes a new method for teaching nonwhite students, but chiefly because it functions to reduce the effects of racist patterns of practice in school.

What I want to underscore, above all, is that CRSP always necessarily represents a *response* to a crisis. The response always aims to remediate an injustice: Instead of erasing students background culture and identity, they validate it. Instead of correcting student

speech and home language, they showcase it. If historically schools functioned to eliminate indigenous and culturally particular epistemologies, then the response is to find ways to reincorporate those epistemologies back into the classroom. All of these features of CRSP operate to create an educational space far more conducive to actual teaching and learning because they help make schools less marginalizing and alienating.

On the flipside, there's a plausible case that white schools are also in crisis. The crisis is that white supremacist patterns of practice are operating to nourish, sustain and reproduce white ignorance in white communities. So, there must be a pedagogical *response* to the crisis. If mostly white schools function to validate and proliferate white ignorance, then the response is to find ways to interrupt, disrupt and undermine those practices. If mostly white schools operate to promote white ignorance, then the response should focus on finding ways to minimize white ignorance.

The two approaches represent inverse images. CRSP serves, among other things, to *reincorporate* epistemologies that are being systematically excluded. The pedagogy for which I advocate in this project can serve, by contrast, to *resist* epistemologies of ignorance that systematically proliferate. One approach seeks to *include* marginalized epistemologies, while the other seeks to *exclude* epistemologies of ignorance.

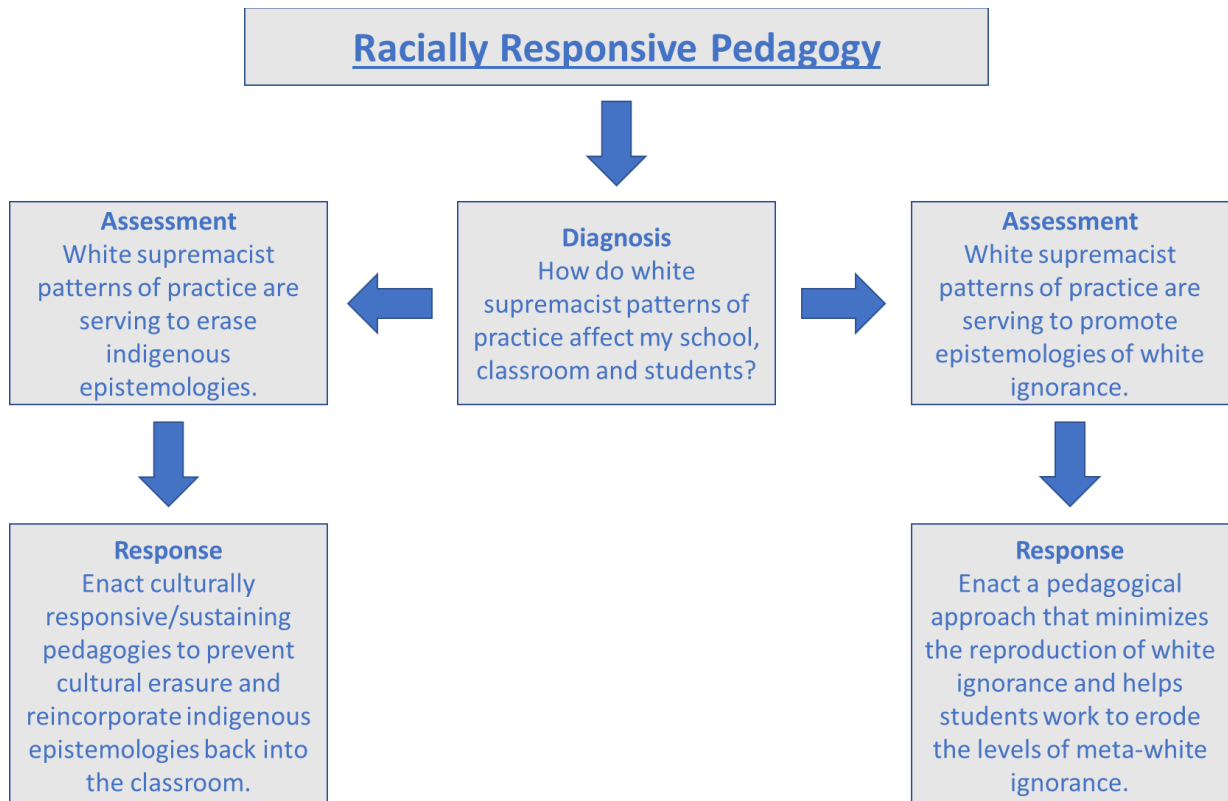
To illustrate in more concrete terms, here's the kind of practice-based analysis I hope a racially responsive pedagogy can promote. Think of it like a step-by-step approach:

Step 1: Identify and decode how white supremacist patterns of practice affect your classroom and your students. Are these practices serving to erase culturally unique epistemologies or are they serving to promote epistemologies of ignorance?

Step 2: Stop doing things that promote cultural erasure or incite epistemologies of ignorance. In other words, aim first to pump the brakes. Stop doing harm.

Step 3: Implement the appropriate pedagogy based on your initial diagnosis. If you need to confront subtractive schooling practices, then CRSP is warranted to reincorporate indigenous knowledge back into the classroom. If you need to confront the proliferation of white ignorance, then a pedagogy like that which is outlined in Chapter 6 is warranted to help students deal with their ignorance and potentially realize wokeness.

The flowchart below encapsulates how the two approaches fit under a unified umbrella.



Conclusion

I don't want to pretend that realizing wokeness in white schools will be easy in practice. I'm calling for an organized, nearly-militant approach, something like we might see from *Teach for America*—except here I think we need an army of idealistic educators ready to infiltrate mostly white communities and fix the dangerous and toxic schools that serve to nourish and amplify white ignorance. Teachers ready to participate in this work should prepare for profound opposition and defiance, the likes of which we probably haven't seen since busing practices in the 1970s.

Consider what happened recently in Wisconsin. On January 15, 2018 Oconomowoc High School in Oconomowoc, Wisconsin hosted an assembly to observe Martin Luther King Jr. Day, inviting the almost-all-white student body²⁷ to reflect on, among other things, “empathy” and “privilege.” Here's how the district website described the purpose of the event:

OHS held an assembly this morning that was largely designed by students around the theme of empathy. Following the assembly, and to build on the theme of empathy, the students engaged in a reflective activity in their Pride homerooms about privilege. They participated in a great conversation as they talked through their thoughts and beliefs about discrimination in the school, community, and beyond (Anderson, 2018).

²⁷ Oconomowoc High School is an intensely segregated school, with fewer than 10% identifying as nonwhite (mostly Latinx).

Note that, besides for the term “discrimination,” the language used to officially describe the event doesn’t explicitly refer to race or racism (though we can infer that such was the purpose, given the context of MLK Jr. Day). Despite the neutral language, the event sparked local outrage after students were invited to take a “Privilege Aptitude Test” adapted from the National Civil Rights museum (Johnson, 2018). The aptitude test challenges children to consider ways they may enjoy certain privileges or disadvantages, encouraging them to reflect on, among other things, whether they’ve ever followed in a store, whether peers make fun of their last name, whether their elected officials look like them, whether their intelligence is questioned because of the way they speak, etc.

Many parents in the community strongly objected to these activities, claiming it was just indoctrination and a form of district bullying (Johnson, 2018). After initial blowback, the District Superintendent, Roger Rindo, issued the following statement:

“The assembly and classroom activities that took place on Monday, January 15, on Martin Luther King, Jr. Day at Oconomowoc High School were initiated by student interest and developed by a committee of staff and students. Assembly topics, music, speakers, and classroom activities were not intended to judge or offend staff or students in any way. The classroom activities that followed the assembly were intended to open a conversation among small student groups. They were not required assignments, nor were they collected by teachers. The District is working to find prudent ways to build understanding of the diversity among people and cultures” (Johnson, 2018).

A few days after the event, the district school board convened a closed-door meeting with the Oconomowoc High School principal, directing “him not to allow future activities around the topic of privilege except in classrooms where it is related to a specific course and teachers can provide appropriate context” (Anderson, 2018). In other words, the district officially banned school-wide assemblies and activities designed to encourage all students and all teachers to reflect on racial privilege.

Explaining the decision, District Superintendent Rindo said, "Schools are a microcosm of their communities. And we had parents in our community who felt like the concept of privilege went a little far, particularly for some of our younger students” (Anderson, 2018).²⁸ Less than a month later, Oconomowoc High School principal officially resigned, leading to speculation that he was forced out by the school board (Johnson, 2018). Another district school board member, Stephen Zimmer, apparently confirmed the speculation when he resigned in protesting saying, “that he ‘disagreed with the way board members used the MLK Day assembly to push [the principal] out’” (Anderson, 2018).

The controversy and fallout surrounding the white privilege assembly is worth reflecting on. Consider what happened: A short program on MLK Jr day aimed at ameliorating one element of doxastic white ignorance threw an entire white district into upheaval, instigated emergency board meetings and ultimately forced out a school principal.

Yikes.

²⁸ Note that district leadership cites student age as a primary motivation for disallowing the program. There are good reasons to be suspicious of this. First, it should be noted that leadership altogether banned similar programs in the future, *even for students in older grades*. In addition, district leadership never explained *why* the content is inappropriate for younger grades, nor did they cite evidence-based research to support this assertion. In other words, they didn’t explain why parent objections are warranted. Neither did they encourage educators to create a more age-appropriate curriculum. It is, and remains, a wholesale ban. I suspect many educators will confront opposition on the grounds that some children are simply too young to learn about racial privilege or white ignorance. Maybe so. But, we can’t be certain until we have more and better evidence. At this point it’s baseless conjecture.

Obviously, this single assembly isn't anything remotely near the kind of sustained, systematic approach to white ignorance I endorsed in this project. Therefore, there's good reason to question the viability and serviceability of my proposed approach. Given overwhelming evidence of white rage and resistance, it's understandable to imagine this approach won't work. At the same time, we haven't really tried.

So, maybe let's give it a try and see what happens.

References

- Adams, M., & Bell, L. (Eds.). (2007). *Teaching for diversity and social justice*. New York: Routledge.
- Acosta, C., & Mir, A. (2012). Empowering young people to be critical thinkers: The Mexican American Studies Program in Tucson. *Voices in Urban Education*, 34(Summer), 15-26.
- Adler, J. (2002). *Belief's Own Ethics*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Ahmed, S. (2004a). Declarations of whiteness: The non-performativity of anti-racism. *borderlands*, 3(2).
- Ahmed, S. (2004b). *The cultural politics of emotion*. New York: Routledge.
- Ahmed, S. (2007). A phenomenology of whiteness. *Feminist theory*, 8(2), 149-168.
- Alcoff, L. (2007). Epistemologies of ignorance: Three types. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (12-39). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Alcoff, L. (2015). *The Future of Whiteness*. Malden, MA: Polity.
- Allen, R. L. (2001). The globalization of white supremacy: Toward a critical discourse on the racialization of the world. *Educational Theory*, 51(4), 467-485.
- Allen, R. L. (2004). Whiteness and critical pedagogy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36(2), 121-136.
- Almarza, D. J., & Fehn, B. R. (1998). The construction of Whiteness in an American history

- classroom: A case study of eighth grade Mexican American students. *Transformations: The Journal of Inclusive Scholarship and Pedagogy*, 9(2), 196-211.
- Amos, Y. (2016). Voices of teacher candidates of color on white race evasion: 'I worried about my safety!'. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(8), 1002-1015.
- Anderson, E. (2010). *The imperative of integration*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Anderson, E. (2012). Epistemic justice as a virtue of social institutions. *Social Epistemology*, 26(2), 163-173.
- Anderson, S. (2018). "White School District Bans 'White Privilege' Talk After MLK Day." *Waukesha Patch*: <https://patch.com/wisconsin/waukesha/white-school-district-bans-white-privilege-talk-after-mlk-day>
- Antrop-González, R., & De Jesús, A. (2006). Toward a theory of critical care in urban small school reform: examining structures and pedagogies of caring in two Latino community-based schools. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 19(4), 409-433.
- Anyon, J. (2005). What "counts" as educational policy? Notes toward a new paradigm. *Harvard Educational Review*, 75(1), 65-88.
- Anyon, J. (1997). *Ghetto schooling: A political economy of urban educational reform*. Teachers College Press.
- Apple, M., & Christian-Smith, L. (1991). The Politics of the Textbook. In (Eds.) Michael Apple and Linda Christian-Smith, *The Politics of the Textbook*. New York: Routledge.

- Apple, M. W. (2004). *Ideology and curriculum*. Routledge.
- Applebaum, B. (2004). Social justice education, moral agency, and the subject of resistance. *Educational Theory*, 54(1), 59-72.
- Applebaum, B. (2006). Race ignorance, color-talk and white complicity: Race is... race isn't. *Educational Theory*, 56(3), 345-362.
- Applebaum, B. (2007). White complicity and social justice education: can one be culpable without being liable? *Educational Theory*, 57(4), 453-467.
- Applebaum, B. (2008). White Privilege/White Complicity: Connecting "Benefiting From" to "Contributing To". *Philosophy Of Education Archive*, 292-300.
- Applebaum, B. (2010). *Being white, being good: White complicity, white moral responsibility, and social justice pedagogy*. UK: Lexington Books.
- Applebaum, B. (2014). Ignorance as a Resource for Social Justice Education?. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, 391-399.
- Applebaum, B. (2016). The importance of understanding discourse in social justice education: The truth and nothing but the truth? PES Presidential Address, Toronto, 2016.
- Aronson, B., & Laughter, J. (2015). The theory and practice of culturally relevant education: A synthesis of research across content areas. *Review of Educational Research*.
- Asante-Muhammad, D., Collins, C., Hoxie, J., & Nieves, E. (2016). *The ever-growing Gap*. Institute for Policy Studies.
- Au, K., & Kawakami, A. (1994). Cultural congruence in instruction. In E. Hollins, J. King, & W. Hayman (Eds.), *Teaching Diverse Populations: Formulating a Knowledge Base* (pp. 5-24). Albany, NY: State University of New York Press.

- Audi, R. (2001). Epistemic virtue and justified belief. In A. Fairweather & L. Zagzebski (Eds.), *Virtue Epistemology: Essays in Epistemic Virtue* (pp. 82-98). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Baber, Z. (1991). Beyond the structure/agency dualism: An evaluation of Giddens' theory of structuration. *Sociological Inquiry*, 61(2), 219-230.
- Baehr, J. (2011). *The Inquiring Mind: On Intellectual Virtues and Virtue Epistemology*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Bailey, A. (2007). Strategic ignorance. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (77-94). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Bailey, A. (2015). 'White talk' as a barrier to understanding the problem of whiteness. In G. Yancy (Ed.), *White self-criticality beyond anti-racism: How does it feel to be a white problem?* (pp. 37-55). New York: Lexington Books.
- Baldwin, J. (1963). Talk to teachers. <http://richgibson.com/talktoteachers.htm>
- Ball, J. (2013). Hip Hop fight club: Radical theory, education, and practice in and beyond the classroom. *Radical Teacher*, 97, 50–59.
- Banks, J., & Banks, C. (2009). *Multicultural education: Issues and perspectives*. John Wiley & Sons.
- Bartlett, L., & García, O. (2011). *Additive schooling in subtractive times*. Dominican immigrant youth in the heights. Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press.
- Bartolome, L. (1994). Beyond the methods fetish: Toward a humanizing pedagogy. *Harvard Educational Review*, 64(2), 173-195.
- Beauboeuf-Lafontant, T. (2002). A womanist experience of caring: Understanding the

- pedagogy of exemplary Black women teachers. *Urban Review*, 34(1), 71–86.
- Beauboeuf-Lafontant, T. (2005). Womanist lessons for reinventing teaching. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 56(5), 436-445.
- Bell, D. (1992). *Faces at the bottom of the well: The permanence of racism*. New York: Basic.
- Bevan, R. (2009). Expanding rationality: The relation between epistemic virtue and critical thinking. *Educational Theory*, 59(2), 167-179.
- Billig, S. H., Perry, S., & Pokomy, N. (1999). School support teams: Building state capacity for improving schools. *Journal of Education for Students Placed At Risk*, 4(3), 231-240.
- Binder, A. J. (2009). *Contentious curricula: Afrocentrism and creationism in American public schools*. New Jersey: Princeton University Press.
- Blow, C. (2015). Black dads are doing best of all. *New York Times*, June 8, 2015.
- Blum, L. A. (1994). *Moral perception and particularity*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Blum, L. (2002). *"I'm not a racist, but...": the moral quandary of race*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Blum, L. (2008). White privilege': A mild critique. *Theory and Research in Education*, 6(3), 309-321.
- Blum, L. (2009). Confusions about 'Culture' in Explaining the Racial Achievement Gap in John Arthur's Race, Equality, and the Burdens of History. *APA Newsletter on Philosophy and Law*, 9(1), 1-4.
- Blum, L. (2012). *High Schools, Race, and America's Future: What Students Can Teach Us*

- about Morality, Diversity, and Community*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard Education Press.
- Boler, M. (1999). *Feeling power: Emotions and education*. New York: Routledge.
- Bolgatz, J. (2005). Teachers initiating conversations about race and racism in a high school class. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 7(3), 28-35.
- Bondy, E., Ross, D. D., Hambacher, E., & Acosta, M. (2013). Becoming warm demanders: Perspectives and practices of first year teachers. *Urban Education*, 48(3), 420-460.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2001). *White supremacy and racism in the post-civil rights era*. London, UK: Lynne Rienner Publishers.
- Bonilla-Silva, E. (2006). *Racism without racists: Color-blind racism and the persistence of racial inequality in the United States*. Maryland: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Brodkins, K. (2000). *How did Jews become white?* New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Brown-Jeffy, S., & Cooper, J. E. (2011). Toward a conceptual framework of culturally relevant pedagogy: An overview of the conceptual and theoretical literature. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 38(1), 65-84.
- Burroughs, M. D. (2015). Hannah Arendt, “Reflections on Little Rock,” and White Ignorance. *Critical Philosophy of Race*, 3(1), 52-78.
- Buck, B. (2014). Accidents of birth: Rawls’s Original Position as the mother’s womb. *The Urban Review*, 46(2), 225-243.
- Buck, B. (2016). Culturally responsive peace education: A case-study at one urban K-8 Catholic school. *Journal of Catholic Education*.
- Burkholder, Z. (2011). *Color in the classroom: How American schools taught race, 1900-1954*.

- Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Cabrera, N. L., & Cabrera, G. A. (2008). Counterbalance assessment: The chorizo test. *Phi Delta Kappan*, 89(9), 677–678.
- Cabrera, N. L. (2012). A state-mandated epistemology of ignorance: Arizona's HB2281 and Mexican American/Raza Studies. *Journal of Curriculum and Pedagogy*, 9(2), 132-135.
- Cammarota, J., Romero, A., & Stovall, D. (2014). *Raza studies: The public option for educational revolution*. University of Arizona Press.
- Carter, P. (2005). *Keepin' it real: School success beyond Black and White*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Carter, P. (2006). Straddling boundaries: Identity, culture, and school. *Sociology of education*, 79(4), 304-328.
- Carter, P. (2012). *Stubborn roots: Race, culture, and inequality in US and South African schools*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Castagno, A. (2014). *Educated in whiteness*. University of Minnesota Press.
- Chandler, N. (2014). *The Problem of the Negro as a Problem for Thought*. New York: Fordham University Press.
- Chandler, P. (2015). What does it mean to “do race” in social studies? Racial pedagogical content knowledge. In P. Chandler (Ed.), *Doing race in social studies: Critical perspectives* (pp. 1-10). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Chandler, P., & Hawley, T. (2017). Using racial pedagogical content knowledge and inquiry pedagogy to reimagine social studies teaching and learning. In P. Chandler, & T.

- Hawley (Eds.), *Race lessons: Using inquiry to teach about race in social studies* (pp. 1-18). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Chandler, P., & Branscombe, A. (2015). White social studies: Protecting the white racial code. In P. Chandler (Ed.), *Doing race in social studies: Critical perspectives* (pp. 61-87). Charlotte, NC: Information Age Publishing.
- Chinnery, A. (2013). On epistemic vulnerability and open-mindedness. *Philosophy of Education*.
- Chiu, M. M., & Khoo, L. (2005). Effects of resources, inequality, and privilege bias on achievement: Country, school, and student level analyses. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(4), 575-603.
- Chubbuck, S. M. (2004). Whiteness enacted, whiteness disrupted: The complexity of personal congruence. *American educational research journal*, 41(2), 301-333.
- Chubbuck, S. M. (2010). Individual and structural orientations in socially just teaching: Conceptualization, implementation, and collaborative effort. *Journal of teacher education*, 61(3), 197-210.
- Coady, D. (2010). Two concepts of epistemic justice. *Episteme*, 7(2), 101-113.
- Coates, T. (2015). Twitter thread, Oct. 30, 2017.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2001). Multicultural education: Solution or problem for American Schools? *Journal of Teacher Education* (52)1, 91-93.
- Cochran-Smith, M. (2004). *Walking the road: Race, diversity, and social justice in teacher education*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Code, L. (1987). *Epistemic Responsibility*. Hanover, MD: University Press of New England and Brown University Press.

- Code, L. (2010). Particularity, Epistemic Responsibility, and the Ecological Imaginary. *Philosophy of Education*.
- Code, L. (2014a). Culpable ignorance?. *Hypatia*, 29(3), 670-676.
- Code, L. (2014b). Ignorance, Injustice and the Politics of Knowledge: Feminist Epistemology Now. *Australian Feminist Studies*, 29(80), 148-160.
- Code, L. (2015). Care, concern, and advocacy: Is there a place for epistemic responsibility? *Feminist Philosophy Quarterly*, 12(1), 1-31.
- Collins, P. (1990). *Black Feminist Thought: Knowledge, Consciousness, and the Politics of Empowerment*. New York: Routledge.
- Congdon, M. (2015). Epistemic injustice in the space of reasons. *Episteme*, 12(1), 75-93.
- Craig, R., & Davis, V. (2015). A Textual Analysis of the Indigenous Peoples of North America Before, During and After the Civil Rights' Movement. *Doing Race in Social Studies: Critical Perspectives*, 89.
- Crowley, R. M. (2016). Transgressive and negotiated White racial knowledge. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 29(8), 1016-1029.
- Darby, D., & Rury, J. L. (2018). *The Color of Mind: Why the Origins of the Achievement Gap Matter for Justice*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2002). *Learning to teach for social justice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2004). Inequality and the right to learn: Access to qualified teachers in California's public schools. *The Teachers College Record*, 106(10), 1936-1966.
- Darling-Hammond, L. (2013). Inequality and school resources: What it will take to close the opportunity gap. In P. Carter & K. Wellner (Eds.), *Closing the Opportunity Gap* (pp.

- 77-97). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Degenhardt, M. (1998). The ethics of belief and the ethics of teaching. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 32(3), 333-344.
- Delgado, R., & Stefancic, J. (2017). *Critical race theory: An introduction*. NYU Press.
- Delpit, L. (2006). *Other people's children: Cultural conflict in the classroom*. New York: The New Press.
- Derman-Sparks, L. (1989). *Anti-bias curriculum: Tools for empowering young children*. Brief published by the National Association for the Education of Young Children, Washington, D.C.
- Derman-Sparks, L., & Ramsey, P. G. (2011). *What if all the kids are white? Anti-bias multicultural education with young children and families*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Desmond, M., & Emirbayer, M. (2009). What is racial domination?. *Du Bois Review: Social Science Research on Race*, 6(02), 335-355.
- Desmond-Harris, J. (2015). The myth that there are more black men in prison than in college, debunked in one chart. *Vox*, Feb 12, 2015.
- DiAngelo, R. (2011). White fragility. *The International Journal of Critical Pedagogy*, 3(3).
- DiAngelo, R. (2012a). *What does it mean to be white? Developing white racial literacy*. New York: Peter Lang.
- DiAngelo, R. (2012b). Nothing to add: A challenge to White silence in racial discussions. *Understanding and dismantling privilege*, 2(1), 1-17.
- DiTomaso, N. (2013). *The American Non-Dilemma: Racial Inequality Without Racism*. New York: Russell Sage Foundation.

- Doane, A. (1997). Dominant group identity in the United States: The role of 'hidden' ethnicity in intergroup relations. *The Sociological Quarterly*, 38(2), 375-397.
- Doris, J. M. (1998). Persons, situations, and virtue ethics. *Nous*, 32(4), 504-530.
- Doris, J. M. (2002). *Lack of character: Personality and moral behavior*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Doris, J. M. & Stich, S. P. (2007). As a matter of fact: Empirical perspective on ethics. In: *The Oxford handbook of contemporary analytic philosophy*, F. Jackson & M. Smith. Oxford University Press.
- Driver, J. (1989). The virtues of ignorance. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 86(7), 373-384.
- Driver, J. (1999). Modesty and Ignorance. *Ethics*, 109(4), 827-834.
- Duttle, K., & Inukai, K. (2015). Complexity Aversion: Influences of Cognitive Abilities, Culture and System of Thought. *Economic Bulletin*, (35), 2.
- Dyer, R. (1997). *White*. London, UK: Routledge.
- Edmonds, J., & Medina, J. (2015). Epistemologies of resistance: Pluralism and communities of epistemic criticism. *Philosophy of Education*.
- Elliot, K. (2015). Selective ignorance in environmental research. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (165-174). New York: Routledge.
- Emdin, C. (2016). *For White Folks who Teach in the Hood... and the Rest of Ya'll too. Reality pedagogy and urban education*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Erickson, A. (2016). *Making the Unequal Metropolis: School Desegregation and its Limits*. Chicago: Chicago University Press.
- Fairweather, A. (2001). Epistemic motivation. In A. Fairweather & L. Zagzebski (Eds.),

- Virtue Epistemology: Essays in Epistemic Virtue* (pp. 63-81). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Farr, A. (2014). Racialized consciousness and learned ignorance: Trying to help white people understand. In G. Yancy & M. Davidson (Eds.), *Exploring Race in Predominantly White Classrooms* (100-121). New York: Routledge.
- Feagin, J. R., & Van Ausdale, D. (2001). *The first R: How children learn race and racism*. UK: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Feagin, J. (2013). *The white racial frame: Centuries of racial framing and counter-framing*. New York: Routledge.
- Ferguson, A. (2001). *Bad boys: Public schools in the making of black masculinity*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.
- Fine, L. E. (2017). What's in a Word? Troubling and Reconstructing the Discourse of Inclusion. In *Breaking the Zero-Sum Game: Transforming Societies Through Inclusive Leadership* (pp. 29-42). Emerald Publishing Limited.
- Firestein, S. (2012). *Ignorance: How it drives science*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Flanagan, O. (1990). Virtue and ignorance. *The Journal of Philosophy*, 87(8), 420-428.
- Franke, W. (2015). Learned ignorance: The apophatic tradition of cultivating the virtue of unknowing. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (27-36). New York: Routledge.
- Frankenberg, R. (1997). *Displacing whiteness: Essays in social and cultural criticism*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Freidus, A., & Noguera, P. (2015). From “Good Will” to “Anachronism” Racial Discourse,

- Shifting Demographics, and the Role of School Desegregation in the Public Good. *Humanity & Society*, 39(4), 394-418.
- Ford, D. Y., Howard, T. C., Harris, J. J., & Tyson, C. A. (2000). Creating culturally responsive classrooms for gifted African American students. *Journal for the Education of the Gifted*, 23(4), 397-427.
- Fordham, S. (1988). Racelessness as a factor in Black students' school success: Pragmatic strategy or pyrrhic victory? *Harvard Educational Review*, 58(1), 54–84.
- Forsyth, D. (2008). "Self-Serving Bias" in (Ed. W. Darity) *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*, 2nd edition, Vol. 7. Detroit: Macmillan Reference USA.
- Frankenburg, R. (1993). *White women, race matters: The social construction of whiteness*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.
- Fricker, M. (2007). *Epistemic injustice: Power and the ethics of knowing*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Fricker, M. (2013). Epistemic justice as a condition of political freedom?. *Synthese*, 190(7), 1317-1332.
- Galman, S., Pica-Smith, C., & Rosenberger, C. (2010). Aggressive and tender navigations: Teacher educators confront whiteness in their practices. *Journal of Teacher Education*, (61)1, 225-236.
- Galter, L. (2017). Black gain is white pain—How the white right justifies racial injustice. Huffington Post, The Blog, Talking Points Memo, December 6, 2017.
- Gangi, J. (2008). The Unbearable Whiteness of Literacy Instruction: Realizing the Implications of the Proficient Reader Research. *Multicultural Review*, 17(1), 177-202.
- Garcia, A. (2013). Beautiful dark twisted pedagogy: Kanye West and the lessons of

- participatory culture. *Radical Teacher*, 97, 30–35.
- Garrett, H. J., & Segall, A. (2013). (Re) considerations of ignorance and resistance in teacher education. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 64(4), 294-304.
- Gay, G. (2010). *Culturally responsive teaching: Theory, research, and practice*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Giddens, A. (1984). *The constitution of society: Outline of the theory of structuration*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Gillborn, D. (2005). Education policy as an act of white supremacy: Whiteness, critical race theory and education reform. *Journal of Education Policy*, 20(4), 485-505.
- Gillborn, D. (2006). Rethinking white supremacy: Who counts in ‘WhiteWorld’. *Ethnicities*, 6(3), 318–340.
- Glantz, A., & Martinez, E. (2018). For people of color, banks are shutting the door to homeownership. *Reveal News*, February 15, 2018.
- Goldberd, D. (1993). *Racist Culture: Philosophy and the Politics of Meaning*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- Gordon, L. N. (2015). *From Power to Prejudice: The Rise of Racial Individualism in Midcentury America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Greer, S. (2015). Not another ‘dear white America’ letter. *The Daily Caller*, Opinion, December 27, 2015.
- Griner, A. C., & Stewart, M. L. (2013). Addressing the achievement gap and disproportionality through the use of culturally responsive teaching practices. *Urban Education*, 48(4), 585-621.
- Gross, M., & McGoey, L. (Eds.). (2015). *Routledge International handbook of ignorance*

- studies*. New York: Routledge.
- Guess, T. (2006). Whiteness: Racism by intent, racism by consequence. *Critical Sociology*, 32(4), 649-673.
- Guilfoyle, M B. (2015). Colorblind ideology expressed through children's picture books: A social justice issue. *Jesuit Higher Education: A Journal*, 4(2), 6.
- Haas, J., & Vogt, K. (2015). Ignorance and investigation. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (17-26). New York: Routledge.
- Haddix, M. (2008). Beyond sociolinguistics: Towards a critical approach to cultural and linguistic diversity in teacher education. *Language and Education* (22)3, 254-270.
- Haraway, D. (1988). Situated Knowledges: The Science Question in Feminism and the Privilege of Partial Perspective. *Feminist Studies*, 14(1), 575-599.
- Harding, S. (2009). Standpoint theories: productively controversial. *Hypatia*, 24(4), 192-200.
- Hartsock, N. (1983). The Feminist Standpoint: Developing the Ground for a Specifically Feminist Historical Materialism. In Sandra Harding and Merrill Hintikka (eds.), *Discovering Reality: Feminist Perspectives on Epistemology, Metaphysics, Methodology, and the Philosophy of Science* (283-310). Dordrecht: D. Reidel.
- Heath, J. (2000). Ideology, Irrationality and Collectively Self-defeating Behavior. *Constellations*, 7(3), 363-371.
- Hoagland, S. (2007). Denying relationally: Epistemology and ethics and ignorance. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (95-118). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Hochschild, A. (1999). *King Leopold's ghost: A story of greed, terror, and heroism in*

- colonial Africa*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt.
- Horowitz, D., & Perazzo, J. (2013). *Black skin privilege and the American dream*. The David Horowitz Freedom Center.
- Herrnstein, R., & Murray, C. (1996). *The bell curve: Intelligence and class structure in American life*. Free Press Paperback.
- Henry, P. J., & Sears, D. O. (2002). The symbolic racism 2000 scale. *Political Psychology, 23*(2), 253-283.
- Hill-Jackson, V. (2007). Wrestling whiteness: Three stages of shifting multicultural perspectives among white pre-service teachers. *Multicultural perspectives, 9*(2), 29-35.
- hooks, b. (1990). *Yearning: Race, Gender and Cultural Politics*. Boston: South End Press.
- Howard, G. R. (2006). *We can't teach what we don't know: White teachers, multiracial schools*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Howard, T. C. (2001). Powerful Pedagogy for African American Students: A Case of Four Teachers. *Urban education, 36*(2), 179-202.
- Howard, T. (2003). Culturally relevant pedagogy: Ingredients for critical teacher reflection. *Theory Into Practice, 42*(3), 195-201.
- Hytten, K., & Warren, J. (2003). Engaging whiteness: How racial power gets reified in education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education, 16*(1), 65-89.
- Irvine, J. J. (2002). *In search of wholeness: African American teachers and their culturally specific classroom practices*. New York, NY: Palgrave.
- Ingraham, C., & Long, H. (2017). The 'war on whites' is a myth—and an ugly one. The Washington Post, Wonkblog, August 14, 2017.

- Jackson, L. (2008). Response: Reevaluating white privileged ignorance and its implications for antiracist education. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, 301-304.
- Johnson, A. (2018). "Oconomowoc schools impose limits on 'privilege' discussion after parents complain. *Milwaukee Journal Sentinel*:
<https://www.jsonline.com/story/news/education/2018/03/09/oconomowoc-schools-impose-limits-privilege-discussions-after-parents-complain/407222002/>
- Jensen, L. A. (2014). Additive schooling in subtractive times: bilingual education and Dominican immigrant youth in the Heights. *International Journal of Bilingual Education and Bilingualism*, 17(3), 364-367.
- Jones, J. (2017). The racial wealth gap: How African-Americans have been shortchanged out of the materials to build wealth. Working Economics Blog, Economic Policy Institute, February 13, 2017.
- Josselson, R. (2004). The hermeneutics of faith and the hermeneutics of suspicion. *Narrative inquiry*, 14(1), 1-28.
- Jost, J. T., & Banaji, M. R. (1994). The role of stereotyping in system-justification and the production of false consciousness. *British Journal of Social Psychology*, 33, 1-27.
- Jost, J., Ledgerwood, A., & Hardin, C. D. (2008). Shared reality, system justification, and the relational basis of ideological beliefs. *Social and Personality Psychology Compass*, 2(1), 171-186.
- Kamtekar, R. (2004). Situationism and Virtue Ethics on the Content of Our Character. *Ethics*, 114(3), 458-491.
- Keddie, A. (2015). School autonomy, accountability and collaboration: a critical review. *Journal of educational administration and history*, 47(1), 1-17.

- Kendi, I. X. (2016). *Stamped from the beginning: The definitive history of racist ideas in America*. Hachette UK.
- Kidd, I. (2016). Educating for intellectual humility. In J. Baehr (Ed.), *Intellectual Virtues and Education: Essays in Applied Epistemology* (pp. 54-70). New York: Routledge.
- Killoran, I., Panaroni, M., Rivers, S., Razack, Y., Vetter, D., & Tymon, D. (2004). Rethink, Revise, React. Using an Anti-bias Curriculum to Move beyond the Usual. *Childhood Education, 80*(3), 149-156.
- Kliebard, H. (2004). *The struggle for the American Curriculum, 1983-1958*. New York: Routledge.
- Kotzee, B. (2013). Introduction: Education, social epistemology and virtue epistemology. *Journal of Philosophy of Education, 47*(2), 157-167.
- Kourany, J. (2015). Science: For better or worse, a source of ignorance as well as knowledge. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (155-164). New York: Routledge.
- Kwong, J. (2015). Epistemic Injustice and Open-Mindedness. *Hypatia, 30*(2), 337-351.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1994). *The Dreamkeepers: Successful teachers of African American children*. New York: Wiley & Sons.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1995). Toward a theory of culturally relevant pedagogy. *American educational research journal, 32*(3), 465-491.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1996). 'Yes, but how do we do it?' Practicing culturally relevant pedagogy. In J. Landsman, & C.W. Lewis (Eds.), *White teachers, diverse classrooms: A guide to building inclusive schools, promoting high expectations and eliminating racism* (pp. 29-42). Sterling, VA: Stylus.

- Ladson-Billings, G. (1998). Just what is critical race theory and what's it doing in a nice field like education?. *International journal of qualitative studies in education*, 11(1), 7-24.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (1999). Preparing teacher for diversity: Historical perspectives, current trends, and future directions. In L. Darling-Hammond & G. Sykes (Eds.), *Teaching as the learning profession: A Handbook of policy and practice* (pp. 86-123). San Francisco: Jossey-Boss.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2001). Crafting a culturally relevant social studies approach. *The social studies curriculum: Purposes, problems, and possibilities*, 201-215.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2003). Lies my teacher still tells. *Critical Race Theories Perspectives on Social Studies: The Profession, Policies, and Curriculum*, 1-11.
- Ladson-Billings*, G. (2005). The evolving role of critical race theory in educational scholarship. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(1), 115-119.
- Ladson-Billings, G. (2014). Culturally relevant pedagogy 2.0: aka the remix. *Harvard Educational Review*, 84(1), 74-84.
- Ladson-Billings, G., & Tate, W. F. (1995). Toward a critical race theory of education. *Teachers college record*, 97(1), 47.
- Lareau, A. (2011). *Unequal childhoods: Class, race, and family life*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Lebron, C. (2013). *The Color Our Shame: Race and Justice in Our Time*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Lebron, C. (2015). Thoughts on racial democratic education and moral virtue. *Theory and Research in Education*, 13(2), 155-164.
- Lensmire, T., McManimon, S., Tierney, J. D., Lee-Nichols, M., Casey, Z., Lensmire, A., &

- Davis, B. (2013). McIntosh as synecdoche: How teacher education's focus on white privilege undermines antiracism. *Harvard Educational Review*, 83(3), 410-431.
- Lewis, A. (2001). There is no “race” in the schoolyard: Color-blind ideology in an (almost) all-white school. *American educational research journal*, 38(4), 781-811.
- Lewis, A. (2003). *Race in the schoolyard: Negotiating the color line in classrooms and communities*. New Jersey: Rutgers University Press.
- Levin, H. M. (2002). A comprehensive framework for evaluating educational vouchers. *Educational evaluation and policy analysis*, 24(3), 159-174.
- Levinson, M. (October, 2015). Action-guiding theory: A Methodological proposal. Paper presented at the Penn-Spencer workshop for Philosophy of Education, Philadelphia, PA.
- Levinson, W. (2015). It’s past time to acknowledge black privilege. *American Thinker*, April 15, 2015.
- Leonardo, Z. (2004). The color of supremacy: Beyond the discourse of ‘white privilege’. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 36(2), 137-152.
- Leonardo, Z. (2009). *Race, whiteness, and education*. New York: Routledge.
- Leonardo, Z. (2013). *Race frameworks: A multidimensional theory of race*. New York: Teachers College Press.
- Leonardo, Z., & Porter, R. (2010). Pedagogy of fear: Toward a Fanonian theory of “safety” in race dialogue. *Race, Ethnicity and Education*, 13(2), 139–157.
- Lipsitz, G. (2006). *The possessive investment in whiteness: How white people profit from identity politics*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Logue, J. (2008). The unbelievable truth and the dilemmas of ignorance. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, 54-62.

- Logue, J. (2014). The Politics of Unknowing and the Virtues of Ignorance: Toward a Pedagogy of Epistemic Vulnerability. *Philosophy of Education Archive*, 53-62.
- Lin, M., Lake, V. E., & Rice, D. (2008). Teaching anti-bias curriculum in teacher education (Oprograms: What and how. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 35(2), 187-200.
- Lynn, M. (1999). Toward a critical race pedagogy a research note. *Urban Education*, 33(5), 606–626.
- Malewski, E., & Jaramillo, N. (2011). *Epistemologies of ignorance in education*. New York: Information Age Publishing.
- Marsh, G. (2011). Trust, testimony, and prejudice in the credibility economy. *Hypatia*, 26(2), 280-293.
- Mason, R. (2011). Two kinds of unknowing. *Hypatia*, 26(2), 294-307.
- Matias, C. E. (2013a). On the“ Flip” side: A teacher educator of color unveiling the dangerous minds of white teacher candidates. *Teacher Education Quarterly*, 40(2), 53.
- Matias, C. E. (2013b). Check Yo'self before You Wreck Yo'self and Our Kids: Counterstories from Culturally Responsive White Teachers?... To Culturally Responsive White Teachers!. *Interdisciplinary Journal of Teaching and Learning*, 3(2), 68-81.
- Matias, C. E. (2014). “And our Feelings Just Don’t Feel it Anymore”: Re-Feeling Whiteness, Resistance, and Emotionality. *Understanding and Dismantling Privilege*, 4(2).
- Matias, C. E., & Mackey, J. (2016) Breakin’ Down Whiteness in Antiracist Teaching: Introducing Critical Whiteness Pedagogy. *The Urban Review*, 1-19.

- Matias, C. E., & Liou, D. D. (2014). Tending to the heart of communities of color: Toward critical race teacher activism. *Urban Education*.
- McCarthy, C. (2003). Contradictions of power and identity: Whiteness studies and the call of teacher education. *International Journal of Qualitative Studies in Education*, 16(1), 127-133.
- McCarthy, T. (2009). *Race, Empire and the Idea of Human Development*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- McIntyre, A. (1997). *Making meaning of whiteness: Exploring racial identity with white teachers*. Albany, NY: Suny Press.
- McConahay, J. B. (1983). Modern Racism and Modern Discrimination The Effects of Race, Racial Attitudes, and Context on Simulated Hiring Decisions. *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin*, 9(4), 551-558.
- McGoey, L. (2012). The logic of strategic ignorance. *The British journal of sociology*, 63(3), 533-576.
- McIntosh, P. (1990). Unpacking the knapsack of white privilege. *Independent School*, 49(2), 31-36.
- McIntyre, A. (1997). *Making meaning of whiteness: Exploring racial identity with white teachers*. SUNY Press.
- McIntyre, A. (2002). Exploring whiteness and multicultural education with prospective teachers. *Curriculum Inquiry*, 32(1), 31-49.
- Medina, J. (2011). The relevance of credibility excess in a proportional view of epistemic injustice: Differential epistemic authority and the social imaginary. *Social Epistemology*, 25(1), 15-35.

- Medina, J. (2012). Hermeneutical injustice and polyphonic contextualism: Social silences and shared hermeneutical responsibilities. *Social Epistemology*, 26(2), 201-220.
- Medina, J. (2013). *The Epistemology of Resistance: Gender and Racial Oppression, Epistemic Injustice, and Resistant Imaginations*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Merritt, M. (2000). Virtue ethics and situationist personality psychology. *Ethical theory and moral practice*, 3(4), 365-383.
- Mills, C. (1994). Revisionist ontologies: Theorizing White Supremacy. *Social and Economic Studies*, 43(3), 105-134.
- Mills, C. (1997). *The Racial Contract*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Mills, C. (2003). White supremacy as sociopolitical system: A philosophical perspective. In A. Doane and E. Bonilla-Silva (Eds.), *White out: The continuing significance of racism*, (pp. 35-48). New York: Routledge.
- Mills, C. (2005). "Ideal theory" as ideology. *Hypatia*, 20(3), 165-183.
- Mills, C. (2007). White ignorance. In (Eds. Sannon Sullivan and Nancy Tuana) *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance*, 11-38. New York: SUNY Press).
- Mills, C. (2013). White ignorance and hermeneutical injustice: A Comment on Medina and Fricker. *Social Epistemology Review and Reply Collective*, 3(1), 38-43.
- Mills, C. (2015a). Global white ignorance. In M. Gross & L. McGoey (Eds.), *Routledge International Handbook of Ignorance Studies*, (pp. 217-227). New York, NY: Routledge.
- Mills, C. (2015b). The *Racial Contract* revisited: still unbroken after all these years. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3), 541-557.
- Mills, C. (Forthcoming, 2016). Critical philosophy of race. In H. Cappelen & T. Gendler

- (Eds.), *Philosophical Methodology* (pp. 709-732). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Milner IV, R. H. (2011). Culturally relevant pedagogy in a diverse urban classroom. *The Urban Review*, (43)2, 66-89.
- Minton, T. & Zeng, Z. (2015). Jail Inmates at Midyear 2014. *Bulletin, Bureau of Justice Statistics*. U.S. Department of Justice, Office of justice Programs.
- Molden, D., & Higgins, T. (2005). "Motivated Thinking." In (Eds. Keith Holyoak and Robert Morrison) *Cambridge Handbook of Thinking and Reasoning*, pp. 295–317. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Moll, L., & Gonzalez, N. (1994). Lessons from research with language minority children. *Journal of Reading Behavior*, 26(4), 23-41.
- Moll, L. C., & Gonzalez, N. (2004). Engaging life: A funds of knowledge approach to multicultural education. In J. Banks & C. McGee Banks (Eds.), *Handbook on research of multicultural education* (2nd ed.) (699-715). New York: Jossey-Bass
- Morrison, K., Robbins, H.S., & Rose, D.G. (2008). Operationalizing culturally relevant pedagogy: A synthesis of classroom-based research. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 41(4), 433-452.
- Murray, C. (2009). Real education: Four simple truths for bringing America's schools back to reality. Crown Forum.
- Nash, G., Crabtree, C., & Dunn, R. (2000). *History on trial: Culture wars and the teaching of the past*. New York: Vintage.
- Netcoh, S. (2013). Droppin knowledge on race: Hip Hop, white adolescents and anti-racism education. *Radical Teacher*, 97(1), 10–19.
- Nieto, S. & Bode, P. (2008). Racism, discrimination, and expectations of students'

- achievement. *In Affirming diversity: The sociopolitical context of multicultural education*. Boston: Allyn & Bacon. Oliver, M., & Shapiro, T. (1997). *Black wealth/white wealth: A new perspective on racial inequality*. New York: Routledge.
- Noddings, N. (2003). *Caring: A feminine approach to ethics and moral education*. (2nd ed.). Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Noddings, N. (2005). *The challenge to care in schools: An alternative approach to education* (2nd ed.). New York: Teachers College Press.
- Noguera, P. (1995). Preventing and producing violence: A critical analysis of responses to school violence. *Harvard Educational Review*, 65(2), 189-213.
- Nussbaum, M. C. (2001). *The fragility of goodness: Luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Omi, M., & Winant, H. (2014). *Racial formation in the United States*. London, UK: Routledge.
- O'Reilly, B. (2014). Bill O'Reilly: The grievance industry takes on momentum. Fox News, Talking Points, April 7, 2014.
- Orfield, G., & Frankenberg, E. (2014). *Brown at 60: Great progress, a long retreat, and an uncertain future*. The Civil Rights Project: Proyecto Derechos Civiles, Los Angeles, CA.
- Ortiz, A. (2000). Deconstructing whiteness as part of a multicultural education framework: From theory to practice. *Journal of College Student Development*, 41(1), 81-93.
- Outlaw, L. (2007). Social Ordering and the Systematic Production of Ignorance. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (197-212). New York: State University of New York Press.

- Owen, D. (2007). Towards a critical theory of whiteness. *Philosophy & social criticism*, 33(2), 203-222.
- Owens, D. (2006). Testimony and assertion. *Philosophical Studies*, 131(2), 105-129.
- Painter, N. (2010). *The History of White People*. New York: Norton and Company.
- Paris, D., & Alim, H. (2014). What are we seeking to sustain through culturally sustaining pedagogy? A loving critique forward. *Harvard Educational Review*, 84(1), 85-100.
- Paris, D., & Ball, A. (2009). Teacher knowledge in culturally and linguistically complex classrooms: Lessons from the golden age and beyond. In L. M. Morrow, R. Rueda, & D. Lapp (Eds.), *Handbook of research on literacy instruction: Issues of diversity, policy, and equity* (pp. 379-395). New York: NY: Guilford.
- Paris, D. (2012). Culturally sustaining pedagogy a needed change in stance, terminology, and practice. *Educational Researcher*, 41(3), 93-97.
- Paul, R. (2000). Critical thinking, moral integrity, and citizenship: Teaching for the intellectual virtues. In G. Axtell (Ed.), *Knowledge, Belief, and Character* (pp. 163-176). Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Pearce, S. (2012). Confronting dominant whiteness in the primary classroom: progressive student teachers' dilemmas and constraints. *Oxford Review of Education*, 38(4), 455-472.
- Perry, A. (2011). *More Beautiful and More Terrible: The Embrace and Transcendence of Racial Inequality in the United States*. New York: New York University Press.
- Perry, P. (2002). *Shades of White: White Kids and Racial Identities in High School*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.

- Perry, P., & Shotwell, A. (2009). Relational understanding and white antiracist praxis. *Sociological Theory*, 27(1), 33-50.
- Perry, T., Steele, C., Hilliard III, A. (2003). *Young, Gifted, and Black*. Boston: Beacon press.
- Picower, B. (2009). The unexamined whiteness of teaching: How white teachers maintain and Enact dominant racial ideologies. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 12(2), 197–215.
- Pollock, M. (2009). *Colormute: Race talk dilemmas in an American school*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Powell, J. A. (2005). A new theory of integration: True integration. In J. Boger & G. Orfield (Eds.), *School resegregation: Must the South turn back?* (pp. 281-297). Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.
- Proctor, R., & Schiebinger, L. L. (Eds.). (2008). *Agnotology: The making and unmaking of ignorance*. Stanford University Press.
- Reardon, S., Baker, R., & Klasik, D. (2012). Race, income, and enrollment patterns in highly selective colleges, 1982-2004. Stanford CEPA Publications.
- Reardon, S. F., & Owens, A. (2014). 60 years after Brown: Trends and consequences of school segregation. *Annual Review of Sociology*, 40(1), 199–218.
- Reyes, S., & Vallone, T. (2007). Toward an expanded understanding of the two-way bilingual immersion education: Constructing identity through a critical, additive bilingual/bicultural pedagogy. *Multicultural Perspectives*, 9(3), 3-11.
- Riggs, W. (2010). Open-Mindedness. *Metaphilosophy*, 41(1), 173-187.
- Roberts, A. (2010). Toward a theory of culturally relevant critical teacher care: African American teachers' definitions and perceptions of care for African American students. *Journal of Moral Education*, 39(4), 449-467.

- Roberts, R. (2016). Learning intellectual humility. In J. Baehr (Ed.), *Intellectual Virtues and Education: Essays in Applied Epistemology* (pp. 184-202). New York: Routledge.
- Robertson, E. (2013). The epistemic value of diversity. *Journal of Philosophy of Education*, 47(2), 299-310.
- Robertson, C. (2015). History of lynchings in the South documents nearly 4,000 names. *New York Times*, February 10, 2015.
- Rodriguez, D. (2009). The usual suspect: Negotiating white student resistance and teacher authority in a predominantly white classroom. *Cultural Studies/Critical Methodologies*, 9(4), 483–508.
- Rodriguez, G. M. (2013). Power and agency in education: Exploring the pedagogical dimensions of funds of knowledge. *Review of Research in Education*, 37, 87-120.
- Roediger, D. (1991). *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class*. London, UK: Verso.
- Roediger, D. (2005). *Working toward whiteness. How America's Immigrants Became White*. New York: Basic Books.
- Rogers, R., & Mosley, M. (2006). Racial literacy in a second-grade classroom: Critical race theory, whiteness studies, and literacy research. *Reading Research Quarterly*, 41(4), 462-495.
- Roithmayr, D. (2014). *Reproducing racism: How everyday choices lock in White advantage*. New York: NYU Press.
- Rolon-Dow, R. (2005). Critical care: A (color-full) analysis of care narratives in the schooling experiences of Puerto Rican girls. *American Educational Research Journal*, 42(1), 77-111.

- Romero, A. F. (2010). At war with the state in order to save the lives of our children: The battle to save ethnic studies in Arizona. *The Black Scholar*, 40(4), 7-15.
- Rothstein, R. (2018). *The Color of Law: A Forgotten History of How our Government Segregated America*. New York: Liveright Publishing.
- Salazar, M. D. (2015). A humanizing pedagogy: Reinventing the principles and practice of education as a journey toward liberation. *Review of Research in Education*, 37(1), 121-148.
- Rothenberg, P. (2012). *White Privilege*. New York: Worth Publishers.
- Satyanarayana, M. (2018). These doctors are trying to get more people of color to join their ranks. What some have overcome is startling.
<https://www.statnews.com/2018/02/07/black-doctors-racism-medicine/>
- Sayles-Hannon, S. (2012). On whose authority? Issues of epistemic authority and injustice in the social justice classroom. *Philosophy of Education*.
- Schaffer, R., & Skinner, D. G. (2009). Performing race in four culturally diverse fourth grade classrooms: Silence, race talk, and the negotiation of social boundaries. *Anthropology & Education Quarterly*, 40(3), 277-296.
- Schick, C. (2000). 'By Virtue of Being White': Resistance in anti-racist pedagogy. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 3(1), 83-101.
- Schmitt, F., & Lahroodi, R. (2008). The epistemic value of curiosity. *Educational Theory*, 52(2), 125-148.
- Schmitt, G., Reedt, L., & Blackwell, K. (2017). Demographic differences in sentencing: An update to the 2012 *Booker* report. United States Sentencing Commission, November 2017.

- Schouten, G., & Brighthouse, H. (2015). The relationship between philosophy and evidence in education. *Theory and Research in Education*, 13(1), 5-22.
- Sedikides, C., Campbell, W. K., Reeder, G. D., & Elliot, A. J. (1998). The self-serving bias in relational context. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 74(2), 378.
- Segall, A., & Garrett, J. (2013). White teachers talking race. *Teaching Education*, 24(3), 265-291.
- Serna, E. (2013). Tempest, Arizona: criminal epistemologies and the rhetorical possibilities of Raza studies. *The Urban Review*, 45(1), 41-57.
- Shapiro, B. (2015). Why white people seek black privilege. Breitbart, August 19, 2015.
- Shapiro, D., Dunder, A., Huie, F., Wakhungu, P., Yuan, X., Nathan, A., Hwang, Y. A. (2017). *A national view of student attainment rates by race and ethnicity*. Signature Report No. 12b. Virginia: National Student Clearinghouse Research Center.
- Shear, S. B., Knowles, R. T., Soden, G. J., & Castro, A. J. (2015). Manifesting destiny: Re/presentations of indigenous peoples in K–12 US history standards. *Theory & Research in Social Education*, 43(1), 68-101.
- Siddle-Walker, V. (2001). African American teaching in the South: 1940–1960. *American Educational Research Journal*, 38(4), 751-779.
- Silver, C. (1997). The racial origins of zoning in American cities. In Thomas, M., and Ritzdord, M., (Eds.) *Urban Planning and the African American Community: In the Shadows*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.
- Sleeter, C. (2001). Preparing teachers for culturally diverse schools: Research and the Overwhelming presence of whiteness. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 52(2), 94–106.
- Sleeter, C. (2008). Preparing white teachers for diverse students. In M. Cochran-Smith, S.

- Feiman-Nemser, D, McIntyre, & K. Demers (Eds.), *Handbook of research on teacher education: Enduring questions in changing contexts* (pp. 94-106). New York
Routledge.
- Smith, A. M. (2015). The Racial Contract, educational equity, and emancipatory ideological critique. *Politics, Groups, and Identities*, 3(3), 504-523.
- Smithson, M. (1985). Toward a social theory of ignorance. *Journal for the theory of social behaviour*, 15(2), 151-172.
- Smithson, M. (2012). *Ignorance and uncertainty: emerging paradigms*. New York: Springer Science & Business Media.
- Smithson, M. (2015). Afterward: Ignorance Studies. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (385-397). New York: Routledge.
- Sokol, J. (2008). *There goes my everything: White Southerners in the age of civil rights, 1945-1975*. Vintage Books.
- Solomona, R. P., Portelli, J. P., Daniel, B. J., & Campbell, A. (2005). The discourse of denial: How white teacher candidates construct race, racism and 'white privilege'. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 8(2), 147-169.
- Spiegel, J. (2012). Open-mindedness and intellectual humility. *Theory and Research in Education*, 10(1), 27-38.
- Stengel, B. (2012). Imagining epistemic justice. *Philosophy of Education*, 389-392.
- Steyn, M. (2012). The ignorance contract: recollections of apartheid childhoods and the construction of epistemologies of ignorance. *Identities*, 19(1), 8-25.
- Stocking, S. & Holstein, L. (2015). Purveyors of ignorance: Journalists as agents in the social

- construction of scientific ignorance. In M Gross & L. McGoey, (Eds.), *Routledge International handbook of ignorance studies* (105-113). New York: Routledge.
- Sullivan, S. (2006). *Revealing whiteness: The unconscious habits of racial privilege*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
- Sullivan, S. (2007). White ignorance and colonial oppression: Or, what I know so little about Puerto Rico. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (153-172). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Sullivan S., & Tuana, N. (2007). Introduction. In S. Sullivan & N. Tuana (Eds.), *Race and Epistemologies of Ignorance* (1-10). New York: State University of New York Press.
- Sulzberger, A. G. (2011). As survivors dwindle, Tulsa confronts past. *New York Times*. June 19, 2011.
- Svrluga, S., & Anderson, N. (2017). Justice Department investigating Harvard's affirmative-action policies. *The Washington Post*, Grade Point, November 21, 2017.
- Takagi, D. Y. (1992). *The retreat from race: Asian-American admissions and racial politics*. Rutgers University Press.
- Taliaferro-Baszile, D. (2011). The riot in my soul—Part 1: A critical rant on race, rage, ignorance and the limits of formal education on these matters. In E. Malewski & N Jaramillo (Eds.), *Epistemologies of Ignorance in Education* (267-282). New York: Information Age Publishing.
- Tate, W. (1997). Critical race theory and education: History, theory and implications. *Review of Research in Education*, 22, 195-247.
- Tatum, B. D. (2017). *“Why are all the Black kids sitting together in the cafeteria?”: And other conversations about race*. New York: Basic Books.

- Taylor, R. M. (2015). The Ethics of Teaching for Social Justice: A Framework for Exploring the Intellectual and Moral Virtues of Social Justice Educators. *Democracy and Education, 23*(2), 7-19.
- Taylor, P. C. (2013). *Race: A philosophical introduction*. London, UK: Polity.
- Thandeka, (1999). *Learning to be white: Money, race, and God in America*. New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc.
- Thompson, A. (1999). Colortalk: Whiteness and off white. *Educational Studies, 30*(2), 141-160.
- Thompson, A. (2004). Anti-racist work zones. *Philosophy of Education, 39*7-405.
- Todd, N. R., Spanierman, L. B., & Aber, M. S. (2010). *White students reflecting on whiteness: Understanding emotional responses. Journal of diversity in higher education, 3*(2), 97.
- Touré. (2015). White people explain why they feel oppressed. *Vice*, September 17, 2015.
- Townley, C. (2006). Toward a reevaluation of ignorance. *Hypatia, 21*(3), 37-55.
- Townley, C. (2011). *A defense of ignorance: Its value for knowers and roles in feminist and social epistemologies*. New York: Lexington books.
- Trainor, J. S. (2005). " My Ancestors Didn't Own Slaves": Understanding White Talk about Race. *Research in the Teaching of English, 14*0-167.
- Trouillot, M. R. (1995). *Silencing the past: Power and the production of history*. Boston: Beacon Press.
- Tuana, N., & Sullivan, S. (2006). Introduction: Feminist epistemologies of ignorance. *Social Epistemology, 11*(2).
- Tuana, N. (2006). The Speculum of Ignorance. *Hypatia, 21*(3) (2006), 1-19.

- United States Commission on Civil Rights. (2017). Targeted fines and fees against low-income communities of color: Civil rights and constitutional implications. Briefing report.
- Upton, C. (2009). Virtue ethics and moral psychology: The situationism debate. *The Journal of ethics, 13*(2-3), 103-115.
- Valentini, L. (2012). Ideal vs. Non-ideal Theory: A Conceptual Map. *Philosophy Compass, 7*(9), 654-664.
- Valenzuela, A. (1999). *Subtractive schooling: US-Mexican youth and the politics of caring*. New York: Suny Press.
- Villegas, A. M. (1988). School failure and cultural mismatch: Another view. *The Urban Review, 20*(4), 253-265.
- Villegas, A., & Lucas, T. (2002). Preparing culturally responsive teachers: Rethinking the curriculum. *Journal of Teaching Education, 53*(13), 121-144.
- Vitek, B., & Jackson, W. (2008). First cut toward an ignorance-based worldview. In B. Vitek (Ed.). *The Virtues of Ignorance* (1-20). Lexington, KY: University Press of Kentucky.
- Walby, S. (2001). Against epistemological chasms: The science question in feminism revisited. *Signs: Journal of Women in Culture and Society, 26*(2), 485-509.
- Ward, J. (2008). White normativity: The cultural dimensions of whiteness in a racially diverse LGBT organization. *Sociological Perspectives, 51*(3), 563-586.
- Ware, F. (2006). Warm demander pedagogy: Culturally responsive teaching that supports a culture of achievement for African American students. *Urban Education, 41*(4), 427-456.
- Whipp, J. (2013). Developing socially just teachers: The interaction of experiences before,

- during, and after teacher preparation in beginning urban teachers. *Journal of Teacher Education*, 64(5), 454-467.
- Whipp, J., & Buck, B. (April, 2014). "Socially just teaching in high poverty schools." Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, Philadelphia, PA.
- Whipp, J. & Buck, B. (April, 2013). Socially just teachers: A five-year follow-up study.
- White, G. (2018). The black and Hispanic unemployment rates don't deserve applause. *The Atlantic*, January 8, 2018.
- Whitt, M. (2015) Other People's Problems: Student Distancing, Epistemic Responsibility, and Injustice. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*, 1-18.
- Wohlstetter, P., Buck, B., Houston, D.M., & Smith, C.O. (2016). Common core, uncommon theory of action: CEOs in New York City. In A.J. Daly & K.S. Finnegan (eds.), *Thinking systematically: Improving districts under pressure*. Washington, DC: AERA.
- Woomer, L. (2015). *A unified account of motivated ignorance*. Unpublished dissertation, Michigan State University archives.
- Wing, N. (2017). When the media treat white suspects and killers better than black victims. Black Voices, Huffington Post, September 21, 2017:
https://www.huffingtonpost.com/entry/when-the-media-treats-white-suspects-and-killers-better-than-black-victims_us_59c14adbe4b0f22c4a8cf212
- Wood, W. (1998). *Virtue Epistemology: Becoming Intellectually Virtuous*. Grove, IL: Intersivity Press.
- Wytsma, K. (2017). *The Myth of Equality: Uncovering the Roots of Injustice and Privilege*.

- New York: IVP Books.
- Yancy, G. (2012). *Look, a white!: Philosophical essays on whiteness*. Philadelphia, PA: Temple University Press.
- Yancy, G. (2014). *White Self-Criticality Beyond Anti-Racism: How Does it Feel to be a White Problem?* New York: Lexington Books.
- Yancy, G. (2015). Dear white America. *The New York Times*, The Stone, December 24, 2015.
- Yeung, J. G., Spanierman, L. B., & Landrum-Brown, J. (2013). "Being White in a multicultural society": Critical whiteness pedagogy in a dialogue course. *Journal of Diversity in Higher Education*, 6(1), 17.
- Yoon, I. H. (2012). The paradoxical nature of whiteness-at-work in the daily life of schools and teacher communities. *Race Ethnicity and Education*, 15(5), 587-613.
- Young, E. (2010). Challenges to conceptualizing and actualizing culturally relevant pedagogy: How viable is the theory in classroom practice? *Journal of Teacher Education*, 61(3), 248-260.
- Young, H. (2015). *Race and popular fantasy literature: Habits of whiteness* (Vol. 51). Routledge.
- Zagzebski, L. (2007). Intellectual motivation and the good of truth. In M. DePaul, & L. Zagzebski (Eds.), *Intellectual Virtue: Perspectives from Ethics and Epistemology* (pp. 135-154). Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
- Zeichner, K. M. (2009). *Teacher education and the struggle for social justice*. New York: Routledge.
- Zimmerman, M. (1997). Moral responsibility and ignorance. *Ethics*, 107(3), 410-426.

Zimmerman, J. (2009). *Whose America?: Culture wars in the public schools*. Harvard University Press.

Zirkel, S., & Pollack, T. M. (2016). "Just Let the Worst Students Go" A Critical Case Analysis of Public Discourse About Race, Merit, and Worth. *American Educational Research Journal*, 53(6), 1522-1555.