

University of New Hampshire

University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository

Honors Theses and Capstones

Student Scholarship

Spring 2022

Exploring Educators' Perceptions of Legislation about Discrimination

Archer Brooke Miller

University of New Hampshire - Main Campus

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholars.unh.edu/honors>



Part of the [Secondary Education Commons](#), and the [Social Justice Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Miller, Archer Brooke, "Exploring Educators' Perceptions of Legislation about Discrimination" (2022).
Honors Theses and Capstones. 659.
<https://scholars.unh.edu/honors/659>

This Senior Honors Thesis is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Scholarship at University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses and Capstones by an authorized administrator of University of New Hampshire Scholars' Repository. For more information, please contact Scholarly.Communication@unh.edu.

Exploring Educators' Perceptions of Legislation about Discrimination

Archer (Kaitlin) Miller

Senior Honors Thesis

Spring 2022

Advisor: Dr. Alecia Magnifico

Introduction

During my time at the University of New Hampshire as an English Teaching major and Sociology minor, I spent a lot of time pondering the systemic issues in our society and how we can address them through education. Since I began my studies here, I started to see education as a medium for social justice. Although this had not always been the case, education became a platform for social change. The beginnings of this shift in education were traced back to the Scopes case in 1925 when John Scopes was tried in court for teaching evolution and “legislatures in twenty states, most of them in the South, considered thirty-seven anti-evolution measures” (Lepore). At this time science was used to describe “humankind [as] divided into separate and unequal races” (Facing History and Ourselves). However, evolution claims that all humans evolved from common ancestors. The teaching of evolution had racial implications because it refuted the old scientific claims about one race being biologically inferior to another. This made the teaching of evolution a social justice issue. This shift was also seen through Brown vs. Board of Education, which ruled that the segregation of schools violated the constitution (Duignan). Although the victory of Brown did not result in immediate change, “striking down segregation in the nation’s public schools provided a major catalyst for the civil rights movement, making possible advances in desegregating housing, public accommodations, and institutions of higher education” (NAACP). After this Supreme Court case, education began to be defined more directly as a civil rights issue. This case began to change the purpose of education for some teachers and brought about an incomplete and still developing social-justice oriented approach to teaching which now involves culturally responsive teaching and critical race pedagogies.

Ever since the popularization of critical race pedagogies, made possible by the Black Lives Matter Movement, critical race theory (CRT) has been under political attack. Although critical race pedagogies (CRP) draw on CRT:

principles of CRP do not prescribe specific paths or lessons for CRT-based instruction, but instead, lend to the elaboration of pedagogical techniques and strategies with an emancipatory CRT focus like, for example, using counternarratives of minoritized students as a tool for CRP in urban school curriculum (Anyia).

Between the resurgence of the Black Lives Matter movement and Trump's executive order (EO) that prohibited teaching "divisive concepts" in workplace training," (Burke) the door opened for states to pass "divisive concepts" bills that were similar to Trump's EO which were overturned by President Biden. In response to the overturned EO, Republican lawmakers have proposed these "divisive concepts" bills in state legislatures.

Across the nation, there have been efforts in "36 states to restrict education on racism, bias, the contributions of specific racial or ethnic groups to U.S. history, or related topics" (Stout). These laws essentially banned the teaching of critical race theory and systemic racism in all public K-12 classrooms. Some examples of this were seen in the language in North Dakota's, Texas's, and Colorado's "divisive concepts" bills. In North Dakota, teachers "may not include instruction relating to critical race theory in any portion"(Heyes). In Texas, the bill that passed prohibited the concept that "one race or sex is inherently superior to another race or sex" or the concept that "an individual, by virtue of the individual's race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously" (Mizelle) from curricula. Colorado's bill, which did not pass, would have prohibited teaching that "an individual, by virtue of the individual's race, ethnicity, or sex, is inherently privileged, racist, sexist, or oppressive, either

consciously or unconsciously” (Judiciary Committee). New Hampshire was one of the first states in the nation that passed a bill like this. Although the political attack that has been happening on education was not isolated, many of these attacks happened in a way that was visible to the general public. These attacks came from an intentional use of the term critical race theory as an opportunity for political traction. Journalist Christopher Rufo saw the term critical race theory as a political opportunity:

“The phrase was a better description of what conservatives were opposing, but it also seemed like a promising political weapon. “Its connotations are all negative to most middle-class Americans, including racial minorities, who see the world as ‘creative’ rather than ‘critical,’ ‘individual’ rather than ‘racial,’ ‘practical’ rather than ‘theoretical.’ Strung together, the phrase ‘critical race theory’ connotes hostile, academic, divisive, race-obsessed, poisonous, elitist, anti-American” (Wallace-Wells).

Many of the “divisive concepts” laws that passed were in response to the weaponization of the term critical race theory. What is different about New Hampshire was that Congress did not pass a “divisive concepts” bill like other states, but instead included similar language in its state budget. This was pertinent to this study because the budget was not something that people typically read through unless it directly affects them. From what I observed, a bill about a singular issue, especially one that concerned a hot topic, such as HB 544, got a lot more attention than the state budget did. There was a level of concealment in putting this language in a state budget, which made it less likely to be common knowledge to the general public. As this bill was being produced, “sponsors of HB 544 pursu[ed] the passage of legislation in secret. They maneuvered the progress of their bill through legislative steps that made HB 544 disappear in name while hiding its full language in the largest budget bill” (Coursin). Everyone that was not a

teacher that I spoke to about this bill did not know about it before they talked with me. People who had knowledge of it, from what I observed, were teachers.

Nationwide, critics of these bills argued that it was important to teach students about the historical background of systemic discrimination because, according to Becky Pringle, president of the NEA, this type of teaching "imparts honesty about who we are, integrity in how we treat others, and courage to do what's right," (Álvarez). There has been ample research about the importance of teaching about the historical background of discrimination that led to systemic racism, homophobia, transphobia, etc. For instance, Harvard Ph.D. student Julia Jeffries stated that by teaching about systemic oppression, "students become historians and understand history when educators give students the tools and opportunities to make their own determinations about the world and figure out how they want to make change in the world and what they want their roles to be" (Boudreau). Another reason teaching about systemic racism is salient, as reported on by Kamika Patel, is that curricula that address these concepts help to better represent students' complex cultural identities:

Ladson-Billings defines the concept of culturally relevant teaching as 'a pedagogy that empowers students intellectually, socially, emotionally, and politically by using cultural referents to impart knowledge, skills, and attitudes.' This approach to teaching involves teachers affirming students' ethnic and racial backgrounds by building a bridge between their experiences at home to their experiences in the classroom. This bridge seeks to validate students' culture and make lessons more personal through those connections (Patel).

According to Spiegler, it is useful to incorporate systemic racism into education in order to do the following:

teach young people how to think critically and foster a more just and equitable society so that all people can learn, live and thrive. To do that, students need to understand what bias and injustice are, how they manifest in society—particularly in systemic ways through our institutions—the historical roots of bias and oppression, and how those injustices have been historically and continue to be challenged and disrupted (Spiegler).

This research was why it was crucial to uncover what effect, if any, this passage of House Bill 2 has had on teachers' ability to teach these subjects. This was why I dedicated my thesis to studying and describing how, or if, House Bill 2 changed how high school teachers in New Hampshire were teaching about systemic discrimination.

Though it was clear that this bill was disheartening for teachers because "[teaching history] now runs the risk of losing the critical thinking piece if we are unable to teach history in its truest form" (LaCasse), it was unclear as to if this bill has had any real impact on what educators are teaching. Part of the effect on teachers from this bill in New Hampshire came from this law allowing parents to report teachers to the Board of Education for disciplinary action and potential loss of license. The rest of the effect on teachers, which can be seen nationally, stems from the impact on marginalized students who are no longer getting represented in the curriculum as a result of these bills. Many teachers had incorporated texts written by people of color about people of color into their curricula which provided representation for students who were racial minorities. These books fostered conversations about race relations in the United States and helped with the success of critical race pedagogies.

This study is pertinent because teaching about systemic racism is important. It was critical to shed light on this topic and show people why Sections 297 and 298 of House Bill 2 were salient and what impact it was having. This was why I chose to interview teachers rather

than conducting a survey or reading previously produced literature on the topic. Conducting interviews allowed me to explore the nuances in educators' perspectives on the bill and how they interpret the language. Interviewing participants also gave me the opportunity to find educators across the state and ensure that people from different geographic locations were participating. This brought a wider range of perspectives to this study. The research questions that framed this inquiry were as follows:

- How do teachers perceive/understand the content and language of sections 297 and 298 of House Bill 2?
- In response to sections 297 and 298 of House Bill 2, do teachers describe changes in their thinking about what they say in the classroom, what kind of questions they ask, or how they respond to students and/or parents?
- Do teachers describe any changes in their unit and lesson planning, selection of texts and context, and/or pedagogical choices in response to the language of House Bill 2? If so, what kinds of changes have they made?

Background

What is Critical Race Theory?

This section outlines what critical race theory is and what this means in relation to education. This will address commonly held misconceptions about critical race theory and what the reality of the situation is regarding its place in the educational community.

Critical race theory is a legal theory founded by a man named Derrick A. Bell with the belief that “racism is not some random, isolated act of individuals behaving badly. Rather, to a CRT scholar, racism is the normal order of things in US society” (Ladson-Billings 42). What this means is not that racism should be the natural order of things, but that “racism is part of

everyday life, so people—white or nonwhite—who don't intend to be racist can nevertheless make choices that fuel racism" (Sawchuk). CRT argues that, since the United States was founded on the idea of owning property, White privilege exists because White people had ownership over Black people during the times of slavery. Since America was built on this foundation, the inequalities that Black people face exist because of the systems that were put in place against them since the creation of this nation. Black people started as property, and they are now treated as less worthy of the citizenship rights that are guaranteed to all Americans under our Constitution.

Furthermore, "according to Bell (1980), White people will seek racial justice only to the extent that there is something in it for them. In other words, interest convergence is about alignment, not altruism" (Ladson-Billings 43). What this tells us about CRT is that according to its tenets, there are no true acts of racial justice coming from the dominant group when they are not aware of their privilege. In essence, CRT aims to deconstruct the facade of perceived racial equality in our society and to point out the reality of inequity surrounding race and privilege. Since this theory became a buzz phrase in our society, it was villainized. In reality, critical race theory is an academic framework for evaluating how race impacts various parts of society:

CRT is not a diversity and inclusion 'training' but a practice of interrogating the role of race and racism in society that emerged in the legal academy and spread to other fields of scholarship... It critiques how the social construction of race and institutionalized racism perpetuate a racial caste system that relegates people of color to the bottom tiers. CRT also recognizes that race intersects with other identities, including sexuality, gender identity, and others. CRT recognizes that racism is not a bygone relic of the past. Instead, it acknowledges that the legacy of slavery, segregation, and the imposition of

second-class citizenship on Black Americans and other people of color continue to permeate the social fabric of this nation (George).

CRT does not tell any individual that they are a bad person or that they are racist because of who they are. Instead, it tries to point out the fact that our society socializes White people to treat and think about Black people in a racist manner, whether that be that individual's intention or not.

What is Critical Race Theory's Place in Schooling?

Overall, critical race theory does not have a place in K-12 schooling and it should not. Critical race theory, as stated previously, is a legal theory from the academic tradition of critical legal studies. In education, the only place that this theory should be considered and used is in the creation of equitable educational policies like the inclusion of culturally relevant teaching in school curricula. However, it was not something that was being taught to students in an English or history classroom. Therefore, centering a bill on banning the teachings of critical race theory was misguided. Legislators were, instead, mistaking systemic racism for this theory.

What is Systemic Racism?

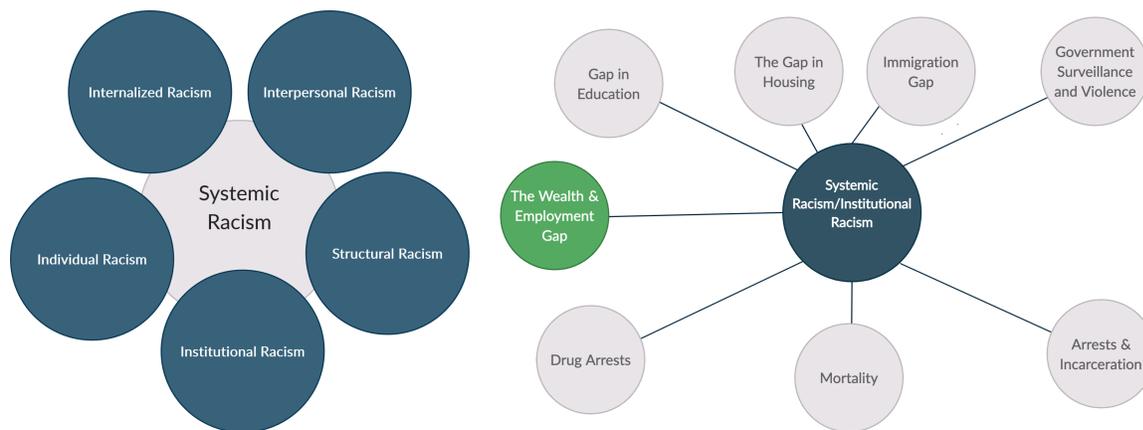
This section will outline what systemic racism is, what systemic racism looks like, and why it is important to teach. After this, I will address how HB2 is affecting the teaching of systemic racism in schools.

As defined by a national non-profit, “systemic means something that is a big part of social, economic, or political practice” (Fair Fight Initiative), so systemic racism was created by social, economic, and politics. In other words, it is ingrained in our societal practices. What differentiates critical race theory from systemic racism is that it is a framework to address systemic oppression, rather than the system of oppression itself. Systemic racism merits that in

order to fuel racism, you must have privilege over a racial group, such as White privilege. This is the system of oppression that critical race theory sought to address.

What Does Systemic Racism Look Like?

Systemic racism is a combination of factors from individual racism to institutional racism that disadvantage non-White individuals. The graphics below illustrate what systemic racism includes (Fair Fight Initiative):



An example of this is drug arrest rates in the United States:

“Nearly 80% of people in federal prison and almost 60% of people in state prison for drug offenses are Black or Latino [and] Research shows that prosecutors are twice as likely to pursue a mandatory minimum sentence for Black people as for white people charged with the same offense. Among people who received a mandatory minimum sentence in 2011, 38% were Latino and 31% were Black” (The Drug Policy Alliance).

The rate of imprisonment is disproportionate to the percentage of Black and Latino people living in this country and can be attributed to the fact that racism is ingrained in our society.

Why is it Important to Teach Systemic Racism?

Systemic racism is an integral part of English and history classrooms, or at least it should be. As the editors of Scientific American put it in a recent issue, not teaching about systemic

racism “threatens children’s education by propagating a falsified view of reality in which American history and culture are outcomes of white virtue” (Editors). It is the duty of teachers to educate their students about the facts of history and how these facts relate to society today. Math teachers are required to teach that two plus two equals four and science teachers are required to teach that the Earth is round. Therefore, by that same logic, English and history teachers are obligated to teach the facts about racism in relation to the literature and time periods they are covering and how that translates into life today.

Another reason it is important to teach students about systemic racism is so that they can become aware of their own White privilege (if applicable) and begin to understand the biases that they are socialized into. When teachers educate their students about systemic racism, they are helping them see how they can begin to “undo structural inequity [which] would require structural and systematic approaches; it would also require work that might call into question the value we typically place on color blindness, meritocracy, and equality.” (Castagno 43). Teaching about systemic racism is not meant to make White students feel bad, but instead to teach them the history of how social privileges came to be.

How is HB2 Affecting the Teaching of Systemic Racism in Schools

In practice, rather than preventing teachers from teaching the legal framework of critical race theory in their classrooms, HB2 is preventing teachers from teaching the factual framework of systemic racism. Since HB2 bans the use of language like “inherently oppressive” regarding one’s race, it makes educators nervous to teach that all White people are inherently racist because they are socialized in a systemically racist society. Legislators who argue against the teaching of critical race theory in schools show a lack of understanding of what this theory actually is, and these lawmakers:

who condemn or seek to ban critical race theory in schools often struggle to define what it is... Republicans view the concepts underlying critical race theory as an effort to rewrite American history and convince white people that they are inherently racist and should feel guilty because of their advantages (Anderson).

What this points to is the perception that telling White students that they are inherently racist makes them feel bad, but the misconception here is that educators are telling their students they are racist because of who they are. Educators are instead attributing racism to social, economic, and political practices, pointing to the fact that “racism is part of everyday life, so people—white or nonwhite—who don’t intend to be racist can nevertheless make choices that fuel racism” (Sawchuk). This takes the blame off of individuals and places it on societal structures. This is by no means harmful to White students, but banning it is certainly harmful to their education.

What is House Bill 2 (HB2)?

The following section will outline the language in House Bill 2 and related laws, as well as this legislature's intentions. The end of this section will discuss the ACLU's interpretation of the impact of this law and others similar to it on educators.

HB2 is the two-year state budget that outlines, among other funding, the educational funds for the next two fiscal years, beginning on July 1, 2021 (Finance Committee). The sections of the bill that are pertinent to the following research are sections 297 and 298. This part of the bill prohibits teaching “that an individual, by virtue of his or her age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, creed, color, marital status, familial status, mental or physical disability, religion, or national origin, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously” (Finance Committee). These two sections are more specifically outlined below:

	Sections 297 and 298 (Finance Committee)
--	--

<p>297 Right to Freedom from Discrimination in Public Workplaces and Education</p>	<p>354-A:31 Prohibition on Public Employers. No public employer, either directly or through the use of an outside contractor, shall teach, advocate, instruct, or train any employee, student, service recipient, contractor, staff member, inmate, or any other individual or group, any one or more of the following: ...</p> <p>II. That an individual, by virtue of his or her age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, creed, color, marital status, familial status, mental or physical disability, religion, or national origin is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously.</p>
<p>298 New Section; Prohibition on Teaching Discrimination.</p>	<p>I. No pupil in any public school in this state shall be taught, instructed, inculcated or compelled to express belief in, or support for, any one or more of the following:...</p> <p>(b) That an individual, by virtue of his or her age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, creed, color, marital status, familial status, mental or physical disability, religion, or national origin, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously.</p>

Although this language seems vague, it becomes more clear when comparing these sections with House Bill 544, a bill that was tabled and then never picked back up again, making it an officially dead bill (e.g. Executive Departments and Administration) two months prior to the passing of HB2.

House Bill 544 as it Relates to Sections 297 and 298 of House Bill 2

House Bill 544 was known as the “divisive concepts bill” and was effectively dead as of April 8, 2021 (Executive Departments and Administration). What House Bill 544 defined as

“divisive concepts” used more direct, but thematically similar, language to HB2. There were four sections from which this interpretation of these two texts as similar could be drawn: sections b, c, g, and i, which prohibited trainings and teachings that draw on these “divisive concepts:”

House Bill 544 and Divisive Concepts (Executive Departments and Administration)	
(b)	The state of New Hampshire or the United States is fundamentally racist or sexist.
(c)	An individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously.
(g)	An individual, by virtue of his or her race or sex, bears responsibility for actions committed in the past by other members of the same race or sex
(i)	Meritocracy or traits such as a hard work ethic are racist or sexist, or were created by a particular race to oppress another race.

The Attorney General’s office stated that “the House of Representatives voted to table House Bill 544 but to incorporate its language into House Bill 2. During its review, the Senate Finance Committee stripped the language of House Bill 544 out of House Bill 2 and added the language that is now Sections 297 and 298” (Formella and Young). So, although the bill that was labeled as a divisive concepts bill was not passed, Republican lawmakers crafted similar, though more general, language for the budget. The language was inserted into the budget because “Senate Republicans sought to force Sununu’s hand, inserting the bill into a larger bill that the governor can’t easily amend or veto” (DeWitt May 2021). This public document draws a direct link between the banning of teaching of “divisive concepts” and HB2.

What do Divisive Concepts Bills Target in Specific?

When this bill became law, proponents claimed that they wanted to “protect students from being exposed to ideologically driven teachings about the presence of oppression – and from being labeled oppressors themselves” (DeWitt 2022). Ethan DeWitt, a New Hampshire education reporter, wrote that one state legislator, Rick Ladd, went as far to say that:

the false national narrative that professes that all states suffer from centuries of white privilege, white supremacy, and systematic racism does not reflect New Hampshire,” Ladd argued. “Any instruction promoting that racism is alive and well in New Hampshire does not reflect post-secondary education in our state. Nor does it accurately portray our residents, particularly those who have been here for generations (Dewitt).

What Ladd was pointing to was the fear that teachers were pushing theoretical frameworks, such as critical race theory (see next section for more information), on their students. However, teachers rarely, if at all, talked about this theory in their classrooms or presented it as fact to their students. Critical race theory has become a catch-all term for any diversity, equity, and inclusion efforts in the classroom, which is inaccurate to what critical race theory actually is. Rather, in an interview with Laura Fay, Gloria Ladson-Billings, an education professor who studies how critical race theory applies to education, said that:

Culturally relevant education is more than celebrating Black History Month or offering an ethnic studies class, she said... A hallmark for [her] of a culturally relevant teacher is someone who understands that we’re operating in a fundamentally inequitable system — they take that as a given. And that the teacher’s role is not merely to help kids fit into an unfair system, but rather to give them the skills, the knowledge and the dispositions to change the inequity (Fay).

What was important here was that Ladson-Billings, someone who had written about the importance of critical race theory and culturally relevant teaching is not saying that we should be teaching our students what critical race theory is. She is also not saying that celebrating a single holiday or having one activity that recognizes minority students is culturally relevant teaching; it is not. Instead, she is arguing that we should help students of minority identities learn about their cultural histories within the context of a system that is inequitable for them.

What Republican lawmakers are objecting to in their creation of Sections 297 and 298 is actually systemic racism, an idea that describes “racism that [is] pervasively and deeply embedded in systems, laws, written or unwritten policies, and entrenched practices and beliefs that produce, condone, and perpetuate widespread unfair treatment and oppression of people of color, with adverse health consequences” (Braveman et al.). Although systemic racism is part of what makes up critical race theory, it does not make up the whole theory. Furthermore, teachers use the concept of systemic racism productively, to explain racism historically and how it still exists and has transferred into American society today. Therefore, teachers are educating students on how racism has progressed in our society by rooting it in history or literature lessons. They are by no means teaching the framework of critical race theory to their students. So, the foundation of divisive concepts bills are misguided and based on assumptions rather than facts.

What is the Impact of Divisive Concepts Bills?

Critics of Sections 297 and 298 of HB2, particularly the ACLU, have argued that “the law will stifle nuanced discussions of historical events and lead to a chilling effect against teachers” (DeWitt, Dec 2021). Since the language in HB2 is vague and is not direct, rather than placing clear restrictions, it creates what is labeled as a “chilling effect”(DeWitt, Dec 2021). This is a term that DeWitt and the ACLU have used to describe the fear that educators are feeling

surrounding teaching issues of systemic racism in their classrooms. In other words, HB2 uses its unclear language to create fear, and, as a result, it has a similar impact on educators as was intended in House Bill 544.

New Hampshire Teacher Retention Rates

This final background section will outline teacher retention rates, which have dropped amidst the pandemic. This was important to keep in mind throughout the findings section of this paper; teacher retention rates had already dropped and were further threatened by this legislation.

Since the pandemic began, teacher retention rates dropped all across the United States. In New Hampshire alone, “thirty-seven percent of educators said the pandemic made them more likely to leave earlier than they planned – an increase from 28 percent in May 2020” (DeWitt, Sept. 2021). This was a significant increase in teachers saying that they were being driven to want to leave their career earlier than they initially thought; in “a recent survey conducted by the RAND Corporation finds a notable increase (almost 50%) in the share of teachers who say they might leave the profession at the end of the current school year, compared to pre-pandemic survey results” (Gershenson and Holt). Berkshire suggested, in a national piece, that fears about what teachers could and could not teach with HB2 in place might raise teacher burnout, thus lowering the teacher retention rate:

For many teachers, the experience of working through a politicized pandemic has been equivalent to a pay cut. That’s because, as researchers have found, some teacher compensation comes in the form of what scholars refer to as “psychic rewards”—the feeling that they’re making a difference in the lives of kids and doing work that’s important to society. When teachers are painted as enemies of the public good—as leftist indoctrinators or tax-funded loafers—it undermines those psychic rewards (Berkshire).

Teachers were already exhausted from the conditions created by the pandemic; it would not be surprising if more teachers decided to leave teaching altogether or to teach in another state without the same restrictions surrounding teaching systemic racism. HB2 posed another risk to teacher retention in New Hampshire, where a teacher shortage was already present.

Methods

This section will outline the research methods used to carry out this study. It will also cover the demographic makeup of participants in this study and coding techniques used to analyze the data.

The purpose of this study was to discover whether and how Sections 297 and 298 of HB2 are impacting educators in New Hampshire. Individuals were first contacted through email after the Institutional Review Board's approval of this study. I recruited English teachers by email using public listings of teacher contact information, such as from a high school's website. After I received informed consent from participants in written form, they participated in one semi-structured interview which lasted between thirty to forty-five minutes. Interviews were scheduled according to the participant's availability and were conducted via Zoom. During the interview, participants were asked about their perceptions and understandings of Sections 297-298 of the HB2 legislation, their reactions to the passage of this legislation (e.g. if they or their schools have altered texts chosen for study, time periods of study, lesson or unit plans, and the like), their perceptions of whether their teaching had changed as a result of this legislation, and, if so, how. Audio recordings of the interviews were collected, transcribed with the assistance of Kaltura's automated caption tool, and then deleted.

Participants

All four participants in this study are White English language arts teachers at public schools who teach and live in New Hampshire. These four educators teach in three different districts and have all been teaching for over ten years. All of the participants have been teaching in the same schools for the entirety of their teaching careers. Two participants are male and two are female and one of them is queer identifying. All of these teachers have relatively similar backgrounds and demographics, but they teach at very different schools, barring the two who are in the same district. The data reported uses pseudonyms for all participants.

Coding

My primary qualitative method was to conduct a content analysis that began with open-ended coding, which I then refined and sorted into themes:

Data analysis starts with reading all data repeatedly to achieve immersion and obtain a sense of the whole (Tesch, 1990) as one would read a novel. Then, data are read word by word to derive codes (Miles & Huberman, 1994; Morgan, 1993; Morse & Field, 1995) by first highlighting the exact words from the text that appear to capture key thoughts or concepts (Hsieh and Shannon).

These open-ended qualitative methods were valuable in this study because little research existed in this area to date. Performing a thematic analysis helped me build constructs for concepts such as participants' perceptions and understandings of House Bill 2 (Sections 297-298) and how they perceive this legislation as affecting their teaching practices and classroom conversations.

Open coding and thematic analysis addressed my research questions by allowing me to consider how teacher participants described this legislation, any changes in their teaching practices that may be due to the passage of this legislation, and how these experiences may affect their broader perceptions of education and their relationships with students, administration, and

colleagues. These open-ended analytical methods helped me understand and trace these interviewees’ understandings of the potential implications of this legislation for educators in New Hampshire and in other states that adopt similar laws.

After completing all interviews, the coding categories that I used were as follows:

- Not direct limitations on teaching, but fear and chilling
- Students freedom from teacher authority
- What it means to teach about racism: Individual prejudice vs. systemic racism

	Examples
<p>Not direct limitations on teaching, but fear and chilling</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “Right, one of the things that you said, that it made me think of, and I saw this actually in the two HB 2 documents that I was reviewing before we met today, is that this idea of fear, kind of fear-mongering.” - Greg ● “I know here in my school, some colleagues were going to teach this nonfiction book called <i>The 57 Bus</i>. And it's, I just picked it up and started reading it because I hadn't heard of it, and holy cow, is it phenomenal. And, a week before they were about to start they both got cold feet...I think it was just too close to the HB2 line for a whole class read.” - Sharon
<p>Students freedom from teacher authority</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “What I got out of it was that... this has always been true in my perspective, it's to prevent people from being preachers in front of the classroom rather than teachers. [...] [Y]ou know, just

	<p>teach the facts, teaching the facts and not really preaching, we're gonna be okay.” - Matthew</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “I try to be apolitical as often as possible. Which I know is something that teachers should do anyway, but it becomes harder when to tell the truth is to be political.” - Rachel
<p>What it means to teach about racism: Individual prejudice vs. systemic racism</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “You know, we focus on 3 subcategory themes of prejudice: race, gender, and social class, and we've continued to do that despite the fact that HB 2 is on the table.” - Greg ● “Whereas in the past they've been able to see the white savior that Atticus is [in <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i>], this year has been much harder because I'm not really at liberty to call that out as much as I've been able to in the past. And we have not been able to talk about implicit bias or unconscious racism like I have in the past, because that's part of the bill as well.” - Sharon

These three categories were used to analyze the data at a high-level and find commonalities among the four interviews.

Findings

Of the four teachers I spoke to, their perceptions of HB2 could be broadly characterized in two themes: House Bill 2 as an attempt to restrict teaching about and discussing systemic oppression in the classroom, or HB2 as a measure to prevent teachers from “preaching” personal opinions. Out of the people that I interviewed, three of them fell into the first category. While their specific interpretations of this law differed substantially, these participants broadly believed

that HB 2 was an attempt to restrict teaching and discussions about systemic oppression. The remaining interviewee fell into the category that believed HB2 was a law intended to prevent teachers from “preaching” personal opinion. The reasons for the differences in perspective will be explored throughout this section in order to provide clarity on what effect HB2 is having on New Hampshire educators and why.

Teachers’ Beliefs about the Design and Intentions of HB2

In this first part of the findings, I will discuss the responses of all four teachers regarding their interpretations of the intentions of HB2. One of the questions that I asked all participants was “can you tell me a little bit about what you know about House Bill 2?” This question brought out varied responses from teachers. This section will be divided into two sub-categories in order to outline the two overarching beliefs that were found in this study: *Teachers Believe that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching About Systemic Racism* and *Teachers Believe that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching Personal Opinions*. The following quotations provide a general knowledge surrounding the array of responses that were given by participants which fell into the categories that will be explored below:

<p><i>Teachers Believe that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching About Systemic Racism</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● “My general gist and takeaway is that, is that what a teacher needs to avoid is teaching that any group is inherently biased or racist” - Greg ● “I know it is a bill that is dictating how I approach topics of gender and race in my classroom. I know there are certain phrases I have to avoid, like
---	---

	<p>the words superior or inferior, or dominant or subordinate when talking about race and gender.” - Sharon</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “[You can’t teach about one group] being inherently racist. Yeah, or inherently oppressive or inherently less than another group.” - Rachel
<p><i>Teachers Believe that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching Personal Opinions</i></p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • “I think there are teachers that would, like I said earlier, preach and... in my opinion... It shouldn't be in the classroom, we're here to teach, and not preach personal opinions. So, whether it needs to be a law to prevent it from happening, I don't know, but I guess that's not up to me.” - Matthew

Teachers Believe that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching About Systemic Racism

The first two teachers that I spoke with used very specific language to describe their interpretations of HB2. Both Sharon and Greg read a piece released by the Department of education which tells teachers that “in short, do not teach that a person or a group is inherently oppressive, superior, inferior, racist, or sexist. Teach and treat all equally and without discrimination” (Department of Education). In my conversation with Greg, he claimed that, “what a teacher needs to avoid is teaching that any group is inherently biased or racist and that, and that it's not necessarily directing teachers away from having conversations about race or

about bias, or about the fact that they exist in a text.” Based on definitions of systemic racism discussed in the background of this paper, Greg pointed directly to a restriction on teaching systemic oppression, specifically surrounding race. In his interpretation of this bill, he felt that there was a very specific message despite the vague language that is used.

Similarly, Sharon described feeling the need to alter her classroom language. She talked about the effect that it had on how she approached gender and race in her own curriculum:

I know it is a bill that is dictating how I approach topics of gender and race in my classroom. I know there are certain phrases I have to avoid, like the words superior or inferior, or dominant or subordinate when talking about race and gender. And I know that there is a website. Parents can go on and report instances where that has been violated.

And that's been dictating some of the changes we've had to make specifically in *To Kill a Mockingbird*

The above quote has verbiage that is notably different in comparison to Greg’s broad language, in that she used first person language that applied the constraints of HB2 directly to her own teaching. The usage of personal language suggests that Sharon felt an effect in her classroom; she used personal pronouns to connote how this law had deliberately changed the language she used with her students. This difference widens throughout my interviews with Greg and Sharon; while Greg persistently discussed how HB2 “affects teachers,” Sharon gave many examples of how she has chosen to alter her own presentation of concepts to students.

The final teacher who fell into this category is Rachel. Rachel, whose interpretations of HB2 broadly resemble Greg’s and Sharon’s, believed that HB2 restricts teachers from talking about one group “being, like, inherently racist, or inherently oppressive, or inherently less than another group.” This is a slightly looser interpretation than Greg and Sharon offered as Rachel

was less specific about whether or not there were phrases or words the bill restricts. However, Rachel did indicate that her school had not released materials about HB2 and all of what she had learned was from her own limited research. Rachel also mentioned that much of the information she was using in this interview was based on what she knows from HB 544. She noted, too, that her district had done “nothing” to educate teachers about the new requirements of the law:

our schools did nothing about it, our school gave us no information. Yeah, none. I taught it to my AP class when it first came out when it was – HB 544, was it, I think? So, yeah, yeah. So, I taught it then and we talked about like where does it keep its brain, you know, like what's the purpose of this bill? And where is it coming from? So I don't really know very much about HB 2.

Her comparative lack of specific knowledge may change how she defined the bill, especially considering Greg and Sharon told me the language they are using aligned with a document that their district shared with them about HB2.

Overall, despite some differences in the details of their interpretations, all three teachers who are described by this category share beliefs that HB2 is designed to restrict certain kinds of teaching, specifically the teaching of systemic racism.

Teachers Believed that the Intention of HB2 is to Limit Teaching Personal Opinions

Matthew, by contrast, had a very different interpretation of the bill than the other three had. Matthew felt that “it's to prevent people from being preachers in front of the classroom rather than teachers.” He saw it as a response to teachers bringing personal opinions into the classroom rather than teaching facts. This response seemed to indicate that Matthew believed that systemic racism is an opinion-based approach to the history of race relations in America. He specifically stated that if teachers were “teaching the facts and not really preaching, [they’re]

gonna be okay.” However, Matthew’s definition of facts versus opinion was unclear and speaks to the politicization of theories that inform systemic racism, such as critical race theory.

Teachers’ Beliefs about how HB2 Affects Their Teaching

Although three of the four teachers in this interview study had similar perceptions on the intentions of HB2, they all had very different perspectives of the impact this bill had on their teaching. Sharon and Rachel both felt that HB2 affected the discussions that they were having with students surrounding implicit bias. However, each of them experience these impacts in different ways that will be discussed in the coming paragraphs. In comparison, Greg and Matthew did not feel their teaching had been largely impacted by HB2. Even though Greg did not feel that his teaching was being impacted by HB2, he still expressed his opposition to the bill. The rest of the findings section explores these differences in perceptions of impact among all four educators.

	Teachers’ Beliefs about how HB2 Affects Their Teaching
Sharon	“In the past they've been able to see the white savior that Atticus is. This year has been much harder because I'm not really at liberty to call that out as much as I've been able to in the past. And we have not been able to talk about implicit bias or unconscious racism like I have in the past, because that's part of the bill as well. So, I am nervous that their understanding of <i>To Kill a Mockingbird</i> is more surface level than I want it to be.”
Rachel	“I had three other students... and they were getting really upset... they started yelling at [another student] about how you can't be the oppressor and be oppressed... I could see looks on [other students'] faces, and I was

	like, I'm just gonna shut this down. Whereas in the past I would have probably allowed it to continue, at least to try to reach a consensus.”
Matthew	“I've always tried to stick to facts as it is, anyways. You know, purposely try to keep any personal opinions out of it anyways. So, it's nothing that's [new] for me”
Greg	“I think that the takeaway from from all of this has been, you know, since this has been implemented, especially in my workings with [a fellow teacher], who, I know you know, has been essentially to set up a scenario [...] where students can basically engage with these topics without us providing the specific material.”

Out of everyone I spoke with, Sharon had the strongest feelings about how HB2 impacted her lessons and discussions with students. One impact that she noted was that:

the discussions around *To Kill a Mockingbird* have not been as rich as they have been in the past, this year... in the past [the students have] been able to see the white savior that Atticus is, this year has been much harder because [she's] not really at liberty to call that out as much as [she has] been able to in the past.

What Sharon says here is important because she sees that her students are not getting as much out of *To Kill a Mockingbird* as they have in the past as she had not been able to point them in the right direction. This prevented her students from getting as much meaning and literary merit from this text. Sharon made an interesting point concerning her students' education through this story. She was pointing to the idea that systemic racism, a factual framework, had become

politicized and she “feel[s] like it's watering down the education that [she] think[s] is already really whitewashed in New Hampshire” and this was impacting how she educated her students. This was an issue that arose in Rachel’s classroom as well.

While Rachel did say the same issue came up regarding discussions that arose in her classroom that were not related to her curriculum. Rachel did note, however, that when talking about systemic racism as background for a book, then she was comfortable with it. In her class she had:

talked about redlining, [they] talked about gentrification, [they] talked about, you know, systemic racism, [they] talked about what happens when white people move into a neighborhood. There is a lot of talk about, like, racism, and how it exists in America today, but, and [she felt] safe doing that because it was really connected to the background for the book and because it was really more informational than anything.

This is a clear difference between how Sharon felt about discussing systemic racism in any situation with her class. Rachel was more comfortable than Sharon was with talking about systemic racism when it related to the subject she was teaching her class.

Aside from Rachel’s comfort with discussing issues of systemic racism when it relates to subjects in class, she expressed a reluctance to discuss the same topic when it was brought up outside of class subjects. During Rachel’s interview, she discussed a situation where her students got in a discussion about systemic racism in relation to a choice book that she was reading and it got out of hand:

this one time that really kind of got out of hand was when [she] told them how in [her] book the author was explaining how some people, like, some way people say that this black person did this racist act against them, but...from [the author’s] point of view that's

actually impossible... Three other students... were getting really, like, really upset and they were— they started, like, yelling at [a student] about how you can't be the oppressor and be oppressed... and I could see looks on [other students'] faces, and I was like I'm just gonna shut this down. Like, whereas in the past I would have probably allowed it to continue, at least to get to some – to try to reach a consensus.

In this situation, Rachel felt that she could not help guide her students to a conclusion because she feared there would be repercussions from HB2 if she got involved in the discussion. Rachel wanted to have an honest discussion with her students on this topic, but was hesitant to do so because of HB2. Rachel also pointed out that when talking about the state of racism in America “it becomes harder [to be apolitical] when, when, to tell the truth is to be political.” From Rachel and Sharon’s interviews, we can deduce that HB 2 is having an impact on making sure what students believe is rooted in fact.

The flip side of this argument can be through Matthew, who believed the bill exists to prevent teachers from preaching their opinions. He believed that “there are teachers that would... preach, and you know that's— you know, in my opinion, that's no place. It shouldn't be in the classroom, [because] you know we're here to teach, and not preach personal opinions.”

Matthew’s perspective on the issue of teaching systemic racism exemplified the politicization of teaching the facts of systemic racism in America.

Through the interviews with all four teachers it could be seen that there was a dichotomy between facts and politics surrounding systemic racism which was seen by many as facts and by others as opinions. This divide has been created by the politicization of human rights issues in American culture. The issue that many of this study’s participants seemed to keep running into was how they can stay true to their obligation to teach students the facts while also remaining

politically neutral. This created a fear surrounding finding the line between politics and facts while practicing teacher authority in the classroom. Since the language in this bill is so vague, finding this boundary is not easy, thus the difference in perspectives between teachers in this study. This law prohibits the teaching that one race or sex is “inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously” (Finance Committee) without defining the term inherent, so finding this boundary of what is considered inherent is not easy

Teachers’ Beliefs about how HB2 Affects Their Colleagues/Other Teachers

Another important aspect of this study is the impact this bill has on teachers that I did not interview. In my interviews with both Sharon and Rachel, they mentioned what they had heard from other educators who were struggling with their curriculum amidst this bill. Sharon and Rachel both talked about the fear they saw instilled in their colleagues surrounding topics alluded to in HB2.

	Teachers’ Beliefs about how HB2 Affects Their Colleagues/Other Teachers
Sharon	“I know here in my school, some colleagues were going to teach this nonfiction book called <i>The 57 Bus</i> . And it's I just picked it up and started reading it because I hadn't heard of it and holy cow, is it phenomenal... a week before they were about to start they both got cold feet, or one of them got cold feet.”
Rachel	“I think that the chilling effect is real.... our school didn't give us concrete examples, and without that, I know that there are teachers who are not talking about things that they used to talk about. And I only know that because I kind of overhear conversations.”

Sharon was especially concerned about newer teachers who do not have tenure, which is “due process, [which means] he or she has a right to know why a discharge is being sought by the employer and a right to have the issue decided by an impartial body” (Kahlenberg). Sharon was concerned about untenured teachers because:

[C]olleagues that are not tenured, like teachers in their first 5 years, I think, are very fearful... I know here in my school, some colleagues were going to teach this nonfiction book called *The 57 Bus*. And it's I just picked it up and started reading it because I hadn't heard of it and holy cow, is it phenomenal. And in like a week before they were about to start, they both got cold feet, or one of them got cold feet.

As a result of the pandemic there was already a shortage of teachers in many states. For teachers who are not tenured, such as the individuals Sharon mentioned, teaching a book such as *The 57 Bus* could instill fear as they could be fired without the input of an impartial body. By putting these restrictions on teachers, especially new teachers, it was discouraging and could be harmful to the teacher retention rate. *The 57 Bus* is also a book that Greg mentioned to me and explained to me a bit more in depth. This book “deal[s] with a transgender individual who has an interaction with a with a young black man that goes horribly wrong. But it's about... What happens to both of them over the course of, this like, this incident that happens.” From that description this book sounded like an important way to help teach students in a predominately cis-gender and white area about identities that are different from their own. However, because of the fear that this bill has caused, teachers are not willing to teach diverse texts as it may threaten their job security.

Similarly, Rachel mentioned that she “knows that there are teachers who are not talking about things that they used to talk about.” She attributed this to what she calls a “chilling effect”

that had instilled fear in teachers. When teachers were forced to stop teaching things because they were scared they might lose their job, students were not receiving the same quality of education that they were before. Rachel also mentioned that her students were wondering “how [they] are supposed to learn about [systemic racism and feel they] already don't learn enough about this.” So, this brought into question the argument of students’ freedom from teacher authority. Since Rachel’s students are interested in learning about systemic racism, she felt there should be a way to teach it to them. However, Rachel believed HB2 does not allow for students to learn about systemic racism.

Rachel also mentioned that she noticed “the law has definitely had an effect on teachers’ morale. Just in general, it feels like it's blow after blow after blow of, you know, people outside the profession thinking that teachers have this terrible agenda.” After the last two years of living in a global pandemic, educators were already feeling really demoralized. She told me that this is not even something they had time to address on a professional level because of the higher level struggle they were having with student motivation:

We're not engaging in professional conversations about this stuff, yeah, we don't have time to talk about that right now, you know. Yeah, we've got a lot going on with our students just sort of being blobs right now. But we've got– so that upper level conversation is just really not on the radar right now. But, I do think that it has definitely had the, the, the law has definitely had an effect on teachers’ morale. Just in general it feels like it's blow after blow after blow of, you know, people outside the profession thinking that teachers have this terrible agenda.

So, not only are teachers feeling demoralized, but they do not even have the time to have “professional conversation” on how to work through this bill without losing their morale.

Greg discussed a different aspect of teachers' professionalization and "professional conversations." He mentioned that HB2 made him worry about losing his autonomy to make choices about the topics and texts that he teaches in his classroom. He feared that his government was "going to tell him no," that he could not teach particular concepts:

I never realized that the person or organization that was going to tell me no was going to be the State or the Federal Government... And I think as a teacher that would be extremely difficult to deal with. It's a little bit easier to go down the hall, talk to your principal, and say, why are we doing this? It's a heck of a lot harder to get that kind of answer out of your state government, you know, and say, why, why are you doing this to my classroom out of all the other classrooms that are out there, you know?

Greg was concerned that it could be the beginning of taking away teacher autonomy. Greg's fear stemmed from the government's ability to take away other topics or books that he had chosen as valuable to his own classroom. Although Greg did not feel HB2 was affecting his teaching directly, like other teachers, Greg recognized that HB 2 was not something that can be bargained with, unlike an administrator who can easily be spoken to. Greg seemed to be feeling the same "chilling effect" that both Rachel and Sharon spoke of.

Conclusion

Despite the study of systemic racism as a fact of American history, as talked about in the background of this paper, some people still perceive it to be an opinion, and thus something that should not be impressed upon students. This viewpoint can be seen through my interview with Matthew, who felt the law's intention was to prevent "preaching" in the classroom. This perspective was misguided because, as DeWitt states, this isn't actually what the bill does; instead "new teaching prohibitions are vaguely constructed and will chill teaching by

incentivizing teachers to avoid nuanced discussions on racism and oppression altogether” (DeWitt 2022). However, Matthew’s perspective was valuable because, if true, it was of the utmost importance. It is a teacher’s duty to educate their students how to think, not what to think, and remain neutral on matters of politics and opinion. If it were the case that teachers in New Hampshire were preaching political views or personal opinions as facts, then this bill would be very important. The perspective that teachers are “indoctrinating” (Alfonseca) students is coming from legislators, parents, and even some teachers who are conflating systemic racism with a legal framework called critical race theory. From this perspective, the uproar over critical race theory as something that has: “infected”(Burt) our school systems becomes clearer. There are a lot of widely held misconceptions about critical race theory and systemic racism such as Christopher Rufo’s perception that “strung together, the phrase ‘critical race theory’ connotes hostile, academic, divisive, race-obsessed, poisonous, elitist, anti-American” (Wallace-Wells). These misconceptions — which have been widely broadcasted by Republican-leaning political publications and campaigns as (mis)information about school districts’ and teachers’ “divisive” intentions — led people to see teaching systemic racism as a violation of student freedom from teacher authority. In short, many American citizens, particularly Republicans, read or heard information that led them to believe teachers were, as Matthew put it, unfairly “preaching” to their students.

However, as written, many teachers, including three of the four in my study, interpreted the law as asking teachers to avoid engaging with challenging texts and classroom conversations about race and culture because of the vague language surrounding the banning of teaching:

...[T]hat an individual, by virtue of his or her age, sex, gender identity, sexual orientation, race, creed, color, marital status, familial status, mental or physical disability,

religion, or national origin is inherently racist, sexist, or oppressive, whether consciously or unconsciously (Finance Committee).

In the interview, Rachel mentioned that she had struggled with what to do when her students argued about issues of culture and race. Rachel said that “it's very hard to tone [her students] down,” especially when she also worried about providing them with any information and saying, “well, actually that's not factual.” The issue that we see with teachers like Rachel is that systemic racism is factual and HB2 is restricting teachers from talking about it in their classrooms. In other subjects like math or science, teachers are obligated to tell their students the truth about how to do addition or about human biology. However, when it comes to ELA or history, teachers are asked to allow students to reach their own conclusions. This has made it more difficult for teachers to navigate this balance with HB2 in place as it is a teacher’s duty to give their students the facts, but it is also their duty to remain apolitical. Rachel even stated that “it becomes harder when to tell the truth is to be political.” Some teachers in this study believe HB2 has created a legal barrier to discussing systemic racism, even while they know that many of their students have expressed interest in learning more about this topic. As a result, HB2 is preventing teachers from effectively talking with students or mediating classroom discussion or conflict.

The “weaponiz[ation]” (Scalise) and banning of divisive concepts instills fear in teachers which keeps them from teaching about systemic racism. There is a lawsuit that has been filed by New Hampshire school educators that argues the following:

HB2’s vague language unconstitutionally chills educators’ voices under the 14th Amendment, and prevents students from having an open and complete dialogue about the perspectives of historically marginalized communities, as well as on topics concerning race, gender, sexual orientation, gender identity, and disability (ACLU).

Although HB2 has less definitive language than other “divisive concepts” bills do, the vagueness of it creates fear. Since teachers are unsure about what they can and cannot say, the law then acts as a gag law. This can be seen in my interview with Sharon where she talked about two teachers who chose not to teach *The 57 Bus* in their classes because of HB2. Sharon’s description suggests that some teachers are now cutting out diversified texts that represent a wider range of students rather than talking about the issues that books like *The 57 Bus* raise. This exemplifies how this law has become like a gag rule and that teachers now feel that they can’t say anything at all on topics of discrimination and systemic oppression.

This bill is not only potentially “unconstitutional” (ACLU) because of its “chilling effect,” but it is also harmful to students who have marginalized identities. Educators teach about systemic racism because representing a greater range of perspectives and cultures means that more students can recognize themselves and their cultures in the curriculum and see school as relevant to them. When teachers fail to talk about the impact of racism on American history and how it translates to the current day, they fail to recognize students who hold marginalized identities.

Beyond the current day, HB2 reflects broader trends in American history. Many times throughout history, the extension of new topics in school curricula have caused a subsequent backlash. For instance, in the Scopes case in 1925 lawmakers sought to keep the teaching of evolution out of school because it argues that race does not have biological roots. Today, we see lawmakers trying to keep systemic racism out of school because it points out that people of color are working against a system that is inequitable for them. The similarities between these two battles can be seen in the following:

A century later, the battle over public education that afflicted the nineteen-twenties has

started up again, this time over the teaching of American history. Since 2020, with the murder of George Floyd and the advance of the Black Lives Matter movement, seventeen states have made efforts to expand the teaching of one sort of history, sometimes called anti-racist history, while thirty-six states have made efforts to restrict that very same kind of instruction (Lepore).

Just like the teaching of evolution, which was largely refuted in the 1920s, systemic oppression is here in America and it cannot be ignored any longer. Teachings about systemic racism in the classroom are not intended to make White students feel bad, but instead to make them aware of this oppression and become a part of the change. Students are the future of our nation and thus determine the reforms we can make in society. By teaching students about systemic oppression, we teach them how to change the fate of social issues in our nation.

Works Cited

- ACLU. "ACLU, Largest Teachers' Union NEA-NH, Leading Disability and LGBTQ+ Advocacy Groups, File Federal Lawsuit Challenging New Hampshire Classroom Censorship Law." *American Civil Liberties Union*, ACLU, <https://www.aclu.org/press-releases/aclu-largest-teachers-union-nea-nh-leading-disability-and-lgbtq-advocacy-groups-file>.
- Alfonseca, Kiara. "Critical Race Theory Thrust into Spotlight by Misinformation." *ABC News*, ABC News Network, 6 Feb. 2022, <https://abcnews.go.com/US/critical-race-theory-thrust-spotlight-misinformation/story?id=82443791>.
- Álvarez, Brenda. "We Need to Teach the Truth about Systemic Racism, Say Educators." National Education Association, NEA New, 27 May 2021, <https://www.nea.org/advocating-for-change/new-from-nea/we-need-teach-truth-about-systemic-racism-say-educators>.
- Anderson, Bryan. "Critical Race Theory Is a Flashpoint for Conservatives, but What Does It Mean?" *PBS*, Public Broadcasting Service, 3 Nov. 2021, <https://www.pbs.org/newshour/education/so-much-buzz-but-what-is-critical-race-theory>.
- Anya, Uju. "Critical Race Pedagogy for More Effective and Inclusive World Language Teaching." *Applied Linguistics*, vol. 42, no. 6, 2021, pp. 1055–1069., <https://doi.org/10.1093/applin/amab068>.

Berkshire, Jennifer C. "Why Teachers Are Dropping Out." *The Nation*, 21 Feb. 2022,

<https://www.thenation.com/article/society/teachers-covid-culture-wars/>.

Boudreau, Emily. "Teaching the Hard Histories of Racism." Harvard Graduate School of Education, 22 Feb. 2021, <https://www.gse.harvard.edu/news/uk/21/02/teaching>.

Burke, Lindsay, et al. "President Trump Issues Executive Order Prohibiting 'Divisive Concepts'

in Federal Contractor Trainings." *Inside Government Contracts*, 8 July 2021,

<https://www.insidegovernmentcontracts.com/2020/09/president-trump-issues-executive-order-prohibiting-divisive-concepts-in-federal-contractor-trainings/>.

Burt, Greg. "Critical Race Theory Has Infiltrated California's Public Schools - California Family

Council." *California Family Council - Advancing God's Design for Life, Family, and Liberty through California's Church, Capitol, and Culture*, 29 Sept. 2020,

<https://www.californiafamily.org/2020/09/critical-race-theory-has-infiltrated-californias-public-schools/>.

Braveman, Paula A., et al. "Systemic and Structural Racism: Definitions, Examples, Health

Damages, and Approaches to Dismantling." *Health Affairs*, vol. 41, no. 2, 1 Feb. 2022, pp. 171–178., <https://doi.org/10.1377/hlthaff.2021.01394>.

Castagno, Angelina E. *Educated in Whiteness*. University of Minnesota Press, 2014.

Coursin, David. "Letter: NH Senate a Tool for Lawmaking in Secret?" *Concord Monitor*,

Concord Monitor, 3 May 2021, <https://www.concordmonitor.com/-40233540>.

Department of Education, Commission for Human Rights and Department of Justice.

“Frequently Asked Questions: New Discriminatory Practice Prohibitions Applicable to k-12 Educational Programs.” *Civil Rights Unit | NH Department of Justice*, 2021, <https://www.doj.nh.gov/civil-rights/index.htm>.

DeWitt, Ethan. “ACLU Joins NEA-NH Teachers Union in Second Lawsuit against NH 'Divisive Concepts' Law.” *Portsmouth Herald*, Portsmouth Herald, 20 Dec. 2021, <https://www.seacoastonline.com/story/news/state/2021/12/20/aclu-nh-teachers-union-sue-s-over-states-divisive-concepts-law/8973379002/>.

DeWitt , Ethan. “N.H. Republicans Open New Front in 'Divisive Concepts' Legislative Debate: Colleges.” *New Hampshire Public Radio*, 17 Jan. 2022, <https://www.nhpr.org/nh-news/2022-01-17/nh-republicans-divisive-concepts-colleges>.

DeWitt, Ethan. “Senate Committee Adds Amended 'Divisive Concepts' Language to State Budget.” *New Hampshire Bulletin*, 27 May 2021, <https://newhampshirebulletin.com/2021/05/27/senate-committee-adds-amended-divisive-concepts-language-to-state-budget/>.

DeWitt, Ethan. “There's a Shortage of Educators in New Hampshire – and Covid Is Only Part of the Reason.” *New Hampshire Bulletin*, 20 Sept. 2021, <https://newhampshirebulletin.com/2021/09/20/theres-a-shortage-of-educators-in-new-hampshire-and-covid-is-only-part-of-the-reason/>.

Duignan, Brian. "Brown v. Board of Education". *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 30 Nov. 2021,

<https://www.britannica.com/event/Brown-v-Board-of-Education-of-Topeka>. Accessed 5 May 2022.

Editors, The. "Teaching about Racism Is Essential for Education." *Scientific American*, Scientific

American, 1 Feb. 2022,

<https://www.scientificamerican.com/article/teaching-about-racism-is-essential-for-education/>.

Executive Departments and Administration, NH. "New Hampshire HB544: 2021: Regular

Session." *LegiScan*, 8 Apr. 2021, <https://legiscan.com/NH/text/HB544/id/2238380>.

Facing History and Ourselves. "The Science of Race." *Facing History and Ourselves*, 2022,

<https://www.facinghistory.org/holocaust-and-human-behavior/chapter-2/science-race>.

Fair Fight Initiative. "Systemic Racism." *Fair Fight Initiative*, Fair Fight Initiative, 2022,

<https://www.fairfightinitiative.org/systemic-racism/>.

Fay, Laura. "74 Interview: Researcher Gloria Ladson-Billings on Culturally Relevant Teaching,

the Role of Teachers in Trump's America & Lessons from Her Two Decades in Education Research." *The 74*, 7 Aug. 2019,

<https://www.the74million.org/article/74-interview-researcher-gloria-ladson-billings-on-culturally-relevant-teaching-the-role-of-teachers-in-trumps-america-lessons-from-her-two-decades-in-education-research/>.

Finance Committee, NH Congress. "New Hampshire HB2: 2021: Regular Session." *LegiScan*, Rep. Weyler, Rock. 13; Rep. L. Ober, Hills. 37; Rep. Edwards, Rock. 4; Rep. Umberger, Carr. 2, 28 June 2021, <https://legiscan.com/NH/text/HB2/id/2412298>.

Formella, John M, and Jane E Young. "Attorney General Opinion NO. 2021-01." *Doj.nh.gov*, 7 Sept. 2021, <https://www.doj.nh.gov/public-documents/documents/opinion-2021-01-hb2-anti-discrimination.pdf>.

George, Janel. "A Lesson on Critical Race Theory." *Americanbar.org*, American Bar Association, 11 Jan. 2021, https://www.americanbar.org/groups/crsj/publications/human_rights_magazine_home/civil-rights-reimagining-policing/a-lesson-on-critical-race-theory/.

Gershenson, Seth, and Stephen Holt. "How Much Do Teachers Struggle with Stress and Burnout?" *Brookings*, Brookings, 9 Mar. 2022, <https://www.brookings.edu/blog/brown-center-chalkboard/2022/02/08/how-much-do-teachers-struggle-with-stress-and-burnout/>.

Heyes, JD. "North Dakota Becomes Latest State to Ban Divisive Critical Race Theory in Schools, Calls for Curriculum to Be 'Factual' and 'Objective.'" *Education System News*, 15 Dec. 2021, <https://educationsystem.news/2021-12-15-north-dakota-latest-to-ban-critical-race-theory-in-schools.html>.

Hsieh, Hsiu-Fang, and Sarah E. Shannon. "Three Approaches to Qualitative Content Analysis."

Qualitative Health Research, vol. 15, no. 9, 2005, pp. 1277–1288.,

<https://doi.org/10.1177/1049732305276687>.

Judiciary Committee. "Second Regular Session Seventy-Third General Assembly State of

Colorado ..." *Legiscan*, Legiscan, 22 Mar. 2022,

<https://legiscan.com/CO/text/HB1206/id/2509015/Colorado-2022-HB1206-Introduced.pdf>.

LaCasse, Alexander. "Divisive Concepts' Ban Is NH Law. Will It Affect the Way Teachers Do

Their Jobs?" *Seacoastonline.com*, Portsmouth Herald, 10 July 2021,

<https://www.seacoastonline.com/story/news/local/20>.

Lepore, Jill. "Why the School Wars Still Rage." *The New Yorker*, The New Yorker, 10 Mar.

2022,

<https://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2022/03/21/why-the-school-wars-still-rage?fbclid=IwAR2nM-StoBtqZb14vRW9iSPPeFChPXHZxVxCOqKTD6LvzkvbX20-C5EEcb0>.

Mizelle, Shawna. "Texas Senate Advances Bill to Restrict How Race, Nation's History Is Taught

in Schools." *CNN*, Cable News Network, 22 July 2021,

<https://www.cnn.com/2021/07/22/politics/texas-senate-bill-critical-race-theory-abbott/index.html>.

NAACP. "What Was Brown v. Board of Education?" *NAACP Legal Defense and Educational*

Fund, 19 Apr. 2022,

<https://www.naacpldf.org/case-issue/landmark-brown-v-board-education/>.

Patel, Kamika. "Decoding Culturally Responsive Education." *Nehemiah Center for Urban*

Leadership and Development, 28 Feb. 2022,

<https://nehemiah.org/nehemiah-blog/culturally-responsive-education>.

Sawchuk, Stephen. "What Is Critical Race Theory, and Why Is It under Attack?" *Education*

Week, Education Week, 19 Apr. 2022,

<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/what-is-critical-race-theory-and-why-is-it-under-attack/2021/05>.

Scalise, Erica. "Critical Race Theory: What Is It? Where Is It Taught? How Is It Weaponized?"

Illinois Public Media, Illinois Public Media, 29 Dec. 2021,

<https://will.illinois.edu/21stshow/story/critical-race-theory-what-is-it-where-is-it-taught-how-is-it-weaponized>.

Spiegler, Jinnie. "Anti-Bias Education and the Importance of Teaching About Systemic

Oppression." *Education Week*, Education Week, 10 Sept. 2021,

<https://www.edweek.org/leadership/opinion-anti-bias-education-and-the-importance-of-teaching-about-systemic-oppression/2021/08>.

Stout, Cathryn, and Thomas Wilburn. "CRT MAP: Efforts to Restrict Teaching Racism and Bias

Have Multiplied across the U.S." *Chalkbeat*, Chalkbeat, 2 Feb. 2022,

<https://www.chalkbeat.org/22525983/map-critical-race-theory-legislation-teaching-racis>

m.

The Drug Policy Alliance. "Race and the Drug War." *Drug Policy Alliance*, 2022,

<https://drugpolicy.org/issues/race-and-drug-war>.

Wallace-Wells, Benjamin. "How a Conservative Activist Invented the Conflict over Critical Race

Theory." *The New Yorker*, The New Yorker, 18 June 2021,

<https://www.newyorker.com/news/annals-of-inquiry/how-a-conservative-activist-invented-the-conflict-over-critical-race-theory>.