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The Palgrave Handbook of Race and the Arts in Education

Edited by Amelia M. Kraehe
Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández
B. Stephen Carpenter, II

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Editors

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We dedicate this book to our families and friends, as well as artists, cultural producers, and educators whose professional and personal lives cannot be extricated from confrontations with contested territories of white property.

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The Arts as White Property: An Introduction to Race, Racism, and the Arts in Education

*Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández, Amelia M. Kraehe,
and B. Stephen Carpenter, II*

Think quickly; do not ponder.

Fill in the blanks:

- “He is a great artist, but he is no _____”;
- “Listening to _____ makes your baby smarter”;
- “To be a great dancer, you must have a strong basis in _____”;
- “Great literature begins with _____.”

If you resisted the urge to say Picasso, Mozart, ballet, and Shakespeare, you are probably already familiar with some of the arguments contained in this Handbook. You may be aware of the fact that while Picasso was indeed a great painter, many of his contributions to modern art were crass appropriations of African cultural expressions. You also may have noticed that while some cultural producers are called “actors” or “composers” or “artists,” others are

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described as “African American artists” or “Latino composers” and wondered why the former are almost always assumed to be White. In fact, you may have heard that major awards like the Grammy for Best Album of the Year and the Oscar for Best Actor/Actress are almost always awarded to White artists. These patterns are also true in literature. For example, you may wonder why it is that Herman Melville, Ernest Hemingway, and F. Scott Fitzgerald are labeled “American” authors, while the works of Toni Morrison, Maxine Hong Kingston, and Leslie Marmon Silko are relegated to “multicultural” literature. When it comes to dance, the claim that learning the ballet technique is necessary for all dance styles may seem suspicious when you consider dance forms that have been around much longer in locations other than Europe or are premised on relationships between the body and the earth that are opposite to the light and flighty embodiment of ballet.¹

These examples begin to point to the overarching argument that brings together the chapters in this Handbook. Succinctly put, dominant understandings of “the arts” and what it means to be an artist are profoundly shaped by racial logics and racist assumptions. Yet, because racism is foundational to Eurocentric understandings of culture and cultural production, it is always implicit in how the arts and artists are recognized and valued. This is particularly the case in those places that have been influenced by European conquest and where the concepts of “the arts” and the “artist” have historical and socio-cultural salience. This would help to explain why, for instance, the proposition that listening to Mozart will make a child smarter is so compelling, even though the scientific evidence for a “Mozart Effect” has been completely debunked.² The association between the so-called “classical” music (note that it rarely has to be called “White” or European) and higher intelligence is as taken for granted and assumed as is the association between Latin dance and sexuality or between rap music (assumed to be a synecdoche for urban African American youth) and violence. To go further, the so-called “culture wars” that have raged for five decades on university campuses across the United States and Canada hinge on whether one thinks that what counts as “great” works of art have the *essence* of being great or, more accurately, the *essence* of being White.

As a field, the arts in education has been late to reckon with its racist past and white supremacist present. This is in part because the scholarship of the arts in education has been largely about arts advocacy, and as such there has been a general reluctance among arts educators and researchers to recognize, theorize, and address the ways in which the arts operate in relation to and are implicated in white supremacy. In fact, despite strong rhetoric to the contrary, arts in education scholars and practitioners have been remarkably silent regarding

¹Hindu dance forms, for instance, can be traced back to 3000 years to the Natya Sastra. African-derived dance forms are usually rooted on a deep connection to the earth, contrary to ballet technique, as described by McCarthy-Brown in Chap. 27.

²For examples of research which challenges and clarifies the “Mozart Effect,” see Steele, Bass, and Crook (1999), as well as published studies by Kenneth M. Steele found at <http://www.appstate.edu/~steelekm/research/Steele.htm> (Retrieved August 5, 2017).

how dynamics of race and racial oppression manifest both explicitly and implicitly through assumptions, practices, and frameworks that define the field. Instead, the focus has been on how that which is called “the arts” presumably challenges racism and encourages social justice, with very little attention to how the opposite is also the case. As such, the ways in which racism and white supremacy define and constitute the field have largely remained unspoken. This is perhaps the reason why spontaneous answers to the blanks that open this introduction might yield predictable (White) answers.

In recent years, a number of scholars, educators, and cultural workers have taken up the task of providing a critique of the arts in education that takes serious account of race and integrates anti-racist work as an important aspect of social justice education. This includes some chapters in edited collections such as *Culturally Relevant Arts Education for Social Justice: A Way Out of No Way* (Hanley, Sheppard, Noblit, & Barone, 2013), and *Revitalizing History: Recognizing the Struggles, Lives, and Achievements of African American and Women Art Educators* (Bolin & Kantawala, 2017), as well as books and articles in specific fields, such as museum education (e.g. Dewhurst, 2014); community-based arts education (e.g. Kuttner, 2015); music education (e.g. Bradley, 2007); and dance education (e.g. McCarthy-Brown, 2014), for example.³ Although these important interventions provide starting points for addressing the centrality of race and racism in the arts, few of the works take up Critical Race Theory (CRT). Moreover, these efforts have been somewhat isolated and without major impact on the mainstream of the various disciplines and fields that constitute the arts in education. A significant barrier to change has been the fact that most projects engage particular fields of practice, such as visual art, music, or drama, or specific contexts, such as museums, schools, or other cultural organizations, yet rarely attempt to speak to multiple fields, contexts, or through disciplinary boundaries. With a broad focus across educational artistic practices and contexts, this Handbook is the first major intervention across the various fields of the arts in education using CRT as a basic unifying framework.

This Handbook brings together the work of scholars, educators, and activists, some of whom have been theorizing, researching, enacting, and reflecting on CRT through their work for some time, in conversation with others whose work has emerged more recently. In gathering the chapters included in this Handbook, we focused on work that made deliberate use of CRT to frame the arts in education. While both CRT and the arts in education constitute robust areas of scholarship, the two are rarely brought together and never before in the kind of wide-ranging project this Handbook represents. In doing so, we hope this Handbook will provide a platform for ongoing scholarship and

³While the list of examples extends beyond those we have included here, see also chapters in Tavin and Ballengee-Morris (2013), Quinn, Ploof, and Hochtritt (2012), Hutzler, Bastos, and Cosier (2012), Beyerbach and Davis, (2011), Benedict, Schmidt, Spruce, and Woodford (2015) and Young (1990, 2011); as well as peer-reviewed articles in scholarly journals.

educational practice that takes seriously the problem of how racism operates and how racial hierarchies are constructed within the arts in education. By gathering the work of a diverse group of authors involved in different areas and disciplines and working at different levels and types of settings within the arts in education, this Handbook provides a wide-angle view of the field through the lens of CRT.

The chapters in this Handbook interrupt the persistent silences and omissions about race and racial injustice in and through the arts in education. The authors mobilize the conceptual tools of CRT to examine how whiteness and white supremacy manifest and are legitimated through discourses, visual representations, and practices of the arts in education. While exploring a wide range of questions related to how race shapes the field, as well as proposing active responses to the violence of racism, many of the chapters zero in on the ways in which White identity and the racial frames of whiteness take hold and contribute to inequality. As editors, we believe these processes are best captured through an understanding of “the arts” as white property. To make this argument, in this chapter we introduce key tenets and concepts of CRT as a framework. We then offer a dual-lens understanding of “the arts” as both an inclusive and an exclusive category through the frame of cultural production. This dual framework allows us to observe as well as challenge the underlying relationship between “the arts” and the racist ideologies and racial hierarchies that ensure white supremacy.

WHAT IS CRITICAL RACE THEORY?

In 1995, education scholars Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate published their now famous essay, “Toward a Critical Race Theory of Education.” Cited over 3500 times according to Google Scholar’s citation index, the essay had a profound impact on a field that at the end of the twentieth century was beginning to embrace complex ways of thinking about race and racism. While CRT has become commonplace—and perhaps even taken for granted—in some areas of study in education, such as social foundations of education, teacher education, higher education, and educational policy, it is rare for arts in education scholars to draw on CRT.

CRT emerged in the 1970s out of critical legal studies in the United States, but its intellectual antecedents can be traced back historically to the work of authors like Frederick Douglass and Sojourner Truth, whose 1851 essay, “Ain’t I a Woman,” articulates some of the fundamental questions raised by CRT. Works by W.E.B. DuBois, such as *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903), as well as the work of Black intellectuals outside the United States, such as Aimé Césaire’s *Discours Sur Le Colonialisme* (1955) and Frantz Fanon’s *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* (1952), established ideas that became central to CRT, including the notion that blackness is itself a construct upon which whiteness is imagined as hierarchically superior. Moreover, works of fiction like Richard Wright’s *Native Son* (1940) and Ralph Ellison’s *Invisible Man* (1952) were also essential

for articulating the lived experience of blackness in ways that deeply informed the work of CRT scholars. These and other progenitors sowed the early philosophical and activist seeds that made it possible for critical race discourse to emerge when and where it did.

CRT is also decidedly interdisciplinary. Many of the insights formulated by first-generation critical race legal scholars originated in disciplines outside of legal studies, including the Ethnic Studies and Chicana/o Studies movements in education (Carbado, 2011), and built on the work of leading thinkers in postcolonial struggles and the US civil rights tradition, as well as Continental philosophers (Delgado, 2009). The early “Race Crits,” as these scholars were called, also drew from their own cultural experiences and paradigms as primarily people of color in newly integrating law schools. CRT has since moved into various other fields, including education (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Lynn & Dixson, 2013; Taylor, Gillborn, & Ladson-Billings, 2009), but its interdisciplinarity and transdisciplinarity are not new.

It would be a mistake to think of CRT as a monolithic discourse with an agreed upon set of problems, ideas, or methods. Now in its second generation (Valdes, Culp, & Harris, 2002), CRT continues to evolve into a diverse collection of analytic tools for understanding how race operates in varied local and institutional contexts and in connection with societal structures of racial power. As scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw (2011) describes it, CRT is “dynamically constituted by a series of contestations and convergences pertaining to the ways that racial power is understood and articulated in the post-civil rights era” (p. 1261). One can see this in the development of various offshoots such as LatCrit, AsianCrit, TribalCrit, critical whiteness studies, critical race feminism, QueerCrit, and DisCrit (Annamma, Connor, & Ferri, 2013; Bernal, 2016; Brayboy, 2005; Carbado, 2000; Delgado & Stefancic, 1998; Haney López, 1997; Museus, 2014; Wing, 1997; Yosso, 2005). Each of these offshoots tackles the particularities of racial formation and how race and racism shape the lives of different groups with unique experiences of exclusion and marginalization as well as particular ethnic, cultural, and sociohistorical trajectories. Such diversity and dynamism are among CRT’s strengths, enabling critical scholars to interrogate raced constructions, events, and modes of reasoning as these shift and take new forms over time.

The dynamic nature of CRT is especially crucial today, given the rise of post-racial thinking, a view that draws false comparisons between individual advancement, such as the token integration of people of color into White-dominated institutions, and the overarching achievement of racial justice. The election of President Barack Obama is perhaps the quintessential embodiment of post-racialism, “draw[ing] the masses as well as elites, whites as well as racial Others into a familiar and comfortable script about the benign nature of race and opportunity in American society” (Crenshaw, 2011, p. 114). Within the post-racial framework, Crenshaw (2011) argues, many liberals and conservatives find a common language in which race no longer matters as a contemporary phenomenon and, therefore, race-conscious critique is

dismissed as an illegitimate basis for reform. Similar to the color-blind ideology of the 1980s (Bonilla-Silva, 2014), post-racialism rationalizes racial subordination and enables white resentment toward affirmative measures that would alter the status quo. By contrast, CRT provides a set of concepts with which to counter post-racial logics and demonstrate the continued—while ever-shifting—significance of race.

Common Features and Concepts of Critical Race Theory

Critical race theorists Richard Delgado and Jean Stefancic (2001) argue that, although CRT is not a monolithic doctrine, its analytic tools bear certain features. These include, first, the belief that *racism is endemic in US culture and a persistent, if not a permanent, part of the structure of US society*. Racism often occurs today in more subtle and indirect forms than the racial terrorism and territorial apartheid of the past (Bonilla-Silva, 2014). Racial power cannot be undone solely by formal equality under the law because equal treatment can “remedy only the most blatant forms of discrimination” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 7). It leaves intact cultural, institutional, and tacit forms of subordination and exclusion that may not be reducible to the behavior of one or more particular individuals.

Indeed, the maintenance of racial subordination is largely unconscious, expressed through quotidian interactional and environmental *microaggressions* (Lawrence, 1987). For example, when an art professor remarks to a Black female student that her drawings remind him of Africa because her mark making is “so aggressive” (Kraehe, 2015), such verbal slights often go without notice or validation.⁴ Rather than overt acts of hostility or violence, racial microaggressions are small, cumulative expressions of bias that reinforce racial hierarchies. As an example, a darker-skinned male patron might enter the art museum only to be looked upon with suspicion and treated as an interloper (Rolling & Bey, 2016).⁵ In addition to his interaction with museum staff, racial microaggression is diffused throughout the museum environment in ways that color the museum experience, as when museum objects are classified, curated, displayed, and interpreted in ways that mask “notions of difference and servitude” (Levenson, 2014, p. 159). Racial subordination is also depicted in the subject matter of the artwork and embedded in the social relations, aesthetic codes, and selection processes by which the museum acquires objects for its collection (Frankel, 1993). Because racial subordination and exclusion are so pervasive and ingrained in the day-to-day routines of social institutions, they appear normal rather than aberrant, natural rather than historical, and inevitable rather than dependent on sustained, collective human effort.

⁴For other examples of verbally inflicted racial microaggressions in music and dance, see Cynthia Peyson Wahl, Chap. 29 and Crystal U. Davis and Jesse Phillips-Fein, Chap. 33.

⁵See other examples in Dewhurst and Hendrick, Chap. 26.

Critical race scholar Derrick Bell (1980) argues that race and racism are near permanent, structural features of the US society, observing that “the interest of blacks in achieving racial equality will be accommodated only when it converges with the interests of whites” (p. 523). Social reforms, therefore, are framed to indulge “white social cognition” (Mills, 2007, p. 35); thus, racial justice proceeds at a pace that is considered reasonable and tolerable to those in power, leading to frustration and erosion of progressive gains (Milner, 2017). Nowhere is this more evident than in public schools. Bell (1980) identified the *interest convergence* principle in his analysis of the US Supreme Court’s decision in the case of *Brown v. Board of Education*, the landmark ruling that ended legal segregation in US public schools. Whereas this case is often remembered and celebrated as a moment of racial progress, in the six decades since *Brown*, racial and economic isolation for Black and Latinx students in the nation’s public schools has increased threefold (Orfield, Ee, Frankenberg, & Siegel-Hawley, 2016). In Chap. 28, Natasha S. Reid, John Derby, and Tracy Cheng explore interest convergence in multicultural art education. They explain how multicultural art lessons often are taught using classification schemes that force the complex identities and influences of artists into discrete and immutable racial and ethnic categories. To organize art knowledge around socially constructed racial categories as if they were objectively “true” is, the authors argue, to reduce artists’ subjectivity to only that which is intelligible within white racial logic.

A second common element of CRT is a *critical stance toward liberalism*. Critical race theorists view liberal discourses of neutrality, meritocracy, color blindness, and justice as ideological tools that have primarily benefited Whites and helped buoy white supremacy (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). These concepts are central to educational projects and the arts in education in particular and yet often complicit with power and privilege (Harris, 1994). For instance, many specialized arts high schools and college-level arts programs employ recruitment strategies and audition practices that announce themselves as open and fair to all regardless of cultural, racial, or economic background, with admittance decided on the basis of individual merit or talent alone. The color-blind notion that treats artistic talent as a naturally occurring phenomenon that is not dependent on race ignores the ways in which racial privilege shapes what counts as talent and how talent comes to be recognized (Gaztambide-Fernández, Saifer, & Desai, 2013).

Third, CRT strives to be *anti-essentialist*. This means that race is understood to be a social construction with no biological or genetic basis. For example, in Chap. 17, Tyson Lewis describes the notion of whiteness as style to explain how race is embodied as a kind of orientation one brings to encounters with visual works of art. Yet, as legal scholar Devon Carbado (2011) and others point out, “the fact that race is socially constructed (in the sense of having no essence) does not mean that race is not real (in the sense of having no existence)” (p. 1618). To the contrary, the *race-ing* of social relations and identities, imagined though it may be, nonetheless produces its own multiplicative

material effects as evidenced by the racial disparities we see in health and life expectancy, wealth and income, political representation and leadership, educational access and attainment, and the means of cultural production (Hanev Lopez, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 2006). To understand and possibly dismantle racial hierarchies, one must address both the concrete and symbolic operations of racial subjugation and the varied ways race manifests and is reinvented to accommodate different groups over time.

A fourth central tenet of CRT is the concept of *intersectionality*. Related to anti-essentialism, it refers to the idea that race shapes and is co-constitutive of other social groupings, such as gender-sex, class, age, ability, religion, and nationality. Furthermore, racism, as a system of oppression, interacts with and is shaped by other systems of oppression, such as colonization, sexism, classism, and ableism. To view race and racial oppression intersectionally is to appreciate how, in any given situation, a person's knowledge, reputation, and power/agency is not shaped solely by racial hierarchies but also by the ways other systems of oppression intersect and shape the experience of race and racial oppression. These experiences are shaped by one's particular location within multiple incommensurable and interlocking axes of privilege and domination (Crenshaw, 1991; Wing, 1990, 1997; see also Vaugeois, Chap. 3).

The particularity of how a person experiences and apprehends reality gives rise to CRT's emphasis on *perspectivism*, an approach that rejects universal abstract rules and ahistorical reasoning as the basis of political and normative discourse (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000). Instead, perspectivism emphasizes the salience of historical contours and empirical details of oppression when deliberating questions of good and bad, right and wrong, justice and injustice. This *call to context*, as it is often termed, is a fifth feature of CRT. More than mere background, context is understood to be a central component when assessing claims of truth and justice (Parker & Lynn, 2002). Legal scholar Mari Matsuda (1987) suggests that "looking to the bottom" of the racial hierarchy, to the contextualized experiences of those who are least advantaged by the history of racial discrimination, opens up a valid and critical source of fresh insight into the realities of racial oppression. From these insights, new principles and practices of racial justice can take shape.

Looking to the bottom is often achieved through the practice of *counter-storytelling* and *revisionist historiography* (Bell, 1987; Delgado, 1989; Huber, 2008). These are oppositional methodologies that acknowledge the contexts, perspectives, experiences, and voices of non-dominant group members. The narratives that emerge reflect views of reality that are more nuanced and more humanizing than the stories told by those who benefit from the subordination of Others. At times, these critical race storytellers employ creative modes of writing, performance, and visuality, and they experiment with transgressive styles of argumentation through strategies such as humor, satire, parable, *testimonio*, and autobiography (Bagley & Castro-Salazar, 2012; see also chapters in Section IV). In Chap. 14, James Rolling positions the artwork of Kehinde Wiley, and visual artists of the Harlem Renaissance, as a counter-visual lesson of

whiteness as a colonizing curriculum. Rolling's chapter theorizes and practices what he calls a "visual culture archaeology" to foster speculation about what the arts in education might gain through critical engagement with the social history of whiteness.

In different ways and contexts, these five tenets of CRT are reflected throughout the Handbook as each chapter explores how whiteness shapes not just what counts as "the arts" but also how "the arts" contribute to the construction and maintenance of white supremacy. To further our understanding of how "the arts" are implicated in processes of racialization and racism, we turn to the notion of whiteness as property as developed by CRT scholars.

Whiteness as Property

In this introduction, we argue that the arts are a form of white property. In order to make this argument, we discuss how critical race theorists conceptualize the relationship between whiteness and property. Scholars Derrick Bell (1989) and Cheryl Harris (1993) propose that property serves a central role in structuring and justifying the hierarchical economic, social, and political relationship between Whites and non-Whites. In the United States, property is a right of full citizenship. At its inception, US law inscribed upon free White males the status of personhood and with that status, property rights. Thus, to be White was to be able to own and take possession. Conversely, under White laws and norms of reasoning, to be Black or simply non-White was to be an object of possession and a subject without possessions, citizenship, or voting rights. As such, whiteness became synonymous with ownership.

Critical race theorists do not use the concept of *whiteness* to refer to White people per se. Rather, this term refers back to the notion that, as a social construction, race does not exist in the world but through a discursively imposed system of meaning in which whiteness is posited as the pinnacle of what it means to be human (Painter, 2010; Wynter, 2003). Whiteness is an ideological construct, enabled through specific social, cultural, economic, and legal arrangements, to secure the positioning of certain subjects as well as ways of being in the world, values, and tastes that are deemed "naturally" superior to others. These markers are embodied through phenotype and skin color as well as bodily gestures that index racial categories. Whiteness frames subjectivity and prescribes what is sayable, shaping affective structures and behaviors in ways that become encoded in the body. In this way, to speak of whiteness is to speak of those markers, ways of being, orientations, dispositions, and enactments that mark the subject as "White" and therefore as being in possession of those things that "belong" to whiteness.

As property, whiteness bestows advantages and assets that carry material, aesthetic, epistemological, and psychological consequences, including the making of White and non-White subjectivities. Whiteness constructs "White" bodies and cultural practices as good, beautiful, and innocent and simultaneously relies on its oppositional construction of "Black" (non-White) bodies

and cultural practices as abject, threatening, and Other. Whereas racial identifications may shift from one historical era to another with no stable essence, white property is nevertheless continuously and fiercely guarded. In sum, whiteness is a seductive, invisible, normative center from which one perceives and makes sense of one's self and the world as well as a productive mode of power constituted through assumptions, knowledge, and performative actions and gestures that sustain and benefit Whites—or to paraphrase Ta-Nehisi Coates (2015), those who believe they are White—individually and institutionally (Yancy, 2004).

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY “THE ARTS”? A DOUBLE LENS FRAMEWORK

By and large, the chapters in this Handbook deal with specific circumstances, offering analyses of specific cultural practices of particular groups of people in specific educational settings and contexts. Each chapter could be aligned with particular “artistic” disciplinary practices, such as: music; dance; drama and/or theater; and visual art and/or visual culture.⁶ The chapters could also be classified in terms of contexts, such as: schools, including K-12 classrooms, higher education, and teacher education; museums, studios, and other exhibition spaces; media and popular culture; community centers and other local and national organizations.⁷ Most chapters are not limited to categorization into a single disciplinary practice or context and, therefore, could also be organized with respect to geographic location. What all the chapters have in common, of course, is that they deal with some kind of cultural phenomena that can, under certain assumptions and perhaps at a general level, be classified under the ban-

⁶With regard to disciplinary practices, see: for music (Vaugeois, Chap. 3; Hoffman, Chap. 6; Henze & Hall, Chap. 15; Hess, Chap. 19; Wahl, Chap. 29; Mackinlay, Chap. 31); for dance (Kerr-Berry, Chap. 8; Gonye & Moyo, Chap. 9; McCarthy-Brown, Chap. 27; Davis & Phillips-Fein, Chap. 33); for drama and/or theater (Tanner, Chap. 22); for visual art (Wolukau-Wanambwa, Chap. 5; Hardy, Chap. 7; Khan & Asfour, Chap. 11; O'Rourke, Chap. 12; Lewis, Chap. 17; Leake, Chap. 20; Lawton, Chap. 21; Wilson, Chap. 23; Wang, Chap. 24; Dewhurst & Hendrick, Chap. 26; Acuff, Chap. 30; Spillane, Chap. 32); and for visual culture (Kallio-Tavin & Tavin, Chap. 4; Herman & Kraehe, Chap. 13; Rolling, Chap. 14; Ozment, Chap. 16; Reid, Derby, & Cheng, Chap. 28).

⁷With regard to contexts, see: in schools, including PreK-16 (Gonye & Moyo, Chap. 9, Henze & Hall, Chap. 15; Hess, Chap. 19; Leake, Chap. 20; Tanner, Chap. 22; Wilson, Chap. 23; Wang, Chap. 24; Wahl, Chap. 29; Davis & Phillips-Fein, Chap. 33), higher education (Kerr-Berry, Chap. 8), and teacher education (Wolukau-Wanambwa, Chap. 5; Lawton, Chap. 21); in museums, studios, and other exhibition spaces (Lewis, Chap. 17; Dewhurst & Hendrick, Chap. 26; McCarthy-Brown, Chap. 27; Spillane, Chap. 32); for media, popular culture, artworks, and cultural production (Kallio-Tavin & Tavin, Chap. 4; Herman & Kraehe, Chap. 13; Rolling, Chap. 14; Reid, Derby, & Cheng, Chap. 28); in community centers and other local and national organizations (Hardy, Chap. 7; Acuff, Chap. 30); cultural institutions, spaces, and sites (Vaugeois, Chap. 3; Ozment, Chap. 16; McCarthy-Brown, Chap. 27); curricula, curriculum documents, and materials (Hoffman, Chap. 6; O'Rourke, Chap. 12; Mackinlay, Chap. 31); and arts publications (Khan & Asfour, Chap. 11).

ner of “the arts.” Although it may be tempting to simply leave it at that, this generalization requires further unpacking.

In order to grasp the significance of the work presented across the chapters in this Handbook, it is necessary to have a framework through which we can collectively discuss the broad range of materials, practices, ideas, and contexts taken up throughout this collection. Simply saying this is a Handbook about “the arts” is certainly expedient, yet it is crucial that we take a moment to articulate what precisely we mean, particularly in relationship to education. Clarifying this relationship between the arts and education is especially important in a Handbook about race and racism because, as we argue, the concept of “the arts” is not an innocent or apolitical concept. Indeed, the assumptions and generalizations that are usually implied when the term is used—even when there are disagreements about what it means—have significant implications for how the term operates in relation to racist ideology and racial hierarchies, relationships that such assumptions and generalizations also make opaque.

While there are long-standing and complicated debates about what does or does not qualify as “the arts,” our intention here is not to engage, or much less resolve, those debates (although such debates are themselves illustrative of the argument we are making here). Instead, our intention is to provide a framework for understanding “the arts” that, on the one hand, is encompassing enough to capture the broad range of practices, materials, and contexts taken up across the chapters in this Handbook, while on the other hand allows us to show how the concept in and of itself operates in relation to racist ideology and racial hierarchies. This reframing is important in order to make visible how the concept of “the arts” operates through a double gesture, toward both inclusion and exclusion, often at the same time.⁸ To make this double gesture visible, we suggest it is necessary to understand “the arts” through a double lens. Through one lens, “the arts” can be seen as an inclusive and encompassing category of symbolic work involving expressive practices, materials, and contexts. Through the other, “the arts” can be seen as a set of discourses that allow certain things to be said and certain people to speak and that rely on specific institutions in order to exclude and to exert authority over what counts as “the arts.” These two understandings are, of course, related; the latter sets the terms for how the former operates. And it is by looking through these two lenses, as we argue in the next section, that “the arts” can be understood as “White property” and their relationship to race and racism can be grasped.

Understood as an encompassing category, the first definition of “the arts” refers to all those artifacts and materials, practices and performances, and contexts and institutions that are typically (and sometimes not so typically) associated with cultural and symbolic practices like music, dance, drama or theater, visual culture, and creative writing, among others. From this definition, anything that involves an *expression* of feelings and/or ideas through any medium

⁸For an empirical illustration of this double gesture, see Gaztambide-Fernández, Nicholls, and Arráiz Matute (2016).

or set of materials or tools can be considered “artistic” and categorized as “the arts,” whether it has institutional recognition or not. This definition is often associated with John Dewey’s (1934) conception of “art as experience,” and it has significant salience in the context of education, where it is often used as the basis of arguments for the importance of the arts in everyone’s education.⁹ This definition is important not only because it is expansive but also because it is expanding; it is crucial for being able to include a growing set of practices and modes of cultural creation under the category of “the arts.”

This first conceptualization of “the arts” may seem attractive at face value, particularly for education committed to equity and social justice. Yet there are several problems that arise from defining “the arts” this way. The first is that such an encompassing category tends to collapse significant differences between various kinds of cultural practices. The second is that this collapse leads to claims about such practices as if there were no significant differences between them, particularly in terms of their role in relationship to learning and to other social practices. This collapse tends to produce false analogies, through which claims that can be made about certain practices are then assumed to be true for other practices, leading to conflation and misrecognition that make implicit assumptions and distinctions opaque.

Let us illustrate this point by taking one commonly accepted understanding of “the arts” as an encompassing category, that “the arts” involve *making* (or expressing, to use Dewey’s [1934] framework) and are therefore related to the imagination and to a growing capacity to creatively imagine a different world. First, let us consider musical practices as an example. While it is possible to describe playing an instrument in an orchestral ensemble and composing new music using a computer as ways of *making* music, these are very different kinds of *making*. While the latter actually requires creativity and imagination, the former does not. Whether either practice leads to imagining a different world is entirely speculative—and somewhat spurious—but let us consider the differences further. Performing an instrument within the context of a group based on the authoritarian rule of the conductor and the preeminence of the score written by someone else is not the same as creating new music using available tools and doing so in response to particular emotions, circumstances, or ideas. While the claim that “making music” encourages creativity might sound true intuitively, this is easier to demonstrate when the music being made is original or even improvised, as opposed to when the music being made was written by another person (and in the case of music, so-called “classical,” usually written hundreds of years ago). Thus, one cannot assume that all forms of music making are analogous to each other or that what we imagine about “the arts” in one instance is true for all artistic practices.

Now let us compare and contrast between two practices that involve some kind of visual making: using a brush to apply paint on a canvas versus using a

⁹For a critique of Dewey’s complicated relationship with racism, democracy, and education, see Stack (2009) and Taylor (2004).

spray can to apply paint on a concrete wall. As acts of mark making, both activities are quite similar in that they both involve *agency* and the *creation* of something that was not there before, as well as the *expression* of ideas and relationships to/with the world. While placing both of these practices under the category of “the arts” might make sense within an inclusive approach, it is crucial to recognize that, at the very least, while painting on canvas is readily classifiable as “the arts,” spray-painting walls—also known as graffiti—is a contested practice that has only recently gained some legitimacy as part of “the arts.” This distinction, and the actual process through which graffiti comes to be classified as part of “the arts,” requires that we put on different glasses to understand what we mean by “the arts.”

Rather than defining “the arts” as an encompassing category of creative practices, objects, and materials, the second approach, or lens, focuses on the *ideas and structures* that shape whether and how a particular set of practices and/or objects come to be classified or categorized as “the arts.” This understanding views “the arts” as a set of discourses, or what philosopher Michel Foucault (1966) called a “regime of truth,” which delimit whether and how certain kinds of objects and practices can come to be classified as “the arts,” as well as the material and symbolic consequences that come along with being categorized as such (e.g. the value assigned to an object or the status gained by the person who creates it). This is important if we are to understand why it is that while the category of “the arts” can be readily applied when using a brush to put oil paint on a canvas, it remains highly contested when it is applied to using a spray can to put paint on a cement wall. Of course, whether “the arts” as a category applies to either oil paint on a canvas or to spray paint on a wall usually depends on the so-called “aesthetic qualities” of the object produced, which are themselves open to debate. Moreover, in order to participate in a debate over whether either object can or cannot be classified as “the arts,” one must not only have the right kind of knowledge and language that such debates require but also be acknowledged as having a certain kind of expertise and the institutional authority to make such claims, particularly when the value of the object and the reputation of the maker are at stake.¹⁰

Recognizing that there are certain discourses and institutional structures that delimit what can be classified as “the arts” points to the limits of the first encompassing definition and reveals its tautology; while everything that is classified as “the arts” involves creativity, not everything that involves creativity can be classified as “the arts” (at least not in a way that carries institutional recognition and value). The contrast between creating original music using available tools (whether using a computer to compose or creating beats with sticks on pails of paint) and re-creating music from a score under the strict rule of an orchestra conductor helps to illustrate this point. While the former surely

¹⁰The positioning of these and other practices within categories is itself part of this second category, grounded in the institutional theory of art, an approach that survives because of its reliance on self-imposed hierarchies of value. For more on the institutional theory of art, see Dickie (1974).

involves a great deal of creativity and the kind of spontaneous expression Dewey (1934) described in his work, the latter is mostly about decoding notes on a musical score, following directions, and getting along with others in a group. Yet, it is far more likely that high school students—if they are lucky enough to attend a school with a music program—will learn to play an instrument as part of a band program than have the opportunity to compose their own music, and the annual school concert is more likely to focus on music composed by someone else (usually a dead White male) than on music created by the students themselves.

Defining “the arts” as any and all practices and objects that involve the creative organization of materials and symbols in order to express ideas, circumstances, and emotions is both expedient and inclusive. Yet, doing so also obfuscates the fact that there are social conditions that make it possible for certain kinds of symbolic and material practices and objects to be called “the arts” and define the kinds of statements that can be made (as well as who has the authority to make them) about those practices and/or objects. Understanding “the arts” as a set of beliefs as well as discourses and discursive practices that gain meaning in specific contexts and that are shaped by power dynamics and structures of authority also helps us to understand how the category itself has discursive force. In other words, when we begin to classify something like graffiti or beating sticks on pails of paint as “the arts,” the category begins to create expectations as well as define when, where, and how we come to encounter these practices as such. In other words, classifying any particular set of creative practices and objects as “the arts” has an impact on the practices and objects themselves, changing not only how they are enacted and encountered but also the terms by which they gain legitimacy and the expectations that audiences have about them. Inventing rhythms with sticks on paint cans is removed from context and placed on the stage, demarking how we interact with the person creating the music; the graffiti is framed, removing the larger physical space—as well as the material inequalities—that give it meaning as part of a larger set of spatial practices.

One way to bring together the two lenses that we have introduced here as a way to make sense of “the arts” is to frame them around the concept of “cultural production” (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013). What all symbolic and material practices and objects have in common is the fact that they are “cultural.” When we say cultural, we do not mean to say that these practices and objects in some way “belong” to one “culture” or another, which would imply an essentialist understanding of culture inconsistent with the theoretical underpinnings of CRT. Instead, we use the term “cultural” to highlight the fact that these practices and productions emerge at the intersections of symbolic and material orders that are always specific and contextual and that give shape to the possible range of meanings and experiences associated with them. Through the framing of cultural production, we are able to denote that, on the one hand, “the arts” operate as a way to categorize the whole range of creative and symbolic modes of cultural expression and creation and, on the other hand,

“the arts” are also a set of discourses, ideologies, and modes of perception and appreciation that set the terms of distinction for which practices and objects come to be recognized as such.

Our intention in laying out this dual-lensed framework is not to suggest that one either holds one view or the other but rather to show how these two lenses are linked to each other. In fact, some cultural producers, such as Christi Belcourt, Fred Wilson, Theaster Gates, Guillermo Gomez Peña, Adrian Piper, and many others, create works that highlight the relationship between these two views of the arts. It is not a coincidence that many of these cultural producers are also the ones who are most often positioned at the margins of the institutions that protect the value of “the arts.” Having established the relationship between these two competing understandings of “the arts,” we are now better positioned to explain what it means to say that “the arts” are white property and to layout the major contributions that the chapters in this Handbook seek to make.

WHAT DOES IT MEAN TO CLAIM “THE ARTS” ARE “WHITE PROPERTY”?

To begin this section, let us pose a few somewhat rhetorical questions regarding the examples we have used to illustrate our discussion so far. Why is it, for instance, that using a brush to put oil paint on a canvas is more readily understood as “making art” than using a spray can to put paint on a cement wall? Recalling the opening exercise, we can ask how it came to be that ballet is seen by many “experts” as the technical basis of all dance forms, even dance forms that have nothing to do with it? If Picasso stole from African wood carvers, why is he considered the genius? To begin answering such questions, it is important to understand where the concept of “the arts”—as a set of classificatory ideas that are used to differentiate certain modes of cultural production from others—comes from.

The concept of “the arts” (and, by extension, “the artist”) is neither universal nor ahistorical. The idea that there are certain kinds of cultural practices and objects that are more valued than others and worthy of preservation because of their aesthetic qualities and values is relatively new, dating back to the time of the European Renaissance and the Enlightenment. This concept is also culturally specific; it emerged within the context of a specifically European social and historical moment when concepts of the “human” came to replace “God” as central to human experience or what is better known as “humanism.” Within that context, the human ability to create came to occupy an important place in how the very idea of the human was imagined. It was also during this time that certain ways of making came to be seen as more sophisticated and leading to more valued objects than others—painting was raised above weaving, playing the violin above singing, and dancing on stage above dancing on the street; the very distinction between something called “crafts” and something called “high art” is the direct outcome of this development. Moreover, the emergence of

this distinction between “the arts” and other modes of cultural production and expression was directly connected to the emergence of the European empire and used as an illustration of the superiority of European cultural production and a justification for conquest (Said, 1994; Smith, 2013), a point to which we return later.

The central distinction that the concept of “the arts” brought about was between modes of creation that were part of daily life and modes of creation deemed “special,” detached from the mundane, and practiced by individuals considered to have not only specific skills but also access to higher orders of inspiration. In short, it was this way of thinking that delivered to us the very concept of the “artistic genius” (and thus, of figures like Picasso, Mozart, or Shakespeare as emblems of that concept in different fields). This central distinction between artistic and mundane ways of making, and between geniuses and the rest of us, is uniquely European. In fact, most languages spoken around the world, particularly Indigenous languages spoken outside the Euro-Western world, do not have a term equivalent to “the arts.” That is not to say, of course, that expressive practices like painting, dancing, or making music do not exist around the world—they do! Yet this particularly Euro-Western distinction hinges on a separation between what counts as “the arts” and all other types of creative and symbolic work that are premised on hierarchical conceptions of aesthetic value and what counts as talent. In other words, to say that something qualifies as “the arts” (or that someone is “an artist”) is to elevate its (“his”) status and to grant it (“him”) value. Because the European concept of “the arts” exalts by denoting some form of superior value, it also serves to mark European cultural superiority. As part of European cultural self-understanding, “the arts” become a synecdoche for Europe itself, serving a metonymic function through which to say “the arts” is implicitly to refer to European cultural values and sensitivities, presumed to be superior to all others (see Gaztambide-Fernández, 2008, 2017). Gaztambide-Fernández (2017) refers to this as a “metonymic ellison” through which “the arts” emerge as a sign of European superiority and a justification for cultural imperialism and conquest.

Thus, within a Euro-Western perspective that is also premised on the hierarchical superiority of whiteness, all cultural “goods” are also mapped to whiteness, so that what truly and naturally counts as “the arts” are those practices and materials that already belong to and are indexed by whiteness. To recall the notion of whiteness as property explained earlier, because whiteness is itself hierarchically constructed as superior, all that is superior also belongs to whiteness, and all that belongs to whiteness is hierarchically superior, including those modes of creative and symbolic work imagined to belong to whiteness. Even if it is possible for non-White bodies to demonstrate that they, too, can put oil paint on a canvas and play the violin, this is interpreted as an expression of their own capacity for civilization, that is, to be *more like* Whites. Whiteness constructs White bodies and cultural practices as good, beautiful, and innocent and simultaneously relies on its oppositional construction of Black (non-White)

bodies and cultural practices as object, threatening, and the Other. “The arts,” as a marker of all that is beautiful and culturally superior, are thus implicated in, and therefore belong to, whiteness, not only because it was White Europeans who invented the concept but also because the terms by which any symbolic practice or creative object come to be considered under the category of “the arts” are themselves set by discourses and ideologies that are similarly intended to demarcate, and thus to protect, the property value of whiteness. This implication also requires institutions and arbiters vested with the task of determining and protecting what counts as “the arts” through logics that reflect the modes of being and the social and cultural orders that grant privilege to some and marginalize others.

Understood as “White property,” the discourses of the arts entitle the bearer with the right to exclude, as whiteness sets the boundaries of exclusion when it comes to what counts as the arts: what is recognized as such, who is recognized as an artist, and how the arts are qualified (e.g. as “the arts” or as “the Black arts” or dance as opposed to Black dance or even multicultural or ethnic dance). Being White (i.e. owning whiteness) grants the bearers of whiteness certain kinds of rights to access those products and activities deemed as “the arts.” Conversely, owning certain kinds of products and participating in certain kinds of activities grants people a certain kind of status that is akin to whiteness. However, for this status to be granted—even precariously—these products and activities must be codified in order to be accepted as “the arts” and this codification is itself codified by whiteness, granting it property status.

In sum, to say that the arts are white property is to say, first, that the objects and practices traditionally categorized as “the arts” are those that not only are *indexed by whiteness*, because they are presumed to belong to European cultural “tradition,” but that also *serve as evidence of European cultural superiority* or to use the words of nineteenth-century British poet and cultural critic Matthew Arnold (1869), of all that is “sweetness and light.” This is because the referents by which objects and practices are deemed to be qualified as “the arts” are themselves “White property.” Thus, to elevate other objects and practices to the category of “the arts” is also to place them as the property (at least temporarily and often precariously) of Whites, to make them *consumable* by whiteness. This means that the manner by which those objects are engaged and determined as “the arts” is itself a marker of whiteness.

Second, to say that “the arts” are white property is also to say that the terms of classification are *based on values* that, although framed as universal, are in fact particular to whiteness. In the same way that becoming “civilized” is to integrate an orientation toward the world—that is, a way of being—that is anchored by whiteness (as expressed through CRT), to have an artistic “sensitivity” or to be able to “appreciate” the arts requires a particular “way of seeing,” to invoke British art critic and painter John Berger’s (1972) famous work, but also of hearing, of moving, of perceiving, and of experiencing “the arts.” This also requires a particular set of conditions that make it possible to experience “the arts” properly and, therefore, to the next point,

requires codification and regulation through institutionalization and authoritative expertise.

Thus, to say that “the arts” are white property is, third, to say that they are *institutionalized within structures* that protect the property values of whiteness, such as schools, museums, and galleries. As representatives and protectors of White cultural values, these institutions set the terms of inclusion—and by extension the terms of ownership and consumption. This is in part why, for example, to be considered a legitimate dance form, different forms of bodily movement and expression must be refracted through what is already constituted as a White—and therefore superior and more technically advanced—dance form, such as ballet. By setting the terms of inclusion, “the arts” as white property appropriate other modes of expression and creation but only by first institutionalizing such practices and imposing the modes of engagement described below. In short, to call something “the arts” is to risk being appropriated by whiteness. This is why, when classifying practices such as rhythmically beating sticks on pails of paint as “the arts,” we run the risk of removing them from context and therefore extricating them from the cultural values and orientations that give them their meaning. In other words, to say that “the arts” are white property is to say, fourth, that *to be classified as “the arts” is to be “whitewashed.”*¹¹

The ways in which the arts, as a set of discourses and ideologies, operate as “White property” are expressed and illustrated in various ways throughout the chapters in this Handbook. Engaging a wide range of practices and institutions, the authors in this Handbook bring to life the theoretical concepts laid out in this introduction and, as we summarize next, make a significant contribution to our understanding of the arts as white property and the intersection of the arts in education and racism.

HOW DOES THIS HANDBOOK ADVANCE UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE ARTS AS WHITE PROPERTY IN EDUCATION?

The contributions to this collection build and extend knowledge of the arts as white property as we have outlined above, and they also address some of the oversights within the CRT literature. As we have noted, CRT has been limited historically as a principally academic movement. As a consequence, its concepts have not yet influenced discourses commonly used to think about the sensory, symbolic, and aesthetic realms of racial systems. Similarly, CRT has been slow to reach practitioners and activists working for racial justice, particularly in the arts. Other criticisms of CRT include its original reliance on a Black-White racial binary (Matsuda, 2002; Parea, 1997), the emphasis on the rule of law as

¹¹ While not uniquely North American, the notion of being “whitewashed” points to the process by which certain kinds of cultural artifacts, practices, and even people are symbolically and/or linguistically re-articulated or re-positioned to appear as if they belong to, or are the outcome of, so-called White culture.

the path to dismantling racism (Harris, 1994), and the as yet untested applicability to non-US contexts (Mutua, 2000). This collection makes advances in these and other directions.

As an important step toward building an anti-racist and decolonial approach to the arts in education, this Handbook is comprised of four sections, each of which includes chapters that seek to describe, name, and denormalize white hegemony in and through the arts from various disciplinary, methodological, institutional, and geographic perspectives. The four sections of the Handbook are organized thematically: (1) Histories of Race and Racism in the Arts in Education: Colonialisms, Subjectivities, and Cultural Resistances; (2) Discursive Materials of Racism and the Arts in Education: Narratives, Performances, and Material Culture; (3) Lived Practices of Race and Racism in the Arts: Schools, Communities, and Other Educational Spaces; and (4) Un-disciplined Racial Subjects in the Arts in Education: Cultural Institutions, Personal Experiences, and Reflexive Intervention. Each section includes chapters that focus on different disciplines and/or specific issues across disciplines. Although the organization of the Handbook highlights four distinct themes, many of the chapters could dwell comfortably in more than one section because they concern multiple facets of race and racism, the arts, and education. We ultimately selected and placed chapters in the collection after rich conversations and debate about how they might best refract each other, to reveal and provoke new relationships, conversations, and insights. As such, the Handbook's four-part structure does not represent neatly demarcated lines of investigation. Instead, the collection offers a prismatic view of race and the arts in education through which other considerations and future work might emerge.

Most of the chapters are situated within North America, with a few chapters addressing African, European, Australian, and Asian contexts. The Handbook contains no chapters from Latin America nor do any of the chapters take up Arab or Middle Eastern contexts or perspectives. While we consciously took a wide-angle approach to soliciting contributions about the arts as white property in education, we acknowledge that the Handbook comes up short in terms of representing a broad global perspective. While this may be symptomatic of the lack relevance of and/or engagement with CRT globally, without question, this Handbook draws attention to the need for continued awareness of existing and future scholarship that critically confronts the intersection of the arts and white supremacy around the world. This point notwithstanding, the Handbook reveals the significance of the arts as white property globally and some of the ways in which it is perpetuated through practices and institutions within the arts in education.

Section 1

The chapters in the first section of this Handbook, "Histories of Race and Racism in the Arts in Education: Colonialisms, Subjectivities, and Cultural Resistances," examine how whiteness has operated in the histories and

historiographies of music, visual art, and dance education. The chapters in this section consider how past events, ways of thinking, and institutional practices of the arts contribute to the ongoing production and animation of the arts as white property. Some chapters focus on specific national contexts, drawing attention to the relationship between whiteness, white supremacy, and colonization in places like Canada (see Vaugeois, Chap. 3), Uganda (see Wolukau-Wanambwa, Chap. 5), and Zimbabwe (see Gonye & Moyo, Chap. 9). These chapters take up the centrality of race to processes of colonization, including settler colonialism as well as internal and external colonialism, which have remained beyond the purview of CRT. In Chap. 3, for example, Lise Vaugeois shows how whiteness is articulated through particular forms of elite masculinity and femininity that serve to enforce a particular narrative of Canada as a settler nation. By contrast, in Chap. 4, Mira Kallio-Tavin and Kevin Tavin discuss how Finnish visual culture draws on racist imagery to impose boundaries between those who do and do not belong to the nation in ways that enforce colonial relations with non-White immigrants.

One of the key contributions of the chapters in this section has to do with how the very concept of “the artist” comes to be constructed in the image of the White European artist, construed as the “real” artist (e.g. only White artists are just artists, everyone else is a *fill-in-the-blank* artist). Specifically, Chap. 6, by Adria R. Hoffman, and Chap. 5, by Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, illustrate the pervasiveness of certain ways of imagining what an artist is and how these ways come to shape the history of arts education in various contexts. The chapters also show the contest over what sorts of practices come to be recognized as a legitimate part of “the arts” and how colonial and racist discourses impose the logic by which this happens. This also requires that such practices be contained within discourses that in effect decontextualize them in order to be “owned” by whiteness. This decontextualization is evident in the case of dance history, as illustrated by Julie Kerr-Berry in Chap. 8, as well as in how traditional dance forms are integrated into the national curriculum, as illustrated in the case of Zimbabwe by Jairo Gonye and Nathan Moyo in Chap. 9.

The dynamics through which whiteness shapes the contest over competing conceptions of what counts as the arts and who counts as an artist are also evident in the history of community arts projects. As Debra Hardy demonstrates in Chap. 7, the very sustainability of projects such as Chicago’s South Side Community Arts Center hinges on the ability to produce particular narratives about what sort of art is produced in such places in order to appeal to a broader (and wealthier) White audience. This, of course, is contested terrain, and in every instance the authors point out the spaces of resistance within which alternative modes of cultural production and ways of being an “artist” emerge. The CRT notion of counter-narrative is an essential tool for both understanding as well as articulating such resistances, as demonstrated in Chap. 8 by Kerr-Berry, Chap. 7 by Hardy, and Chap. 9 by Gonye and Moyo.

Section 2

The second section, “Discursive Materials of Racism and the Arts in Education: Narratives, Performances, and Material Culture,” explores white property in relation to visual, performance, and textual artifacts about the arts and arts education. The chapters in this section trace manifestations of the specters of whiteness in material culture as curricula designed to influence K-16 arts learning, teacher preparation and professional development, as well as the production of whiteness through the rhetoric of the arts. Exhibitions in galleries, critical essays published in art journals, hip-hop music, and public monuments are examples of some of the discursive materials explored in this section. Themes of *curriculum and pedagogy* (what is taught, learned, and valued), *counter-visibility* (critical reflections and resistance to whiteness), and *embodied orientations* (lived experiences) echo throughout the chapters.

Of the chapters in this section, two offer particularly vivid examples of these themes and demonstrate the fluidity and critical potential for engaging discursive materials within the project of confronting the hegemony of whiteness and its ownership of the arts. For example, in Chap. 13, David Herman and Amelia M. Kraehe extend the challenge of the arts as white property through their analysis of the film *12 Years a Slave* and layer this reading on contemporary practices of digital video surveillance of police brutality and killings of Black subjects. Their chapter functions as a means of reclaiming the Black body through an anti-racist curriculum of visual culture—both through the technologies used to capture and disseminate the images as well as the content inherent to the contemporary cultural moments. Through advocating for “the right to look” (Mirzoeff, 2011), Herman and Kraehe argue for a curriculum of confrontation located in race-conscious critiques of lens-based representations.

Adam D. Henze and Ted Hall offer another example in Chap. 15, in which they examine how hip-hop pedagogy is used within an English curriculum to challenge whiteness through the music of Kendrick Lamar. As an example of CRT-informed pedagogy, this chapter makes a compelling case for reimagining hip-hop lyrics as literary texts in order to acknowledge and critique racism through classroom dialogue. The Hip-Hop Lit class at the center of this chapter calls into question the traditional literary curriculum grounded in whiteness by repositioning canonical Western literature with contemporary hip-hop albums. The chapter ends by discussing authors of color whose work actively challenges white hegemony, such as Toni Morrison and Kendrick Lamar himself. Henze and Hall’s chapter repositions the privilege and ownership of the white literary canon and the printed word in relation to a wider range of possibilities as exemplified through hip-hop music, lyrics, and the artists who write and perform the work.

The chapters in this second section demonstrate a shared interest in the materiality of whiteness in the arts in education, through media, objects, monuments, and other forms of cultural production. For example, in Chap. 16, Elizabeth Whittenburg Ozment offers a critical reading of a commemorative

public memorial to expose embodied relationships to memories and histories of whiteness. This section also exposes the specter of whiteness embedded within the discursive materiality of published art writing in Chap. 11, by Sharlene Khan and Fouad Asfour, as well as official curriculum documents and policies, as taken up by Fiona O'Rourke in Chap. 12. The critical readings of these discursive materials make evident a wide range of approaches and practices in which race operates to perpetuate power structures or can be deconstructed through artistic and critical means. Collectively, these chapters propose points of entry through which sites and practices of visual and material culture and the arts in education challenge white property as pedagogical opportunities to reconsider, reclaim, and reposition the arts in education through critical reflection. The next section is concerned with examinations of educational sites and spaces and the lived experiences of racism they facilitate.

Section 3

In the third section, “Lived Practices of Race and Racism in the Arts: Schools, Communities, and Other Educational Spaces,” critical race theorizing is combined with empirical methods to explore how the arts are organized and experienced as white property in the everyday interactions of K-16 students, teachers, and visual and performing artists. The chapters use first-hand field observations, interviews, and artifacts to explore various ways in which white racial hegemony is assumed and reinforced. The authors illustrate how spatial practices and image citation are embedded within and constituted through the commonplaces of arts training and education, such as aesthetics, art interpretation, artmaking, performance, and arts curriculum and pedagogy.

Several chapters focus on spatial practices in arts classrooms. They show that racial boundaries are variously marked and maintained by the manner in which differently raced bodies are allowed to occupy arts spaces. For example, in Chap. 19, Juliet Hess shows how, in what appears at first glance to be rather banal classroom situations, music is constructed as white property through a curriculum based on performing a Eurocentric musical repertoire and a pedagogy that valorizes musical notation and still comportment over aural and musicality. As a consequence, students of color and their musics are displaced outside the normal register of school music. In Chap. 21, Pamela Harris Lawton considers the repercussions of a sustained absence of non-Whites in the US elementary-to-postsecondary education arts pipeline. Her interviews with accomplished artist-educators of color show the racial microaggressions (Lawrence, 1987) that occur at the level of curriculum and teacher-student relationships. She argues that these microaggressions are an important factor in discouraging students of color from participating in school art classes and ultimately from pursuing a life and career as an artist. This lack of non-White artists in the formal spaces of the arts evolves into a cycle of exclusions that become self-perpetuating and entrenched over time.

Maria Leake in Chap. 20 and Samuel Jaye Tanner in Chap. 22 take a praxis-oriented approach to the problem of the arts as a de facto White space by looking at what happens when racism is thematized and made an explicit object of study in the classroom. For Tanner, this means centering the ideology and practice of whiteness with his high school theater students in order to make it available for interrogation and deconstruction. In contrast, Leake's analysis gives pride of place to Kehinde Wiley and Carmen Lomas Garza, two contemporary artists whose work confronts white supremacy by re-presenting more complex renderings of African Americans and Mexican Americans, respectively. She suggests that these artists' practices offer another model of how art educators can reconstruct instructional spaces to be more just, more humanizing, and more creative.

Other chapters in this section help us to understand the arts as white property by focusing on the meaning of visual representations within lived experiences. These chapters provide complementary insights to the discussion of discursive materials in Section II of the Handbook. For example, in Chap. 24, Tingting Windy Wang's study of drawings created by children in urban China shows how aesthetic practices derived from the ideals of white beauty and Western heroism are part of the children's symbol-making systems. She attributes the children's adoption of this visual language to the racial hegemony of both global mass media and the incorporation of Western technique into formal art instruction in China. As artistry develops, so too does one's artistic identity. In Chap. 23, Gloria Wilson focuses on identity formation through participation in what she calls the "hegemonic art world." She discusses the artmaking strategies of assimilation, self-determination, and resistance as used by three Black artists in the United States to recalibrate their sense of self and their perceptions of success within, and at times against, an artworld that trades on the distortion and dehumanization of non-White subjects.

The studies in Section III contribute to an emerging conversation on the significance of spatial relations and visual representations in CRT in education (e.g. Huber & Solórzano, 2015; Morrison, Annamma, & Jackson, 2017). The chapters point to modes of racial enculturation and inculcation that are ignored (naturalized) in the mainstream literature that discusses the teaching of artistic behaviors, studio habits of mind, creative thinking, and design thinking (e.g. see Clapp, Ross, Ryan, & Tishman, 2017; Hetland, Winner, Veenema, & Sheridan, 2007; Douglas & Jaquith, 2009). By shining a spotlight on where, when, and how whiteness powers many of the practices that are taken for granted in the arts, this research also provides specific areas that might be targeted for anti-racist intervention, thus opening up more promising avenues for realizing the emancipatory potential of the arts in education.

Section 4

The final section of the Handbook, "Un-disciplined Racial Subjects in the Arts in Education: Cultural Institutions, Personal Experiences, and Reflexive

Interventions,” focuses on stories that reflect a sense of being “un-disciplined” in the arts. Un-disciplined racial subjects question and/or reject the ideas, identities, and institutions that are formed through restrictive majoritarian discourses in the arts. To become un-disciplined is to become unbound by the rules, rituals, and reasoning that circumscribe “the arts” as white property.

The chapters in Section IV offer examples of being and becoming un-disciplined racial subjects in the arts. The authors draw on first-person accounts to examine the various systematic and specific means by which racism and white supremacy become and remain entrenched through the expectations and norms of arts institutions. For example, in Chap. 26, Marit Dewhurst and Keonna Hendrick use their experiences as museum educators to tell stories about the ways in which art museums and their staff engage in white racial thinking when building their collections and curating exhibitions, during staff interactions with visitors, and in hiring practices. They offer specific strategies for museum practitioners and leaders to begin to name how whiteness shapes the institutional culture. Nyama McCarthy-Brown uses her experiences in dance to construct an incisive counter-story of dance education in Chap. 27. She examines the whitening of salsa, hip-hop, and the Lindy Hop through a process of abstraction that strips the dances of their Latinx and Black contexts so that they can be repackaged to appeal to White subjects and aesthetic mythologies, thus “whitewashing,” or appropriating them as white property.

A number of chapters use the critical race methodology of counter-storytelling to combine theory-driven institutional analysis with humanizing personal reflections. For example, in Chap. 28, Natasha S. Reid, John Derby, and Tracy Cheng explore how the visual culture of their childhoods mediated the formation of their racial identities, and in Chap. 29, Cynthia Peyson Wahl chronicles the influence of popular racial tropes in her experiences as a Black choral music educator. Joni Boyd Acuff presents a fictional tale in Chap. 30 that gives the reader a close-up look at the promises and perils of deracialized diversity initiatives in arts organizations.

The final three chapters of the Handbook use novel formats to interrogate the arts as white property. For example, in Chap. 31, Elizabeth Mackinlay constructs a series of narrative “unsoundings” that gesture toward a praxis aimed at decolonizing music education and reclaiming Indigenous music sovereignty, and in Chap. 32, Sunny Spillane offers an arts-based reflection on racial inequities, including an interrogation of arts-based research itself as an artifact of the arts as white property. Crystal U. Davis and Jesse Phillips-Fein compare their experiences in the “White landscape” of dance education in Chap. 33, using a non-linear narrative and analytic style that echo the diffuse, multi-sited, constellation-like qualities of modern-day systemic racism.

We close the Handbook with these reflective essays to highlight the experiential dimensions of a CRT approach to the arts in education. We believe each of the chapters in Section IV offers a dose of realistic optimism, a clear-eyed sense of what might be possible as those within the field become more aware of how the arts disciplines sustain and are sustained by white supremacy. The

authors provide a more sophisticated understanding of the inherent contradictions of seeking racial justice through the arts. Such contradictions suggest that more boldness is needed to create the conditions and coalitions for anti-racist actions and reforms to be realized at individual and institutional levels.

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK ON RACE AND RACISM IN THE ARTS IN EDUCATION

This chapter provides a framework for both provoking and sustaining a conversation about the relationship between race and the arts in education using CRT as an orientation. In this final section, we offer a reflection on what we learned through the process of editing this book, about how racism as a form of oppression intersects with the arts, and how scholars across disciplines are taking up resistance and other positions of critical reflection. While the kind of work featured in this Handbook has not been prominent within mainstream publications, the overwhelming response we received to our initial call for papers is a clear indication of an emerging wave of scholarship that will make radical interventions in the field.

While this wave of scholarship is certainly gaining important momentum, it is also clearly incipient. Many of the initial submissions we received lacked the kind of theoretical depth and sophistication that is characteristic of much education scholarship that engages CRT. In our view, this is due in part to the slippery ways in which the very idea of “the arts” tends to escape critical scrutiny and a tendency among arts education scholars to romanticize the arts, in part because of their precarious position in schools. Yet, as many of the chapters in the Handbook suggest, it is precisely this kind of critique that is necessary for the arts to become a force for anti-racism and the fundamental transformation of society and of the kinds of institutions wherein the arts become relevant. As such, despite the nascent engagement with CRT, we are encouraged by the sheer volume of work that at least attempts to engage CRT in the field of the arts in education, as it underscores the urgency for critical scholarship in this area. Indeed, one of the key implications that emerges from this work is the need to cultivate scholarly attention to the central questions this Handbook seeks to address. It is our hope that, above all, this Handbook will promote the importance of giving explicit attention to white supremacy in the arts in education and that this work becomes a fixture within professional development, teacher preparation, graduate studies, and scholarly conferences and presentation venues across the spectrum of disciplines represented in this book.

While attempting to be inclusive and expansive, as with any project that seeks to function as a gathering point, we acknowledge the Handbook contains unintended limitations, silences, and underdeveloped themes. We believe these are important points of departure for future work. As noted earlier, despite the number of countries discussed, the Handbook lacks attention to several geopolitical contexts and most of the offshoots of CRT described earlier. Only authors Gonye and Moyo make explicit use of an offshoot of CRT, in their case

“AfroCrit,” as an application of CRT to the particular context of Zimbabwe (see Chap. 9). We are also struck by a general lack of attention to intersectionality. While this may reflect the general focus on whiteness, the few chapters that attend to how race intersects with other systems of oppression, such as gender (e.g. Vaugeois, Chap. 3), class (e.g. Hardy, Chap. 7), and ability (e.g. Hoffman, Chap. 6), require more attention in the field of the arts in education. With few exceptions (e.g. Mackinlay, Chap. 31), conversations about the arts in education in relationship to Indigeneity and struggles over sovereignty were few and we believe require further attention. While TribalCrit has taken up some of the tools of CRT in order to make sense of Indigeneity, colonialism remains largely undertheorized within CRT, something that is also evident in most of the chapters in this Handbook, with a few exceptions noted above.

While we initially hoped for all chapters to take up a robust theorizing of CRT, throughout the Handbook, authors make selective use of some of the tenets and concepts described above, often in different ways and with different theoretical orientations. Through the process of editing the book and working with authors, we strived to find a balance between a robust application of CRT frameworks and the theoretical possibilities and openings that CRT affords and, in fact, seeks to encourage. Of course, CRT is not the only way to theorize race and racism, and although most of the chapters do draw on CRT to some extent or another, others shift their theoretical orientation to related theoretical discourses such as Afrocentrism (e.g. Wilson, Chap. 23); settler colonialism (e.g. Vaugeois, Chap. 3); ethnic studies (e.g. Wang, Chap. 24); visual culture (e.g. Kallio-Tavin & Tavin, Chap. 4; Herman & Kraehe, Chap. 13); social justice (e.g. Leake, Chap. 20); postcolonial theory (e.g. Gonye & Moyo, Chap. 9; Khan & Asfour, Chap. 11); or spatial theory (e.g. Hess, Chap. 19). While tackling the significance of these theoretical orientations is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is worth pausing to consider what this range of theoretical orientations suggests about the arts in education and about research practices in the field. Considering the double-lensed framework we offer here for understanding the very notion of “the arts,” we suggest that perhaps the field of the arts in education is particularly rich for the development of hybrid conceptual frameworks that creatively borrow from complementary theoretical traditions. Although promising and certainly encouraging, this suggestion also demands that arts in education scholars engage these theoretical frameworks with far more depth than was initially evident to us as we began working on this Handbook. Indeed, the lack of theoretical depth was the primary reason why many of the chapters submitted did not make it into the final Handbook, even as many of them offered intriguing approaches to CRT and other related frameworks. This challenge did nothing to deter us from our commitment to this work. On the contrary, it fueled our continued interest to know more about what arts scholarship has to offer to CRT and what CRT has to offer scholarship in the arts in education.

Such issues notwithstanding, our assessment is that the contributors to this Handbook are doing innovative work with and in relation to CRT. That is,

they are all influenced and informed by CRT, even if they do not necessarily remain within its established trajectories. These divergent approaches should not be surprising, as CRT scholarship continues to evolve through application, is not uniform, and is not limited to a single discipline. In short, CRT scholarship at the intersection of the arts in education is irregular, resistant, resilient, and incipient. This irregularity of engagement with CRT across the contributions is evident, for instance, in the use and capitalization of racial terms. Recognizing this, we asked authors to be consistent throughout their chapters with regard to the usage of racial terms and invited them to determine whether to capitalize “White” and/or “Black.” Not all contributors took up our invitation to make this and other racial terminology decisions consciously and deliberately and to explain their rationale in a footnote. In those instances, we used our own internal editorial policy of capitalizing when identifying an individual or group (e.g. White people) but not when identifying a structure (e.g. whiteness, white supremacy).

As we have suggested, this Handbook therefore is a starting point for a serious, critical take on race and the arts in education. The work in this Handbook is neither a culmination nor a moment to pause. Rather, we recognize it as an important step in what must be an ongoing, critical, and confrontational movement in the arts in education scholarship that calls into question the influence of white supremacy in relation to cultural production. While we acknowledge that practitioners and activists in the arts in education have not kept pace with legal and education scholars to employ CRT in their practice, we are confident that readers will locate examples and find encouragement to attend to the important work of racial justice.

In conclusion, dear reader, we return to the questions that open this chapter. While we realize you will engage the content of the Handbook selectively, we hope many of you will read this chapter to its conclusion. We approached this Handbook from the conviction that dominant understandings about the arts, arts practices, and education are informed in large part by racial logics and racist assumptions grounded in Eurocentric cultural practices and modes of production. It may very well be that by the time you finish reading this first chapter, your answers to the opening questions have remained unchanged and perhaps this chapter has even reinforced your initial answers. Whatever the case, we hope you will continue reading and that the chapters contained herein will, in some way, expand your own established attitudes and knowledge of the colonizing force of the practices of whiteness on the arts and the arts in education.

Should you come away from reading this chapter with a revised perspective on your initial responses to the opening queries, we hope you will read onward and that the chapters in some way will influence you to revise your own research and instructional practices. Whatever the case, we are confident that your engagement with this Handbook will provoke continued critical scholarship, pedagogy, and arts practice that extend what we have begun here. It is only through such extensions of anti-racist scholarship and engagement that the important collaborative work of calling out, undermining, and redirecting the

power and the weight of the oppressive practices of whiteness in the arts in education might emerge.

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SECTION I

Histories of Race and Racism in the Arts
in Education: Colonialisms,
Subjectivities, and Cultural Resistances



Histories of Race and Racism in the Arts in Education: Colonialisms, Subjectivities, and Cultural Resistances

Sarah Travis and Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández

The complex ways in which arts education is intertwined with race have strong historical antecedents that can be traced at least back to the Enlightenment, when the contemporary conception of “the arts” and the image of “the artist” began to take root (Gaztambide-Fernández, 2008; Soussloff, 1997; Wittkower & Wittkower, 1963). Indeed, the evolution of the concept of “the arts” that continues to shape arts education today was intimately linked to the invention of European “civilization” as the epitome of human cultural evolution. It was also during the Enlightenment that contemporary ideas of race and racial orders were established, playing a central role in the justification of colonization. Indeed, racialization and colonization are intimately intertwined; some might say they are the two faces of the same imperial (and capitalist) coin (Lowe, 2015; Wynter, 2003). The project of European colonization, in particular, has relied on complex and ongoing processes of racialization that are central to the justification of two modes of theft necessary for capitalist colonial expansion: Indigenous genocide, or the theft of land and Black slavery, or the

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theft of bodies (Lowe, 2015). The seven chapters in this first section provide insight into how arts education has been intimately shaped by this interlinking between race and colonization.

In this introduction, we highlight how the chapters in this section speak to or illustrate colonial processes and dynamics. This is important, in part, because Critical Race Theory scholarship often tends to conflate colonial and racial logics, as if they were the same or interchangeable. Yet, racism is not the same as colonialism, even if the two are intimately connected as ideological weapons of empire. The chapters in this section highlight some of the ways in which arts education has been historically complicit in colonial and racial violence, underscoring how the notion of the arts as white property helps us better understand these dynamics.

We summarize the chapters in this section along three themes that emerge from our reading that point to the relationship between colonization and racialization through the arts. First, we draw attention to what the chapters illustrate about how arts education has been implicated in colonization and shaped by colonial logics. Second, we discuss how the chapters demonstrate how the very idea of “the artist” is grounded on both racist and colonial logics that imagine a certain kind of subject as “talented” and able to produce “works of art.” Third, we discuss the ways in which the authors in this section point to modes of cultural resistance and how ideas about the arts and artists can sometimes be invoked in projects that seek to oppose and undo both colonization and racialization. To conclude, we highlight how the seven chapters in this section contribute not only to our understanding of the arts as white property but also to the complex relationship between racism and colonization.

COLONIALISMS

The seven chapters in this section reveal how the arts are implicated in different kinds of colonial projects in different parts of the world. From Uganda (Wolukau-Wanambwa, Chap. 5) and Zimbabwe (Gonye & Moyo, Chap. 9) to Finland (Kallio-Tavin & Tavin, Chap. 4), Canada (Vaugeois, Chap. 3) and the United States (Hoffman, Chap. 6; Hardy, Chap. 7; Kerr-Berry, Chap. 8), colonialisms shape how arts education manifests, how it becomes institutionalized, and how cultural practices become encoded as “the arts.” These dynamics manifest locally, as Debra A. Hardy shows through the various approaches used by different groups to claim the space of a community arts center, and nationally, as Jairos Gonye and Nathan Moyo show in how dance practices become—or are restricted from becoming—symbolic of national culture. They also manifest in the ways in which practices like dance become historicized, as Julie Kerr-Berry shows, as well as how artistic subjects are imagined, as described by Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa, in the case of visual artists in Uganda, or by Adria R. Hoffmann in the case of musicians in the United States.

Here, we highlight the work of Lise Vaugeois, and Mira Kallio-Tavin and Kevin Tavin, which illustrate how contrasting modes of colonization shape music education in Canada and visual culture in Finland, respectively.

In her chapter titled “White Subjectivities, the Arts, and Power in Colonial Canada: Classical Music as White Property” (Chap. 3), Lise Vaugeois shows how investments in classical music education were crucial for the establishment of a bourgeois national culture in Canada. As part of the process of settler colonization, in which settlers arrive not only to stay but to impose a specific social, cultural, political, and economic logic (see Veracini, 2010), classical music becomes a crucial mechanism through which civilizational claims are made and cultural hierarchies are created and enforced. Vaugeois shows how the process of creating musical subjectivities is both gendered and raced in particular ways that claim musical experience as the property of White settlers. In the case of Canada, where national myths rely on a narrative of rugged men exploring a vacant land, the arts—and in this case works of classical music—emerge as an important way in which women become participants in the “‘great adventure’ of creating” a Canadian cultural identity (p. 49). It is here that artistic practices become central to justifying genocide and the theft of land under the auspices of civilization, epitomized through the practices of the arts through which settlers are revealed as manifestly destined to own and rule the land.

While Vaugeois’s chapter focuses on how the arts are implicated in the ongoing Canadian project of settler colonization, Mira Kallio-Tavin and Kevin Tavin (Chap. 4) discuss how racist and colonial processes express themselves in the visual culture of European countries, specifically Finland. The case of Finland is compelling because, as with most Nordic countries, Finland is not typically associated with histories of colonialism, other than its own occupation history, first by Sweden and then by Russia. Indeed, as the authors show in their chapter, “Representations of Whiteness in Finnish Visual Culture,” Finnish cultural production is actively invested with producing an image of Finland as far removed from colonial projects and racist dynamics. Yet, as the authors show, whiteness figures prominently in the project of Finnish nation building, and as such, its visual culture is also enmeshed in the production and reproduction of both racist and colonial discourses. Using a framework of visual culture as integral to everyday life, the authors show how “Finnishness” and the notion of the “True Finn” are constructed not only against racist images of presumably faraway others but also through the exclusion of those who have been constituted as others through colonial dynamics, whether it is the Indigenous Sami people or new arrivants who have been displaced by colonialism from elsewhere.

Central to processes of colonization is the constitution of proper citizen-subjects and the imagining of who can become properly civilized. Likewise, there is also a proper subject of arts education—the talented and creative ones

who can potentially become recognized as true artists, able to embody artist subjectivities. As we discuss in the next section, these artist subjects also emerge from historical processes marked by racism and colonization.

ARTIST SUBJECTIVITIES

Inherited legacies of colonization have shaped how the very concept of “the artist” is imagined. Often these imaginings of what an artist is and does manifest in embodied ways. Indeed, racialized and/or colonized bodies are deemed to either inherently possess or lack aptitudes for particular kinds of cultural and creative expression. Further, hegemonic institutions shape who can embody artist subjectivities and how. Two chapters in this section specifically address how colonial legacies have influenced understandings of artist subjectivities. Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa addresses the concept of artist subjectivities in the context of British colonialism in the Uganda Protectorate in “Margaret Trowell’s School of Art: Or How to Keep the Children’s Work Really African” (Chap. 5). In “Competing Narratives: Musical Aptitude, Race, and Equity” (Chap. 6), Adria R. Hoffmann explores how whiteness as property (Harris, 1993) manifests through “musical aptitude tests” used to limit access to arts education and shape the formation of artistic subjects.

Wolukau-Wanambwa offers a critical race counterstory of Margaret Trowell’s School of Art, an art education program at the Makerere College in the Uganda Protectorate that began in the 1930s. As an art educator at Makerere College, Trowell, a White British woman who opened the school, was an ostensible advocate for the preservation of traditional African art through education. However, Trowell’s art education practices imposed a particular cultural logic, thus asserting colonial power. Trowell’s art curriculum utilized European art teaching practices even as Trowell claimed to provide an avenue for Ugandan visual artists to express themselves without restrictions and to represent Ugandan culture through their work. In her writings and in her pedagogy, Trowell had a heavy-handed influence over what constituted art that was, in her view, “really African” (p. 88). Wolukau-Wanambwa notes the semblance between “Indirect Rule” in British colonies and Trowell’s form of art education, in that both served to set up strict hierarchical divides between Africans and Europeans with the goal of maintaining European hegemony and control. The outcomes of this colonial art education were that the colonists staked claims to the right to define what constitutes African art/artists, with colonist teachers dominating and ultimately defining conceptions of African art/artists through an essentialist lens. While seemingly benign in their intent to elevate local culture, these attempts to control the narrative of what constitutes “authentic” African art functioned as a form of appropriation that ultimately suppressed the potential for autonomous self-definitions by African artists.

Though Trowell’s formation of African art was premised on a profound cultural determinism, in Chap. 6, Hoffmann explains how conceptions of musical and other artistic talent and aptitude are rooted in biological determinism. Musical aptitude tests developed by Carl Emil Seashore, and first used in

university entrance requirements by the Eastman School of Music in the United States, have been utilized to quantify and institutionalize musical talent. In alignment with the eugenics movement, such aptitude tests are inextricably tied to racism. Hoffmann contends that designations such as “gifted” and “talented” act as a form of racist gatekeeping that has been used to limit institutional access to music education. These conceptualizations perpetuate ideas that talent is an inherited trait, a form of property passed down through familial lines and that talent manifests in very specific ways, such as pitch discrimination. Through their use of exclusionary practices associated with giftedness and talent, educational institutions thus place limitations on participation and achievement in the arts within educational institutions (Gaztambide-Fernández, Saifer, & Desai, 2013). These limitations were designed to preserve White supremacy in institutions of music education in the United States. Hoffmann concludes by emphasizing the importance of acknowledging the racist historical roots of classifications of musical aptitude and challenging their persistent power within music education.

The colonial imposition of particular views of what it means to be an artist places limitations on who is imagined as an artist and who is granted the power to determine what an artist is and to claim ownership over artistic practices. For example, in Wolukau-Wanambwa’s chapter, Trowell, the colonizing White teacher, sought to possess the subjectivity of her Ugandan art students to the point of claiming control over what constituted art that was “really African” (p. 88). Hoffmann explores artist subjectivities through the inherited legacies of the racist and exclusionary practices of gifted and talented identification in music education in the United States. These practices parallel and reinforce the Manifest Destiny doctrine, in which only certain subjects are seen as entitled to and capable of engaging in proper civilizational—and colonial—projects.

Other chapters in this section explore artist subjectivities less directly, but still meaningfully. For instance, Kallio-Tavin and Tavin address neo-nationalistic identity claims about what constitutes “true Finns” in the context of Finland and how this influences what art and artists are socially valued. Vaugeois explores the use of cultural practices such as classical music to perpetuate ideas such as White women being “exalted members of the nation” (p. 45) and White men as “artistic pioneers and artistic leaders” (p. 48) in Canada. In Chap. 8, Kerr-Berry explores the suppression of the role of Black dancers in dance history pedagogy, while Hardy explores the omission of Black community-based art organizations from dominant art education historical narratives in the United States. Gonye and Moyo explore the “forced invisibilization” (Gonye & Moyo, p. 158) of African artist subjectivities within dance education curriculum in post-independent Zimbabwe.

RESISTANCES

These colonizing and racist efforts to control the narratives and subvert the expression of artists of color have, of course, been met with concerted resistance. The chapters in this section demonstrate resistance to the inherited legacies of

White supremacy in arts education. In “And Thus We Shall Survive: The Perseverance of the South Side Community Art Center” (Chap. 7), Hardy provides a historical counter-narrative of Chicago’s South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC). Kerr-Berry explores resistance to dominant historical narratives of concert dance in “Counterstorytelling in Concert Dance History Pedagogy: Challenging the White Dancing Body” (Chap. 8). Finally, in “African Dance as Epistemic Insurrection in Postcolonial Zimbabwean Arts Education Curriculum” (Chap. 9), Gonye and Moyo advocate for an embodied resistance to colonized arts curriculum through African dance.

As Hardy recounts, the SSCAC is a Black community art center on the South Side of Chicago founded in 1940 as part of the Federal Art Project (FAP) and the Illinois Art Project (IAP). The SSCAC has supported the careers of many Black artists and has endured as a significant site of community-based art education to this day. However, much of the SSCAC’s history has been obscured in the master narratives of the history of art education. Buoyed by extensive community support, the SSCAC experienced a highly successful first few years as a site where Black artists with radical sociopolitical perspectives thrived. Over the years, the success of the SSCAC fluctuated in response to the events of the times and the center adapted in response. For example, during World War II, the SSCAC lost FAP funding, and, in order to maintain the financial support of private donors, they were obliged to minimize their association with experimental and leftist Black artists and began showcasing more traditional art. During the Red Scare, the organization was again threatened with closure due to the political associations of some of its artists but was ultimately preserved through the efforts of a small group of Black women. Hardy asserts that the persistent existence of the SSCAC is in itself a form of resistance to White supremacy over the art world and how whiteness always seeks to reoccupy the spaces where blackness becomes manifest. In short, she shows the ways in which colonial whiteness grants space in order to take it away and how this dynamic illustrates the centrality of anti-Blackness for settler colonial projects (Walcott, 2014). Moreover, Hardy’s own critical historical account of the SSCAC is itself an act of resistance to the master narratives of art education history, where Black-oriented art education histories have largely been neglected (Acuff, 2013; Acuff, Hirak, & Nangah, 2012; Bolin & Kantawala, 2017).

Just as Hardy’s critical counter-historical account of the SSCAC reasserts the central role of Black artists in community-based art education history, Kerr-Berry proposes counterstorytelling to emphasize the foundational role of Black dancers and choreographers in the development of concert dance in the United States. Concert dance history in the United States has been consistently narrated through the lens of White supremacy. In resistance, Kerr-Berry illuminates four different counterstory approaches for critical dance history pedagogy. First, Kerr-Berry tells a historical counterstory that describes how African dance forms merged with European dance forms through close contact between Africans and Europeans through slavery and its legacies in the United States.

Next, Kerr-Berry recounts how the confluence of European and African movement aesthetics and discourses came to shape US dance in embodied ways. Kerr-Berry's third counterstory confronts racially exclusionary practices in concert dance, describing how Black dance forms have been frequently appropriated by White dancers while Black concert dancers have had limited visibility. Finally, Kerr-Berry offers a counterstory illustrating the African influences on modernism, demonstrating how European artists appropriated aspects of African aesthetics in creating modernist works of visual art and dance. Dominant narratives of dance history function as a way to claim US dance as white property even though it is built upon cultural exchange between Black and White dance forms. Through counterstorytelling frameworks, Kerr-Berry offers avenues for resistance to the whitewashing of dance history pedagogy in the United States.

Whereas Kerr-Berry offers counterstorytelling models as tools for resisting inherited legacies of oppression in dance history pedagogy, Gonye and Moyo address the decolonization of dance education through embodied resistance tactics. Gonye and Moyo utilize Critical Race Theory to demonstrate the "persistence of whiteness" (p. 159) in Zimbabwean dance education. The authors state that as a vestige of British colonialism, African dance forms remain marginalized in post-independent Zimbabwe school arts curriculum. Gonye and Moyo assert that "indigenous dance knowledge can be a decolonizing tool" (p. 162) that can be used in resistance to the colonial legacies entrenched in African arts education curriculum, including dance. The authors describe how Zimbabwean dance educators have resisted these inherited colonial legacies of curricular invisibility through "post-racist performance" (p. 160) that bring African dance forms into central positions within arts education curriculum. Gonye and Moyo contend that two dances in particular, *jerusarema* and *kongonya*, have the potential to become tools that recenter Zimbabwean dance in the arts curriculum. Both dance forms have strong sociopolitical implications, and both have been subject to colonial suppression. As such, the inclusion of *jerusarema* and *kongonya* in Zimbabwean arts curriculum has the potential to act as an embodied "epistemic insurrection" (p. 158) that disrupts Eurocentric colonial legacies in education.

While the silencing of people of color within arts education has been a persistent historical legacy, the chapters in this section demonstrate that there are ways to resist this whitewashing of the arts, arts education history, and arts curriculum. The body itself can be a site of resistance, as Gonye and Moyo explain, in describing efforts at demarginalization of African dance forms from the arts education curriculum in Zimbabwe. Counterstorytelling offers an avenue for rejecting White-dominated narratives of arts education history, as Hardy and Kerr-Berry demonstrate. Other chapters in this section also offer strategies for resistance. For example, Vaugeois recommends counteracting dominant narratives through "pedagogies of dissent" (p. 61) that challenge colonizing legacies in Canadian music education. By confronting the dominant narratives about Margaret Trowell's School of Art, Wolukau-Wanamiswa offers

a form of resistance to colonizer-defined notions of African art and artists. In writing about the racist roots of musical aptitude testing, Hoffmann calls dominant ideologies about giftedness and talent into question. Kallio-Tavin and Tavin contend that contemporary art can act as a mode for resistance to white supremacy in the context of Finland. Indeed, the chapters in this section challenge the inherited legacies of racism and colonization and offer avenues for resistance.

CONCLUSIONS

The chapters in this section address the enduring legacies of racism and colonization and how they have informed exclusionary conceptualizations of art and artists and have resulted in historical silencing, curricular whitewashing, and inequitable access to “the arts.” Notwithstanding the weight of colonial power, dominant discourses and ideologies that cast certain kinds of cultural practices as “the arts” and cultural workers as “artists” do not always over-determine what kinds of creative expression become meaningful, particularly as modes of resistance. Indeed, each chapter in this section also points to the ways in which cultural producers resist colonial hegemony and create particular modes of doing “the arts” and being “an artist,” through the reclamation of curriculum and the retelling of some of the colonized historical narratives associated with arts education.

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White Subjectivities, the Arts, and Power in Colonial Canada: Classical Music as White Property

Lise C. Vaugeois

An examination of the different roles of White bourgeois¹ women in the proliferation of classical music in colonial Canada provides useful insights into relationships between the establishment of classical music institutions, the seizure and appropriation of land for cultural projects, and gendered notions of White identity and entitlement. White bourgeois women are constrained in their gendered identities as the property of their husbands and fathers; however, through their *racial* identities, constructed as White and civilized, they are able to produce themselves as “exalted members of the nation”—elevated through their status as handmaidens of colonial culture. The term “exalted,” as used by Sunera Thobani (2007), signifies a political strategy that connects Whiteness, national belonging, and ennoblement of the self by invoking racial loyalties across otherwise antagonistic class interests. In tracing the uses of exaltation as a means to rationalize particular relations of power, in this chapter, I show the persistent relationship between “exalted” White bourgeois identities, notions of “the arts” as signifiers of “civilizational superiority,” and the uses of exaltation to rationalize dispossession, domination, and exploitation.

¹I use bourgeois to refer to members of the middle and upper classes who share an investment in the sanctity of private property and whose political and economic interests are defended by the state (“Bourgeois Democracy,”). In the case of colonial Canada, bourgeois interests are represented by the “White settler state” (Razack, 2002).

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Critical race theorist Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998) argues that the “bond that exists between law and racial power” in the United States is so deeply enmeshed that the relationship “appears both normal and natural” (p. 11). In Canada, as in other White settler states,² this relationship is also normalized with the seizure and appropriation of land for cultural projects separated, conceptually, from art forms aestheticized as autonomous and universal. I argue that the normalization of identities of civilizational superiority mask relations of oppression, in part through the successful spatial separation of those elevated to higher levels of privilege from those actively oppressed, and, in part, because of the seduction of believing that one’s elevation above others is the result of merit.

Canada, like other White settler states, has been created through the careful management of Indigenous and immigrant populations, the elevation of certain White-identified populations over others, and the persistent production of national narratives that align with the social, economic, and political goals of a capitalist nation managed, to a significant degree, by drawing on notions of White supremacy (Bannerji, 1997; Mackey, 2002; Razack, 2002; Thobani, 2007). Identifying Canada as a White supremacist nation may shock those who think of Canada as a nation that embraces multiculturalism. Canadian multiculturalism appears gracious in light of the current proliferation of right-wing movements that blame immigrants and refugees for the violent effects of global capitalism. However, analyses of historical and contemporary political frameworks, particularly those that track the deployment of racializing concepts, reveal that White supremacy has been and continues to be an organizing principle in the structuring of Canada as a nation state (Bannerji, 2000; Razack, 2015; Razack, Smith, & Thobani, 2010; Thobani, 2007). Many analyses have been written about the contradictions between stated commitments to multiculturalism and raced, gendered, and classed hierarchies in Canada (Bannerji, 1997; Mackey, 2002; Razack, 2002; Thobani, 2007). In this chapter, however, I draw attention to connections between notions of Canadian identity, the establishment of Canadian art-music institutions, the subjectivities of White bourgeois men and women associated with their proliferation, and the effects their engagements have in producing art-music and Canadian musical institutions as white property.

Prevalent Canadian national narratives favor stories of “hardy masculine settlers” overcoming hardship to settle an imposing and dangerous wilderness (Berger, 1966; Phillips, 1997). What is generally glossed over in founding narratives, however, is that Canada was explored and settled as a means to create

² I capitalize “White” and “Whiteness” along with “Indian” and “Black” to indicate that these racial identities are social constructions that serve political/economic purposes. I use the term “racialize” to indicate the process of defining someone as “not White,” an “outsider to the nation,” and an outsider to the human family. White, it should be noted, is an unmarked category that is the taken-for-granted norm even though Whiteness, as a distinctive identity, must be continually refurbished in order to remain politically salient (Mackey, 2002). Who qualifies as “White” has also changed in different historical moments – another indication of the use of the category of Whiteness to designate political entitlements (Ladson-Billings, 1998; McClintock, 1995).

wealth for overseas investors. The fur trade, the original source of profits, was highly dependent on partnerships, including marriages, with Indigenous peoples (Van Kirk, 1980). With the decline of the fur trade, other forms of resource extraction became the means to accumulate wealth, and racism, as a means to rationalize dispossession, became a key strategy. The presence of Indigenous peoples, their unwillingness to cede their rights as original inhabitants, and their resistance to becoming wage laborers in a capitalist economy meant that governments and investors were constrained in their efforts to control the territory they sought to dominate.

One solution to this problem was to increase the number of colonial settlements of White Europeans, gaining a means to force Indigenous peoples from their territories, while creating citizens with obligations to the Crown³—a calculated form of dispossession through demographic change. To facilitate this process, legal regimes were created that gave White settlers rights to dispossess Indigenous peoples. Policies were developed to contain Indigenous peoples on reservations, and laws were created to remove Indigenous children from their families and force them to attend Residential Schools where they were subjected to psychological, physical, and, often, sexual abuse (Truth & Reconciliation Commission of Canada, 2015). Other tactics included deliberate policies of starvation (Daschuk, 2014; Neu & Therrien, 2003), the creation of laws that gave “nation building” and resource extraction precedence over all other legal obligations to Indigenous peoples (Deneault et al., 2010; Gordon, 2010), and the imposition of the Indian Act, which defined Indigenous peoples as wards of the state (Backhouse, 1999).

White supremacy also characterizes political relationships with other racialized peoples living in Canada. For example, in addition to Black and Native slaves exploited pre-confederation (Cooper, 2006), there has been an oft-repeated practice of inviting racialized people to come to Canada as sources of cheap labor while also treating the same immigrants as threats to the nation (Backhouse, 1999; Vancouver, 2008). Today, racialized laborers continue to serve several functions: they are easily isolated and pressed into dangerous working conditions; their vulnerability creates downward pressure on wages; and, anger among White laborers about their own exploitation is all too easily deflected toward racialized workers rather than toward owners, managers, and governments (Gordon, 2010; Thobani, 2007).

Racism as a strategy to divide and control populations has been deployed throughout the world by colonial administrations (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965; Stoler, 1989, 1995). In this chapter, however, my focus is on how settlers, specifically, White bourgeois men and women with interests in music and other forms of “high art” come to see themselves not only as the natural, entitled inhabitants of the land but also as valorous participants in a global mission to “civilize” the

³“The Crown” is synonymous with “The State” in historical and contemporary Canada (“Crown”).

“dark corners of the earth.”⁴ The creation of exalted identities in association with the development of classical⁵ music institutions likewise draws on notions of raced, classed, and gendered identities to rationalize a hierarchical distribution of resources by generating notions of who counts as fully human. My analysis of these exalted identities and how they not only reflect but also help to produce and sustain particular relations of power emerges from a genealogy of arts institutions that developed in Canada during the process of establishing colonial domination. Genealogy, here, refers to Michel Foucault’s (1977) form of historical research, which focuses on the “what” and “how” of relations of power; in particular, those moments when strategies, techniques, and tactics result in the creation of institutions formed with the intent to affix and sustain particular identities within frameworks of particular entitlements.

Foucault’s focus on “what and how” is about understanding the formation of subjectivities, that is, who it is we understand ourselves to be, as *effects* of power (Foucault, 2000). By tracking the life possibilities open to differently embodied people, it becomes apparent that the culture of the high arts, often argued to exist autonomously and outside of social and political relations (Wolff, 1987), is embedded in the gendered and racial stratifications that are foundational to the establishment of the White colonial settler state (Dirks, 1992; Saïd, 1993).

CULTURE, WHITE BOURGEOIS MEN, MASCULINITY, AND COLONIAL CONQUEST

Culture is not only a site of contestation in which different worldviews, values, and life experiences are expressed, it is also a site in which the materiality of relations of power are contested and enacted. Raymond Williams (1983) notes that over the course of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the meaning of culture shifted from an association with the cultivation of crops or animals to an association with the concept of “civilization” and the idea of a trajectory of human development. Contrary to notions that culture is separate from the world of politics, establishing cultural dominance is a key strategy in projects of imperialism (Dirks, 1992; Stoler, 1995).

Culture, as both a marker and maker of subjectivities, has been used to distinguish the identities of colonizers from those they are colonizing. The development of cultural institutions in colonial Canada was a process of dispossessing Indigenous peoples while creating physical spaces in which particular cultural practices could be enacted, marking space for becoming White and cultivated. The Arts and Letters Club of Toronto, for example, was formed in 1908 to provide a space where educated White men, particularly those of British extraction, could develop themselves as artistic pioneers and artistic leaders

⁴Sources for these concepts are multiple and multifaceted. Two examples: “The White Man’s Burden” (Kipling, 1899) and the “Commodity Racism” detailed in (McClintock, 1995, p. 207).

⁵I use the term “classical” to refer to what is commonly understood as Western art-music.

(“Some interesting club history,” 2010). The Club became the gathering place for White male artists of all disciplines to embark on the “great adventure”⁶ of creating a Canadian national cultural identity.

While living in Canada meant relative social and cultural privation for White male settlers of the educated classes, Canada offered boundless opportunities for those who envisioned themselves as cultural pioneers, tasked with the goal of creating national identities and facilitating the development of modes of being for people of the “new” nation. The claim that the land was effectively empty and that the “new” man, the “man of reason,” had a mission and right to create a “civilized society” where only “savagery” existed before was an oft-repeated rallying cry for members of the artistic classes.⁷ Indeed, the idea of having a mission proved to be a powerful means to give direction and a sense of purpose to the lives of White male artists who saw themselves as both beleaguered and noble (MacMillan, 1997).

As resources were invested in concert halls, conservatories, museums, and galleries—established through fund-raising and/or through corporate and government grant-giving programs (Tippett, 1990)—the dominance of the colonizing group was asserted through the creation of exalted and exalting spaces and the production of historical narratives that ennobled the accomplishments of colonizing forces. Through ventures into wilderness spaces to create culture where, it was argued none had existed before, White bourgeois men could also assert their identities as “virile, masculine” subjects (Stoler, 1995, p. 128). Indigenous lives thus became sites to be mined for artistic materials and Indigenous peoples, along with working class immigrants (whether racialized or considered White), became objects to be improved by those who saw themselves as their cultural superiors.

The National Anthem and Patriarchal Adventure

The notion of the manly and virile White European adventurer abounded in expressions of members of the all-male Arts and Letters Club. A version of *O Canada*, for example, produced by Augustus Bridle and published in 1908, links the idea of the stalwart White masculine adventurer with the need to overcome a rugged landscape and dispatch “Indian savagery” from the future nation. The drawing and lyrics of this version of the future Canadian national anthem⁸ (Fig. 3.1) illustrate the symbolic imaginary of the exalted White European male that underpins the work undertaken by members of the Arts and Letters Club.

⁶The insignia of the Arts and Letters Club of Toronto was a “Viking ship with sails full spread before the rising sun...to remind members of the open sea and the great adventure” [of colonization] (C. W. Jeffreys 1911 as cited in McBurney, 2007, frontispiece).

⁷The mission of colonial cultural workers was to valorize and sustain enthusiasm for colonial, imperialist projects, reflected in the words of British Parliamentarian, William Macaulay: “There is an empire exempt from all natural causes of decay. [Its] triumphs are the pacific triumphs of reason over barbarism; that empire is the imperishable empire of our arts and our morals, our literature and our laws” (Macaulay 1833 as cited in Leppert, 1993, p. 115).

⁸*O Canada* was first performed in 1880 and was officially adopted as the Canadian national anthem in 1980 (“O Canada,” 2013).



O Canada! thy voice goes o'er the sea,
Home of the brave, and land of liberty;
In their barques of old, by the fog and
foam,

Thy sea-men crossed the wave;
On crest and crag they flung the flag.
For the right, and the free, and the
brave.

From shore to sea, by field and
foam,
This glorious land be ours where'er
we may roam;
O land of liberty, the sea-man's
home!

O Canada! by camp and smoke and tree,
Stern voyageurs went forth for love of
thee;

Thy rivers bold they tracked of old
Thro' forest, flood and foam;
O'er seas of land, by mountains grand,
They reared the North-man's home.

From shore to sea, by field and
foam,
God save this land! we pray
where'er we may roam;
O land of liberty, the North-
man's home!

Fig. 3.1 "O Canada, an English Version." Text and illustration by Augustus Bridle, 1908 LAMPSletter. (Bridle, 1908)

Air—"La Chant National"—Lavallee

Composed in 1881.



O Canada! thy flags of old were free,
 Brave Union-Jack and gallant Fleur-de-Lis.
 For God and right, by truth and might.
 Our fathers fought and fell;
 From sire to son this prayer shall run—
 O guard this guerdon well.
 From shore to sea, by field and foam,
 God save the flag! we pray where'er we may roam;
 O land of liberty, our fathers' home!

O Canada! our words and works shall be,
 In days to come, for right and truth and thee:
 From bound to bourne, by field and foam,
 In hand and heart we bring,
 This song of old from fathers bold—
 Long live our noble King!
 From shore to sea, by field and foam,
 Long live the King! we pray where'er we may roam;
 God save the King in Canada, our home!

A. B.

Fig. 3.1 (continued)

The lyrics and drawing accompanying this version of *O Canada* reveal the imaginary⁹ that inspires White men of the arts to identify with the colonial project. By dint of their noble character and an inheritance passing from father to son, the “new” land belongs to the White men, that is, the Seamen, the Northmen, who are morally entitled to “this glorious land, wher’er [they] may roam.” Calixa Lavallée’s music, a rousing military march, is accompanied by the illustration of a European man of great physical stature (presumably, Samuel de Champlain¹⁰) standing on wind-swept rocks claiming ownership of the land by staking a massive fleur-de-lis.¹¹ In the background, two Iroquois men in a canoe make themselves absent by anxiously paddling out of the picture. Here, the artist produces the Iroquois as ghosts vanishing before a superior being—a recasting of history within a White patriarchal imaginative space.

In this representation, a seductive sense of patriarchal adventure, masculine entitlement, and moral righteousness is expressed. The history of learning to survive via First Nations peoples, two centuries of the fur trade, and the role of First Nations in helping the British during the American Revolution and the War of 1812 disappear in this historical representation (Dickason, 1992). The freedom evoked in the lyrics does not apply to the fleeing Indian; rather, the image represents an endpoint that marks the inevitable fading of the “primitive” to be replaced by the bold, masculine, Euro-Canadian civilizer. According to this worldview, taking over the land of the Indian is a noble project as is confining the racial Other to spaces of confinement, far from view. The work of the educated European man, now that a new country has been established on “virgin” land, is to help Canada achieve “its rank among civilized nations” (Tippett, 1990, p. 36), that is, among White nations engaged in overseas imperial adventures. The song is also an example of performing exalted selves into being through the repetition of a particular piece of music—one that strives, through an embodied experience, to produce psychic and emotional affiliations invested in particular understandings of history and social relations—that is, in particular relations of power.

The rugged, yet sophisticated White masculine cultural leader is an exalted identity, but it is also precarious and in need of constant reassertion. By the nineteenth century, it was apparent that the “arts,” even though associated with the highest levels of society, were poor cousins to activities that generated profit. An association with the most labor-intensive forms of musical production offered significant “cultural capital”¹² (Bourdieu, 1984); however, art-music did not

⁹Imaginary is used here, as a noun, to refer to a collective idea about a particular era or project.

¹⁰Champlain was an early French explorer and played a major role in founding French settlements in what later became Canada (Samuel de Champlain).

¹¹The merging of English and French identities as distinctly “Northern” and robust is grounded in the ideals of the Canada First movement “in which Canada is positioned as superior to the United States because of its ‘superior racial characteristics’” (Mackey, 2002, p. 30).

¹²Cultural capital is a term developed by Bourdieu that represents “non-financial social assets that promote social mobility beyond economic means, such as education, intellect, style of speech, dress, and even physical appearance” (Sernau, 2017, p. 189).

offer sufficient return in terms of utility or the generation of profit. There were limited systems in place in the new capitalist economy to support any kind of regular employment for artists, and this was particularly true in colonial settings (Tippett, 1990). Thus, as much as an association with “the arts” became a mark of status for members of the White bourgeoisie, artists themselves occupied a vulnerable position, one described by Pierre Bourdieu (1984, 1993) as a subordinated class within the dominant class. Subordinated somewhat differently, however, were White bourgeois women, who, by definition, were incapable of taking up heroic roles as intrepid, masculine adventurers.

CULTURE AND WHITE BOURGEOIS WOMEN AS “MOTHERS OF THE (COLONIAL) NATION”¹³

White bourgeois men who engaged with the arts produced themselves as particular kinds of subjects with the support of a settler state that came to invest heavily in their endeavors to define the character of the “new” nation (Mackey, 2002; Schabas, 1994; Tippett, 1990). White bourgeois women, however, had very different roles as a result of both the constraints and enticements that animated their engagements on behalf of the White settler state. In the colonial setting, White middle- and upper-class women were effectively incarcerated in their homes—an enclosure argued to be in the best interests of the women themselves, their families, the race, and the nation (Mohanram, 1999; Prentice & Houston, 1975; Stoler, 1995).

In the colonial context, maintaining a strict hierarchy that included containing the “dangerous irrational female” was necessary to sustaining the structures of colonial rule as any sexual transgressions risked blurring the racial boundaries between those entitled to own property and rule over others and those defined as “naturally” fit to be ruled over (Stoler, 1995). If White women were to remain subservient to White men, however—at least, to the men of their class—rationales and laws were needed to make stepping out of line costly and, indeed, these laws were in place (Backhouse, 1991). As Foucault argues, however, repression is only one manifestation of power. Equally indicative of relations of power are the enticements, or seductions, that attach pleasure to taking up one’s place in the hierarchy (Foucault, 1982). In the case of White bourgeois women, although they were barred from taking up roles reserved for White bourgeois men, there was ample room for them to gain agency and status as *racial* subjects. As mothers and homemakers, it was the task of White women to make the home a space of civilized order that would “make natural” the presence of colonial outsiders in a foreign place (Mohanram, 1999).

Through the exalted status of their race, European women were no longer immigrants uprooted from their homes and planted in an unfamiliar land. Rather, in their colonial incarnation, as *White* women, they could acquire

¹³For two of many writers who draw on this concept, see: (Dua, 1999; Stoler, 1995).

importance as bearers of civilized values with the duty to coerce, correct, and improve lesser others—a seductive compensation for accepting a status inherently inferior to that occupied by White bourgeois men. The elevation of White bourgeois women to the moralizing role of “civilizing the nation” is not a neutral project, however (Stoler, 1995). In order to justify eradicating the inherent rights of peoples already occupying the land, Indigenous women, previously valued as marriage and trading partners, are systematically portrayed as dirty, savage, dangerous, promiscuous, and culturally primitive (Smith, 2005; Stevenson, 1999). Race, gender, and markers of class provide visible means of identification to determine a person’s relationship to property and the law—not only shutting Indigenous women out of status as full human beings—along with otherwise racialized and lower-classed women—but also further providing both proscriptions as well as enticements to encourage White bourgeois women to assert their identities as *White* (Barman, 2006; Fiske, 2006; Sangster, 2006; Van Kirk, 2006).

Physiology was a vital determinant of class membership; however, neither the physiology one was born with, nor “notoriously unstable bank balances” (Stoler, 1997, p. 345) were sufficient markers of race and class identity. With such unstable categories, making oneself appear to be naturally superior required a constant cultivation and policing of difference and the cultivation of identifiable norms. The education of children of middle- and upper-class White immigrants thus reflected a particular urgency to project a racially pure identity, shored up through the production of distinguishable, exalted identities. This education took place in geographically spacious, walled-in locations far from possible exposure to Indigenous, racialized, or lower-class White children with considerable attention devoted to cultivating distinctive modes of being. Dress, manners, comportment, and knowledge of “high culture” were important means to display the advanced status of the White race, assert class identity, display a superior relationship to reason, and, thus, justify special rights and privileges.

Grammar schools were created for the education of middle- and upper-class White boys and supported through government funding as well as private tuition and, while a number of White families with financial means attempted to send their daughters to grammar schools, this option was foreclosed when the federal government refused to provide funding for female students (Prentice & Houston, 1975; Stamp, 1984). Private Ladies’ Schools, an outcome of this foreclosure, thus became the primary source of education for young, well-to-do White women.

Ladies’ Schools and the Acquisition of Cultural Capital

The education offered at Ladies’ Schools generally conformed to the desired place for White middle-class women, under patriarchy, by preparing them to take up their places in home and social settings (K. J. Blair, 1994). By the 1840s, in Canada, music lessons were offered in many Ladies’ Schools and promoted as an important asset for young women of standing (Green & Vogan,

1991). In addition to displaying civilized comportment, manners, and attire, having musical skills, knowledge of the Western musical canon,¹⁴ and being seen at high-status musical events offered recognizable means to be identified as cultivated, the member of a prosperous family, and a desirable marriage partner. In such schools, women learned to perform Whiteness as a class identity with knowledge of classical music as an important marker of membership in an exalted category of humanity. Art-music required a particular education to appreciate, and thus, knowing this language demonstrated one's membership in an elite class of an elite race. While the education of White women might not lead to independent economic capital, women acquired "cultural capital" (Bourdieu, 1984) at these schools and learned, here, that their special role in the "modern world of rationality" was to uphold the "civilizing" project of Empire (Stoler, 1995).

In the tension between a love of the high arts, its financial precariousness under capitalism, and the assumed vulgarity of mass-produced art, high art became inversely valued according to its ability to earn money (Levine, 1988). The more popular a piece of music, the more banal and degraded the music and its listeners were presumed to be. Instead, and in contrast to economic capital, artistic worth was to be assessed according to *aesthetic* qualities, understood as the distance between a work of art and the immediate, practical, or commercial (Bourdieu, 1984). As Bourdieu (1984) points out, however, the aesthetic disposition can only be achieved by having the financial freedom to spend time in contemplation—away from the necessities of life. The distinction conferred on the work aestheticized for contemplation likewise conferred distinction on the White bourgeois music lover by "rejecting the 'human'—the generic, common, 'easy' and immediately accessible" (Bourdieu, 1984, p. 31).

For White women, associating the self with aesthetic modes of expression was a means to construct an identity of rationality and civilizational superiority. If White women could not assume the same status or leadership roles available to men of their race and class, they could assert their status and maximize their claim to privilege by displaying their high degree of cultivation. These attributes were bred into the body as visible markers of class and race identity with dress, comportment, vocal tone, accent, and knowledge of Western music and literary canons as evidence of the merit attached to fine breeding. Schools such as the Toronto Conservatory School of Literature and Expression and the Toronto Conservatory of Music taught middle-class women to link their identities to engagements with problems of the "human soul," through art, representing the highest and most noble form of human development.

An examination of the course calendar for the Toronto Conservatory of Music also reveals the goal to stylize the body and learn to embody "higher," "spiritual" concerns ("Announcement of Courses of Instruction and Methods of Teaching: Toronto Conservatory School of Literature and Expression," 1891–1892). This was the education directed, in particular, at White middle-class women for whom the terrain of "spirituality" was one that allowed them

¹⁴That is, the music of White, European male composers (Citron, 1993; Weber, 1992).

a space to express emotion but in a manner defined as qualitatively different from emotions experienced by lower-classed and/or racialized people. To study music and literature was to engage with the “most profound problems of the human soul, conveyed through a vehicle of beauty” (“Announcement of Courses of Instruction and Methods of Teaching: The Toronto School of Elocution,” 1899–1900). Through such schooling, and the practice of so many disciplines of the mind and body, White women who engaged with the arts learned that they belonged to an exalted group of raced and classed people who inhabited the highest realm of humanity. The performance of art-related activities in separate, exalted White spaces also guaranteed that contamination through the presence of racialized or lower-classed people could not take place.

Whatever knowledge White women gained from their private schooling, the education offered at these schools was not intended to place these women in competition with White bourgeois men. While the White men of the Arts and Letters Club were creating conservatories, university music programs, directing orchestras, or creating the paintings of empty landscapes that would come to define the Canadian colonial identity,¹⁵ White bourgeois women were being educated to sustain the economically precarious high arts by taking up *volunteer* roles as fundraisers, social conveners, and organizers.

Art Music, Status, and Women’s Musical Clubs

In the mid-nineteenth century, White bourgeois women began to establish clubs where they came together with other White upper- and middle-class women for social interaction and to work on social issues considered suitable for women of their race and class.¹⁶ The clubs offered a means to escape the confines of their homes and to engage in concerns of personal and societal improvement (Whitesitt, 1997). By 1899, when the Women’s Musical Club of Toronto was established, White women’s musical clubs had been flourishing throughout North America for nearly thirty years (Elliott, 1997).

The Toronto Women’s Musical Club was originally formed as a way to provide performance opportunities for White female classical musicians and a means to host solo and chamber music recitals of visiting artists (Elliott, 1997). Club activities were designed to offer musical and intellectual improvement and provide performance opportunities for White bourgeois women for whom it was considered improper to perform in public venues. Women’s clubs were places where such women could produce themselves as intelligent, competent,

¹⁵ Members of the Toronto Arts and Letters Club included the artists later known as “The Group of Seven” as well as musicians such as Ernest MacMillan and Healey Willan, whose names were synonymous with the development of Canadian classical music institutions (McBurney, 2007).

¹⁶ The club movement was not limited to the interests of White bourgeois women. Black women’s and rural women’s clubs were also formed to address the material and spiritual needs of different communities (K. J. Blair, 1994).

and productive—all aspects of themselves they were not otherwise welcome to express in the public sphere.

The use of space to define who could be present and who must be absent was central to all aspects of life for White bourgeois women. In the space of their clubs, these women could control who came into their social circles. They could also protect themselves from exposure to people outside of their race and class—with the exception, presumably, of their servants. In contrast to lower-class musical venues, such as vaudeville or minstrel stages—attendance at which provided the pleasure of boundary-crossing for White bourgeois men (Lott, 1993),¹⁷—women’s club concerts took place in settings that could not easily be permeated by lower-classed or racialized bodies.

The enhanced freedom of movement made available to White women through their club spaces must also have provided physical and psychic space, for at least some members, to challenge their political and economic status and participate in battles for White women’s suffrage and legal status as “persons.”¹⁸ As accounts of the first and second waves of the women’s movement have shown, however, many upper- and middle-class White women were aware of what *they* were lacking vis à vis middle- and upper-class White men, but far fewer recognized the systemic relationship between their own class and race privilege and the oppressive conditions facing lower-classed and racialized women and men (Davis, 1981).

In contrast to the struggles White women faced pursuing a professional education, middle- and upper-class White women were encouraged to take up the volunteer roles of social convener, patron of the arts, arts attendee, and organizer of charitable projects. Having the leisure time available to undertake volunteer work was an indication of the financial prosperity of one’s husband and another marker of an exalted race and class identity.

The work undertaken by White women to sustain arts organizations was considerable; however, the volunteer nature of the work, and the fact that it was women’s work, meant that it had less status than the artistic work undertaken by White men. At the same time, it had more value than similar work when performed by women of lower classes. For example, lower-class women had to sustain their own families by, at the very least, cooking, cleaning, sewing, and raising their own children. Many lower-class women also provided similar kinds of work, as paid servants, in middle- and upper-class households. Thus, when club members undertook fund-raising projects requiring domestic, organizational, and administrative labor, their ability to do these tasks, *as volunteers*, also marked them as members of a higher class—with the ability to define and classify those of lower classes they were on a mission to civilize.

¹⁷ Members of the all-male Arts and Letters Club of Toronto reveled in displays of boundary-crossing with their own performances of Minstrelsy, Blackface, Brownface and Redface (Bridle, 1945, p. 6).

¹⁸ Women were not considered persons, in the legal sense, until 1927. The benefits of this change in status, however, applied only to White women (Marshall & Cruikshank, 2015).

Volunteerism, Class Status, and Civilizing the Masses

The need for a White female volunteer labor force for artistic and social welfare projects was an indication of both the precarious status of artistic endeavors under capitalism and the social instability caused by a system dependent on class inequality. Two different discourses emerged to explain these recurring crises. The first explains persistent poverty as a function of “merit.” Being born to a “savage state,” lacking in “good taste” and good decision-making abilities and having an insufficient commitment to self-improvement, were all argued to be the source of barriers preventing lower-class people from attaining better lives (Curtis, 1988). Quite different from this, however, was the discourse explaining the lack of resources to sustain White bourgeois arts activities. Here, the financial challenges facing artists were due not to a lack of merit but rather a lack of sophistication on the part of business and government men, as well as those of the lower-racialized classes whose “insensitivity” to great art was seen as proof of their base natures (Bourdieu, 1984; “LAMPStetter,” 1908).

The inverse relationship between popularity and cultural value, together with the belief that lower-racialized classes were spiritually unevolved and dangerously undisciplined, provided the impetus for crusades by White men and women to bring art to the “masses” (Levine, 1988, p. 172). In projects to instill “an identity of tastes and aspirations” (Tippett, 1990, p. 35), both discourses merged as White middle-class cultural crusaders sought to provide moral improvement to the lower classes by exposing them to classical music.

The work of White bourgeois women to support cultural projects took place in the context of establishing White settlers as naturally and deservedly dominant. These were the strategic tasks of asserting preeminence in an alien environment and against the interests of those resisting colonial domination (Thobani, 2007). They were missions to “improve” but were also missions based on the assumption that the very presence of White settler colonies in North America was, in itself, an act of improvement. There was nothing innocent about these cultural missions that defined culture as White and European, while defining the expressions of colonized and enslaved peoples as primitive expressions of nature (Goldberg, 1993).¹⁹

CULTURAL MISSIONS AND OWNING THE OTHER

Cultural missions were assertions of dominance closely linked to the strategic use of force. For example, in nineteenth-century Canada, projects undertaken in order to establish an identity—a cultural topography for the new nation—took on great significance. A project in 1927 to collect songs from the Nass River people on the West coast of Canada²⁰ offers a representative musical

¹⁹ Canadian musical icon, Sir Ernest MacMillan, for example, equated the singing of a female member of the Nass River Indians to “the voice of nature crying out” (Schabas, 1994, p. 88).

²⁰ In 1927, Marius Barbeau invited Ernest MacMillan to travel with him to the west coast to collect and transcribe music of the “Nass River Indians.” Duncan Campbell Scott was later invited

example of the close links between the collection of artifacts and political projects of dispossession and illustrates “how” technologies of power are interwoven with material conditions that also sustain the “how” and “why” of the different identity constructions for White men and women of the educated classes.

Funded through the National Museum of Canada, the songs were recorded in the field by National Museum ethnographer Marius Barbeau, transcribed and arranged by musician, Sir Ernest MacMillan, and set to English words by poet and Assistant Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Duncan Campbell Scott (Schabas, 1994). Each man was engaged in different forms of population management while establishing the preeminence of White masculine identities as the basis for a national identity on behalf of governments: Barbeau, as an analyst and government advisor on French and Aboriginal cultures (Nurse, 2001); MacMillan as director of prominent musical institutions and creator of national music educational materials (Schabas, 1994); and Scott as an administrator with the power to force Aboriginal communities to accept limitations on their mobility, limit their access to food, and forcibly remove their children from their homes to send them to distant Residential Schools (Neu & Therrien, 2003).

Collecting native artifacts, a journey in the “wild” undertaken by many White male artists, provided the material means for a robust, patriarchal national identity built on the fantasy of innocent interactions with the Indian (Crosby, 1991). Fantasies of innocence notwithstanding, however, these collection projects were closely tied to colonial projects to politically and materially destroy Indigenous peoples. While Barbeau, MacMillan, and Scott were engaged in the appropriation of music and images from the Nass River Indians, Indigenous territories were shrinking dramatically as their lands were expropriated and sold, leading to an incredible accumulation of wealth by prominent White settlers/citizens.²¹ Far from neutral, the narrative of the inevitable succession from primitive to modern offered a justification for dispossession and the vast transfer of wealth from the colonized to the colonizer while representing the process as both politically innocent and morally righteous.²²

Intersecting with the collecting projects of White bourgeois men and the accumulation of wealth by prominent businessmen, the ability of White bour-

to provide English lyrics for the set of songs published as *Three West Coast Songs: Recorded from singers of Nass River Tribes, Canada* (MacMillan & Scott, 1928; Schabas, 1994).

²¹ By 1913, the Canadian Pacific Railway (later to host “folk” festivals across the country) had already amassed 25 million acres; much of it expropriated from First Nations groups (Neu & Therrien, 2003).

²² In 1887, Nisga’a and Tsimishian chiefs attempted to negotiate treaty rights and self-rule for the Aboriginal peoples living in the Nass River watershed. Notably, Scott, in his role as Superintendent of the Indian Department, made a further amendment to the Indian Act making it illegal to hire lawyers or advisors to help them in their claims against the government (Francis, 1992, p. 211). N.B.: In 2001, 130 years after their failed 1887 negotiation, a treaty was ratified with the Nisga’a people recognizing claim to approximately 2000 square miles (Neu & Therrien, 2003, p. 172).

geois women to engage in the volunteer activities in supporting the establishment of high arts institutions was also clearly linked to colonial dispossession. The president of the Women's Musical Club of Toronto in 1905, for example, was married to the chief land commissioner of the Canadian Pacific Railway, L.A. Hamilton, who was in charge of CPR's western development (Elliott, 1997). Mary Richmond Kerr Austin, the club's president from 1910–2013, had a similarly close relationship to the interests of Imperial expansion. Her husband, Albert William Austin succeeded his father as President of the Dominion Bank (Elliott, 1997). It is thus no coincidence that the women who took on the role of sustaining the cultural work of male cultural "adventurers" also had a great deal invested in establishing the legitimacy of the colonial project and White bourgeois hegemony.

Colonial cultural projects, in spite of their embrace of the aesthetic and immaterial, were thus closely connected to the physical violence of colonization. Notably, before and during the time of the active collection of Aboriginal songs and the development of so many Canadian musical institutions, a number of important Indigenous ceremonies, along with the music integral to them, were banned as a means to break down Indigenous modes of being and their resistance to colonial rule (Dickason, 1992). Thus, while Indigenous music was worthy of collection and reinterpretation for "civilized" uses, native people engaged in their cultural practices were to be routed out and destroyed.

Foucault describes the link between power and claims of moral ascendancy as the "politics of truth" (Foucault, 1972, p. 131). In the above examples, the ability to appropriate, name, and define the use of cultural artifacts belonging to another cultural group is an assertion of White ownership. Contrary to the notion that culture exists in a realm outside of the political, while these projects of collection and proliferation were taking place, a long and relentless series of laws and state-sanctioned depredations, including White settler incursions onto Indigenous lands, grave robbing, segregated schools, and refusals to give promised land grants to Black Loyalists, marked persistent projects to assert White entitlement at the expense of racialized peoples (Blair, 2008; Francis, 1992).

PEDAGOGICAL AND POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS

Arnold Walter, in his 1969 introduction to *Aspects of Music in Canada*, expresses a view of culture with which Western, classically trained musicians are very familiar. In Walter's (1969) words, "culture always has been, always will be, a pyramid with little room at the top" (p. 4). Yet this is a very particular notion of culture that assumes that some lives are exalted, while others are entirely expendable—with the culture of Others only valuable when it can be appropriated for use within the dominant culture. The celebrated narrative of colonial artists struggling to help Canada take up "its rank among civilized nations" (Tippett, 1990, p. 36) betrays White supremacist ideals that go far beyond attitudes to harsh material realities for those not seen as culturally fit.

The goal of a genealogy of relations of power is not merely to identify racist or sexist actions of the past but to recognize how past and present relations of power shape who we understand ourselves to be in the present. Indeed, members of the Arts and Letters Club were known to be far more liberal and racially tolerant than many of their contemporaries (McBurney, 2007), and yet they were very much part of the colonial project to dispossess and dominate. With the support of White middle- and upper-class women, male colonial musicians created institutions that promoted a patriarchal, White, and British supremacist view of culture and civilization, asserting the righteousness of the colonial project and raced/gendered/classed hierarchies of human worth. Ladson-Billings (1998) writes that curriculum is “a culturally specific artifact to maintain a White supremacist master script” (p. 18), and I suggest that music curricula, at the professional level, as well as in many school settings, continues to follow this master script. As a challenge to this dominant narrative and its material effects, I suggest a number of pedagogical goals.

The first pedagogical goal, I believe, is to disrupt narratives of political innocence and link the ascendancy of dominant cultural institutions with the racialized violence that facilitated their creation. The need to disrupt dominant narratives, however, does not only apply to those working in institutions in White settler states but also to those places in colonial and European settings financed through the enslavement and/or plunder of others. While most participants in classical music institutions would dissociate themselves from any association with racist ideals, there is no position of political innocence to be claimed here—though there is naiveté. We are embedded in relations of dominance and oppression. Pointing fingers at key figures of the past is not the point of a genealogy of power; rather, the point is to understand the belief systems and institutional structures that shape contemporary relations of power. Questions that might disrupt naiveté about cultural narratives include: “With whose blood have my eyes been crafted?” (Haraway as cited in Vaugeois, 2012, p. 152) and what are the political relations that lead to the assessment of particular forms of culture as “civilized” versus those defined as “abject?” Beyond the identification of dominant musical institutions and practices as White property, it is also important to address how these institutions and their ideals reinforce the psychic and material separation of those engaged with dominant artistic forms and those who create music outside of these institutions.

Second, I suggest that tracking the intersections of personal meaning with the political and economic relationships attached to all forms of cultural production is essential to confronting the logics of inequality. With regard to multicultural music education, rather than encouraging students to engage in trivial celebrations of diversity, Ladson-Billings (1998) argues that students need to be engaged in provocative thinking about the contradictions of vaunted ideals and lived realities. Likewise, Lynn and Jennings identify “pedagogies of affirmation” and “pedagogies of dissent” as strategies to create space to affirm musics and validate experiences and lives that are outside of and/or resistant to dominant cultural narratives (as cited in Dixon & Rousseau Anderson, 2017, p. 45).

Third, I suggest deconstructing the notion of the Western musical canon as a unitary entity. The relationship of this canon to White bourgeois identities and racial supremacy must be actively deconstructed in order to recognize the roles that public music-making can have in normalizing or challenging the logics of inequality. It is a luxury of Whiteness—an indicator of dominance—to be able to perform music under the guise of “great art” without the need to consider the appropriateness of textual (or other) significations or their relevance to a wide range of people. This is not an invocation of censorship but an admonition to bring critical thinking to repertoire and rituals that continually assert the notion that White middle-class cultural institutions are universal signifiers of civilization. Edward Saïd’s (1982) call to connect “politically vigilant forms of interpretation to an ongoing political and social praxis” (p. 25) challenges the notion that cultural works can, or should, be seen as autonomous and politically neutral. When works are defined as autonomous, and thus sheltered from serious critique, they are also relegated to the merely ornamental—whatever claims are made about their universal spiritual meanings.

Fourth, restitution must be a goal, not only in terms of support for artistic production but also in terms of meeting material needs. As one indicator of material change, granting agencies such as the Ontario Arts Council now have funding programs for Indigenous artists as well as programs to fund popular music creators, including artists working in racialized art forms.²³ Material change at this level creates possibilities for previously marginalized artists and communities while also providing opportunities for educators to bring a much broader range of cultural representation to schools. In other contexts, however, White supremacy is reasserted. For example, in Toronto beginning in 2003, the highest possible levels of funding were made available to major colonial arts institutions in order to establish Toronto as a world class “creative city” (*Culture plan for the creative city*, 2003; Florida, 2002), affirming the dominance of these institutions as Toronto and Canada’s most important cultural meaning makers (Catungal & Leslie, 2009).

Classical music institutions, as forms of white property, are one manifestation of a framework that sustains the colonial project by exalting certain identities while rationalizing the dispossession, domination, and exploitation of others. While many cultural workers experience themselves as a dominated class, perpetually struggling to find adequate funding and recognition, a lack of awareness about larger colonial structures, and the raced, classed, and gendered subjectifications that sustain them, they are left at risk of what I call “terminal naiveté,” that is, a form of ignorance that results in political docility (Foucault, 1977). University-educated musicians and teachers need to understand the effects of colonization in its contemporary political, legal, and cultural manifestations in order to understand how notions and practices of exaltation contribute to inequality and injustice. What would it take to have conversations among musicians and educators with vastly different understand-

²³ <http://www.arts.on.ca/grants>

ings of the meaning of culture to consider if and when it might be important to refuse to perform or, in the case of proscriptions, insist that a performance takes place? What kind of conversations would need to happen before musicians might challenge a performance ritual, the performance of a piece of repertoire, or the performance of a national anthem? The belief that art-music is universal, and politically neutral, risks keeping its practitioners in a state of terminal naiveté. Making space for critical inquiry and recognizing ourselves as political actors with the ability and responsibility to act as agents of change is my goal in bringing critical thinking about relations of power to the intersection of music and education.

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Representations of Whiteness in Finnish Visual Culture

Mira Kallio-Tavin and Kevin Tavin

INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, we discuss the notion of whiteness and racism in the context of Finland, which is often idealized as a progressive welfare and democratic nation. Finland, like other Nordic countries, has a particular relationship to whiteness due to its historical, geographical, and societal character. As Mulinari, Keskinen, Irni, and Tuori (2009) remind us, Nordic countries

never went through a clear period of critique of colonialism and its presence in everyday environments and encounters, as did the colonial centers in the aftermath of the dismantling of the empires. Anti-racist and anti-imperialist movements, academic commentary on issues of race and colonialism, have been part of the Nordic societies since the 1970s, yet these countries have managed to retain an image of themselves as untouched by colonial legacies. (p. 2)

In other words, while former colonial countries have had to formulate and rebuild their relationship to postcolonial politics, Finland, for the most part, has represented itself as an outsider (Mulinari et al., 2009). In matters of racism, Finland has also adopted a secluded and distant identity (McEachrane, 2014). More specifically, in Finland, the general climate seems to be one that refuses to problematize the power of whiteness to produce both white and non-white subjectivities. Oikarinen-Jabai (2014) gives an example of the denial of the production of whiteness, where the word *race* is hardly ever used in

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Finland due to the negative connotations from the Second World War. This includes the legacy of Nazi racial science, racial hygiene, and Nordicism, which together formed the pursuit of a scientific measurement of the human race. The term race, therefore, is held in deep suspicion and thought to signify only negative connotations. Oikarinen-Jabai argues that many Finns believe there cannot be racism in Finland because there is very little use of the term *race*. Even in the academic context, the concept of racism is often bypassed by acknowledging the ideologies of the democratic society; recognition of differences is not needed since everybody should have the same rights (Oikarinen-Jabai, 2014).

When the term racism is used, the common references in Finland are quite narrow and usually refer only to overt, intentional, and officially reported acts (Oikarinen-Jabai, 2014). This “pure” and “innocent,” bystander, national position has left room for the development and perpetuation of non-critical practices and racist politics (McEachrane & Gilroy, 2014). This position is equally applicable to recent immigrants and historical minorities in Finland, such as Roma and Sámi people. Although Finnish political actions have discriminated and colonized the Sámi community through legislation aimed at land ownership, reindeer herding, schooling, and traffic policies, there is little knowledge or interest from a dominant cultural perspective (Lehtola, 2015). As Rossi (2009) writes:

The popular belief seems to be that [Finland] has not participated in the process of colonization...once the country became independent, the Finns effectively continued the Nordic process of colonizing the indigenous Sámi people. (p. 192)¹

This image of Finland as innocent and pure—disconnected from practices of colonialism, racism, and exclusion—is perpetuated through visual culture. In the next section, we explore the concept of visual culture and its connection to everyday life.

VISUAL CULTURE AND EVERYDAY LIFE

What constitutes everyday experience in much of the world is deeply affected by an abundance of visual imagery in a variety of global contexts. Images flow within and across borders almost instantaneously, conveying information, offering pleasure, and initiating, reinforcing, or challenging values and beliefs. These circulating signs affect individual identities and power relations. Learning who we are, as well as how we see others, depends on the particular images, their histories, and the tendency to visualize ourselves (and others) as pictures in our imagination. On the one hand, these pictures come together in

¹While Nordic racism evolves in part from a lack of self-criticism regarding colonialism, it is beyond the scope of this chapter to interrogate in depth Finland’s colonial past, both as one colonized by Sweden and Russia, and one that has colonized others, such as Sámi people.

our mind with purpose and direction. On the other hand, we unconsciously learn to look and interpret meanings of images around us on a daily basis (Sturken & Cartwright, 2009). These meanings often include stereotypical notions of ethnicity, race, nationality, citizenship, and so on. Stereotypical visual representations and their mediating resources in visual culture do more than “represent” a world already out there. Rather, stereotypical visual representations shape and limit visions of the world and are constitutive of identity itself (Tavin, 2009).

In the terrain of everyday life, popular visual culture is a significant site of learning that provides substantial experiences for citizens (Carpenter & Taylor, 2003; Tavin, 2002; Taylor, 2000). Particular stereotypical images from popular culture (films, games, advertising, etc.) play a role in the symbolic and material milieu of contemporary societies by constructing a normative “vision” of the world (Tavin & Anderson, 2003). The organizations that produce, distribute, and regulate much of the popular visual imagery in contemporary societies are explicitly commercial institutions with the goal for profit maximization or institutions and entities implicitly tethered to neoliberal and capitalist ideologies (Duncum, 2009). Either way, most images appeal to us through a complex affective process where we negotiate our beliefs, values, desires, and expectations in the realm of pleasure and meaning. While identities are always multidimensional and dependent upon numerous idiosyncratic factors, they remain connected to communal systems of discourse and understanding. In other words, our identities are shaped and limited, in particular societies, in part, by available cultural and linguistic codes, signs, and representations. As stated earlier, these codes, signs, and representations may promote or support biases, limit particular social interests, and thwart possibilities for human agency (Tavin & Anderson, 2003). The political implications of these processes include constructing a visual culture of whiteness.

Visual Culture of Whiteness

As Henry Giroux (2000) has argued, investigating visual culture “is crucial to raising broader questions about how notions of difference, civic responsibility, community, and belonging are produced in specific historical and institutional sites within specific discursive formations and practices, by specific enunciative strategies” (p. 352). One way to consider belonging and difference is through the concept of whiteness.² The elements that have shaped and continue to shape whiteness and its enunciative strategies are not unified and singular but diverse and sometimes contradictory.

Whiteness is complex but finds its expression in simplicity. In the most general terms, and for the basis of this chapter, whiteness, according to Kincheloe and Steinberg (1998), took shape

²While different scholars use upper or lower case (whiteness or Whiteness), we use lowercase in the body of the text only for consistency, not to limit its power or significance.

around the notion of rationality of the European Enlightenment, with its privileged construction of a transcendental white, male, rational subject who operated at the recesses of power while at the same time giving every indication that he escaped the confines of time and space.... Whiteness was, and still is, naturalized as a universal entity ... representing orderliness, rationality, and self-control, and so on. Its opposite, Otherness, indicates chaos, irrationality, violence, the breakdown of self-regulation, and so on. (p. 5)

Whiteness as an ideological framework helps to produce normative ideas of the world, which are often caught up in a circuit of consumption, reproduction, perpetuation, and reinforcement, in and through visual culture. It is an ideology and way of constructing and constituting the world.

Whiteness is both pervasive and nothing in particular, dominant and invisible, and ever-present through its unquestioned muteness. According to Chapman (2011), in relation to Critical Race Theory, “the quest for social justice is about changing the institutions that allow manifestations of Whiteness to maintain power and disrupting the uncontested discourses that prevent radical and necessary reforms” (p. 8). While this chapter focuses on the notion of whiteness in the context of Finland, it is important to look to examples of visual culture as well as structural and institutional critique of whiteness in the US as indicators of the depth of both the problem and the academic inquiry that exists. As we will discuss later, there is a significant difference between Finnish perspectives on race and areas such as Critical Race Theory in the US that investigates the historical and epistemological assumptions that helped shape and maintain racist ideology and the dominant narrativizing of whiteness (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2013).

In the US, through the visual culture of popular novels, magazines, films, advertisements, sheet music, television shows, children’s books, games, and so on, visual examples throughout history have taught the lessons of racial subjugation in myriad ways. For example, while whiteness is often representative of a rational, pervasive norm, blackness in visual culture has been presented as subservient and terrorizing, exotic and desexualized, childish and domesticated, foolish and brutal, and so on. Toni Morrison (as cited in Nicholson, 1998) describes images of blackness as embodying all “the self-contradictory features of the self. Whiteness, alone, is mute, meaningless, unfathomable, pointless, frozen, veiled, curtained, dreaded, senseless and implacable” (p. 196). Of course, these images in visual culture are created in large part from fear and hatred to communicate both social fantasies and desperate projections and tied tightly to politics and policy. In the US, in particular,

these attitudes are supported and perpetuated by the racist politics, policies, funding, and advocacy of government and corporate interests. Social circulation that reproduces and over determines dominant racial ideologies at the cultural level works in keeping with economic and political power distribution. (Cooks, 2002, p. 4)

In more general terms, through the lens of Critical Race Theory, there has been much written on the historical, political, economic, and cultural analyses of the stereotypical images and the discourse of racism, especially in the US (Chapman, 2011; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, 2013; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Geist & Nelson, 1992; Harris, 1993; Yosso, 2005). For example, in 1992, Geist and Nelson explored centuries of stereotypical images pervaded through different forms of popular culture and tied to specific governmental policies and practices, while Entman and Rojecki (2000) explored this further through the media and race in the US, tied to theories of the white imagination. This work has continued through many different trajectories of Critical Race Theory including entanglements with education, sociology, psychology, anthropology, economics, political science, and so on (see Carbado & Roithmayr, 2014; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001 for an extensive list). In Finland and other Nordic countries, however, the same history of Critical Race Theory and academic focus on the critical analyses of whiteness and race does not exist (McEachrane, 2014; Oikarinen-Jabai, 2014, 2015; Rastas, 2014). It is to Finland we now turn our attention to discuss presuppositions and attitudes that perpetuate whiteness and racism through visual culture and then interpret examples that represent whiteness, in part, as property.

FINNISH BELIEFS AND ATTITUDES

Finland is often described as an idealized welfare and democratic State (Mulinari et al., 2009). Although there are some growing doubts about the sustainable maintenance of the welfare state system in Finland, there is still a strong belief among Finnish citizens that the State takes good care of everyone more or less equally. The tax system partially balances out the income differences, and although there are poor and rich people, most believe everyone has the same opportunities in life and equal possibilities for education. The ideas of democratic and equal societies are so inherently valued that there has been little room for critical self-reflection, especially around the notions of “traditional,” “Nordic,” and “Finnishness,” and their relationship to white culture (McEachrane, 2014). Indeed, whiteness is generally an unrecognizable and invisible norm. As Rossi (2009) describes, there is a tendency “for white Finns, and white Nordic people at large, not to consider themselves ethnic, but to use the term for constructing otherness projected onto people of color” (p. 193).

In Finland, the dominant and homogeneous culture, which Rossi (2009) calls a “constructed monolith of white Finnishness and the homogeneous nation” (p. 192), has been valued as being somewhat isolated from the rest of the world. Rossi (2009) argues that Finns believe their society is supposedly less violent and troubled than some other cultures, including the US and other nations in Europe with an explicit colonial past (such as the UK and the Netherlands). Finnish cultural identity is based strongly on notions of nation and nationality, with little recognition of minority cultures, such as Sámi, Roma,

Russian, or Somali (Rastas, 2014). While this kind of identity building is somewhat understandable for a small and fairly young country (Finland's independence from Russia occurred in 1917), the implications it carries with it are often bypassed altogether. For example, it is fairly typical to hear conversations in Finnish society remarking on the lack of racism due to the small number of immigrants and ethnic minorities.³ This attitude lends support to a lack of critical discussion and research on race and racism (McEachrane, 2014). This perpetuates a supportive structural ideology for the hegemonic culture of white, middle-class, and prosperous people, with a so-called rooted Finn nationality.

One constantly comes across language in Finnish media that makes a distinction between Finnish people by birth and the *others*. Second-generation Finns are recognized but still not seen as the same as *rooted* Finns. This term (*kantasuomalaiset*, in Finnish) signifies who are the “real Finns” and separates them from Finns with immigrant backgrounds. Even though a second-generation Finn (being born in Finland) may have an “official” citizenship, they are not considered to be the same as other Finns with a multiple-generation background—so-called rooted Finns (Kallio-Tavin, 2015). Because, in almost all cases, rooted Finns are represented as white,⁴ it is assumed that a Finn who speaks Finnish but is not white is “non-rooted.” This is a legacy of the isolated history and restrictive immigration policy. For example, in 2015, there were over 32,000 asylum seekers, and only 1112 were accepted (Statistics Finland, 2017). In opposition to general assumption, many second-generation or immigrant Finnish youth have experienced racism in multiple ways by those considered rooted Finns. Helena Oikarinen-Jabai (2015) has written about Finnish second-generation Somali youth experiences:

Finnish youths with non-European backgrounds negotiate multiple identifications, such as foreigner, refugee, Finnish and black/dark. Within the group of Somali youths, categories like immigrant (non-western/dark), African, Somali and Muslim are the most visible.... Both females and males have experienced othering and prejudice because of their skin color and ethnic background. Black males and especially those with Somali backgrounds share a common experience of being restricted in public places. (p. 40)

Many of the youth who work with Oikarinen-Jabai describe their cultural identity as something between Somalian and Finnish. The fact that many second-generation Finnish-Somalian youth take pride in their Somalian background seems to come as a surprise to the so-called rooted Finns. For example, a second-generation Finnish-Somalian youth states:

³In 2015, 4.18% were registered as immigrants, out of the total 5.5 million population (Statistics Finland, 2017). There are approximately 10,000 Roma in Finland (The National Roma Forum of Finland, 2017), and approximately 10,000 who identify themselves as Sámi (Saami Parliament, 2017).

⁴Ironically, Sámi people are the most “rooted” people in Finland, Sweden, Norway, and Russia, being the only indigenous culture in Europe.

When I'm on vacation, wearing a uniform, some people come to tell me in the tube that it's fine you're in the Finnish army, that we respect you so much [...] they come to explain you're a Finn [...] I always say I'm from Somalia even though I was born in Finland, so I don't know, I don't feel that Finnishness... They, like, look up at you, if you're dark-skinned and in the Finnish army [...] and when you're outside the army, normally [...] they believe or ponder when they see you, again a foreigner or an immigrant or so, something bad, most of them. (Anonymous interview, 30 January 2010, in Oikarinen-Jabai, 2011, p. 10)

When wearing a uniform, a symbol of the country's independence, the young man can be identified, acknowledged, and valued as a Finn. However, this acknowledgement does not include understanding the diversified nature of second-generation Finnishness and the youth's interest of not belonging to the mainstream nationalist Finnishness. In addition, there does not seem to be any appreciation for his Somalian background and expanded and diversified perspective added to the notion of Finnishness. In this example, Somalian Finns are approved, by the "rooted Finns," to be true Finns only when they can somehow become more Finnish; for example, by wearing a Finnish army uniform and looking more like a "true" Finnish youth.

Despite the experiences of people with a non-European background, until the recent diasporic movements in Europe (during the second decade of the twenty-first century), there have been very few reported and openly discussed examples of "intentional racism" in Finland. The subjugated history and expurgated experiences seem to preserve the belief by the majority of Finnish white people that racism is extremely rare, and there is no need to consider themselves or other whites' as racist (Haikkola, Leander, Tanner, & Pyrhönen, 2014; Oikarinen-Jabai, 2011; Rastas, 2014). As stated earlier, even the use of the word "race" is looked upon with suspicion. In fact, some of the researchers who focus on race in Finland have been accused of bringing racism into the conversation where it has not been before (Honkasalo, Kivijärvi, Souto & Suurpää, 2014). According to Honkasalo et al., (2014), in the everyday discourse in Finland, ethnicity replaces the word race, while the discussion of racism is veiled by discourse of difference, culture, tolerance, multiculturalism, and prejudice. As a concept, even the word "ethnicity" is seen as problematic by scholars, such as Carpenter (2011) and Räsänen (2015), who point out that ethnicity is often linked to non-Western cultures and hence emphasizes the difference between "us" (the white, rooted Finns) and "them" (representatives of minority ethnicities, such as first- or second-generation immigrants).

Until recently, there has been little recognition in Finland of the local impact of Western historical and contemporary oppression based on race, or much understanding of race as a social and discursively formed construction based on human interaction, as it is viewed in critical social theory and Critical Race Theory (Haney López, 2013). The hidden racism described earlier, such as what the Somali youth experienced but the majority of rooted Finns do not acknowledge, has started to become more apparent after 2010, in part as a

consequence of the Arab Spring. The recent influx of refugees into Europe, mainly from the Middle East, has caused dramatic changes in the racist behavior in Finland, prompting the evolution of at least academic discourse around race. Migration has caused increased consciousness and confrontation between majority and minority groups, and increased prejudice all over Europe. Although Finland has received and accepted fewer immigrants than other Nordic countries, especially Sweden, the perception of a refugee threat has uncovered previously hidden racism. A country whose citizens have long believed there would be no intentional racism has now witnessed a massive wave of violent acts and strong reactions against immigrants, such as attacks in reception centers for asylum seekers. Opposing opinions are vividly discussed in the media and hate speech has increased in Finland. For some Finns, this has come as a surprise and disturbs the position that has built a false but superior image of a non-racist nation. Many self-declared progressive and educated Finnish people have long held the idea of Finland being somehow a more democratic and equal country than many others and have not seen the development of nationalist ideology of “true” Finnishness and whiteness. In the next section, we take a close look at some examples from popular visual culture that seem to support whiteness and refute the existence of racism in Finland.

WHITENESS AND POPULAR VISUAL CULTURE IN FINLAND

In the mid-1990s, an anti-racist campaign began to raise awareness regarding a particular image used on a licorice package produced and marketed by Fazer, one of the oldest candy companies in Finland. The long-standing caricature, in one form or another, had been a basic theme on licorice packaging in Finland and elsewhere, since the early twentieth century. It belonged to the genre of imperial advertising and kitsch, and was part of a global mass-marketing system of signs in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The problematic image was commonly referred to as “licorice boy” (*Laku-Pekka*), an offensive caricature of a black face illustrated on a candy wrapper. However, it was not until a decade later, in 2007, that the image was revised in Finland, under threats from the European Commission.

Before changing the packaging, Fazer consulted with Finland’s Consumer Agency and the Ombudsman for Minorities on the matter. While the visual representation was understood as a violation of rules and laws, the Finnish public was divided. Some felt the image was shameful and dated, while others wanted to protect the image, through a campaign to “save the licorice boy.” This campaign gained popularity in large part because the candy wrapper was seen by many to be part of so-called traditional Finnish culture. Perhaps people felt the image in the candy wrapper was traditional because these sorts of images were pervasive when they grew up, and they had a nostalgic relationship to the candy wrapper. Many Finns take nationalist pride in the Fazer candies and chocolates, and believe *Fazer* directly represents Finnish culture because

the company is known among Finns as producing high-quality products since 1891. Close to 14,000 people signed a petition to keep the image in May 2007. As Rossi (2009) clarifies, this “incident crystallized many problems in terms of Finnish notions, negotiations and struggles concerning multiculturalism” (pp. 189–190). The image was somehow seen by many as part of the Finnish cultural tradition of inclusion—meaning possession and ownership—therefore, worth protecting and saving. Rossi (2009) states:

What was represented to be ‘national’ or ‘traditional’ about the image, and thus worthy of protection, was not the idea of the Finnish nation traditionally also having included black people. On the contrary, in the context of the licorice discourse it is the exclusion of the non-whites, and participation in colonial history, which is represented as part of the Finnish national heritage. (p. 190)

While it might be easy to dismiss the image and petition as something from the past, more recent postings from an online discussion forum on similar popular imagery (from 2013 to 2014) capture the ongoing ideology of whiteness and the exposure of structural racism. Following are direct quotes from the forum. The text is left in its original form:

Hmm, I think black was exotic for us as we didnt bring slaves from Afrika as your contry did. So we didnt have any black people living here! Nobody think it was racist in that time. My sisters son is half Gambian, an hi thinks it is silly to change names of candys (Christies book 10 little nigger boys) etc. and he loves salmiakki (liquorice), he is now 15 years old and only racist comments he have got was from old ladys! (hes mom have sleep with black guy)! I think there are more horror things in life that color of candy and wrap paper! (Anonymous, March 12, 2013, in O. blogit, 2012)

Another post from over a year later continues:

... and the persons on the wrappings of liquorice bars, chocolate boxes etc... are smiling and happy. What makes you believe they are slaves? Remember that these logos were created in the 20’s in a country that had never been in touch with Africans. As a child, I simply loved those liquorice bars and to me, this smiling black face was a positive image, something happy and sweet. Open your eyes, for God’s sake. (Anonymous, November 8, 2014, in O. blogit, 2012)

Because whiteness is not a singular moment, it is important to do memory work and contextualization whenever it is interrogated. For example, in 2001, *Brunberg*, another popular Finnish candy company changed its traditional cream-filled chocolate sweet formerly called “*Neekerinsuukko*” (“Negro Kiss”) to simply “*Suukko*” (“Kiss”). Although the name has changed, the chocolate company still uses the original logo of two stereotypical black “African” cartoon characters, barely clothed and kissing each other with very large, bright red lips.

In addition to “*Laku-Pekka*,” another Pekka, this time “*Musta Pekka*” (Black Peter) has also been understood by many Finns to be part of so-called Finnish tradition. In the card game “*Musta Pekka*,” cards are divided into four-member heteronormative families (a husband, wife, son, and daughter) representing different jobs. The pack also contains one unmatched card: Black Peter, a stereotypical illustration of a black person. In the beginning of the game, the cards are dealt out among the players, and they pick cards, unseen, from each other. When a player has an entire family, those cards can be discarded. The winner is the first one to get rid of all of their cards. The loser is the player who at the end of the game is left with Black Peter, the outsider, who does not fit into any family.

These examples of Finnish visual culture offer views into how whiteness is a normative practice in Finland and perhaps also

a kind of property. It sets the standard. Other groups... are defined in terms of or in opposition to whiteness—that which they are not. Literature and the media reinforce this view of minorities as the exotic other. Minorities appear in villain roles or as romantic, oversexed lovers. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001, p. 78)

“*Musta Pekka*,” for example, does not include anybody’s personal narratives or stories, but a superficial and stereotypical image that can be considered villainous, distant, exoticized, Othered, and excluded. *Suukko* can be interpreted as representing in part an over-sexualized primitivism, which nonetheless is offered in Finland to family and friends, especially during holidays, as a sweet treat. To contextualize the examples above, in Finland, there has hardly been any room for voices of people with color to describe their own reality and lives. As Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) suggest, it would be important from a Critical Race Theory perspective to use “parables, chronicles, stories, counterstories, poetry, fiction, and revisionist histories to illustrate the false necessity and irony” (p. 57). There are other examples of Finnish visual culture that perpetuate whiteness and ownership, such as “*Afrikan tähti*” (Star of Africa), a game where players start out in North Africa and navigate the dangers of the “dark continent,” including being ambushed by Bedouins and sold as a slave. The ultimate goal is to find the treasured diamond, the Star of Africa. The value in the game is not only the possession of the object (the Star of Afrika), but the taken-for-granted authority of whiteness—the value of the right of pursuit and conquest over all others.

All of the examples above can be interpreted through the lens of whiteness as ownership and property. As Harris (1993) has formulated, whiteness includes the rights of disposition, enjoyment, reputation and status, and exclusion. And while there are certainly more examples of whiteness and racist representations in Finland that can be considered through the themes of ownership and property (see McEachrane & Gilroy, 2014; Mulinari et al., 2009), we now turn our attention to contemporary art as another form of visual culture and examine how whiteness is expressed and critiqued through it. Many contemporary

artists seem to include ethical and critical questions, wanting to reflect and disentangle societal and cultural issues in their artwork. Through the following examples, we claim that contemporary art provides provocation to challenge the normative practices based on whiteness.

CONTEMPORARY ART AND “TRUE” FINNISHNESS

In the mid-1990s, the political party now known as “*Perussuomalaiset*” (True Finns) was founded. A dominant interpretation suggests its platform is based on a neo-nationalist, anti-immigrant, anti-EU, anti-LGBT, and anti-global neoliberalist right-leaning perspective. In 2011, it became the third largest party in the Finnish parliament. In addition to generally being anti-Other, the True Finn party prefers subsidizing non-confrontational and nationalist artwork (artwork that glorifies the Fatherland), rather than much of contemporary art that exposes, criticizes, and troubles inherent problems in Finnish culture. While there have been political protests aimed at the True Finns, there have also been attempts to use contemporary art practices to focus on the concept of True Finn itself and to raise questions of who gets to claim ownership over identity. The example below reflects upon the relationship between essentialist representations of Finnishness and complex understandings of identity, including ethnicity, gender, ability, sexual identity, and other facets of social diversity.

In the artwork, *True Finn* (2014), Yael Bartana (working in connection with Finland’s Pro Arte Foundation) filmed eight Finnish volunteers with diverse backgrounds (religious, political, ethnic) living together in the countryside in Southern Finland for one week. The participants were given tasks addressing the question of Finnish identity, such as defining what constitutes the “homeland,” designing a new flag and composing a new national anthem, and deciding who was the “truest Finn” among the group. The main goal of the week was to redefine Finnishness. The discussions that unfolded during that time addressed questions of ownership, cultural identity, and belonging, while the filming of the tasks, conversations, and interactions between and among the volunteers formed a self-reflexive archive of tradition and change, inclusion, and exclusion. Yahav (2015) refers to the scene where the group is designing a new flag:

“I don’t think the Finns have ever been a warlike people; there’s nothing to be ashamed of in the present flag,” Tiina observes, adding, “Finland is pure. There’s innocence, whiteness, purity” in the current flag. Does the white symbolize “the space for the individual and the community”? The discussion continues to revolve around questions of the meaning of national symbols in the global era. But it never becomes impassioned. Indeed, much of it consists of words that are unspoken, buried beneath mountains of political correctness that pile up in the cabin like the snow piling up outside. (para 5)

In this conversation, the notion of purity and innocence is literally woven together with whiteness, as both symbolic representation and an ideological perspective on history and belonging. For example, the comment that Finns have never been “warlike” disavows the connection between the settlement and seizure of land in Finland (from Sámi, for example) and the way property rights is entangled with whiteness (and here, white as a background for the flag) and cultural capital. This resonates with Harris’s (1993) comments regarding the history of whiteness in the US:

Possession—the act necessary to lay the basis for rights in property—was defined to include only the cultural practices of Whites. This definition laid the foundation for the idea that whiteness—that which Whites alone possess—is valuable and is property. (p. 1721)

As with other tasks, throughout the film, there are small disputes and unseen tensions, as well as unanswered questions and silences. At the same time, according to Yahav (2015), stereotypical and racist discourse and nationalist representations are discussed openly in some cases. The subtext is clearly about critically raising questions. For example, while writing a new national anthem for Finland, the question of ownership is raised, both in terms of who has the right to buy and own land, who were the “original” people in Finland, and how that determines one’s identity as a Finn. In general, however, the conversations throughout the film seem to be fairly muted and reflect more broadly what might be considered Finland’s “way of dealing with issues,” through consensus rather than difference, and through a colorblind, whitewashed perspective, rather than direct confrontation or friction. For example:

In the last section of the film, each participant delivers an election speech aimed at being chosen as the “true Finn.” Most of them mention the values of coexistence, the Finnish lack of competitiveness, the sense of a shared destiny, and equality. (Yahav, 2015, para 8)

These speeches reify the myth of innocence and inclusion in Finland and the lack of overt racism.

Another contemporary artwork that deals with the concept of True Finn is a conceptual work by the *Todellisuuden tutkimuskeskus* (Reality Research Center) or TKK. It involves claiming (as a form of ownership through “theft”) the leader of the True Finn political party, Timo Soini, as an artwork. Soini, similar to Donald Trump in the US and Boris Johnson in the UK, is considered alluring to working-class nationalist-leaning populists. The description of *Timo Soini: An Artwork* states:

Reality Research Center claims Timo Soini as an artwork for the duration of 258 days. This claim consists of the following principles: (1) Timo Soini is an artwork, an event in the field of Finnish national art. (2) Every appearance of Timo Soini, in any form or format, is part of this artwork. (3) This artwork

reflects on the Finns as a whole: Timo is who he is, because we are who we are.... Using Timo Soini as a point of reflection, we seek to initiate the following questions, for contemplation during your encounters with Timo: 1. What is “Timo Soini”? 2. What artistic connotations does this work entail? 3. What principles and structures is this work based on? 4. What is the meaning of Timo, to you, personally? Witness: Timo is here—among us. (*Todellisuuden tutkimuskeskus*, 2012, para 1–6)

While this work is strikingly different from Bartana’s film, both address the concept of true Finnishness and the right to claim, own, and display it. Soini, as art, conceptually turns the power of owning the qualities and characteristics of identity (or a pure and non-Othered identity) through of a political party and its main representative on its head. It seems this work is more than simply making a populist politician a spectacle (which in a sense he already is) by using the signifier, *art* (Tervo, 2014).

CONCLUSIONS

The framework of whiteness perpetuates the attitude and belief that Finland is mostly free of racist imagery and racism. When images and attitudes are made visible, attempts at critique have often been understood as misinterpretations, such as with the Fazer candy. In this chapter, we have attempted to hold some of these claims up to a critical light and suggest that they emanate from a matrix consisting of the denial of colonial legacies, prohibition of discourse (use of the words race or racism, for example), belief in an egalitarian welfare state, nationalist practices of belonging, and lack of critical theories and academic inquiries addressing oppression within local contexts. This matrix grants permission to those in power to name and own representations and determine what discourse and interpretations are legitimate and suitable. In all of the cases presented in this chapter, the denial of whiteness and its effects belongs to an ability to claim, represent, and name normality and otherness. Despite the various attempts by artists and scholars to problematize the power of Finnish visual culture to produce both white and non-white subjectivities, in our opinion, the power of whiteness as ownership continues.

However, we also believe that more intensified awareness and inability to simply turn away from the problem holds some hope and possibility for the future. For example, confrontations between racist and anti-racist groups in Finland and all Nordic countries are increasing. Anti-racist campaigns unveil the coverage from something that has been difficult earlier for the general public to recognize and comprehend. Demonstrations against racism are becoming more common practice in contemporary Finland. In September 2016, for example, there were 15,000 people demonstrating in Helsinki, openly protesting against racist violence (Hakkarainen, 2016). While anti-racist activism is strikingly different from Bartana’s film and TKK’s artwork, they all address the concept of true Finnishness and the right to claim, own, and display it.

The examples of contemporary art discussed in this chapter coupled with the recent demonstrations against racism point to the future, where Critical Race Theory might provide a fresh perspective to whiteness and racism in Finland. Of course, this is not a call to simply appropriate a set of critical theories or tools from elsewhere to help understand the current social milieu in Finland. We believe that what is needed are bold interventional tactics, informed by global critical perspectives but developed and employed locally. This might include relocating the discourse and debate about Finnishness to include notions of ownership, possession, and property, through participation within the public sphere, and disseminate the results within Finland and abroad. This would necessarily include new modes of dialogue through a multiplicity of voices and a unique discourse and specific research agenda that is situated in a Finnish context—something that addresses specific meanings and definitions about whiteness as property in Finland.

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Margaret Trowell's School of Art or How to Keep the Children's Work Really African

Emma Wolukau-Wanambwa

HOW TROWELL'S EAST AFRICAN ART SCHOOL BEGAN

When Margaret Trowell arrived in the Uganda Protectorate in the 1930s, she seized the opportunity to do something that, as a woman, she would have been unlikely to achieve in her native England at that time—namely to found an art school and, through her teaching, to set out to instigate the development of “a widespread school of national or racial painting and sculpture” (Trowell, 1947, p. 1). Had she and her husband Hugh, a medical doctor, remained at home after the completion of their studies, the most use to which Trowell could have expected to put her training as an art educator would probably have been a few years of secondary school teaching prior to the birth of her first child.¹ As it was, in Uganda—which, being a protectorate as opposed to a settler colony, had a tiny White population (less than 2000²) and a near total absence of European-style sociocultural infrastructure—the opportunities were plentiful for an ambitious and energetic White woman. Trowell was quickly able to establish herself at the heart of the modest cultural scene that revolved largely around the handful of mission schools established to educate the children of the Indigenous elites, the Anglican cathedral in Kampala, and the European

¹Trowell studied painting at the Slade School of Fine Art in London 1924–1926 and then did a one-year course in art education at the University of London, Institute of Education.

²By contrast, according to official estimates, there were just under 17,000 Europeans resident in Kenya in 1930. *The Colony and Protectorate of Kenya* (1932, p. 9).

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Club in Entebbe, seat of the colonial administration. In the absence of meaningful white male competition, Trowell was appointed the first curator of the Uganda Museum in the late 1930s and became the first female president of the Uganda Society some ten years later.

Having noticed how little anthropological research Europeans were conducting into the material cultures of this part of Africa, Trowell took it upon herself from early on to study the arts and crafts of the region. But study alone was never going to be enough: she was also determined to teach. Trowell's passion for pedagogy was not simply borne of her professional training; rather, its roots were in her Christian faith: although neither she nor her husband was ever formally employed as a missionary, they had met through the London University Christian Student Movement and had moved to East Africa with no small measure of evangelical zeal. Their role in the colonies, as she articulated it, was "to teach Africans how to live better"—to civilize them, to ameliorate what she saw as their suffering, and to bring them closer to God (Trowell, 1937, p. 39). Art was, Trowell believed, key to the success of these endeavours—"far more important in the education of the child or convert than is argument, because it appeals to [the] subconscious emotions which lie deeper than our rational mind" (Trowell, 1937, p. 16).³

Trowell began by teaching arts and crafts informally to "landless," "detrribalized," and "idle" Indigenous women (Trowell quoted in "Arts and Crafts in Africa," 1934, p. 204). But after reading in 1937 about an art exhibition in London organized by a White British teacher of the work of his West African students, she determined that "if they could do it there we must do it here too" (Trowell, 1957, p. 103). She approached the head of Makerere College, a secondary school for African boys in Kampala, about offering experimental art classes to volunteer students. Only three young men attended the first lesson, but the class soon grew in size, its makeup in the early years comprising pupils from the school, assistant teachers, and dressers from the nearby Mulago hospital (Trowell, 1957, p. 103).

In 1939, following successful exhibitions of her students' work at the Anglican Cathedral in Kampala and at the Imperial Institute in London, Trowell's art classes were officially incorporated into the Makerere College curriculum. They eventually became a major subject in the College Higher Arts Diploma, which was, at that time, the highest educational qualification attainable by Africans in the Protectorate (Trowell, 1981, p. 6). Trowell simultaneously began publishing in both the United Kingdom and the local European press. In a steady stream of essays, articles, and books for popular, academic, and governmental (European) audiences, she both tirelessly promoted her own work and theorized extensively about teaching art to Africans. Then, after World War II, when Makerere College began negotiations to enter into special relations with the University of London, Trowell mounted a spirited campaign for the retention of her classes (Trowell, 1949, 1957). She was successful, and when Makerere College was elevated to university status in 1949, it did so with a Fine Arts department. The Makerere School of Arts was the first art school in

³See also Wolukau-Wanambwa (2014, pp. 103–106).

East Africa to have been based on the European model, and it was, until comparatively recently, one of a mere handful of institutions in anglophone Africa where it was possible for Africans to gain “professional” training in art. It quickly attracted students from across the continent.

ARTISTIC EDUCATION AND THE ‘CIVILIZING’ MISSION IN COLONIAL EAST AFRICA

Trowell described her school’s curriculum, which she developed with the support and guidance of her former professors in London, as “a most exciting adventure in the birth and development of a people’s art” (Trowell, 1947, p. 1). This was because, by teaching figurative drawing, painting, and sculpture, she was effectively introducing entirely new art forms to the region. Like many Europeans of this period, Trowell erroneously equated African “art” with figurative sculpture—specifically with the wooden carvings, masks, and bronze castings (many of them magico-religious) that were historically produced by diverse Western and Central African societies (Trowell, 1957, pp. 111–2). In the Uganda Protectorate, by contrast, although Indigenous cultures were unquestionably rich in symbolic creative practices,⁴ there were no substantial pre-existing traditions of figurative image making. This absence of figuration led Trowell, like many of her peers, to categorize the peoples of this region as particularly culturally impoverished (Trowell, 1957, p. 112).⁵ Because she did not recognize local non-figurative practices as offering any aesthetic traditions whatsoever for her “to build on” (Trowell, 1957, p. 111), she therefore confidently designated the context of her “African art” curriculum to be “almost unspoilt virgin soil” (Trowell, 1939b, p. 132). What she called the “game” of fostering the emergence of “a true African tradition of art” effectively began, Trowell claimed, on terra nullius, and wholly under British instruction (Trowell, 1939b, p. 132; 1957, p. 106).

Trowell’s claim that it was possible for her, as a European colonial outsider to help establish a “true” or Indigenous artistic tradition in the Uganda Protectorate hinged on the belief that it was possible to teach “the principles of art” without also imparting the cultural value system within which those principles were embedded. Her argument was grounded in the assumptions of the civilizing mission itself—namely, that Indigenous Africans had the capacity to learn from and adopt aspects of other cultures (Trowell, 1957, p. 106). Indeed this was already official British policy, as the then Governor General of Tanganyika stated, “the cultural poverty of the native tribes” of East Africa made it “inevitable that they must get their culture from the West” (cited in Latham, 1934, p. 424). However Uganda’s Director of Education also warned, in his preface to Trowell’s 1937 book, *African Arts and Crafts*, that “to alienate [the African] from his own art [would be] as deplorable as to alienate him from those of his own blood” (Trowell, 1937, p. viii). The prevailing wisdom was that it was vital

⁴ See Kasule (2003, pp. 23–52).

⁵ See also Latham (1934), p. 424.

that, as part of the efforts to “uplift” East Africans, Trowell and her fellow colonial educators taught them the arts and crafts that they had learned in Europe. But it was of equally vital importance that they found a way, in Trowell’s own words, to “keep the children’s work really African” (1937, p. 3).

In attempting to pursue these twin imperatives, Trowell’s approach to art education mirrors, almost entirely, the conflicting dynamics of the racist social evolutionist theories that underpinned British colonial policy during this period. Such theories, which were increasingly influential in Europe following the publication of Charles’ Darwin’s *The Origin of the Species* in 1859, served to legitimate the project of colonial exploitation by characterizing Africans as intellectually and culturally backward and incapable of evolving without the so-called “benefit” of European “guidance” and “expertise.”⁶ And while the social evolutionist theory envisaged the progressive adaptation of African cultures courtesy of European intervention, it nevertheless held that those cultures would eternally remain distinct from their European counterparts.⁷ As Sir John Hawthorn-Hall, Governor General of Uganda, explained in an address to the Uganda Society in 1946, the British saw their involvement in colonized cultures as being akin to the horticultural practice of grafting:

Culture was not a thing that could be transplanted, but it could be grafted. The job of those in the Protectorate who were not themselves African was to help the African evolve a culture suitable to his environment. (“The African’s Changing Values,” 1946, p. 3)

The claim, in short, was that it was not feasible for British culture to be assimilated by Indigenous East Africans but it was, however, possible for European culture to improve and to strengthen its colonized counterpart—without essentially altering it. Similarly Trowell, in her arguments for teaching the visual arts to Africans, in no sense appeared to conceive of her interventions as in any way altering the “essence” of African cultures (or conversely, of British culture being altered by them)—even though she was effectively advocating the extensive transformation (and even the invention) of “Indigenous” cultural practices. British involvement in the teaching of the arts in Africa is framed in her work as proffering, with sympathy and understanding, no more than what she and colonial educators elsewhere in Africa considered to be much-needed technical assistance and expertise (Mumford, 1936; Trowell, 1937, pp. 46–47; 1939a, pp. 169–175).

This essentialist concept of African and European cultures as wholly discrete entities was co-constitutive during this period of the racist colonial hierarchy it

⁶“The African holds the position of a late-born child in the family of nations, and must as yet be schooled in the discipline of the nursery” (Frederick Lugard, the architect of indirect rule, 1893 cited in Sanyal, 2000, p. 32).

⁷For a succinct account of the “scientific” theories that informed British colonial policy in the Uganda Protectorate in the early twentieth century, particularly with respect to social evolutionism and Indigenous education, see Sanyal (2000, pp. 29–52).

served to legitimate. Absolute cultural difference was mobilized as an idea at this point in British colonial discourse in order to bolster politically expedient arguments about absolute racial difference and secure strategies for their enforcement.⁸ Yet, as many cultural theorists have argued, cultural practices are social constructs, born out of human interactions and pedagogical relations—that is, learned behavioral practices developed by particular groups within specific contexts and under specific conditions—neither resulting from nor reducible to biological inheritance (see Benedict, 1934; Boas, 1940; Kroeber, 1948). If they are, as Michel Foucault would later describe it, a set of properties produced by particular training practices (Foucault, 1977), it follows that a cultural practice cannot be viewed as the inherent property of any particular group. Allowing for age, fitness, inclination, incentive, and opportunity, anyone could learn anything; cultural practices (e.g., racism) are learned.

Trowell's aims, however, were to introduce new art forms derived from European culture into the context of the Uganda Protectorate in the 1930s and to ensure their immediate assimilation into an essentialist colonial "ethno-nationalist ordering" (Bowman, 2014). In this regard, both her motives in attempting to foster the development of an authentic un-European figurative East African art and her practical approach to achieving this aim are a reflection of the British policy of Indirect Rule. Trowell's approach to Indigenous art education closely mirrors colonial policy in the same period and provides an enlightening example of how the British intervened on the symbolic level in an attempt to create and to control colonized subjectivities.

INDIRECT RULE AND THE IMPOSITION OF CULTURAL ESSENTIALISM

With Indirect Rule, the British effectively abandoned efforts to turn the colonized into pseudo- or proto-Europeans. They ceased proscribing and destroying Indigenous political and social systems and granting the colonized equal rights under British law (albeit, in almost all cases, only on paper). As General Jan Smuts, Prime Minister of South Africa and key architect of Indirect Rule, claimed in 1929, while the former approach had given the "native [...] a semblance of equality with whites," it was ultimately "little good to him" because it "destroyed the basis of his African system which was his highest good" (cited in Mamdani, 2004, p. 5).⁹ If Africa was to be "redeemed," he went on, so as "to make her own contribution to the world," then the British had to "proceed on different lines and evolve a policy [which would] not force her institutions into an alien European mould" but would rather "preserve [Africa's] unity with her own past [and] build into future progress and civilization on specifically African foundations" (cited in Mamdani, 2004, p. 5). Smuts was effectively advocating full institutional segregation:

⁸ See I. F. Haney-López (2013).

⁹ General J. C. Smuts, 'Africa and Some World Problems', quoted in: Mahmood Mamdani, *Citizen and Subject: The Legacy of Late Colonialism*, Kampala: Fountain Press, 2004, p. 5.

It is only when segregation breaks down, when the whole family migrates from the tribal home and out of the tribal jurisdiction to the white man's farm or the white man's town, that the tribal bond is snapped, and the traditional system falls into decay. And it is this migration of the native family, of females and children, to the farms and the towns which should be prevented. As soon as this [...] is permitted the process commences which ends in the urbanized detribalized native and the disappearance of native organization. It is not white employment of native males that works the mischief, but the abandonment of the native tribal home by the women and children. (cited in Mamdani, 2004, p. 6)

Within this gendered colonial ideology, women figured as the emblem and carrier of culture. While fathers were thought to give children their ethnic or tribal affiliation, it was women who gave them "language and therefore the feeling of affiliation to their race" (Walther, 2002, pp. 46–7; see also McClintock, 1995). The stabilization of native family life within the "tribal home" and "tribal jurisdiction," therefore, was vital for the stabilization of tribal or ethnic distinctions upon which the political system relied (Smuts cited in Mamdani, 2004, p. 5). I argue that what late colonial ideology held to be true of women as the emblem of culture was held equally true of culture itself. Thus, as Indirect Rule erected institutional boundaries to legally enshrine the segregation of colonizer and colonized in South Africa and beyond, it also erected boundaries at the symbolic and aesthetic level. This is clear in Margaret Trowell's work and in her writings, as she sought to erect and enforce symbolic boundaries in order to produce and preserve "native culture" and "European culture" as wholly separate entities, subject to discrete aesthetic jurisdictions (Lamont & Fournier, 1992).

This, I contend, is one function of Trowell's habit of referring to African colonial subjects in only the most essentialist of terms. Apart from *Tribal Crafts*, the book she wrote with Klaus Wachsmann (1953), in which they describe the material culture of a diverse range of Uganda's ethnic and social groups, I have identified few instances prior to 1958 in which she refers to the cultural production of Africans in anything other than the most monolithic terms. She begins her 1947 essay, "Modern African Art in East Africa," for example, by describing, in a nuanced and differentiated fashion, the material cultures of East Africa's many and diverse ethnic groups. But by the second half of the essay, she subsumes these differences entirely, speaking exclusively—and always in conjunction with the definite article—of "the African's attitudes," "the African's needs," "the African's ideas," and "the African's abilities." Unlike John Picton (2002), I do not view this as an "essentialist red herring" that the enlightened reader can afford to overlook (p. 11). Rather, I see such language as key; it is one of the methods by which Trowell inscribes, in totalizing and ultimately reductive terms, the mind-set and the cultural practices of Africans as homogenous. This allows her to produce and maintain an image of European culture as its polar opposite:

Every race and every nation has its own tradition of art and its art can only be great when it develops from that tradition and does not merely try to copy the art of other people. This is as true of Africa as of any other country [sic]. (Trowell, 1952, p. 7)

Trowell constantly reiterates the distinction between “the African” and “the European” in order to build and sustain her argument for the insurmountable cultural difference between the colonizer and the colonized. Thus, in her texts, she regularly reminds her imagined European reader that these so-called “Africans” have a “very different form of expression” (1939a, p. 169), which she then goes on to claim is alien, incomprehensible, and difficult to describe.¹⁰ In her memoirs, published upon her retirement after more than 20 years of research and teaching in East Africa, she restates her sense of the utter remoteness of the colonized from her own European sensibility, with a turn of phrase arguably intended to echo the title of Conrad’s famous novel; “we” (i.e., Europeans), Trowell writes, “cannot contact the heart of the matter in them” (1957, p. 111). Despite decades of contact and exchange, Trowell persists in characterizing the ideas, beliefs, and experiences of the colonized as dark and mysterious, it seems, to the very end.

POLICING SYMBOLIC BOUNDARIES IN THE ART CLASS

It is important to note that, within this colonial discourse of cultural essentialism, the notion of “separate” cultures did not and was never intended to mean “equal” cultures. The problem that Indirect Rule was invented to resolve was that there was no sustainable or legitimate reason to deny equal rights to the colonized when both they and their colonizers were integrated within the same juridical frameworks. If and when this occurred, the “fallacies” upon which the colonized were “deemed inferior and deserving of colonization” were in constant danger of being exposed (Oguibe, 2004, p. 48). Those who profited most from colonialism would be seen, then, for what they were—an “alien minority”—who held power over those who suffered most—an “Indigenous majority” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 6). What Indirect Rule enabled was the stabilization of racialized European domination through the establishment of “a politically enforced system of ethnic pluralism” (Mamdani, 2004, p. 6).

The false logic of colonial cultural essentialism was exposed by the continual necessity for its political enforcement. Without it, colonialism could not survive. The Governor General of Uganda may well claim, as he did in 1946, that the Indigenous population needed to “evolve” a culture “suitable [to its] environment,” but it was colonialism that was responsible for the changes in the local environment and colonialism that necessitated Indigenous cultural transformation (“The African’s Changing Values,” 1946, p. 3). It was for this reason that the colonized always had to be to be “civilized”—that is, taught to adopt specific aspects of European culture and behavior (Fig. 5.1).¹¹

¹⁰ For example: “we know practically nothing at all about the African’s sense of beauty” (Trowell, 1937, p. 21). The vast majority of Trowell’s writing on art education is explicitly addressed to a European audience. She rarely wrote with an African reader (or teacher) in mind.

¹¹ “[B]ourgeois individualism and the nuclear family, [...] private property and commerce, of rational minds and healthily clad bodies, for the practical arts of refined living and devotion to God” (Comaroff, 1989, p. 673).



Fig. 5.1 From page 4 of Trowell’s essay “Modern African art in East Africa,” published in *Man* in 1947. Trowell, did not attribute any of the artworks she used to illustrate her essay (Reproduced with permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

If, however, the “native,” who was being educated in European culture should eventually start to behave exactly like the European or “prove to be of like endowment,” then the “fundamental principle [of their] colonial dependence” would immediately become unsustainable (Oguibe, 2004, p. 48), and the British were acutely aware of this. As early as the Imperial Education Conference of 1914, officials acknowledged, on the one hand, the need to educate their African subjects,¹² while on the other, they recognized that if they genuinely equipped the colonized to compete with Europeans, “the question of colour [would] come to the front at once” and there would be “a danger of uniting all tribes against the white population” (*Imperial Education Conference Papers* cited in Sanyal, 2000, p. 42). It was for this reason that, as Olu Oguibe (2004) argues, the colonial authorities “inserted and institutionalized a corridor of slippage that granted the colonized only partial access to the possibility of transition and transformation” (p. 47):

¹²Not least because using imported Indian labor in East Africa was becoming prohibitively expensive (Kyeyune, 2002, p. 38).

[...] as long as the colonized was precluded from acquiring full mastery of European ways, for as long as a passage of difference was maintained and the colonized remained confined to a state of aspirant inferiority, colonial dependence could be guaranteed. To undermine this dependence was to endanger the project of Empire and risk the loss of the colonies. (Oguibe, 2004, p. 48)

This is what the institutional segregation of Indirect Rule enabled. It created, under the guise of pluralism, the “corridor of slippage” that rendered the cultural and political superiority of the colonizer unassailable by using legal statutes to make the subordinate status of the colonized appear “natural.”¹³

The chief method by which Trowell inserted just such a “corridor of slippage” when making the case for her curriculum was by repeatedly correlating contemporary East Africa with medieval Europe. Less than 20 years after the establishment of the Uganda Protectorate, Africans were already agitating for the kind of education that (they assumed) would make them eligible for positions of authority within the colonial administration.¹⁴ But to Trowell’s mind, by 1936, there was already an “overabundance” of Africans in search of white collar jobs (Trowell, 1937, p. 59). What she felt was required, rather, was “the vigorous craftsmanship of a healthy peasant population” (p. 79), and it was Europe in the twelfth, and not the twentieth century, that she deemed the model “best fitted” to East Africans’ inferior “stage of development.”¹⁵

Consequently, Trowell recognized the importance of showing her students “good examples of the work of other nations” to help them develop their own work (1937, p. 59), but she recommended showing them reproductions of images like “medieval illuminated manuscripts,” “some of the early Adorations,” and “Japanese colour prints” (1937, p. 54). She also advised teachers always to choose “*the simpler forms which are more easy to understand* than European painting from the Renaissance upwards” (1937, p. 59. My emphasis).¹⁶ “Present day art,” in her terms, was European art, and even though European art of the time was, in many quarters, being influenced and inspired by the very sculptures and masks that Trowell wished her students would embrace as “their great inheritance” (1957, p. 111),¹⁷ she would show them none of it, claiming

¹³ Mamdani argues (2004) that the logical conclusion of this principle is the Bantu Education Act, passed by the apartheid government in South Africa in 1953, which, while purporting to make adequate provision for the development of supposedly ethnically distinct institutions, in actual fact aimed to drastically curtail the educational opportunities of Indigenous populations.

¹⁴ “Uganda is in very bad need of education to enable her people to meet modern affairs. The present schools we have in Uganda are under the management of missionaries whom we thank very much but the standard of these schools is very low. It is so low that one who leaves these schools after having obtained a first certificate hardly gets any good job in offices” (“Minutes of a meeting of the Young Baganda Association,” 1919, cited in Low, 1971, p. 52).

¹⁵ cf. Footnote 6.

¹⁶ My emphasis (italics).

¹⁷ When I interviewed the late Charles Ssekintu, one of Trowell’s original group of students, he told me that he and his fellow students thought that the West African sculptures Trowell showed them were “really ugly.”

that to do so would be to “overburden” them with European arts’ “conventions and accretions” (1939a, p. 175).¹⁸

One “accretion” that she refused to teach in the early years was two-point perspective, which she felt was alien to her students’ sensibility and worldview. The “crux of the matter,” she wrote, was that “the unspoilt English child, or native African, will, if not interfered with, produce for his own pleasure, works of the nature of such things as the Bayeux tapestries or the illuminated manuscripts of the old monasteries” (1937, p. 49).¹⁹ This, in turn, was the style of work that received the most heavyweight institutional endorsement. One of Trowell’s students’ earliest patrons, for example, was the British War Artists Advisory Committee, which acquired ten paintings from her school in 1943 under a scheme to “encourage” the painting of war activities by “Native-born Colonial artists” (Trowell, 1957, p. 107; *Recruiting by S. Okello*, n.d.). According to the Imperial War Museum in London, where these paintings are now held, this scheme “favoured work that avoided imitation of contemporary European art” (*Recruiting by S. Okello*, n.d.).

Trowell and her contemporaries further sought to guard against the potentially destabilizing consequences of a “native” performance of European cultural practice that might be deemed too convincing, by casting the ability to appropriate and master the language and idioms of European visual expression in the most negative of terms. In fact, the ability to imitate, long recognized as a crucial feature of human learning processes and a practice that has long played a sophisticated and important role in aesthetic and philosophical schema in many East African cultures (Kasfir, 1992), was framed instead as a positive threat to African development. Thus, in his Foreword to the catalogue for an exhibition of Trowell’s students’ work in 1939, Governor General Sir Philip Mitchell warned that Africans’ supposedly “special aptitude for imitation may be a great danger to them in the realm of art and aesthetics” (Trowell, 1957, p. 106). Art was “a language,” Trowell herself repeatedly asserted, and “to speak well a man must use his own tongue” and no other (1937, p. 51). Copying was strongly admonished and actively discouraged.²⁰ Thus, any imitation of Western-style art by Africans was always described by Trowell as “poor”

¹⁸ We know that Trowell was well aware of the significance of West African sculpture and Central African masks for the European avant-garde because the chief intellectual authority she cites when making her case for the caliber of African art is the established British avant-gardist Roger Fry (1866–1934), who organized some of the first exhibitions of “primitive,” cubist, postimpressionist, and child art in the United Kingdom in the 1920s and who also championed the work of Trowell’s mentor, the art teacher Marion Richardson (See Trowell, 1939a, p. 169; 1937, p. 31, also Fry, 1919).

¹⁹ Note Trowell’s deployment here of the racist correlation of the intelligence of an African male with that of a European child.

²⁰ “We do not set children to copy other people’s essays, nor should they copy other people’s pictures; if they do that they will never learn to do anything on their own. Even a poor original picture is worth more than a good copy; copying should never be allowed in the school” (Trowell, 1952, pp. 7–8). This text appears on the frontispiece of every booklet Trowell wrote for African art teachers.

(e.g., 1937, p. 51). This is also why Trowell felt she had to “battle” with Gregory Maloba, the most talented of her early students, who was discovered as a boy at a Catholic mission making copies “in clay of Victorian plaster saints from photographs in some ecclesiastical catalogue” to “counteract the plaster saint influence” (1957, p. 104).²¹

When one of Trowell’s “native” students deigned to exhibit any artwork in the European style, it does not appear to have been well received. In a review of the Makerere Students Exhibition published in the *Uganda Herald* in July 1946, for example, the anonymous reviewer confessed “a feeling of disappointment” in the work of a student named Farhan, who was apparently studying art education at the time (“Modern African Art: Makerere Students’ Exhibition,” 1946, p. 15). Except for his subjects, the reviewer complained:

there is nothing African about his painting—pure Slade School style, executed with very great skill, but completely conventional in the use of colour and design. Possibly as he intends to become a professional Art teacher that is desirable, but we hope that he will not attempt to restrain the imagination of his future pupils. (“Makerere Students’ Exhibition,” 1946, p. 15)

It is important to note how restraint and conformity, two of the qualities that the British claimed the colonized most needed to acquire if they wished “to enjoy a greater share in the administration of their own affairs,” are here cast as wholly unbecoming (Latham, 1934, p. 427) (Fig. 5.2).²²

For Trowell, as for her counterparts in the colonial administration, artistic practices and cultural production of the Indigenous population had, they claimed, to be developed “from their own past, guided and restrained by the traditions and sanctions which they have inherited” (Latham, 1934, p. 423). Yet as Baron Hailey’s remarks at the opening of the exhibition of Trowell’s students’ work at the Imperial Institute in London in 1939 reflected, Africans were not entirely free to express or even to define the so-called Africanness of their art. They were, he said, to be left “as far as possible” to develop in their own way, but the reality was that these were parameters over which they themselves did not enjoy overall control. Ultimately, it was not Africans who reserved the power to “name” or designate their culture as appropriate or genuine (Lawler, 2005).

In art, as in the drawing up of the penal code, the “traditions and sanctions” of the colonized were “moulded or modified [...] on the advice of British officers, and by the general advice and control of those officers” (Latham, 1934,

²¹ As Trowell recounts it, Maloba, who was the first of her students to become a “professional artist,” did gain access through her to images of contemporary European art but only by sneaking into her library to look at books when she was out of the house (1957, p. 104).

²² “[E]ducated Africans must realize that if they wish to enjoy a greater share in the administration of their own affairs they just fit themselves for such responsibility, and that what they need is not so much a matter of book knowledge as of character. They have to learn self-criticism, reliability, self-control, and a genuine sense of responsibility before they can be entrusted with a considerable share in the direction of the destinies of their race” (Latham, 1934, p. 427).



Fig. 5.2 From page 5 of Trowell’s essay “Modern African art in East Africa,” published in *Man* in 1947. Trowell, did not attribute any of the artworks she used to illustrate her essay (Reproduced with permission of John Wiley & Sons, Inc.)

p. 423). When necessary, the colonizers felt free either to invent cultural practices or to import them from elsewhere (See Hobsbawm & Ranger, pp. 211–262), and Trowell’s introduction of figurative art is a clear example. As Sunanda Sanyal (2000) has noted, despite her sophisticated knowledge and appreciation of East African material culture, Trowell never once encouraged her students to draw on the formal aspects of Indigenous artifacts as a resource for the development of modern genres of painting and sculpture. Instead she consistently favored the traditional European mode of picture making that she imported from abroad (Sanyal, 2000, pp. 87–88 & 91–93).²³

²³Sanyal further argues that another reason Trowell refused to draw upon the aesthetics of traditional East African artifacts in her teaching of painting and sculpture was because it would have resulted in abstract or non-figurative forms. Trowell displayed a marked personal antipathy to modernist abstraction in art, and her students’ work also had to be figurative if she was to achieve her aim of pioneering a religious pictorial genre (See Trowell, 1939a, p. 170; 1957, p. 160).

CONTROLLING THE CREATIVE EXPRESSION OF ART STUDENTS

All the while, Trowell always maintained that her influence on the aesthetic of her students' work was minimal. She was, she claimed, less of an "instructor," more of a "friendly critic" (Trowell 1937, pp. 50–1): simply on hand to offer encouragement, to help "the students follow their own path and avoid snares [...] and to facilitate their constructive criticism of one another's work" (Carline, 1968, p. 160). Yet, and for all its considerable merits, the "friendly critic" method of teaching was more intrusive than it may have at first appeared. As Roger Carline (1968) noted when writing about Trowell and others in the 1960s within the context of the child art movement in Europe and its legacies:

However much the professor may have considered himself as [...] a source of encouragement only [...] this is difficult to achieve, and doubly so when the teacher is a strong personality. Children are quick to note the teacher's reactions, observing what he praises or dislikes, and their work reflects his influence accordingly. (p. 160)

Given Trowell's status and the institutional power that she wielded, it is hard to imagine that her pupils did not try to make things they thought she would like.

Trowell's (1937) avowed aim was to externally "stimulate" but without unduly influencing her students toward the development of a wholly new African art. She sought to achieve this by rarely if ever demonstrating how to achieve particular visual effects herself, preferring instead to use storytelling to provide her students with a starting point for their art works.²⁴ At the start of each class, Trowell recalled that she would deliver a carefully prepared description of a scene, a poem, or a story, "vivid enough," in her words, "to create a picture in the pupil's mind and yet sufficiently vague to allow full to play to his own imagination" (Trowell, 1937, p. 53). The idea was that the pupil would search "round in his mind until he [could] realise his picture clearly as a whole and in its various details" (p. 53), then set to work to get it down on paper (Trowell, 1937, p. 53).

As Sanyal (2000) demonstrates in his analysis of the sample description Trowell provides in *African Arts and Crafts* (1937), this is a far from neutral way of setting work. He is able to show that Trowell actually provided verbal layouts for the images, suggesting areas of focus, telling her students what to include and what to ignore: "Close in front of you are two women," she says at one point (Trowell, 1937, p. 89), and elsewhere, perhaps more coercively: "But all this," she says, "is as it were, in the back of our picture. You do not see it very clearly. For it is not that of which you are thinking" (Trowell, 1937,

²⁴ "They were, of course, very annoyed that I would not teach them the way. They have told me since that they felt I was lazy because I would never take up a brush and show them how" (Trowell, 1957, p. 115).

p. 89). In a further sample description, in *Art Teaching in African Schools*, a set of rudimentary booklets she wrote for African art teachers, she goes so far as to dictate the mood of her students' work, saying: "It is all very exciting, and although I am sad for the man, I love the colours which I see" (Trowell, 1952, p. 26).

Trowell was also reported to have actively discouraged experimentation of types she disapproved. Charles Ssekintu, one of Trowell's earliest students, recalled that she once set them the task of making a suitcase out of papyrus reeds, sisal, and raffia. When Ssekintu went further than instructed by painting and varnishing the suitcase he had made, Trowell was infuriated and reprimanded him publicly. Such was the magnitude of his offense, Ssekintu later recounted, that she made him swear on the Bible that in any future class, if she told him to end a task at a particular point, he would "stop," and "never go beyond." Because resistance might have carried a penalty of expulsion from Makerere College School, Ssekintu claimed that, thereafter, he always did exactly what he was told (Kyeyune, 2002).

TROWELL'S LEGACY IN POST-INDEPENDENCE UGANDA

As Chris Tiffin and Alan Lawson (1994) have argued:

Imperial relations may have been established initially by guns, guile and disease, but they were maintained in their interpolative phase largely by textuality [...] Colonialism (like its counterpart, racism), then, is an operation of discourse, and as an operation of discourse it interpellates colonial subjects by incorporating them in a system of representation. They are always already written by that system of representation. (p. 3)

This process is made wholly explicit in the example of Margaret Trowell, whose pedagogical practices and educational theories demonstrably sought to extend colonial governmentality right into the aesthetic realm. With official sanction and widespread approval, she worked, through art, in support of Indirect Rule, shaping and circumscribing her African students' symbolic and creative expression so as to further their acculturation as colonized subjects. She encouraged and promoted the development of an art that was compatible with racist, patronizing politically expedient ideas about Africans' innate intellectual inferiority, and which was capable of serving as evidence of it.

More than 50 years after the declaration of Ugandan Independence and over 30 years after her death, there is hardly an art school in anglophone Africa that does not have a Makerere connection, and the school that Trowell founded in Kampala in 1937 still bears her name. I attribute the latter in part to the stark contrast between Trowell and her immediate successor as Director at Makerere, the British painter Cecil Todd (1912–1986). Unlike Trowell, Todd displayed little regard for East Africa's Indigenous cultural heritage and immediately set about reorienting the curriculum in the direction of European modernism

(Kyeyune, 2002). By 1966, Todd's students were being decried in the local press as "miniature Picassos [...] irrelevant to the emergence of African personality" (Noor, 1966, p. 27). In the post-Independence Uganda, Trowell came to be warmly if erroneously remembered as a "genuine" champion of African creativity—a perception that has since strengthened because, sadly, the bulk of her published work, as well as her archive, continues to be largely inaccessible to scholars and artists based in East Africa and thus to evade substantial re-evaluation on a local level.²⁵

Over time, as white Western patronage has entrenched its dominance in Uganda's visual arts economy, I observe that a version of what Rey Chow has described as "coercive mimeticism" has come into play, whereby in order to sell their work, artists in Uganda often feel obliged to "perform" updated versions of the naive "authentic" stereotype of an African artist that Trowell helped to invent (Chow, 2002, p. 107). Ironically, this performance now often entails the disavowal of advanced academic qualifications, for although Uganda's universities now produce in excess of 600 fine arts graduates per year, as two current senior lecturers from the Margaret Trowell School of Industrial and Fine Art have explained to me, most White people do not want to buy the work of artists who have "been to school" (personal communications, November 2011, October 2012, August 2013).

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²⁵Trowell never visited Uganda again after she retired to the United Kingdom in 1958. A few years before she died, she donated her papers to the Bodleian Library at Oxford University in England.

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Competing Narratives: Musical Aptitude, Race, and Equity

Adria R. Hoffman

Musical talent is subject to scientific analysis and can be measured... it is probably a fixed, in-born talent which is relatively independent of general intelligence and age.

Seashore (1942, pp. 69–70)

Science, after all, is done by human beings in a social and cultural context and that context can, and often does, have an effect on the work of the researchers... it may also have an effect on the work of professional educators.

Selden (1999, p. 19)

Around the turn of the twentieth century, an accomplished violinist bragged about his musical ear to a fellow faculty member named Carl Emil Seashore. Seashore responded with a challenge, saying, “I’ll find out how good your ear is by measuring it.” His challenge accepted, Seashore devised a tool and found that his colleague could in fact hear “a difference of about one-seventieth of a tone.” Curious, he then measured his own hearing and found that his ear was as discriminating as his colleague’s. Even more curious, he used this device to measure the pitch discrimination of 30 university students and found wide variation among the group. Seashore’s interest piqued and he repeated the measurements with hundreds of adults to establish reliable norms of distribution (Seashore, 1942). By 1919, he had developed the first tests of music aptitude, used for decades by psychologists, musicians, school administrators, and music teachers for multiple purposes. Seashore described these research beginnings as the start of a career with applications to “anthropology, genetic psychology, heredity, music and education” (p. 71).

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The Eastman School of Music was the first to use Seashore's measurements of musical aptitude as part of the entrance requirements for university music study. Music supervisors used these tests to determine the most cost-effective way to deliver music education only to those students who had the highest aptitudes. We can view these tests and resulting publications as discursive texts, the beginnings of a then-new field of study called the psychology of music that continues to serve as an anchor for modern music teacher preparation and advanced study in music. It is important to note, however, that these tests and measurements emerged within a particular time and place: measuring human capacities became increasingly popular at the turn of the twentieth century as the very structure of schooling changed dramatically.

BIOLOGICAL DETERMINISM AND THE EMERGENCE OF AMERICAN EUGENICS

Aptitude testing in the United States emerged in the late 1800s but grew in popularity due to the use and development of such tests by eugenicists (Selden, 2005). Eugenics, a term coined by Francis Galton in 1883, referred specifically to a "good birth" but extended far beyond an understanding of physical health. Galton asserted that governing British class members held their positions due to superior genetics. Founded in 1903, the American Breeders Association (ABA) Eugenics Section was the first to structurally support eugenic study. The ABA was comprised of approximately 1000 scientists and agricultural breeders and was one of the first groups to formally recognize Mendel's theories of heritability. Many of their members were affiliated with other organizations such as the American Eugenics Society and the Race Betterment Foundation.

Between 1903 and 1932, researchers in the United States popularized eugenics by capitalizing on an increasing anxiety about the declining quality of society and new waves of immigrants diversifying the US population (Selden, 1999). Eugenicists promoted breeding, or selective pairing, of those considered to be society's fittest. Originating at the Iowa State Fair in 1911, Better Babies Contests used the same criterion for judging humans as used to judge livestock (Lovett, 2007). Following reprimands sent by Davenport urging the creators of such contests to use heredity in such determinations of the best babies, founders Dr. Florence Sherbon and Mary T. Watts expanded the better babies contests to include entire families.

The Fitter Families Contests were born in 1920 and served as a testing ground for musical talent measurement. Seashore (1938) referred to the use of music aptitude tests as "a program for discovery of the gifted and for placement within the musical fields. In this matter, it may well be looked upon as an element in a program of conservation of natural resources and economy in musical education" (p. 296). In this way, music education could be described as property distributed in a cost-effective manner. According to Selden (2005), "a test was needed to determine who might make the best contribution to

America's eugenic future. For Americans searching for public recognition of such hereditary merit, Fitter Families contests would provide just such an opportunity" (p. 212). Seashore (1942) collaborated with eugenicists to collect data about both individual families as well as nationalities and races. His tests moved forward these eugenicists' goals, sorting families by the so-called scientific means to justify negative eugenics policies, like sterilization, for "unfit" families, while positive eugenics policies, such as awards and medical support for procreation, became publicized for the fittest families. The racism underlying eugenics raises multiple questions about the foundations of musical aptitude and talent identification.

Musical talent as innate is one of many unquestioned norms in music education. Critical Race Theory's (CRT) identification of racism as normal (Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005) "provides an important tool for identifying other such 'normal, ordinary' thinking in the society" (Ladson-Billings, 2004, p. 58). I therefore turned to CRT as a methodological approach to understanding these foundational texts. My primary goal was to determine if music education publications and curricular materials during the first half of the twentieth century included narrative lines potentially understood by music teachers and students as having biological and racial meanings.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Foucault's Classifications in Schooling

Perhaps most compelling to a study of classifying humans by biologically determined traits is Foucault's description of rank as, "the place one occupies in a classification, the point at which a line and a column intersect, the interval in a series of intervals that one may traverse one after the other" (pp. 145–146). Students who functioned as recipients of biologically determined educational practices would come to know their own fate as predetermined, making them incapable of freely making life decisions. Therefore, schools would limit their ability to achieve beyond classed and raced boundaries. School, according to Foucault (1975), represents:

a new technique for taking charge of the time of individual existences; for regulating the relations of time, bodies and forces; for assuring an accumulation of duration; and for turning to ever-increased profit or use the movement of passing time. (p. 157)

In this chapter, I discuss the ways in which the early iterations of musical aptitude tests regulated individuals using biologic determinism as a foundation for understanding cognition and ability.

Whiteness as Property

The CRT tenet guiding my research questions refers to whiteness as property. Harris (1993) describes a modern form of this as normalized expectations of white privilege “as a legitimate and natural baseline” (p. 1714). These normalizations occur because “the right of use and enjoyment and the right of exclusion are essential attributes associated with property rights” (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004, p. 28). Given the early development and use of music aptitude tests as a way to provide school music to some, but not to others, we can view the right to enjoy music as a curricular component while excluding those deemed unfit in the same way we view other examples of white property. Ladson-Billings and Tate (2006) assert, “when students are rewarded only for conformity to perceived ‘white norms’ or sanctioned for cultural practices... white property is being rendered alienable” (p. 22). I therefore analyzed these early music aptitude tests and publications, specifically looking for examples in which they served to define such white norms and to sanction racially motivated policies or practices. I explored how music educators and psychologists of music defined aptitude and talent and where they drew lines of demarcation between the fit-test and the unfit.

METHODS AND DATA COLLECTION

Building on Selden’s extensive studies of eugenics and biological determinism in school curricula and educational policy, I began this text analysis by “reconsidering the presence of eugenics” (Selden, 2007, p. 164) in the US school music curriculum. The bounds of this study correspond to the inception of the ABA in 1903 and the death of Carl E. Seashore in 1949. I conducted a first reading of articles published by leaders in American eugenics organizations, as well as graphical data such as photographs and early genealogical charts. I additionally conducted a first reading of publications in *Music Educators Journal*, the publication of the National Association for Music Education previously titled *Music Supervisors Journal* and initially titled the *Music Supervisors Bulletin* prior to 1934. I also included the Proceedings of the Music Teachers National Association and Music Supervisors National Conference. During these first readings, I identified common themes such as biological determinism, human inheritance, the measurability of musical ability, and eugenics. I recorded these salient themes and then re-read the texts using a questionnaire to identify supporting thematic elements (Miles & Huberman, 2004). I then conducted a third reading in which “specific citations related to these elements were recorded. These extracts would serve as the data for rendering possible narrative lines” (Selden, 2007, p. 169).

The primary purpose of this inquiry was to explore narrative lines potentially understood by music teachers and students as having biological and racial meanings during the first half of the twentieth century. Secondary questions guiding this study included the following:

- (1) *In what ways did musical organizations or leadership intersect with eugenics organizations and leadership?*
- (2) *How did music educators and psychologists play a role in providing evidence for the construction of race and racism in the first half of the twentieth century?*
- (3) *In what ways did scientific organizations influence the development of talent as a construct in schools?*

EARLY MUSICAL MEASUREMENT AND WHITE STANDARDS

Standardized measurements of children used by eugenics organizations included music composition, singing, and instrumental performance as “Mental” characteristics (American Philosophical Society, 1920). Such mentions of music as a variable or factor to determine the well-being of a family or individual also appeared in the *Journal of Heredity*, published by the American Genetic Association. In Volume XII, published in 1916, references to supposedly well-bred individuals’ musical achievements appeared alongside more traditional research articles. These descriptions also appeared throughout the first issues of *Eugenical News*, the official publication of the American Eugenics Society. The first issue was published in 1916 and described interest in music composition, violin performance, and participation in church music among physicians, businessmen, and public figures. Margaret Kesler (1920) and Mrs. Wm. C. Husted compiled the “Family History of Louise Homer,” a narrative case study of a female opera singer from “a family one would love to study—handsome men and women with well-planned lives, leaders in business, religious life, and education in their communities” (p. 1).

On the other end of the spectrum, Goddard’s (1912) landmark text, *The Kallikak Family: A Study in the Heredity of Feeble-Mindedness*, included a description of a family member’s various feeble-minded characteristics. In the middle of the list appeared the following: “Cannot read nor count. Knows all the colors. Not fond of music. Power of memory poor” (p. 2). On the subsequent page, Goddard devoted the first paragraph describing a family member, Deborah. He used this description to elaborate on the relationship between the so-called feeble-mindedness and school. The second heading that he used to further elaborate on the Kallikak family’s apparent inherited cognitive challenges was music.

Perhaps the most interesting component of measurement tools in development at the time was the accompanying guidance. In 1909, ten years prior to the first published, standardized battery of music aptitude tests by Carl E. Seashore, Galton included a question on musical aptitude in the directions for responding to a survey titled “Ethnological Enquiries on the Innate Character and Intelligence of Different Races.” These directions began by stating, “the *standard* to be kept in mind in answering these questions, is the *average* Anglo-Saxon character” (Galton, 1909, p. 1). In other words, in this guidance, we see white, Christian norms as the *natural baseline* Harris (1993) discusses.

As an element of whiteness as property, decisions regarding who has opportunities to enjoy music and who will be excluded from it appears as a salient theme. The ABA Eugenics Section tests for the purposes of measuring musical inheritance, included the following explanatory notes:

The Eugenics Section of the American Breeders' Association is striving to discover the laws governing the inheritance of physical and mental characteristics in the human family. In order to do this it must have the facts... Musical ability presents a very complicated case, due to the many types and the apparently great number of factors contributing to each type; accordingly, very great care must be taken to analyze the talent of each individual recorded in the pedigrees. For instance, Column 1 is headed "The ability to discriminate between good and common music and to thoroughly enjoy good music." It is noted that Column 2 is a companion column to the first, both under the heading "Appreciation of Music" and the second is headed "Extent of training in particular." Thus it is desired to draw the line as sharply as possible between the natural inherited musical sense and the training which would contribute to this result. (American Breeders Association, 1910)

Eugenicists acknowledged that education contributes to greater musical understanding and performance but sought to exclude those outside of the Anglo-Saxon ethnicity (or demonstration of "character") from opportunities to benefit from such education. This paradox was not lost on those reading initial reports of musical talent with a critical eye but an unnecessary point for those seeking to determine who among the greater US population was worthy of educational and musical resources.

Musical Pedigrees

Family trees appeared throughout eugenics association publications. There exists ample evidence of goals to identify "pedigrees" based on musical inheritance and capacity. Seashore developed an instruction guide for his tests of musical capacity, titled "Pedigree of Musical Capacity: A Family Tree Folder Designed Especially for the Genetical Study of Musical Capacity." On the last page of this Folder, Seashore provided directions for mapping such musical inheritance.

What remained silent in previous studies of eugenics in the United States was the appearance of these pedigree charts in music education publications such as *Music Educators Journal*. *Music Educators Journal* was, and continues to be, the official, peer-reviewed, publication of the National Association for Music Education. These images purport the notion of the inheritability and desirability of absolute pitch as an example of musical aptitude and talent. Seashore (1930) later discussed this delineation of musical abilities, stating, "we do not look for a single measure which we might call MQ (music quotient), but aim to establish a profile by fair sampling of specific traits that can be fairly demonstrated as operating in music" (p. 231). Such a profile could be

interpreted as a richer, more nuanced construction of musical aptitude, but given the notions of pedigree, we can see them as a way to delineate between middle- and upper-class Anglo-Saxon families and everyone else.

Conflicting Analyses

As early as 1916, some members of the music education profession challenged assertions that musical talent was a measurable, inherited trait. Copp's (1916) article, "Musical Ability," appeared in the seventh volume of the *Journal of Heredity* and soon after referenced in the first issue of *Eugenical News*, the official publication of the American Eugenics Association. In this article, Copp asserted, "the differences between individuals in respect to [musical ability] are due much more to training than to differences in the heredity" (p. 305). Copp additionally challenged the notion that positive pitch, or what Seashore referred to as absolute pitch (the ability to name a musical note based solely on hearing the pitch), could be acquired by anyone with proper musical training.

Music Supervisors Journal, the official publication of the National Association for Music Education, included a section titled, *Tests and Measurements Department*. This section included an article outlining the research trajectory or recent findings of those commonly referred to as psychologists of music. Often, the article reviewed recent research conducted by Seashore or applications of his musical aptitude tests. However, the section also included findings that did not support assertions made by eugenicists. Johnson (1928) explored the myths regarding Black children's innate musical abilities, including a supposed talent or strength in the area of rhythm. He found no conclusive evidence regarding the superiority or inferiority of Black children (in comparison to White children) and musical aptitude. Garth and Isbell's (1929) article focused on "The Musical Talent of Indians," and served as a logical sequel to Johnson's aforementioned article. Like many articles of the time, Garth and Isbell's work asked how Indigenous peoples compared to Whites, delineating between "mixed" and "full blood" Indigenous peoples. They went one step further, asking if the degree of White blood correlated to musical ability, as measured by the Seashore tests of musical aptitude. They found "no real racial differences" (p. 83). Garth and Candor (1937) published an article focused on the "Musical Talent of Mexicans." Similar to the aforementioned publications, they found no basis for asserting any difference in Mexicans' musical talent as compared to Whites'.

A chorus of arguments against the use of such measurements became public in the field of music education. Claiming that musical capacities are challenging to measure, Farnsworth (1921) published an article in *Music Supervisors Journal* in which he claimed, "that there is a grave danger in such a procedure must be realized... for students often show capacity for knowledge and technique and yet do not succeed in their synthetic use in sight singing. The reverse is also true" (p. 24). However, Farnsworth (1921) then stated the need for large-scale testing of students' knowledge and skills, recommending the Beach

tests of musical ability as well as Glenn Gildersleeve's tests of musical ability across the junior high school. These tests were also developed by psychologists of music in the same time period but not by Seashore or his eugenicist colleagues. He requested participation of music supervisors in administering these tests widely as experiments and reporting results to the Educational Council of Music Supervisors Association. Farnsworth and others seemed to want broader analyses and multiple measurements, fearful of the rhetoric used by Seashore and other eugenicists.

In the same year, a "creed" regarding the state of music education in preparation for the national meeting was published in *Music Supervisors Journal*. Included in this creed was the statement, "Supervisors must recognize fundamental educational principles as essential in music teaching" (Beach, 1921, p. 8). The creed also clearly stated that, "Every boy and girl in every section of our country has the right to efficient daily instruction in music in the public schools" (Beach, 1921, p. 8). By 1935, there were repeated calls to provide music education for every child in every issue of *Music Educators Journal*. Seashore's (1938) account of such a mantra reads as follows:

Many years ago, the music teachers' national organization carried on its letter-head the motto, "musical education for every child at public expense." When the association became conscious of the magnitude of individual differences in musical talent this motto was changed for a time to read, "Musical education in proportion to his talent for every child in the public schools at public expense." This marked a new insight and a new vantage ground in the evaluation of music in the public schools. (p. 291)

However, my review of *Music Supervisors Journal* yields a different account. Specifically, a "Tests and Measurements Department" article by Gildersleeve (1927) began with the following prologue:

NOTE: In this article Mr. Gildersleeve comes to the aid of many disturbed teachers. Tests and measurements in music are challenging the thought of many music supervisors... Superintendents are inquiring about reclassification in music according to ability. Small wonder that teachers think they must be doing something! Mr. Gildersleeve will help restore balance. -P.W.D. (Dykema, 1927, p. 82)

Gildersleeve's (1927) article admonishes teachers who "gave up" after administering the so-called intelligence tests and determining their students were not above average. He also notes the later attainment of those initially labeled "imbeciles" or "feeble-minded," as well as the lack of public recognition of those classified as talented during their formative years. These competing narrative lines continued into the next decade.

I must note, however, the timing of dissenting views among music educators. Coinciding with the first discussions of music courses for credit in schools were questions about *to whom* music education would be provided. Limiting music education to only the genetically superior students potentially had other

repercussions. Hypothetically, limiting instrumental music instruction only to students with high aptitude scores in particular areas of music might mean a limitation of funding and resources allocated to music education in public schools.

In 1930, Seashore referred to the “psychological analysis of a talent” in an article in *Music Educators Journal*. He claimed that the “next step is to design and validate instruments and techniques for the measurement of specific [musical] capacities and aptitudes” (p. 230). Referring to two categories of measurements, Seashore discussed the need to measure cognitive abilities along with the other motor skill capacities required for musical performance. Discussing the purposes of such measurements in the delineation of musical capacities, Seashore (1930) stated:

With profiles of musical talent at hand, with technique for case-study of hereditary or environmental factors that may be relevant, with knowledge of the professional point of view analogous to that of a physician who seeks a lead and determines the next step in diagnosis from what is already found, we may give some practical advice. (p. 233)

Seashore (1930) also noted the talent-seeking purposes of music educators and other practitioners when he suggested that “technical methods” such as aptitude tests would assist teachers in guiding students to choose instruments and offer remediation. Chenoweth (1949) took some of these ideas to a more logical conclusion when he stated the need to move away from using Seashore’s tests for selectivity, instead suggesting to the profession that they serve as placement procedures for serving all children, as some of his earlier writings had been interpreted and applied in school settings. Chenoweth veered away from Seashore’s earlier statements about the public expense related to musical education in schools, encouraging his colleagues to work toward best meeting the needs of all students. Classification remained at the center of schooling policies and practices at the time but he advocated for a different use. His statements reflect the beginning of a change in the narrative lines running through the music education profession just a few months before Seashore’s death.

SUMMARY

Numerous articles examining the phenomenon of race and musical talent, based entirely on aptitude measurements, appeared in professional music education and psychology journals during the 1920s–40s (Farnsworth, 1921; Garth & Isbell, 1929; Gray & Bingham, 1929; Hollingsworth, 1926; Johnson, 1931; Peterson, 1928; Peterson & Lanier, 1929; Streep, 1931). Often, such studies led to illogical or unsubstantiated conclusions regarding the inheritability of musical talent, based entirely on now-debunked theories of biological determinism. Nonetheless, these theories persist in public imagination to this day and continue to shape the ways in which music educators measure, classify,

and track according to perceived talent or aptitude. More importantly, those studies with unsubstantiated or inconclusive assertions gained media attention and scientific funding. These publications indicate the existence of eugenical narrative lines in the field of music education during the first half of the twentieth century.

Musical aptitude tests were mutually beneficial for leadership within music education and in eugenics organizations. Eugenecists saw Seashore's methodical processes as beneficial in their broader eugenical research agenda and music educators used eugenics organizations' resources to increase funding and exposure for the psychology of music. By developing professional relationships with the eugenecists, music educators and psychologists of music increased the credibility of music as a curricular area and expanded professional development opportunities for school teachers. However, as music educators worked to support their rationale for funding school music programs, it became evident that excluding some students could weaken their arguments as public school enrollments diversified. Therefore, instead of claiming that aptitude tests would help them to determine who was most talented and therefore deserved musical education, they modified the narrative.

Eugenecists used this music aptitude inheritance literature primarily to promote so-called better breeding. Seashore (1930) summarized the purposes of music aptitude tests as follows:

Measurements of this kind take us into the field of genetic studies of inheritance of musical talent, the development of the musical mind from infancy onward, and studies of racial types and the evolution of music in primitive peoples...the accumulated findings become verifiable, and may be integrated into a legitimate concept of the inheritance of talent. (p. 234)

Harris (1993) describes a common premise across whiteness and property: the right to exclude. These findings indicate that specific influential actors in the development of music aptitude testing such as Seashore, Kwalwasser, and the organizers of national and state music education meetings, purposefully used the anxieties of the times to advance their careers without taking responsibility for those excluded from musical and educational opportunities. The foundational texts in the psychology of music, including measurements of musical talent and aptitude, may in this way be seen as property available only to a particular racial group, defined in even more specific ways at the time.

Seashore and Kwalwasser worked to classify and sort children and families through so-called scientific measurements. Music researchers served as a conduit, when convenient, for the eugenecists' "positive" goal to create the so-called better babies against a White, Christian, wealthy standard. They simultaneously created public school music courses based on biologically determined musical talent identification. On an organizational level, music educators provided a platform for eugenecists to share their so-called progressive research and ideas by inviting them to speak to state and national professional

conference attendees. They also published these addresses in the official journals of national music education organizations through which music supervisors and teachers gleaned new practices for their own schools.

At the same time, while eugenicists popularized this story of music, race, class, and classification of so-called genius or feeble-minded children, other psychologists and educators questioned the lack of empirical evidence. For instance, another psychologist, Garth, authored two articles comparing the musical talent of Indigenous peoples, African Americans, and Whites. Implications regarding the need to seek such measurements and compare all non-Whites to Whites became part of a larger narrative regarding the future of music education in the United States. However, Garth found “no real racial differences” in his studies and later asserted (1934) that common cultural practices in the United States, such as high heels, could be viewed as savage or primitive in much the same way as cultural practices of other geographic regions. Garth (1926, 1934) repeatedly called into question the eugenical narrative running through music education and broader educational publications, describing the psychological concepts as nothing more than stereotypes. He called into question the judgmental nature of eugenical arguments that pitted wealthier White communities against all Others and requested an open-mindedness and critical eye of the reader regarding psychological research on race.

IMPLICATIONS

Every well-informed teacher will want to know as much as possible about the movement because of what it is to mean in the influencing of the textbooks, curricula, and methods of the future. (Gildersleeve, *Music Supervisors Journal*, 1927, p. 84)

Rather than identifying this normal discrimination for the sake of identification, “a realistic appraisal of racism’s crucial role in the society... would enable us to recognize the potential for effecting reform in even what appear to be setbacks” (Bell, 1992, p. 92). One potential implication of this work is an opportunity to identify alternate narrative lines and their implications for research and practice. Eugenicists incorrectly interpreted heritability, such as Mendel’s studies regarding peas, to mean that nature trumps nurture. Therefore, conclusions such as those drawn by eugenicists (and even of those music educators who use aptitude testing today) regarding the innate abilities of individuals as definite or stable are inaccurate assertions. Heritability, as Gould (1985) reminds us, is not a measure of unchangeable genetic make-up. Gould uses eyesight as an example. Individuals may develop a visual impairment that proves to be 100% inheritable but easily corrected through appropriate eyeglasses.

The eugenicists’ arguments do not include suggestions for those who supposedly have low aptitude to receive scaffolded supports through appropriate education or other enrichment. We cannot, therefore, dismiss their work as

simply a product of their time. If so, they would have discussed appropriate differentiation and sought out counternarratives, such as their musical colleagues did. Instead, they clung to a flawed conceptual framework that moved forward their insidious racially based goals. Gould also reminds us that simply because something is inherited does not make it important. Ranking and ordering students based on aptitude scores serves to stratify and classify. It may not serve us in any other useful manner. More importantly, it may serve to reinforce the notion that music directors, as many K-12 music educators refer to themselves, are not necessarily teachers. If music educators believe that there is an innate, biologically predetermined ability level beyond which students cannot achieve, then they place a ceiling on their students' learning before they enter classrooms. It also gives credence to the notion that some students should or could be excluded from musical instruction if they possess particular physical characteristics (as noted in the work of early twentieth century eugenicists) or lack musical education prior to middle school.

Foucault (1975) asserts that such social classifications simultaneously involve knowledge and power. It is our responsibility as education scholars and practitioners to bring to the forefront of our field misuses of power such as those undertaken by those referring to themselves as psychologists of music and eugenicists. The narrative lines running throughout documents in eugenics societies as well as the National Association for Music education during the first half of the twentieth century indicate a desire to sort and classify for the purposes of exclusion as well as a desire to promote musical talent as a function of general, inherited intelligence.

Reviewing troublesome history and identifying the frameworks of modern practice through a critical lens often invites defensiveness, shame, and insecurity among even the most well-regarded educators and scholars. In a recent discussion of Seashore's contributions to the field of music education, Gordon (who held the title of Carl E. Seashore Professor of Research in Music Education for 18 years at Temple University) claimed that eugenics, a term adopted by eugenicists to describe the study of racial hygiene alongside eugenical racial betterment, was simply another term for what is "now called genetics" (Gordon, 2008, p. 17). The field now known as genetics is by no means synonymous with eugenics or eugenics, which Seashore (1948) described as a logical sequel to eugenics. Resentment toward those who conduct such reviews and critiques occurs because the very foundation of music education is called into question. However, we must revisit this unpleasant past in order to interrupt the unintended perpetuation of structures that cause injustice. Continuing to cite Seashore's work and build on now discredited (Gould, 1985, 1996) notions of intelligence as fixed, innate, or stable indicates an unwillingness to recognize both the context in which early musical tests were created as well as the competing narrative lines that did not receive equal recognition at the time or later.

If the field of music education truly aims to serve all students, then it must move away from such notions of innate capacities as initially defined by the eugenicists and perpetuated by those calling themselves psychologists of music. In addition, the field of music education must address the many questions raised, but not answered, by the intersections of eugenics organizations and music education organizations. For example, to what extent does current research in music education rest on eugenical frameworks? To what extent do current music teaching practices reflect systems of classifying and ranking students or providing guidance based on physical characteristics? What additional texts exist that rest on underlying, unexamined frameworks through which whiteness is a relative standard against which all other students are measured? Music educators must take care to examine the practices that may now be viewed as typical but potentially stem from different reasons than current music educators hold. If we are to move forward, then we must examine our past with a critical eye.

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And Thus We Shall Survive: The Perseverance of the South Side Community Art Center as a Counter-narrative, 1938–1959

Debra A. Hardy

AND THUS WE SHALL SURVIVE: THE PERSEVERANCE OF THE SOUTH SIDE COMMUNITY ART CENTER

The South Side Community Art Center (SSCAC) opened its doors in November 1940 to an anxiously waiting crowd of Bronzeville residents. Many individuals in attendance that night had spent the previous two years working together to create their own Black¹ art space on the south side of Chicago. Many had given their money to help fund the purchasing of this new arts center. Artists, who could not wait to begin practicing and displaying in the new facility, had scrubbed the floors, helped put up new walls, and made the old brownstone as beautiful as it was when it was first constructed in 1893. The doors of the SSCAC opened to the eagerly awaiting public that night and Black bodies filled the halls, the realization of a community coming together for the arts. Six months later, an official dedication was held with First Lady

¹For the purposes of this chapter, I capitalize the word “Black” to identify members of the Black community. This chapter focuses on a very small community of individuals within a very short window of time. All of these individuals fit into a particular community and should be viewed as such. Tharps (2014) puts it succinctly, stating “Black with a capital B refers to people of the African diaspora. Lowercase black is simply a color” (p. A25). The *APA Publication Manual* states that racial and ethnic groups should be designated as proper nouns. As such, “White” will also be capitalized. Quotes from other authors have been left in their unaltered state.

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Eleanor Roosevelt in attendance, lending “some credibility and permanence to the reality of the South Side Community Art Center Association as a stable institution in the Black community” (Baker, 1987, pp. 9–10). It was a true marvel.

Founded as part of the Federal Art Project’s (FAP) Community Art Center (CAC) initiative, the SSCAC existed as the only art center in Illinois created through federal funding during the Great Depression (Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990). One of many art centers that opened in the United States during the FAP’s reign, the SSCAC focused on serving the Black community that had formed on Chicago’s South Side after the Great Migration. After its founding, the SSCAC became one of the first freestanding spaces that openly celebrated Black art and artists in the United States. At the SSCAC, Black artists displayed their work, taught art and poetry, and participated in classes led by their peers. The SSCAC, in conjunction with Chicago’s Black Renaissance, helped bolster the careers of Black visual artists such as Elizabeth Catlett, Charles White, and Archibald Motley, Jr., and brought to prominence Black leaders like Margaret Goss Burroughs.

In 2015, the SSCAC celebrated its 75th anniversary as the only surviving FAP-funded art center still in its original form. And yet, despite this outstanding accomplishment, the SSCAC is unknown outside of Chicago and the Black art world. The Center has been continuously ignored in the history of art education, despite its function as a community-centered artistic space. Indeed, the history of art education is an almost entirely White space which neglects and silences the stories of Black art educators. The whiteness of art educational history has gone uninvestigated for too long. The SSCAC’s prominent absence from the larger understanding of art education history is as telling as it is disheartening. The SSCAC has been forced into the margins, if it is ever mentioned at all. When entered into the history of art education, the SSCAC displays the importance of art to every community and challenges the master narrative that has maintained the false belief that art education is the property of White individuals.

This chapter discusses the importance of the SSCAC’s existence and history as a counter-narrative to the dominant historical narratives of art education. First, I outline the theoretical framework constructed to interpret the Center’s history, focusing on the persistence of a master narrative in the history of art education and introducing the use of Critical Race Theory to subvert this narrative. I then move to the SSCAC’s early years and chronicle its origins, its initial success within the community, and early struggle with detailed focus on continued struggles during the first twenty years of the organization’s existence. Lastly, I explore the Center’s continued importance as an iconic Black cultural institution in Chicago, focusing on the necessity of this organization in framing the collective understanding of the past.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK AND COUNTER-NARRATIVE

The field of art education has struggled with how it portrays its history, which is currently steeped in a deeply entrenched dominant narrative. According to Acuff (2013), “there is a steadfast master narrative in this history of art education” that has been perpetuated by historians, who “highlight great events and great men, and focus on an idealistic evolution of democracy and education” (p. 221). Master narratives “cast dialogues in binary, contrasting categories that support the maintenance of dominant groups” (Stanley, 2007, p. 14). These dominant narratives frequently place intellectual distance between the dominant group and whomever the dominant group sees as “others” by ignoring, erasing, or manipulating their stories to better fit within the dominant group’s depiction of itself.

Within US art education history, the predominant narrative focuses primarily on the accomplishments of White lawmakers and White educational philosophers. Canonical texts, such as Efland’s *History of Art Education* (1990), give a wide overview of the history of art education in the US and much of the Western world. However, Efland (1990) wrote with an implicit bias; as a White scholar from the United States, his overview of the history of art education is filled with unintentional and intentional omissions. The social progress facilitated by the FAP is never mentioned, despite the fact that over one hundred art centers were founded as part of this initiative. Both community art spaces and specifically Black art spaces are ignored as Efland focuses solely on formalized art education taught within the school or university setting. This focus creates a canonized history which puts the most weight in formalized school-based art education, suppressing the narratives of minority groups where art education likely happened in informal spaces, such as community centers or the home. Art education history, especially in the United States, is predicated on the racial inequity that is inherent in a country that was founded upon slavery. Whiteness dominates the history of education because of the deeply entrenched roots of slavery and value of individuals based on skin tone. Individuals with the highest capital and property ownership, almost exclusively White, could access the best educational institutions (Ladson-Billings & Tate IV, 1995). These institutions became the norm, and everything outside of those White institutions were below average. It is not surprising, then, that the spaces where Black artists and educators thrived, such as in community centers, have not been examined and legitimized by art education history.

In recent years, authors have started to shift the conversation toward an expanding notion of what warrants a central place in art education history. Bolin, Blandy, and Congdon’s *Remembering Others* (2000) opened up a space to articulate counter-narratives in North American art education history and began to explore topics that exist outside of Efland’s canon. In *Remembering Others*, Funk’s (2000) chapter on the FAP began to articulate the importance of the program to art education. However, this chapter also falls short, ignoring

that the SSCAC was one of the major successes of the FAP. Indeed, Funk (2000) fails to acknowledge race in his chapter, despite many FAP-sponsored projects targeting areas with large communities of Black artists, such as St. Louis, Chicago, and New York. These urban community art centers were often created for Black creative communities, such as in New York and Chicago, or to foster desegregation efforts, as was the case at the People's Art Center in St. Louis. Most recently, Bolin and Kantawala's *Revitalizing History* (2017) works to centralize the stories of both Black and women art educators through narratives that have been overlooked and underrepresented.

Works that specifically focus on the importance of community art centers often fail to acknowledge the SSCAC's historic accomplishments. O'Connor's *Art for the Millions* (1973) does not acknowledge the voices of members of the SSCAC's existence, let alone its importance. White's *Art in Action* (1987) is one of the only texts with a firsthand account of the SSCAC's history. However, White's (1987) bias as an editor can be seen in how the chapters are sequenced. Burroughs' (1987) chapter is the seventh chapter in the book, despite being one of two stories about centers still in existence. Burroughs' chapter follows chapters discussing "crowning achievements," such as the Walker Art Center and the Oklahoma City Art Center (White, 1987). Both O'Connor and White implicitly downplay the historic achievements of an art center that has outlasted nearly every other art center in the country. Because the SSCAC serves a primarily Black population, its historical importance has been continuously diminished by editors, while primarily White institutions such as the Walker are held up as exemplars.

Grand histories, like the one currently in place within art education history, are presented as if they were infallible, where "others may not enter it, as their voice puts the narrative at risk of being contaminated" (Acuff, Hirak, & Nangah, 2012, p. 7). This master narrative barricades histories, protecting the dominant story from investigation and labeling it as objective. These dominant stories are laden with "a type of institutionalized power" that holds the dominant narrative in a position of greater importance over the narratives of others (Acuff, 2013, p. 221). As Dixson and Rousseau (2006) explain, "one of these privileges and benefits for property is the absolute right to exclude" (p. 32). The history of art education has failed to legitimize the voices of people of color for decades, creating a false belief that spaces such as the SSCAC have not historically existed. Community arts organizations, especially those that have been created by people of color, have been left out of the textbooks that are used in most art education history classes. The pervasive belief in the dominant narrative in the history of art education legitimizes Efland's (1990) account of history, while ignoring the lived experiences of art educators and students of color (Acuff et al., 2012). The unacknowledged and overlooked whiteness of the field "helps maintain racism's stories" within art education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 27).

In order to subvert the dominant canon within the history of art education, the utilization of counter-narrative begins to create space for hidden and forgotten stories to emerge. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) define

counter-storytelling as “a method of telling the stories of those people whose experiences are not often told” within a field (p. 26). In art education, counter-storytelling focuses on the voices of people of color, women, individuals with disabilities, and members of the LGBTQ community. These alternate histories and counter-narratives “are sites of resistance. They emphasize aspects of the world that have been silenced and provide ‘competing perceptions of social life,’ allowing a more complex depiction of reality to emerge” (Espino, 2012, p. 33). When dominant White voices claim the historical narrative, disputing and countering these claims with voices of Black and Brown individuals helps to challenge notions of superiority and what is “fact.”

Researching the history of an arts organization largely run by Black women is a way the field can begin to create a counter-narrative that helps voice the numerous forms art education has taken throughout its history. By adding voices that complexify art education’s understanding of its past, we begin to layer the history, exposing the forgotten narratives and creating space for these stories to expand our understanding of what—and who—are a part of our collective history. These voices are given legitimacy through Critical Race Theory and counter-storytelling, focusing on their lived experiences and using it as a historical fact. By acknowledging the struggles, successes, and continued survival of the SSCAC, we begin to invalidate exclusionary practices, opening up art education history to be reinterpreted and expanded.

THE SOUTH SIDE COMMUNITY ART CENTER

Beginnings: Community Converging for the Arts

Although the history of the SSCAC has remained relatively unstudied in art education, its founding has been documented by literary historians, who have focused on its cultural significance within Chicago’s South Side history. The SSCAC became a rallying point for many on Chicago’s South Side. Young, impoverished artists championed their own permanent artistic space, and middle-class Blacks saw an opportunity for their community as a cultural center for the Bronzeville neighborhood. Mavigliano and Lawson (1990) claimed that “probably the greatest step forward for the arts in the black community of Chicago occurred in 1939 when the South Side Art Center was founded” (p. 67). Hence, the SSCAC’s founding has become part of the important cultural history of Chicago’s South Side.

The idea for the Art Center started with the FAP. The FAP, a branch of the Works Progress Administration (WPA), was administered by Holger Cahill and operated from 1935 until 1943. Cahill, a White Icelandic immigrant, was the former director and acting curator of the Museum of Modern Art and was considered “an authority on American art” (Jeffers, 1991, p. 8). The FAP employed thousands of young artists and art educators throughout the United States. Many FAP-funded artists created murals, while others worked on sculptures, paintings, or taught art classes in community settings, such as at

Hull House in Chicago (Funk, 2000). During this period, the fine arts became accessible to many in ways they had never been before. The FAP “galvanized a national art culture in the United States” by bringing art and art instruction to as many Americans as possible (Funk, 2000, p. 86). Cahill himself believed that “the ability to appreciate works of art was not the exclusive birthright of a few people” (Mavigliano, 1984, p. 28). Cahill did not segregate FAP money or positions, hiring both Black and White workers for the same jobs. Cahill did not believe that race should be a determining factor in the ability to access and appreciate art. This led to the FAP creating similar opportunities for African Americans to be exposed to the same fine art opportunities as White Americans.

Part of Cahill’s plan to make art more accessible was his implementation of the Community Art Center (CAC) program. White (1987) argued that, “When Daniel Defenbacher coined the term ‘art center’ he implied motion and activity that worked for the community’s common cultural good” (p. 2). Cahill appointed Defenbacher to spearhead the development of CACs throughout the country after his success with funding for the Walker Art Center in Minnesota. Defenbacher’s focus on education helped bring the CAC program to all parts of the country. Prior to the Great Depression, “art was precious museum objects, not something [ordinary people] produced by their own hand” (Funk, 2000, p. 92). Rural and impoverished areas of the United States did not have access to visual arts other than local crafting. Many individuals lived too far away from major museums to visit, and even those in major cities often could not afford the trip and entrance costs (Clapp, 1973). In order to become accessible, fine art and artistic instruction needed to move into rural and impoverished areas of the United States, and, rather than be static and disconnected, the arts had to become a part of the lives of those in the community. In 1935, the Raleigh Art Center in North Carolina became the first federally funded art center. By 1940, over 100 art centers and museums had been funded through FAP assistance. Cahill proudly hailed the success of the program, stating that it “represents new adjustments of art production and art education to the needs of communities which heretofore have had little in the way of these activities” (cited by White, 1987, p. 7). Cahill’s vision of accessible arts instruction, executed with the help of Defenbacher, worked.

In 1938, the idea of an FAP-sponsored art center on the South Side of Chicago started to percolate. A group of five middle-class Black women—spearheaded by Pauline Kligh Reed—first brought the idea of a Black art center to the Illinois Art Project’s (IAP) Community Art Center Director, Peter Pollack (Knupfer, 2006). At this point, Black artists had been regularly taking classes at the Art Institute of Chicago in downtown Chicago. However, when they wanted to display their work, they were often relegated to Young Men’s Christian Associations (YMCAs) and church basements on the South Side (Burroughs, 1987; Knupfer, 2006). An art center, as a dedicated space to display Black art, would help bring many of these artists out of these makeshift galleries and give them a dedicated place to create and display their work. Reed,

a social worker, and the four other women who approached Pollack were middle-class community leaders who likely saw the development of an art center for their community as a way to bolster the South Side.

Pollack was no stranger to this coalition of Black women. The Jewish owner of a small North Side art gallery, Pollack saw the value in creating community art centers, despite not having much practical experience (Burroughs, 1987; Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990; Mullen, 1999). Pollack was well known for being one of the only White gallery owners on the North Side that displayed artwork by Black artists. His familiarity with the Black artistic community and some of the key stakeholders helped to facilitate the first conversations between the IAP and Bronzeville community leaders.

Pollack and IAP Director George Thorpe assembled a group of prominent Black community members to discuss the creation of an art center. This meeting helped establish the need for an art center and raise public awareness of the project. Support for the project crossed socio-economic lines, with middle-class business owners aligning with the young community artists. Throughout the next two years, over 40 meetings were held to initiate planning for the Art Center (Mullen, 1999). On October 25, 1939, Thorpe explained to the Committee that if they could locate and purchase a facility for the center, the FAP would pay for the renovations and provide the funds for paying for staff, teachers, and maintenance crews (Burroughs, 1987; Mullen, 1999). Soon after this meeting, Black community members “were eager to participate” in financing and founding their own art center (Burroughs, 1987, p. 133). Irene McCoy Gaines, a prominent Black social worker, stated, “I believe this art center will be the most important single factor for the improvement of the culture of the people of the South Side” (quoted in Burroughs, 1987, p. 133). Community members saw the important potential of an art center and started working even harder toward their goal.

In the following year, community members from across economic lines came together to raise funds for the Center. A membership campaign started to secure funds from the Black middle class. A young Margaret Burroughs, the youngest member of the SSCAC’s search committee and one of the many young Black artists supporting the Center, spent her time asking for funds from passersby on the streets during the “Miles of Dimes” campaign (Burroughs, 1987). Burroughs (1987) recalled, “I was 21 years old and I stood on the corner...collecting dimes in a can. I believe I collected almost \$100 in dimes” (p. 133). When fundraising for the Center began to reach critical levels, leaders of the project set out to choose a location to become its home. One of these homes, an 1893 brownstone, caught the eye of Art Center leaders. The facility was bought in June of 1940 and work began immediately on renovating the space (Burroughs, 1987; Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990; Mullen, 1999). The community members named the facility The South Side Community Art Center.

The SSCAC's purchase became a powerful moment for those who wanted to see the Art Center come to fruition. In order for the IAP to fund an art center, the city's Black community had to rally together, communally raise a substantial amount of money, and then locate and purchase their own facility. All of that hard work paid off as "the prodigious fundraising activities of the center's committees and the subsequent purchase of the brownstone demonstrated that the Center could 'hold its own'" (Knupfer, 2006, p. 68). The community's dedication to the Center demonstrated that many members of the community saw the benefit in its creation.

The IAP aided the community with some of the renovations but did not pay for labor. Many artists in the community invested their time and effort into transforming the building. As Mullen (1999) described, "WPA funds and sweat equity of South Side artists transformed the Michigan mansion, the painters and sculptors literally scrubbing the floors and walls" (p. 83). Burroughs (1987) described her and other poor artists' commitment, explaining, "We washed the walls and scrubbed the floors. We painted the walls and we did whatever was necessary to keep the art center going" (p. 142). The first floor was gutted and turned into a gallery, while the two other floors were converted into art studios for classes (Mullen, 1999). On November 15, 1940, the SSCAC officially opened with a show of local artists. This opening helped introduce the new Center to its community. Six months later, in May 1941, a dedication ceremony took place with Eleanor Roosevelt in attendance, showing her support of the strides made by the FAP. Peter Pollack stepped in as the first Director of the SSCAC and helped keep up connections between the Center and the IAP.

The SSCAC lived up to its potential and became a hugely popular community center on the South Side. Burroughs (1987) recalled, "The art center calendar during that dedication year was full and rich. Activities included several stellar exhibitions, lectures, and numerous art classes" (p. 139). Art classes, poetry classes, art exhibitions, and cultural groups began meeting at the SSCAC (Mullen, 1999). Pollack stated in a report to the WPA that over 50,000 visitors had been in the SSCAC in the first year alone (Mullen, 1999). The Illinois Art and Craft Project and the WPA paid for 24 teachers to work at the SSCAC during 1941. These teachers "taught more than two thousand students under sixteen, and 647 adults" (Mullen, 1999, p. 98). The first year of the Center's existence would be its best, as the threat of World War II loomed on the horizon.

1942–1949: Community Shifting

On December 7, 1941, Pearl Harbor, Hawaii, was attacked by Japanese forces, triggering the US entry into the escalating war in Europe. After years of isolationist practice, the United States had to figure out how to pay for its entrance into World War II. Those in charge of WPA-funded organizations realized their programs were going to be cut drastically. Those at the SSCAC began to

scramble in order to continue the arts program. The monetary aspect of the CAC was never meant to last in perpetuity and instead attempted to facilitate financial independence for the inevitable removal of funds (Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990). However, the SSCAC was not ready to take on the extra burden of teachers, exhibitions, and the cost of the classes they were running once the federal government began defunding the FAP. Though the community had rallied to help bring the Center to the community, there was no guarantee that they would help support it when it became more expensive once federal funds were removed. Peter Pollack wrote in his 1942 Director's report, entitled "What We Can Do in '42," that, "If Chicago's South Side Community Art Center is to advance along the lines that it should, greater support from the citizens of our city...is imperative" (William McBride Papers, Box 6, Folder 1).²

Once federal funds were removed, the SSCAC drastically reduced its program offerings, turning "decidedly conservative in an attempt to maximize economic returns" (Mullen, 1999, p. 99). The leftist programming the Center had become known for was no longer considered financially viable. Members of the Board hoped to create exhibitions that would bring larger, more diverse audiences into the building, creating greater opportunities for revenue. Exhibitions, such as posthumous retrospectives of Henry Ossawa Tanner and focus on more traditional artists such as Richmond Barthé, were created as ways to highlight well-established Black artists while also not scaring away those who thought many of the living artists at the Center were too radical (Mullen, 1999). Tanner's study of realism in Paris at the turn of the century marked his work as safer for a generalized population than the obvious leftist overtones of the artists who had been working at the SSCAC, such as Charles White and Archibald Motley, Jr. The experimentation that was encouraged at the Center's inception had been stripped away to focus on those exhibitions and activities that could attract the largest number of visitors through the doors and what made the best financial sense. Though the exhibitions became more marketable to the middle class, the founding artists felt the financial pressure and realized that to the Pollack and the Board of Directors, their ideas were expendable rather than integral.

Pollack stepped down as Director in 1943, citing tension between his and the community's vision. This appears to be an overgeneralization, as Mavigliano and Lawson (1990) stated that Pollack had a "patronizing attitude" toward the SSCAC's community and often spent time taking credit for what Black art center members had done (p. 68). Pollack, a White man, had been appointed as head of the SSCAC, likely to legitimize its existence. Pollack's appearance as the Director demonstrates that the arts, despite the Black community coming together to jointly purchase their facility, still belonged to White individuals. It should be noted that Mavigliano and Lawson (1990) state that Pollack was the one who had "developed an interest in the FAP and formulated the initial idea

²For the purposes of this chapter, all archive information is cited by archive name, box number, and folder number.

for a black art center,” stripping any mention of Reed or her community members as being responsible for sparking the original idea for the Center (p. 67). Pollack saw himself as a savior of the South Side with this Art Center, bringing art to the “slums” where he believed art was not being produced or displayed, rather than considering that the real issue was impoverished communities such as the South Side did not have any place dedicated exclusively to showing art.

Pollack was also an incompetent Director, who had members of the Black middle class that he associated with running the Center while he took credit (Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990). One woman even recalled his actions as using Black members as “errand boys” rather than taking care of the Center himself (Mullen, 1999). Despite his familiarity with some of the issues that Black artists faced, Pollack hardly understood the community that the SSCAC served and knew less about what it took to keep an art center afloat (Mavigliano & Lawson, 1990). Pollack refused to interact with the artists at the Center and instead kept himself isolated from everyday happenings in the building. Artists and SSCAC staff resented Pollack for not understanding or caring about the facility. After stepping down, Pollack returned to the North Side of Chicago, taking a position at the Art Institute of Chicago. Rex Gorleigh, one of the founding members of the SSCAC, stepped in as the new Director, officially becoming the first Black director of the Art Center.

After World War II, the Center began to rebound from its first hard hit as an institution. Gorleigh wrote in his 1945 Director’s report that the Center had problems keeping the building staffed with teachers, despite having a large number of students in the community wanting to take courses. Though there were plenty of community members willing to work in volunteer clerical positions, the Center struggled to employ teachers for their free art courses. This lack of teachers forced the SSCAC to restrict their class schedule, though Board members were aware of the problems that arose with an art center not offering enough art classes to a willing public.

A fundraising campaign was launched in March 1945 to help stabilize finances for the SSCAC. The Center heralded itself as “the only Negro Art Center existing” in the nation, imploring their community members to support them (SSCAC Archives, Box 1, Folder 16). The SSCAC drew upon the concepts of community development and racial uplift as the basis for advertising, as they stated, “to carry on the work of the Art Center means that the public must rally to its support and that each and every one of us in the community is certainly responsible for the development of this cultural program” (SSCAC Archives, Box 1, Folder 16). The Center appealed to the need for a space for cultural production on the South Side in order to convince community members to contribute to the Center financially.

In 1946, David Ross took over as the Director of the SSCAC. In his Director’s Report for that year, Ross stated that he accepted the position as director due to his “fundamental interest and awareness of the vital need for a true Negro art center in America” (SSCAC Archives, Box 2, Folder 18). He admired the Art Center’s community support, and how the Center garnered

support from across the community. Ross acknowledged the wonderful connection that the SSCAC had with the community, stating, “It has been with the support of those of the community who recognized the cultural advantages and service which the Art Center affords, that the institution has thrived” (SSCAC Archives, Box 2, Folder 18). Ross was keenly aware of the need to keep the community involved in the Art Center in order to maintain financial security.

Ross knew how non-profit institutions worked, explaining the SSCAC’s financial issues by saying, “Ways and means of obtaining revenue is a problem that faces every institution which operates with contributions, memberships, and minor promotions as the basic sources of revenue” (SSCAC Archives, Box 2, Folder 18). Ross desired to expand the SSCAC’s influence in Bronzeville, while emphasizing the Center’s significance as the only art center of its kind in order to demonstrate its importance as a cultural institution. Hence, Ross’ optimism was a welcome addition to the Center.

Despite Ross’ best efforts, by 1948, the SSCAC had fallen into even more difficult circumstances. The Center sent out letters to local Black businesses around Bronzeville and throughout the South Side asking for in-kind donations to help restock and remodel the interior of the Art Center, specifically looking for donated rugs (SSCAC Archives, Box 2, Folder 26). The SSCAC could not afford rugs or a building remodel on their own and were asking for them as charitable donations as a way to save money and keep the program running.

On September 24, 1949, Margaret Burroughs was elected President of the Board of the Art Center (“Pilot,” 1949). Burroughs, the youngest member of the initial committee founding the SSCAC, was an artist and educator who had spent much of her youth at the SSCAC’s various programs. She received a master’s degree in Art Education from School of the Art Institute of Chicago (SAIC) in 1948 and had taught at both the SSCAC and the Chicago Public School system, most notably at DuSable High School (Grimes, 2010). Burroughs’ presence at the Center and her ability and drive helped give her control over the board and demonstrated a new ability for leadership in the artist class. Burroughs defined the distinction between the artists and the middle class in her chapter in White’s *Art in Action* (1987), recalling:

There were always battle lines drawn between the artists and this bourgeoisie... They, the culture vultures, were always up front when there were pictures to be taken. But when the funds finally died...they became disenchanted and flitted off to other interests. (p. 142)

Burroughs’ addition as the President of the Board helped expand the reach that artists had in the internal workings of the Art Center, which was, until this point, controlled by the Black middle class. The Center’s waning “newness” factor, plus its financial instability, caused many middle-class Blacks to lose interest in the SSCAC, leaving control of the Center to the artists and writers

who had invested in the Center from the beginning. Burroughs' election to the Board was a positive shift for the artists, many of whom had been shut out of decision-making processes since the SSCAC's inception.

1950–1953: Historic Imagination of Desperate Times

A struggle with researching forgotten and missing histories lies in discovering little to no information. Between 1950 and 1953, no internal documents were produced by the SSCAC and no external documents can be located. Using Critical Race Theory and storytelling to analyze this forgotten history gives us the ability to reconstruct what has been lost to time and legitimize the mythology of the forgotten years of the Center. Counter-narrative creates space for historic imagination by using personal stories and stories of place to create narratives (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). By weaving a narrative through both known and unknown historic information, plausible ideas are constructed that leave room for further interpretation (Bolin, 2009). The Center's silence corresponds with the height of the second Red Scare in the United States. During this time, the Center's own mythology maintains that it was kept entirely afloat for years by three Black middle-class women (Hardy, 2015; Knupfer, 2006; Schlabach, 2013). It is plausible that both of these situations caused an absence of historical documents and created the SSCAC's toughest fight for survival.

Anti-Communist sentiment boiled over in 1950 with the beginning of the Red Scare.³ Communism and leftist ideology was pervasive in Black spaces, especially during the 1930s when Communist organizations began to target Black workers for recruitment (Asante & Mazama, 2004). Many artists associated with the SSCAC were known to support Marxist ideologies and programs such as the Negro People's Theatre Group and the SSCAC's Writer's Group that had leftist political agendas. Those in charge of the Center at the beginning of the Red Scare sought to remove the artists that they believed posed a threat to the organization through their political ties. Members of the SSCAC were afraid that being associated with any artist who had communist leanings could spell ruin for the facility, still struggling in its first decade. However, these leftist and communist artists were the most dedicated supporters of the SSCAC and brought life and vibrancy to the Center and its programs. When the artists were told to leave by the Board of Directors, the teaching of art and the work that had made the Center what it was had gone. The SSCAC found itself struggling to survive but unwilling to accept the work of those who could help it the most in fear of the potential political fallout. Those of the middle class, many of whom had desperately tried to control the Center during its first few years, found the Center impossible to run without the help and the commitment of the communist artists who had been unceremoniously shoved out.

³The Red Scare (1950–1954), also known as the Second Red Scare, was driven by anti-Communist sentiment following World War II and increased tension with the Soviet Union. As communism spread throughout Europe, Americans began to panic, believing the Soviet Union was planning to overthrow America's democratic and capitalist institutions.

One of the individuals removed during this communist purging was Margaret Burroughs, the newly elected President of the Board. It is unknown if Burroughs was forced to step down through organizational pressure, or if she relinquished her position willingly. Burroughs, however, retired from her position shortly after being elected. Burroughs had known ties to the Communist Party and was an outspoken leftist activist. She spoke candidly against the Black middle class that controlled the SSCAC from the beginning. In 1952, the Center rejected Burroughs' membership dues, despite the severe financial strain in which the Center found itself (Mullen, 1999). Burroughs had been the youngest founding member of the Center and had been active in the organization for over a decade. It was obvious that the Center wanted to sever its ties with Burroughs, despite her passion and commitment to the Center, likely due to her continued affiliation with the Communist Party.

At the same time, the Red Scare created panic within the SSCAC's community, three Black women stepped up to keep the Center from collapsing (Hardy, 2015; Schlabach, 2013). Fern Gayden, Wilhelmina Blanks, and Grace Thomson Leaming purportedly sustained the Center by themselves throughout the early 1950s. All three women were members of the Black middle class who worked during the day and kept SSCAC's building viable during their down time (Schlabach, 2013). All three women were known as community leaders through their political ties and their church organizations. Despite not being artists themselves, they found value in the SSCAC as an anchor for their community. These women saw the value in the arts organization and took action when it was in its most desperate straits. Blanks, Gayden, and Leaming gave their own money to the Center to keep the lights on and pay the bills (Hardy, 2015; Knupfer, 2006; Schlabach, 2013). They were also the ones who decided to mortgage the building rather than see the entire organization collapse. This decision was a difficult one to make due to the pride many had felt in the building's original purchase. The women kept the building open for limited hours each week to ensure that the building continued operating during its hardest moments (Schlabach, 2013). Despite these challenges, Blanks, Gayden, and Leaming continued to work for the SSCAC even after this tumultuous period (Hardy, 2015). All three women were dedicated to making sure that the Center their community fought so hard for only a decade earlier stayed afloat.

1954–1959: Rebuilding Community

The Art Center began to recover during 1954 with the return of President David Ross. Ross reached out to potential and former donors, stating that the Center had begun to run classes again, and that “the doors of the Center are now open daily for the first time in many years” (SSCAC Archives, Box 3, Folder 2). Soon after, Ross sent letters to the entire Board of Directors, asking them to remove themselves due to their inactivity during the Center's hardest times (SSCAC Archives, Box 3, Folder 2). Ross took action to forcibly make the Center a viable institution again.

That same year, fundraising efforts began to increase. One popular effort was a Pyramid Drive launched to raise \$1000 for the SSCAC's budget. The Pyramids were a women-led program in which SSCAC-affiliated women invited others in the community into their homes for "cake and coffee" for a \$1 donation fee ("Pyramids," 1954). The hostess would then instruct the invited women to do the same at their home, asking donations from other women. This created a pay-it-forward tree, where one woman would help start a chain reaction of donations through a social event. According to the *The Chicago Defender*, these Pyramids were so popular with the women of Bronzeville that they continued on throughout the entire month.

By 1957, a letter from Helen Eichelberger stated that, "we are quite proud of the progress we have made in our last two years" (SSCAC Archives, Box 3, Folder 23). Indeed, the turnaround of the Center from 1954 to 1957 was admirable, though not completely adequate. Steady fundraising had brought back funds to the Center, and they were once again displaying art. However, the offerings that the SSCAC boasted at its opening had dropped significantly as the organization continued to rebuild. In the President's Monthly Report to the Board, Ross pointed out that artists could not be enticed into joining with the Art Center (SSCAC Archives, Box 3, Folder 23). The hurt caused by artists being shoved out of the Center during the Red Scare, paired with the Center's conservatism during those hard times, meant that the Center failed to regain interest from the radical artists who had once inhabited the facility. Thus, even though it was an "art center," the SSCAC struggled to attract artists. Despite great strides in reinvigorating the organization, the Art Center had lost the trust of the artistic community.

In 1959, Margaret Burroughs wrote an opinion piece in *The Chicago Defender*. A decade after being elected as President of the Board, Burroughs took to the offensive to help keep open the art space she helped create. Burroughs' statement lambasted the South Side community that had, in her mind, a false belief in culture that never translated into action. Burroughs "seriously question[s] if our Negro intellectuals have any real concern for the preservation of culture in our community," as she saw the Art Center's struggle as a preventable demise that its members were not helping to relieve (Burroughs, 1959). In her view, the SSCAC's "hand to mouth existence to keep the doors open" was needless when the facility was so important to the community only a couple of decades earlier (Burroughs, 1959). Burroughs pleaded with her audience to go to the Center and help support it, saying:

Bring your children to see its exhibits. Buy tickets to its fundraising events. Remember that in the final analysis: "All else passes; art alone remains." Show that the desire for art and culture is not dead among one million bronze Chicagoans. (Burroughs, 1959)

Burroughs' plea is the call of a woman who was frustrated and sad with the state of affairs, believing deeply in a cause for which her organization continued

to struggle. To Burroughs, the Center should not have to struggle, when the community only 20 years ago had an outpouring of support for the facility. It was a call to remember the importance of the Center's founding and for its continued existence.

SIGNIFICANCE AND CONCLUSION

Over the next half century, the SSCAC ebbed and flowed with the times. The facility experienced a resurgence with the rise of the Civil Rights movement of the 1960s and a desire to reconnect to left-leaning political figures, such as Burroughs. The mid-1970s brought harder times, but optimism was in the air by the 50th anniversary in 1990. In the 2010s, the SSCAC again went through a rough patch, but fresh ideas and the greater exploration of racial topics have recently led to new and expanding opportunities for the aging facility. Through feast and famine, struggle and hardship, the Center has managed to survive, a constant in its community.

The SSCAC is just one example of many histories of alternative art spaces that should be investigated and entered into the history of art education as a way to counteract the master narratives that still plague the field. The Art Center's storied and unique past is a great example of the power of communities to rally around centers of artistic production, and the SSCAC can be seen as a triumph over the many racial and economic obstacles it faced during its 75-year history. The SSCAC counteracts the pervasive master narrative which maintains that art education for and about people of color did not start until the first wave of multiculturalism. Its perseverance throughout and its continued operation as a proud Black cultural space complicates the histories that do not include the experiences and spaces of racial minority populations in the history of art education. Through it all, the SSCAC remains on South Michigan Avenue, overlooking its Bronzeville neighborhood, a place with a history that will never be duplicated or silenced.

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Counterstorytelling in Concert Dance History Pedagogy: Challenging the White Dancing Body

Julie Kerr-Berry

COUNTERSTORYTELLING IN DANCE HISTORY PEDAGOGY: CHALLENGING THE WHITE DANCING BODY

James Baldwin's (1985) essay, "Here Be Dragons," has implications for examining how whiteness operates in society and subsequently in dance. In the essay, he explains that each of us "contains the other—male in female, female in male, white in black and black in white. We are part of each other" (p. 690). Baldwin contends that what defines one is contained in the other, without one (male or female, Black or White) the other would not exist. Similarly, dance in the United States resulted from a complex and interwoven history in which Black and White movement traits were subsumed in the other. Dance history in the United States would be very different had this exchange not occurred. Yet, in reality, dancing bodies that fall outside of the norm of whiteness have been marked as inferior, exoticized, or omitted from the pages of dance history—privileging White bodies instead.

In academia, the focus of dance study is on the Western concert dance canon comprised mainly of ballet and modern dance. This canon is institutionalized in programs across the country and functions to standardize dance practice and curriculum. Concert dance is performed on a proscenium stage before an audience, a European theatrical construct with a lineage that dates

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back to sixteenth-century French courts. The ballet and modern dance canon also reflect a long history of privileging White dance forms over Black ones, or over African diasporic forms in academia. History, pedagogy, composition, and other aspects of dance in academia center on this Eurocentric canon. The academic study of dance is built on the assumption that concert dance is a construct of Western European origin. Yet, while dance in academia appears to be White, based on the curriculum, faculty hires, and student enrollment, blackness and whiteness are written into the muscle memory of dancing bodies in the United States—whether in the popular or concert dance arenas—and this memory is passed from one generation to the next. Blackness cannot exist without whiteness because the concepts are co-constitutive. Baldwin’s statement that “We are a part of each other” parallels what cultural dance historian Gottschild (1996) described in relationship to the impact of blackness on whiteness in concert dance in the United States. She states, “the mindset that implies that the European is something bigger or better into which the African – the Other – is subsumed. But there is no Other, *we are it*” (p. 78).

However, the movement exchange has not been a two-way street, because Whites have disproportionately benefited from the institution of racism. Whites repeatedly profited monetarily from their acclaim as dancers and choreographers, particularly on the popular stage during the nineteenth through mid-twentieth centuries. Rarely were Blacks acknowledged, credited, or compensated for the magnitude of their contributions. Rather, they were exploited by their White counterparts.

According to education leadership specialists Glenn Singleton and Curtis Linton (2006), an “American Racial Binary” was constructed to function like a “racial caste system” (p. 160). They contend that this binary began:

with the arrival of Northern and Western European settlers in the 1600s, a period marked by the extermination of indigenous peoples and the enslavement of Africans. Each of these occurrences establishes in the United States the racial hierarchy of Whites over people of color, or the American racial binary of White to Black. (p. 160)

Since its invention, this caste system was designed to identify and rank Black (or non-White) subjects as *less than*, and White subjects as *better than*. Blackness was characterized as the opposite of Whiteness in terms of beauty, intellect, and power, among others.

This chapter argues that dance history in the United States was founded on the constant flow and friction of cultural exchange and fusion between Blacks and Whites, which began over four hundred years ago. This unequal exchange has continued to inform contemporary concert and popular dance forms. The act of privileging whiteness over blackness denies the impact of the latter and continues to perpetuate the same racial hierarchy in dance. Drawing from the concept of “counterstorytelling” (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012) in Critical Race Theory (CRT), this chapter focuses on interrogating dance in

academia—specifically dance history pedagogy. It uses “counterstories” as a method to challenge how concert dance history is taught in the United States and thus reveal “alternative realities” in the histories of ballet, modern, and contemporary dance forms (Delgado & Stefancic, pp. 44–45). From this perspective, the practice of privileging the White dancing body and its history as an organizing principle is challenged; in turn, the persistence of privileging whiteness in dance as the norm is problematized.

In this chapter, I also demonstrate how *whiteness as property* manifests itself in the ownership of dance history content and the right to exclude other narratives, including aesthetic perspectives. According to Harris (1993), a legal scholar and key figure in CRT, whiteness takes on many forms through its use of power and control. “In particular,” she states, “whiteness and property share a common premise – a conceptual nucleus – of the right to exclude” (p. 1714). In many chronicles of dance history, the contributions of Black dancers and choreographers are minimally represented or excluded altogether, even though they helped form the bedrock of dance in the United States (Anderson, 2018; Au, 2012; Kirstein, 1969; Reynolds & McCormick, 2003; Sachs & Schönberg 1963).

When the Other is silenced, the true complexity of concert dance history in the United States is suppressed. This chapter will approach blackness and whiteness in the ballet/modern dance canon as a shared legacy by offering an alternate story of concert dance history in the United States. While Brown dancing bodies were also marginalized in concert dance, their story was different and is the subject of another chapter. Therefore, using counterstories as lens, this chapter examines concert dance history pedagogy by challenging whiteness to reveal its blackness.

WHITENESS AS AN ORGANIZING PRINCIPLE IN ACADEMIC DANCE

Despite being considered by some to be a liberal bastion, post-secondary education is not immune to racism and White hegemony, and academic dance is not an exception. CRT scholars Delgado and Stefancic (2012) contend that “racism is ordinary” (p. 7), arguing that liberalism has fallen short of amending racism. They counter

if racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures as deeply as many critics believe, then the ‘ordinary business’ of society – the routine, practices, and institutions we rely on to do the world’s work – will keep minorities in subordinate positions. (p. 26)

Like other institutions in the United States, legacies of a racialized past are engraved in the ivory towers of academia, affecting its administrative and pedagogic practices (Chesler, Lewis, & Crowfoot, 2005; Stanley, 2006).

Charbeneau (2009) specifically examined how whiteness was enacted in the pedagogic practices that occur in university classrooms. For example, she

argued that because whiteness functions as the dominant sociocultural and pedagogic frame, White professors continue to enact it. According to Charbeneau, “The practices of White faculty provide a particularly revealing examination because their White privilege affords them heightened legitimacy as gatekeepers of education/knowledge in a predominately White institution” (p. 18). Her position parallels whiteness as property because it assumes a position of ownership and control of content matter and teaching methodology. Further, she notes, “Faculty members themselves may not be aware that their teaching methods reproduce White hegemony” (p. 137). In other words, they continue to re-enact white privilege by replicating it without knowing it.

Undeniably, dance in academia mirrors the larger institution in which it resides. White faculty and students dominate dance programs and departments across the country. According to the Higher Education Arts Data Services (2009), in the United States, undergraduate dance students are mostly White, as are faculty. Because whiteness goes unchecked and people dance and teach from their own cultural *and* racialized experience, they can enact whiteness—unless it is questioned. In academia, White dancers and dance faculty are extensions of this norm. Challenging such practice has pedagogic implications for what dance forms are included in curricula, who gets hired to teach them, as well as theoretical frameworks that inform approaches to teaching dance history and its cultural underpinnings. As culturally relevant pedagogy and educational researcher Ladson-Billings argues (2009), “Critical race theory sees the official school curriculum as a culturally specific artifact designed to maintain a White supremacist script” (p. 29). By questioning such practices, whiteness as property is also challenged.

ABOUT RACE, ABOUT DANCE

The concept of race is a social and political construct designed to differentiate those deemed inferior from those deemed superior (Fine, 1997; Gates, 2015; Singleton & Linton, 2006; Smedley & Smedley, 2005; Omi & Winant, 1994). Biological differences attributable to the amount of melanin in skin, eyes, and hair functioned to make race identifiable. Singleton and Linton (2006) state, “Those who are rich in melanin are said to be ‘of color,’ whereas those who have the least amount of melanin are defined as White” (p. 170). Using this measure, the amount of melanin operated to create a racial hierarchy with Whites at the top and non-Whites on the bottom. In the United States, because of the history of racism, race is still the first identifiable trait that most individuals notice. While intertwined, culture is perceived as different than race. Singleton and Linton (2006) define culture as a construct that “describes how we live on a daily basis in terms of our language, ancestry, religion” (p. 169). They contend that “race typically trumps ethnicity and nationality in our interactions” (p. 170). For example, a person is identified as Black by skin color before they are identified as Somalian by nationality. As a result, US society

engages in “racializing culture” by identifying, marking, defining individuals, particularly non-Whites by their racial attributes before the nuances of cultural origin and practice are considered (p. 171).

To extend Singleton and Linton’s argument specifically to racializing concert dance, the amount of melanin in a dancer’s skin is perceived first and foremost in this arena before other racial attributes of an individual. In other words, on concert dance stages, bodies are intensely showcased and framed by a proscenium arch. Skin color matters in unique ways in this context. In the early twentieth century, Black dancers were marked as inferior on stage, in part because their body’s skin color disrupted the aesthetic norm of whiteness. The chronicles of many dance history books reflect such exclusion. Current texts have addressed such racist practices in concert dance history and are more inclusive (Foulkes, 2002; Gottschild, 1996, 2003; Manning, 2004; Perpener, 2001). However, dance history texts that are often used in college dance programs and departments often relegate Black dance contributions to a single chapter or they could be omitted altogether (Anderson, 2018; Au, 2012; Reynolds & McCormick, 2003).

Moreover, while there is no such thing as dancing Black, or dancing White, audiences, critics, historians, and artistic directors often think of “Black dancing” as a manifestation of racial differences rather than cultural expressions. Despite the tendency to racialize culture, in reality, this narrative is much more complex. Gottschild (2003) helps to unpack this narrative in her book, *The Black Dancing Body: A Geography from Coon to Cool*. The text is comprised of a series of oral histories that problematize some of the assumptions and stereotypes about Black dance and dancers by both Whites and non-Whites. She states,

And in the end, beyond our hierarchies and hegemonies, there is no “black race” or “white race,” “black dance” or “white dance.” It’s simply that the habit of racism has rendered us unable to put the fusion of American cultural creations into words from the vocabulary at our disposal. Our traditions and cultures are so thoroughly mixed (and have for ages, beginning with the intimacy and depth of contact between blacks and whites during the centuries of American slavery) that *our language reflects old assumptions and categorical errors* [emphasis mine]. (p. 6)

As Gottschild describes, it is our language that is limiting and constructed to maintain a racial hierarchy between Blacks and Whites. For example, the persistent myth still lingers that Blacks cannot execute ballet, while Whites could. This racist stereotype is an example of how fiercely whiteness protected this “White dance.”

In North America, African-based movement sensibilities were absorbed and transmitted across racial and social lines, yet, they were often concentrated racially because of how segregated the US society was and continues to be. Their relegation to certain sectors of society, as well as in other racially

segregated sectors, allowed movement to incubate: from the Black church, to Juke Joints, to Cotton Clubs, to the Black Broadway and Swing eras. In segregated arenas, these movement traditions kept cultural sensibilities (e.g., use of rhythm, grounded use of weight, isolation of body parts) more intact (Gottschild, 1996; Hazzard-Gordon, 1990; Herskovits, 1990; Stearns & Stearns, 1994). However, in reality, the preservation of Black texts in these movement patterns, postures, or steps were seemingly attributable to race. Because these movement cultures developed separately, they became more distinct and more easily attributable to race and thus, dancing Black.

While Black dance was taking form in religious and social spaces and trying to find its footing on the concert stage, White dance was being incubated in segregated sectors of elite ballet companies. For example, in The New York City Ballet (NYCB), White dancers dominate and the retention of White texts persevere. Dance ethnologist JoAnn Kealiinohomoku's (1969–1970) seminal article, "An Anthropologist Looks at Ballet as an Ethnic Form of Dance" (Kealiinohomoku, 1969–1970), challenged the perception of dance critics and historians of the time that ballet was somehow devoid of culture. In more contemporary terms, the ethnologist was arguing that these writers were attempting to protect ballet's whiteness by severing any connection of the form to the term "ethnic dance." While dated language, Kealiinohomoku's use of the term 'ethnic dance' was relevant at the time and used to make a point that all forms of dance were cultural and that ballet's attempt to exclude itself was not only inaccurate but elitist. In more contemporary terms, she challenged ballet as the domain of white property.

Historical, social, and economic legacies that defined the ballet idiom were, and, still are practiced and maintained by Whites. The ballet canon remains one of the most organizing principles for defining concert dance history. Ballet is an example of whiteness as property through its right to exclude others. When critically examining past dance customs, race was used not only to bar access to the concert dance stage for Black dancers and secure it for White dancers but it also functioned to underrepresent or omit the legacy of Black dance from American dance history.

CRITICAL DANCE HISTORY PEDAGOGY

Understanding previous and current modes of dance history documentation and subsequent pedagogy of such material is important. Through critical analysis of such literature, historical omissions became apparent (Anderson, 2018; Au, 2012; Reynolds & McCormick, 2003). In this case, identifying omissions to the narrative presents students with the whole story—the counter-narrative—and guides them toward understanding why part of the story was either minimized or excluded altogether. Addressing such gaps in history and discussing why they exist can lead students to a more comprehensive, nuanced, and critical understanding of dance history, as well as how this history shaped their own dancing in the twenty-first century.

In ballet, it is important for students to understand not only its historical legacy but also the hierarchical legacy that the form represented, beginning in fifteenth-century Renaissance Italy and codified in the elite court of Louis XIV of France in the 1600s (Au, 2012). This hierarchy persists today because it is still defined by White dancing bodies, or as white property, and evolved into a very lean body aesthetic in the United States. This body aesthetic was systemized by renowned NYCB founder and artistic director, George Balanchine. Yet, through a more critical lens, his aesthetic was founded on an appropriation of Africanisms, and, in reality, not White. For example, Balanchine favored syncopation, dense footwork, the displacement of hip, use of parallel feet (as opposed to turned out feet), and angularity in the body's shape (Gottschild, 1996).

Balanchine benefited immensely in terms of recognition and success through his appropriation of Africanisms. To illustrate this point, Gottschild (1996) references a segment of a poem by Langston Hughes (1974) in the opening of her chapter on Balanchine entitled, "Stripping the Emperor: George Balanchine and the Americanization of Ballet." Hughes (1974) states, "You've taken my blues and gone —" (p. 190). Hughes meant that Whites took without giving back to Blacks, both literally and figuratively through white appropriation of black cultural traditions. Gottschild applies Hughes' phrase here as a precursor to her chapter as mean to "de-throne" Balanchine by exposing what some might argue his theft of material, which lacked little, if any acknowledgment of its source.

In modern dance history, it is also important that students understand that this history was not one created primarily by White dancers in the United States. In the early twentieth century, the modern dance aesthetic deviated from the norms of society. It was formed by a matriarchy of dance artists who sought to free the corseted female body and create a new movement vocabulary that redefined their body's movement as artistic expression (Foulkes, 2002). However, these female dancers still carried with them many of the trappings of racism. A host of Black modern dancers such as Edna Guy, Hemsley Winfield, Pearl Primus, and Katherine Dunham played an integral role in the history of modern dance in the United States; they struggled to be accepted by this matriarchy. Over the past three decades, new literature emerged that more accurately portrays their history by including Black dancers and choreographers and critically discusses their impact (DeFrantz, 2004; Foulkes, 2002; Gottschild, 1996, 2003; Manning, 2004; Perpener, 2001; Schwartz & Schwartz, 2011). These accounts integrate Black modern dancers and choreographers. Some of them emerged at the same time as early Whites ones, for instance, Black dancer, Edna Guy and White dancer, Ruth St. Denis (Foulkes, 2002; Perpener, 2001).

Pedagogically, examining dance history through the critical lens of whiteness as property reveals the counterstory in this narrative. Perpener's (2001) examination of the *Anglo-Saxon norm* provides insight. He states that "Preconceptions about a group—whether they were African American, Jewish,

Irish, or Native American – were based on their differences from the Anglo-Saxon norm and became accepted as truth” (pp. 18–19). Yet, Black modern dance artists challenged this norm; they wanted to be taken seriously as dance artists and pushed back against racist practices and stereotypes that characterized them solely as comic entertainers, or as *The Comic Negro* (Perpener, 2001, p. 19).

As the twentieth century continued, Black concert dancers defied this norm by performing on the concert dance stage. As Perpener describes, “these artists reinterpreted material from the folk cultures of the African diaspora and attempted to make a place for it in mainstream American culture. In so doing they created yet another synthesis of African-derived cultural elements” (p. 24). His point is that these artists drew from this wellspring to create, deepen, and extend the early modern dance aesthetic in the United States.

In the remainder of this chapter, I present four pedagogical approaches to concert dance history pedagogy, or four counterstories, that trouble the water of the ballet/modern dance and concert dance canons. These counterstories present approaches to teaching dance history that provide students with pathways for understanding the counter-narrative in rich, yet flawed, historical accounts. They also address how whiteness as property advantaged White dancers but functioned to own, mark, relegate, and exclude the Black dancing body from not only the concert stage but also from the pages of American concert dance history in the United States. Nonetheless, this history was predicated on blackness and whiteness.

Dance history is a story. Written into a dancer’s body is a movement narrative. Applied to Delgado and Stefancic (2012), “Narratives provide a language to bridge the gaps of imagination and conception that give rise to the differend” (p. 51). The term differend refers to a subordinate individual who “lacks language to express how he or she has been injured or wronged” because the system, as designed does not allow for such expression (p. 50). In this case, the differend is the under-told or untold story of United States concert dance history. Those who were wronged were Black dancers. The language previously used to tell this story was subordinate to dominant and exclusionary modes of dance history documentation and aesthetic preferences, or White ones. Once language was developed that bridged this gap, a more accurate portrayal could be told about concert dance history—the primary source of which resides in the body’s movement.

Teaching students to be able to recognize this narrative in past dance histories, as well as the ones they are currently writing as dancers in the twenty-first century, is the basis of critical dance history pedagogy. Counterstories can form the fabric of pedagogic practice in teaching concert dance history and in academia by examining it through the critical lens of race. What follows are four such counter-narratives that offer specific strategies for teaching concert dance history. They reveal both the blackness and whiteness in this history.

Counterstory One: Our Racialized Past

One way to question whiteness as property in concert dance history pedagogy is to recognize the blackness in dance. This counterstory requires an examination of the interwoven exchange between Blacks and Whites. Such exchange between Blacks and Whites reveal how the concert dance canon was construed as White, but was actually the result of intense cultural fusion.

In the Americas, Gottschild (1996) describes what she refers to as an *Africanist Aesthetic*. She explains that the roots of this aesthetic are pervasive and can be traced to “African-based cultural forms and practices in...Central to West African traditions” (p. 7). Yvonne Daniel’s (2005) work parallels Gottschild’s argument as to extensiveness of this aesthetic by providing specific examples. In South America, Daniel references the religious and dance practice of *Candomblé* and the martial form, *capoeira*, in Brazil. In Haiti, she describes the religious practice of *Vodou*, which resulted from the syncretism of West African Yoruba traditions and Catholicism. Evidence of Africanist Aesthetic in South America and the Caribbean establishes how far reaching it was in the Americas. Prior to the transatlantic slave trade and the forced contact between West Africans and Europeans on North American soil, it is important to establish that they were separate and disparate dance histories. The first history focuses on dances of the Renaissance, *ballets de cour*, the precursor to ballet. These dances were performed in the ballrooms by Renaissance kings and queens and members of their court, primarily in Italy and France.

The second history focuses on the dance history of West African civilizations (Glass, 2007; Thompson, 1974). The work of Afrocentric scholar, Asante (2015), becomes relevant to this discussion. His work presents research about the sophistication of ancient African civilizations prior to their decline, which was due to intense gold mining, the transatlantic slave trade, and colonization. Asante’s work also helps establish the concurrent kingdoms of Western Europe and West Africa. Situating the Ancient Ghanaian Kingdom in relationship to Renaissance Italy connects these two cultures prior to the contact of Africans and Europeans in North America.

By the time the United States had been formed in 1775, slavery—the buying and selling of human beings—had existed for over a century in both the south and the north of the country. The seizure of Indigenous Peoples’ homelands and their removal to reservations escalated as North America was colonized. As the violent genocide of Indigenous Peoples continued, the contact between slaves and their owners was intense and extremely concentrated—particularly on southern plantations. Establishing the brutality that occurred to both Indigenous Peoples and enslaved Africans is important. For four centuries both endured, and endure constant attempts to minimize, or exterminate them altogether.

Yet, clarifying the nature of this contact is also important to understand concert dance history. Indigenous people suffered genocidal policies that significantly reduced their population as well as isolation on reservations while

their lands were seized. As the property of slave owners, African slaves had more direct and intimate contact with Whites. Over the course of four hundred years, this movement discourse yielded a specific array of dance forms that evolved into many still practiced today (Glass, 2007). Indigenous influences occurred later in concert dance history through the appropriation of thematic material by White modern dancers in the United States during the early twentieth century (Foulkes, 2002). While both suffered at the hands of Whites, concert dance history was impacted differently.

This critical introduction and investigation of early North American history is important and helps enter into discussion about the transatlantic slave trade. To establish the horrors of the slave trade, I ask students to read and present on selected essays from the highly pictorial book, *Captive Passage: The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Making of the Americas* (Smithsonian Institution, 2002). Some chapters in this book historically, economically, and geographically situate how the slave trade developed and prospered (Collins, 2002). Other chapters use photos, drawings, and paintings to bring the violence of the slave trade and slavery into more concrete focus for students as opposed to a historical abstraction.

Even after the slave trade was abolished, ownership of Black bodies continued. Slave owners bred slaves. Through such exchange from colonial America, to the Revolutionary War, to the 13th Amendment, Blacks and Whites absorbed and reinterpreted one another's cultural practices. Once the inhumanness of the slave trade is established, I introduce the concept of cultural fusion with particular focus on movement sensibilities—even though their cosmologies could not be more disparate (DeFrantz, 2002; Molly, 2010; Stearns & Stearns, 1994; Thompson, 1983, 1974; Welsh, 1998). Understanding the cultural, religious, and aesthetic differences between West Africans and Europeans functions to differentiate one from the other. Such differences serve to identify and trace the influence of each upon the other. Gottschild (1996) states, "In spite of our denials, opposites intermingle more than we care to admit. Cultures borrow from another and fusions abound" (p. 59).

Examining this brutally intense and complex historical period in the United States helps students realize the impact that the African diaspora had on its dance forms from its inception. The introduction of the Ring Shout and the Cake Walk, which emerged on southern plantations, is important because they represent some of the earliest Black-based dance forms in the United States. The Ring Shout, the older of the two, was rife with Africanisms or cultural retentions. According to Glass (2007), the Ring Shout was "an amalgamation of several African circle dances, it is the oldest African American religious dance" (p. 32). It was a counterclockwise circle dance that entailed clapping, shuffling, and stamping (Glass, 2007). This dance form led to the Cakewalk. It migrated from the plantations, after the abolishment of slavery from minstrelsy to the Black Broadway era. As Gottschild (1996) notes, "Originally a competition dance performed on the plantation with a corncake as the prize, the dance exemplifies the Africanist tradition of masking, this time, through body

language” (p. 114). These two dance forms are significant because they represent some of the country’s first choreography and are evidence of the cross-pollination of movement forms that continued between Blacks and Whites. The forms also set in motion a *movement discourse*, which students learn how to trace into the twentieth century, and to concert dance forms, such as modern dance.

Counterstory Two: Reading Movement

Another way to question whiteness as property in dance history pedagogy is to focus on what was actually going on in the moving body of the dancer as she or he carves through space, quickly bounds into the air, or gives into the body’s weight by spiraling into the floor. Focusing on the body reveals the etchings of multiple cultural legacies that are both Africanist and Europeanist in origin (Gottschild, 1996). As dance in the United States continued to evolve, the dancing body encountered other influences but none were as direct and sustained as that between Blacks and Whites from the 1600s to 1900s.

Presenting the Africanist aesthetic in tandem with a Europeanist aesthetic provides a means to identify and discern the blackness and whiteness in dance movement. By referencing what she termed *bodily “texts,”* Desmond (1997) notes, “We can trace historical and geographic changes in complex kinesthetic systems and can study comparatively symbolic systems based on... movement” (pp. 29–30). Her analysis is helpful because it establishes that movement is language like and can be read as such.

Numerous scholars have identified the European origins and subsequent movement vocabularies in theatrical dance, which go back to the Renaissance and Baroque eras (Au, 2012). Reading and viewing materials such as excerpts of the classic Romantic ballet, *Swan Lake* (1876), is a means to identify movement conventions such as: (a) an erect spine; (b) feet that rotate out from the hip sockets; (c) symmetry in the body’s overall design; (d) an emphasis on the shape and positioning of the body in space; (e) use of weight that directs the body upward in space, escaping from the earth; (f) weight that is centered high in the chest; (g) the use of specialized shoes—later slippers; (h) and male-female partnering. These movement conventions were, and still are, embodied in ballet. For students, they become a means to identify Europeanist traditions in US dance history.

In contrast, Africanist-based principles provide another lens through which one can identify cultural traits in movement behavior. They can be identified in such movement traits as: (a) a supple use of the spine; (b) feet that are in parallel and do not rotate outward from the hip sockets; (c) asymmetry in the body’s overall shape; (d) an emphasis on movement of the body through space; (e) use of weight that directs the body downward in space, releasing into the earth; (f) weight that is centered in the pelvis; and (g) dancing in bare feet and in uncoupled form (Asante, 1998; Glass, 2007; Gottschild, 1996, 2003; Stearns & Stearns, 1968; Thompson, 1974). These traits become a way for students to trace the circuitous pathway of how Africanisms were embodied in United States dance history.

Even more contemporary examples exist of how West African dances are expressed in the dancing body. I point out to students that these traits are embodied in African-based traditions and are also ways to identify what is African in ballet, modern, and contemporary concert dance forms. For instance, to identify these movement traits, students can view the film *Chuck Davis: Dancing through West Africa* (Desmond, Kindem, & Kindem, 1987). An example might include a dancer's weight that is directed toward the ground, bent knees acting like springs to facilitate this movement propensity. Davis was the artistic director of the African American Dance Ensemble. The film chronicles Davis' journey with this dance company throughout The Gambia and Senegal. Among many other aspects, the film presents common movement vocabularies between the United States and West Africa as part of the African diaspora.

Recognizing both Black and White movement in concert dance lays the foundation for histories of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. Viewing choreography by an array of Black and White modern and ballet choreographers provides evidence of both the Black and White movement texts. Some examples to elicit student's recognition might include: early White modern dancer Helen Tamiris' *Negro Spirituals* (1928–1941); NYCB founder and artistic director, George Balanchine's *The Four Temperaments* (1946); or Black choreographer Alvin Ailey's seminal work, *Revelations* (1960). Such recognition of these movement traits in both ballet and modern dance provides students with a way to compare and contrast these two aesthetic traditions in concert dance history.

Counterstory Three: Righting the Right to Exclude

A third way to question whiteness as property in dance history is to examine the ways Blacks were excluded and try to mend it. Black dancers and choreographers struggled for years to be accepted as concert dance artists; oftentimes, they were stereotyped solely as entertainers. In the early part of the twentieth century, they were barred from dance studios and were unable to receive the necessary training. Some opened their own studios or were self-taught. Others may have gained entrance to studio training; however, the result did not translate to performing on the concert stage White dancers (Foulkes, 2002; Gottschild, 2003, 1996; Perpener, 2001).

On a fundamental level, had Black dancers performed alongside their White dancers, their role in the co-creation of this form may have been acknowledged. Further, such visibility of Black concert dance artists' artistic prowess may have given them access to adequate funding to develop their companies, better studio and rehearsal space, as well as performance venues. With such acknowledgment, visibility, and access, the performance of Black-based thematic material from the perspective of Black dance artists could have silenced the persistent trope that relegated Black dancers to their status as *only* entertainers. Yet, Blacks endured racist practices, which excluded them from

participation, marking their bodies as inferior to the White ones, and denying their abilities as serious dance artists. Such practices persisted well into the twentieth century (Foulkes, 2002; Gottschild, 2003, 1996; Perpener, 2001). As Harris (1993) contended earlier, whiteness as property applies here “as the right to exclude” (p. 1714). Today, such exclusion still lingers, particularly in professional ballet companies. Misty Copeland, a principal dancer with the American Ballet Theater, is an exception, not the norm. In 2013, she was the *first* Black dancer to be named the principal dancer in this legendary company (Copeland, 2014; George & Norville, 2016).

As previously described, Gottschild’s (1996) critical analysis of the Black texts in Balanchine’s work identified the Africanist presence in the NYCB. Notable was the premium he placed on White dancers as opposed to Black dancers—even though Balanchine’s appropriation of the Black movement is evident in many of his ballets. For example, in reference to his ballet, *Jewels* (1967), Gottschild describes Balanchine’s use of the Cakewalk as “Africanist-inflected ballroom dance partnering conventions” (p. 71). Additionally, McCarthy Brown (2011) addressed the dimension of “colorism” among Black ballet dancers in Black-based companies like the Dance Theatre of Harlem (DTH). This occurred through the way in which dancers self-inflicted the premium of lighter skin over darker skin in the company. Either way, exclusionary practices occurred through Balanchine’s protection of whiteness and DTH’s preference for lightness in skin color.

Classroom discussion can help students negotiate such racist practices in the concert dance canon—particularly ballet. I suggest that instructors can dig deeper by referencing Singleton and Linton’s (2006) concept of racializing culture as applied to ballet because it is uncommon to think about race in relationship to ballet. Since whiteness is normative, regarding ballet as “race-less” makes its whiteness invisible, while also avoiding any recognition of how bodies are marked by race, positioning non-whiteness as inferior. To racialize ballet in a way that highlights its (debt to) blackness is also to make it less secure and risk how the form itself protects whiteness as its property. As dance educators, we can help students understand how race manifests through dance, both by securing whiteness while also erasing its own blackness, revealing how it functions to perpetuate elitism and secure whiteness.

Counterstory Four: Africanisms in Modernism

The final way to question whiteness as property in dance history is to teach the African roots of modernism, which leads into modern dance in the United States. Early modern dance pioneers such as Martha Graham were drawn to Cubism because of its abstraction of the body and its angularity (Foulkes, 2002). Modernism in paint had a very enduring effect on modernism in dance because it presented another mode for dancers to express their rebellion against ballet. Early modern dancers were drawn to the work of such artists as Henri Matisse and Pablo Picasso. Foulkes (2002) describes this impact as follows:

“Like Picasso, Matisse, and other modernist painters, modern dancers created new ways for people to see themselves, from disjointed, angular composites of body parts to colorful, rounded, fluid outlines” (p. 3). For example, whereas ballet was very symmetrical, these paintings inspired modern dance choreographers to create asymmetrical movements and angular body shapes.

Investigation of Picasso’s history as a painter reveals how he appropriated African and ancient Iberian sculptural influences in his work (Johnson, 1975; Lyon, 1989). He also benefited from such appropriation as a highly acclaimed artist working during the twentieth century. For example, in his famed painting, *Les Femmes d’Alger (O. J. R. M.)* (1907), he focused on the form of the five women’s bodies. The configuration of their faces reveals evidence of African and Iberian influences. While Picasso was also influenced by other sources, with such understanding, students could connect what is African in Cubism and in the early modern dance aesthetic. Reconsidering the origins of modernism in art, due to its Africanist influences, supports its subsequent impact on modernism in dance.

This counterstory challenges the notion that Cubism was an early twentieth century invention that originated among the Parisian avant-garde. While it transformed European painting and sculptural traditions, it was influenced by African and Iberian sources. When whiteness as property is challenged, so is the “the right to exclude” (Harris, 1993, p. 1714). Approaching Cubism in this manner questions its whiteness by revealing its blackness, making it less exclusionary. Challenging the origins of Picasso’s inspiration makes it more inclusionary by acknowledging other cultural influences.

Further reading links modernism to Africanisms. Wood’s (n.d.) essay, “‘Gimme’ de Knee Bone Bent: African Body Language and the Evolution of American Dance Forms,” coupled with Foulkes’ (2002) account of Picasso’s influence on Graham, connects modernism to Africanisms. Wood describes it as follows:

Nor is it surprising that American modern dance, created largely in the urban North during this era of enormous social movement, owes more than it yet realizes to roots that are black and southern, and ultimately African. During the first half of the 20th century, pioneer American dancers found it both possible and exciting to work closer to the ground, to plant their feet and bend their knees, to thrust their hips and point their elbows. And when troubled critics explained that these “new” movements had been “discovered,” because American dancers and audiences are a step removed from the balletic traditions of Europe, they were half right. They could have added, had they realized, that although America was still a segregated society during the first half of the 20th century, all of its inhabitants, black and white, were moving closer to the continent of Africa in body movement all the time. (p. 3)

Wood points out that modern dancers were searching for a different, more freeing movement vocabulary than ballet could provide. Their quest drew them to the asymmetry of modernism that had both European and African roots.

In addition, this excerpt of Wood's (n.d.) essay can be particularly helpful because it connects all four counterstories. First, it provides a historical timeline (e.g., "Black and southern"). Second, it offers examples of movement that can be read in a way that reveals the connection between modern dance and African-based traits (e.g., "working closer to the ground"). Third, it dispels the exclusionary nature of the art form as solely European in origin (e.g., "moving closer to the continent of Africa"). Fourth, it identifies the Cubist influence in American modern dance through the dancing body (i.e., "bend their knees" or "point their elbows").

TEACHING WHITE STUDENTS ABOUT RACISM

This pedagogic approach to US dance history assists students in connecting blackness to whiteness in this art form. Doing so debunks white supremacy because it reveals it to be a myth, one that continues to carry immense power in the United States. It re-writes, as Ladson-Billings (2009) describes, the "master script" by helping dance students, particularly White dance students, recognize the blackness in the dance practices they consider to be White. Students become more aware of the racist construction of the United States and its manifestation on the stages and pages of dance history.

Through these four pedagogies, Black and Brown students may experience more agency when they recognize themselves in counterstories by including the legacies of such figures as Edna Guy (African American), José Limón (Latino), Maria Tallchief (Osage Tribe), Yuriko Kikuchi (Japanese American), and Alvin Ailey (African American). By the late twentieth century, renowned Black dancer/choreographer Bill T. Jones entered the scene and formed the Bill T. Jones/Arnie Zane Dance Company. In 1994, he received a MacArthur Genius Award. In 2010, he was one of five recipients for the Kennedy Center Honors and received a Tony Award for Best Choreography for the Broadway musical *Fela!* Wong and Jones reflect concert dance artists who were truly altering the racial landscape. When White students learn about the emergence of such diverse figures in concert dance, and their pervasive impact alongside of White dancers, they can better understand the complex tapestry of this history. In present day, students in the United States may also be able to transfer learning to an analysis of how racism still plagues their country.

However, there are challenges to teaching such students about blackness, and moreover, about racism. In her work, Tatum (2009) points out that White students simultaneously feel both guilt and denial about institutionalization of racism. When White students resist learning, they may push back and search for ways to disassociate from the subject matter. They may blame the professor because of what they perceive as a faulty portrayal of content. They may resort to misconstruing a professor's approach as being *too Black*. They may misinterpret counterstorytelling as a means through which a professor can

label them as being racist. These are examples of the ways White students could become uncomfortable when talking about race and racism minimize its impact.

Instructors should still present the material about racism in dance. As Tatum (2009) challenges, helping students “is part of our responsibility as educators who have accepted the challenge of teaching racism” (p. 280). To this end, it is the professor who can cultivate an environment where issues of race can be addressed in an open and respectful manner. Part of this entails moments when White students are challenged. For example, one strategy could be asking them how they would feel if they did not see dancers like themselves dominating the pages of dance history or class discussions. Nonetheless, I am convinced that such moments can move from challenges to the possibility of new knowledge about dance for students, as well as about themselves.

In Motion

Ultimately, the desired outcome of this pedagogy is to help students understand how whiteness was protected in concert dance and in the pages of dance history. Further, it is also hoped that students transfer their understanding of the blackness and whiteness in dance to their own practice as dancers in the twenty-first century. Such understanding should also be accompanied by an awareness that the movement transmission between Blacks and Whites was more complex than mere appropriation. Through the unequal power dynamics of such appropriation, the exchange of movement sensibilities between Blacks and Whites formed the bedrock of dance in the United States. Whites benefited, Blacks did not. As was previously described, this appropriation was not a two-way street. Blacks were not credited for their substantive impact on modernism in dance. They also encountered roadblocks along the way. Discriminatory practices barred them from dance studios and concert dance stages in the early twentieth century. Such practices continue to persist today like the protection of whiteness in ballet.

While Baldwin’s (1985) statement that we “are a part of each other” is true, upon critical examination, the asymmetrical power relationships that persist between Blacks and Whites become apparent (p. 690). Steps to dismantle the ways the Black dancing body was exploited throughout dance history can help mediate the power that the concert dance canon persistently holds. Counterstorytelling is one such mediation. In motion, dancers embody the intersection of diverse legacies and traditions. Once students understand this complicated dance history, they are better able to grasp how their dancing body narrates this counterstory. By honoring history through a critical lens, they embody both the complexity and fullness of the past.

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CHAPTER 9

African Dance as an Epistemic Insurrection in Postcolonial Zimbabwean Arts Education Curriculum

Jairos Gonye and Nathan Moyo

As the kongonya dance commenced in the backdrop of high-pitched chimurenga¹ song, I became barely conscious of my obscure presence amidst the rising thick dust. I remember looking at the bigger dancers and imitating their steps, moves and routines. What I distinctly remember to this day is that both young men and women danced in line formation, with those dancers behind clutching the waists of those ahead of them—man to woman, woman to man—then simultaneously rolling their buttocks exaggeratedly and stamping the ground as they hopped forward till the leading dancer completed a turn and clutched the waist of the last dancer in the line and thus formed a rotating ring (personal recollection by Jairos Gonye, the first author).

INTRODUCTION

In the recollection above, Jairos Gonye (the first author) illustrates the political and symbolic power of African dance practices as an expression of the lived realities of a marginalized people in a perpetual struggle for self-affirmation in a world where standards of knowing and remembering are defined by notions of *whiteness* as normalized and taken for granted (Bell, 1980; Delgado, 2000;

¹ *Chimurenga* is the Shona word for war of liberation.

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Harris, 1995). This recollection also resonates with the growing efforts by Indigenous scholars from formerly colonized African nations such as Zimbabwe (formerly Rhodesia) and others. We foreground and claim African and other Indigenous peoples' experiences as valid epistemic insurrectionary practices in "a world that remains painfully hegemonic [and] riddled with vestiges of colonialism" (Shim, 2009, p. 113). Our work is forged in the crucible of the anti-colonial struggles against Western European imperialism that deployed racism as a tool to oppress Africans. It aims to provide an entry point for an interrogation and understanding of the attempted erasure of the experiences and cultures of Black African peoples. This erasure was perpetuated through colonial education, among other forms of colonization.

Here, performing dance appears to be a way of refusing this forced invisibilization by the colonial forces and the attendant misrepresentation. This is contrary to the now (in)famous words of Trevor-Roper (1963), which characterize African traditional dances as mere "unrewarding gyrations of barbarous tribes in picturesque irrelevant corners of the globe" (p. 871). As Gonye (2013) argues, African dance performances are not only an expression of cultural heritage but also a "countercultural response to colonialism" (p. 69). These performances can be deployed to unmask the dominance of whiteness as normalized and at the same time foreground resistance and defiance. It is against this backdrop that we, in this chapter, examine the status of dance education in the postcolonial Zimbabwean school curriculum with a view to understanding the continued marginalization of African dance in the arts education curriculum.

The school curriculum in postcolonial Zimbabwe is in many ways a legacy of British colonialism, which introduced a type of formal education premised on Eurocentric ways of knowing. This Western European type of education had overt undertones of racial superiority that explicitly sought to promote Eurocentric epistemologies as superior and worth knowing while denigrating African Indigenous knowledges and practices (Mlambo, 2006; Shizha, 2013). In overt and subtle ways, whiteness became the invisible norm against which all other knowledges were compared (Parkes, 2007, p. 391). Such an education was racist and unjust, since a Eurocentric conception of knowledge interpolated with messages of white supremacy that rendered Indigenous African knowledge systems inferior (Shizha, 2013).

As played out in then Rhodesia (now Zimbabwe), this implied that "almost all of Rhodesian fine arts and culture represented a bland rehash of respectable, old-European bourgeois forms" (Kaarsholm, 1989, p. 197). Since curriculum reflects the dominant culture, it followed that the dance curriculum was more aligned to imported English and European dances, which could not be easily wished away at the attainment of political independence in 1980.² This is illustrated in Spivak's (1997) assertion that

²Zimbabwe became independent in 1980 after a protracted armed struggle.

[the] declared rupture of decolonization has not resulted in the freedom one may have expected, the historical discourse—as independence from the colonial power might free us from our foreign oppressor’s armies, but it does not automatically free us of the discourses in which our subjectivities and identities have been inscribed. (p. 202)

This means that freeing ourselves from foreign armies did not necessarily mean freeing ourselves from the cultural hegemony entrenched through an educational practice that was mostly aimed at reproducing an African who accepted that African cultural values and practices were inferior to Western ones. It is for this reason that Dover (2015) describes it as “an unjust educational landscape” characterized by Eurocentric epistemologies that have marginalized African ways of knowing thus maintaining an epistemic status quo that has the hallmarks of colonialism (p. 370). It is from this “foreign-ness of curriculum and voicelessness in pedagogy” (Kanu, 2003, p. 73) experienced by Indigenous people despite the formal end of colonialism that Africans need to free themselves.

Similarly, the postcolonial curriculum in Zimbabwe has remained problematic in that it is a “colonial space” (Tupper, 2015, p. 100), where African dance as an expression of Indigenous knowledge continues to be marginalized. This is partly a result of the persistence of whiteness as the definer and marker of what is considered legitimate school knowledge. This is also because Zimbabwean curriculum planners have yet to address this colonial vestige (Gonye & Moyo, 2015; Shim, 2009). This failure to destabilize the epistemic status quo is happening in spite of the anti-white rhetoric that has characterized the country’s political landscape since 2000 under Robert Mugabe.³ The deployment of Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a critical lens that facilitates an “understanding of lived oppression—the struggle to make a way out of no way—which propels us to problematize dominant ideologies in which knowledge is constructed” (Tyson, 2003, p. 20) becomes a useful heuristic to unpack this continued dominance.

In this chapter, we, as postcolonial subjects, employ CRT, firstly, to unmask how race and whiteness as property (Harris, 1995) have continued to manifest in the ways in which the arts education curriculum in general, and dance education in particular, are perceived and enacted in Zimbabwe. Secondly, we employ CRT to illustrate the epistemic insurrectionary potential of African dances that can be used to “resist interpellation and inscription within dominant representations of the historic past” (Parkes, 2007, p. 383). This would be a necessary step toward an epistemic insurrection against the taken-for-granted-ness of whiteness as normative in the curriculum.

³Robert Mugabe is the first black African President of Zimbabwe whose calls to sever links with the West have not been complemented with those to revolutionize the curriculum.

We further illustrate the ways in which the school curriculum in Zimbabwe reflects the legacy of colonialism and argue that two Zimbabwean dances, *jerusarema* and *kongonya*, offer us an opportunity to discuss what we posit as a post-racist liberatory performance—a dance performance that repeats, in exaggerated forms, the sexual propensities of the African body in defiance of white standards of morality. We constitute post-racist performance as a performance whereby African dancers engage in moves, steps, and routines that defy and challenge (Gonye, 2013) Eurocentric perspectives that pronounce African practices as wicked. Today, despite the racist British colonialists having lost political control, and most of them having left Zimbabwe, vestiges of racism still haunt our attitudes toward Indigenous dance. This condition thus makes liberatory dances relevant in the ongoing reconstruction of our identities. Such performances we conceive as post-racist, therefore, become necessary to address the racist colonial legacies illustrated in the scanty attention to Zimbabwean Indigenous dance forms in the arts education curriculum (Gonye & Moyo, 2015). Such dances might offer opportunities for rethinking the epistemic insurrectionary potential of dance in confronting and deconstructing what Jupp (2013) considers the epistemic inconsideration of the Anglocentrics who privilege the written word while sidelining other forms of knowledge such as cultural performances.

This anti-colonial project seems necessary since the postcolonial classroom spaces in African educational institutions remain heavily colonized by Eurocentric notions and perceptions of what is worthwhile knowledge to be included in the official curriculum. It is against this backdrop that we examine how Zimbabwean Indigenous African dances and their practices can be harnessed as both political and epistemic means to counteract the flawed post-independence arts curriculum. This curriculum, in the words of Tupper (2015), is a “colonial space” (p. 100) that is implicated in the subordination of Indigenous dances. As Willinsky (1998) argues, “the legacy of imperialism is ever present within educational discourses, having significantly shaped the construction and constitution of school subjects such as Geography, Language, Literature and History” (p. 90). In addressing some of the above concerns our chapter focuses on the following essential questions:

- How does CRT enable us to rethink Zimbabwean dances as representing alternative systems of knowledge extant in African performance that is at once decolonial and affirmative of African identity?
- What are the implications of this rethinking for the contemporary arts curriculum in Zimbabwe?

In the conclusion, we tease out implications for how African dance could be incorporated into the school curriculum as part of the broader project of a pedagogy of liberation that results in self-confidence with Indigenous dances and practices as sources of knowledge in Zimbabwe.

THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK: DEEPENING DECOLONIZATION THROUGH CRT

We employ the lens of CRT to reframe traditional African dance education as epistemic insurrection against persistent whiteness in postcolonial Zimbabwean arts education. This is especially important since “persistent whiteness,” an offshoot of white supremacy in the post-independence Zimbabwean scenario, is manifested in the continued dominance of Eurocentric ways of thinking and education and is aligned with “other [related] forms of oppression” (Yosso, 2005, p. 72), such as classism, ethnocentrism, and neocolonialism. White supremacy, as it relates to African nations formerly under the political and economic dominance of European colonial powers and now under the control of a Western-educated African political elite, still exhibits the psychological side effects of such control, especially in their arts curricula (London, 2001; Willinsky, 1998).

Writing about Indigenous people in the United States, Writer (2008) avers that CRT can be useful to Indigenous peoples’ desire to “unmask,” “expose,” and “confront” the “continued colonization within educational contexts and societal structures” (p. 2). In Zimbabwe, where Indigenous people far outnumber Whites, the Europeans (Rhodesians) who colonized Zimbabwe considered Rhodesia a settler colony and proceeded to entrench racist policies that sought to extinguish and marginalize African Indigenous cultures, knowledges, and practices such as dance (Gonye, 2015; Mlambo, 2006; Shizha, 2013). This history is reflected in the depleted contemporary arts school curriculum (Ministry of Education, Sport Arts and Culture, 2009). This is why we believe that CRT and by extension AfriCriticism (AfriCrit) are useful heuristics to interrogate post-racist performances in formerly colonized sub-Saharan Africa. AfriCrit, an offshoot of CRT, as described in detail later in this chapter, can enable a critical discussion and contestation of the legacy of colonialism in the arts education in post-independent Zimbabwe.

This chapter draws on and modifies CRT’s five central tenets, which include the use of “interdisciplinary methods” (arts/dance) couched in “experiential knowledge” to “challenge dominant ideologies” such as white or elitist supremacy in order to establish “social justice” (Yosso, 2005, pp. 72–75). To this end, we adapt Solórzano and Yosso’s (2002) pertinent question in counter-storytelling as follows: Whose dances are privileged in the arts curriculum and whose dances are under-represented and marginalized? Following Solórzano and Yosso (2002), we are equally convinced that our Zimbabwean dances are not “fictitious” but are “grounded” in real cultural experiences that tell our stories as Black Zimbabweans.

We turn to Indigenous dance in this chapter in order to unmask the subtle nuances through which whiteness, as the invisible center of a globalized power and knowledge system (Chakrabarty, 1992; Harris, 1995), impinges on formerly colonized Africans’ views on the aesthetic, epistemological, and identitarian functions of African dance. Informed by CRT as an educational theory

and analysis tool that challenges racist practices and discourses, as well as fosters emancipation and empowerment among students (Yosso, 2005), we draw on two Zimbabwean Indigenous dances, *jerusarema* and *kongonya*, to discursively challenge persistent whiteness as standard, universal epistemological practice. Since both dances performed a political role during Zimbabwe's 1970s anti-colonial struggle (Gonye, 2015), it behooves us to rethink their potential as curriculum knowledge for a cultural and epistemic insurrection (Medina, 2011) against whiteness in the arts education curriculum. This is essential if we are to resist Eurocentric epistemologies that were concomitant in the colonial project that framed Indigenous African dance forms and practices as primitive, licentious, and pagan gyrations (Asante, 2000; Conrad, 1995; Trevor-Roper, 1963).

We further draw on Yosso (2005) to acknowledge that "CRT is a framework that can be used to theorize, examine and challenge the ways race and racism implicitly and explicitly impact on social structures, practices and discourses" (p. 70). This is essential in order to discuss the negative legacy of an arts curriculum inspired by racism and elitism in Zimbabwe. In our case, the legacy of racism seems to insidiously influence the Zimbabwean arts curriculum that, in our view, appears dressed in black only to hide whiteness. Colonialism introduced social classes, statuses, privileges, and tastes among the dominant Blacks, which our independence has left intact. Among these has been the received Eurocentric belief that African traditional dances were pagan and unsuitable for inclusion in the curriculum as relevant school knowledge (Gonye & Moyo, 2015). These biases persist in the arts curriculum despite the attainment of political independence.

Our chapter further draws from postcolonial and Afrocentric scholars such as Wa Thiongo (1993), who advocate for a decentering of the analytical center from Europe to Africa, and Banks (2009), who argues that Indigenous dance knowledge can be a decolonizing tool. Indigenous dance pedagogy could thus promote what Medina (2011) conceives as a necessary form of epistemic insurrection that "disrupt[s] and interrogate[s] epistemic hegemonies and mainstream perspectives" (p. 11). Indigenous African dances, in this way, can be viewed as one of the sites that "decolonization emerges from" since it "occurs in multiple, at times divergent, and inevitably interrelated locales" (Asher, 2009, p. 9). All this countering should however be cognizant of Tuck and Gaztambide-Fernández's (2013) observation that the "spaces" opened by responses to such racism and colonization in the curriculum are often re-occupied by "white curriculum scholars [thus] displacing the bodies [of black knowledge] out to the margins" (p. 73). In our case, we should be wary of the postures and intentions of the new conservative black elite in relation to curriculum.

In their influential article, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) propose to harness CRT in order to expose the inequities in the educational system in the United States to demonstrate how race and property intersected in ways that privileged whites at the expense of blacks and other still marginalized racial

minorities, despite all the pretense of racial and social equity. More significantly, Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) recognize the shortcomings of the liberal educational reforms that half-heartedly improved opportunities for inclusive education for previously marginalized groups, including blacks. In their words, “Critical Race Theory in education, like its antecedent in legal scholarship, is a radical critique of both the status quo and the purported reforms” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 62). Similarly, the slow pace of the implementation of the cultural policy of Zimbabwe (2007) raises critical questions. Likewise, the fact that dance remains an adjunct of another marginalized arts subject—music—also raises important questions (Gonye & Moyo, 2015). All this is despite the central role dance played in the cultural and political trajectories of the nation. Therefore, we embrace CRT and try to adopt and adapt it to the Zimbabwean conditions, where elitist tastes inspired by Western education appear to influence the selection and sieving of knowledge that ends up being included in the postcolonial arts curriculum even though colonialism ended three decades ago.

THE BODY AS A POTENTIAL SITE OF INSURRECTION

Scholars have argued that the human body is a rich site for investigating and explaining culture (Barker, 2012; Butler, 2007). Since different cultures are constantly interacting in both positive and negative ways, as evidenced in colonialism and globalization, the body becomes both a symbolic and literal site for political subjugation and contestation. This is particularly evident in the dances performed by excluded racial groups. Turner (1996) avers that contemporary Western European society is a somatic society whereby “major political and personal problems are both problematised within the body and expressed through it” (p. 1), implying that the body or what we do with the body carries meanings. One of the ways in which the black body reflects these issues of “constraint and resistance” is through culturally and politically significant dances (Turner, 2001, p. 12). This means that the body occupies an ambiguous position. The owner of the body can dance to his or her own tune; be “seen” to dance according to his or her own sensuousness; or, in the case of the colonized, be coerced to dance to the dominant colonizer’s racist dictates. More significantly, the European colonizer’s racialized gaze pigeonholes the African body, especially as the body performs dance, to illustrate the purported differences between the white colonizer and the black Zimbabwean, with the African person’s cultural performances marking them as morally inferior and physically degenerate, hence needing to be refined through engaging in the presumably superior white man’s cultural performances (Gonye, 2015). This is why Oye’wu’mi (2005) notes, “the gaze is an invitation to differentiate” (p. 4). Even though the Western people danced, they privileged the so-called superior exercises of the mind over the irrational “foibles” of the flesh, which other so-called less noble races preferred (Oye’wu’mi, 2005).

Hylton (2009), discussing how African Americans are persuaded to accept the racialized stereotype that Blacks can succeed only in sport, comments, “Racism operates in multifaceted and complex ways” (p. vii). One such way is to suggest that the different “racial” bodies are specially designed for different practices. The power of European discourse normalizes abnormal situations of domination that might be calling for urgent redress such as dichotomizing what is culturally or aesthetically good for less affluent Africans on the one hand and for the propertied Whites and elite classes on the other. Put in other words, the typical African body, especially that of one from the lower socioeconomic class, unlike that of the European one, performs best in the so-called less refined dances such as *jerusarema* and *kongonya*, dances whose exaggerated sexual moves seem closer to nature.

Likewise, in the Zimbabwean case, the United Nations Educational Cultural Scientific Organization (UNESCO), in 2005, lists *jerusarema* as an endangered cultural heritage practice on the *UNESCO Masterpieces of the Oral and Intangible Heritage of Humanity* list. The discourse of endangerment helps entrench the feeling that *jerusarema* is an immutable fossil and an artifact to be protected, rather than a dynamic and transforming asset—with the potential to revolutionize contemporary scholarship. This also implies that this symbolic recognition of traditional dance does very little to affect the negative racist and elitist attitudes imbued in the arts curriculum. What seem to be the gains for African culture are, in fact, benefits for White settlers and the contemporary Zimbabwean ruling classes. This recognition acts as a normalizing cover for the subordination that poor African schoolchildren experience every day through their arts education. It plays into the hands of elitist curriculum policymakers and planners. This is so because while ordinary Africans have to be content with the idea that their dance has been recognized by an international body like UNESCO, their schools can only afford unstylish, traditional paraphernalia (drums, rattles, and cheap costumes) through which the students experience these arts. The schools where the children of the well-to-do politicians attend purchase sophisticated equipment, guitars, brass instruments, and modern pianos. While the former second-rate instruments may not diminish the inherent value of such traditional dances per se, they help reflect the postcolonial arts curriculum’s non-committal stance to addressing the inequities that abound in colonial education legacies.

METHODOLOGY

Our argument to use dance to free the Zimbabwean arts curriculum is premised on the idea that in both history and cultural studies, colonialism was contested through the intellectual and political movement called postcolonialism. The British colonialists harnessed racism as a principle to justify colonialism. Racism tended to point to the so-called differing bodily physical attributes, practices, and tastes between the colonizer and colonized for its explanations. We conceive from the formerly colonized’s counter-racist bodily performances,

such as dance, a term corresponding to postcolonialism. We term this practice “post-racist” because of its inferences to defiant dance performances even in a context where the former British colonialists have emigrated from Zimbabwe. We argue that even in this globalized post-independence era, inequalities abound because of colonial and racial continuities, hence the need for post-racism to contest and counteract them. The explanation of postcolonialism relevant here resonates with Ashcroft’s (2001) argument that postcolonial cultural representations signify a challenge and revision of the imperialist cultural exponents such as literary writers’ misrepresentations of formerly colonized cultures.

We trust that to include such dances for study in all learning institutions and to develop an affirming pedagogy around them might enable Zimbabwean children to consider their Indigenous dances as being highly valuable. This might enable students to become freed from cultural subordination and inferiority complexes considering that racism remains like an albatross around the necks of African curriculum specialists. This is buttressed in Gonye and Moyo’s (2015) research in which local Zimbabwean dance teachers demonstrate surprising ignorance about some of the dances they are expected to teach in schools.

Over the years, CRT scholarship has developed into a theory of critique beyond the legal field where it originated, and now has a foothold in educational research (Huber, 2008; Ladson-Billings, 1998). It also transcends the country of its origin, with other continents and marginalized groups having appropriated it in an attempt to push the theoretical boundaries further in understanding and deconstructing the “omnipresence of race” (Ladson-Billings, 1998) that is interwoven into the fabric of their societies (p.9). Indeed, several offshoots of CRT such as LatCrit, AsianCrit, FemCrit, WhiteCrit, among others, have become fairly developed heuristics of analysis in highlighting instances of racial inequality (Huber, 2008, p. 160). As for LatCrit, Huber (2008) argues that the theory aims to better articulate the experiences of Latinas/os, through a more focused examination of the multiple forms of oppression committed against Latina/o communities (p.166). Following this, we, as Africans, propose AfriCrit as an extension of CRT analogous to LatCrit and others. In our view, AfriCrit would generally enable an interrogation and reclamation of African arts and practices that range from wood carving, pottery, sculpture, theater, dance, song, to literature and architecture. Here, we posit that AfriCrit could offer the disadvantaged people of the African continent a heuristic for interrogating and understanding how they are positioned in the global world. AfriCrit becomes a hankering toward pan-Africanism, which is etched in the traditions of resistance and reclamation of what is African. It might, for example, help tease Africans on what they make of the fact that European colonialists doubted that the Zimbabwean people built the Great Zimbabwe monuments, preferring to ascribe this architectural marvel to “‘white,’ foreign” people (Fontein, 2006) and referring dismissively to the monuments as the “Zimbabwe ruins” (p. 772).

It is in view of such marginalization and misrepresentation that Africans need a theoretical framework that could help them defend and celebrate their Indigenous as well as emerging arts even now that the White racists have relinquished direct political control. This resonates with Solórzano and Yosso's (2002) exhortation that we should "develop new theories that will help us to better understand those who are at the margins of society" (p. 23). Our proposed AfriCrit theory could therefore help African scholars to appreciate why and then contest the continued Eurocentric practices where some of Africa's best artworks are recognized more for their apparent exoticism than for their aesthetics, expressiveness, rhythm, order, function, and cultural specificity (Asante, 2000).

In its emergent state, AfriCrit remains anti-essentialist and tries consciously to avoid romanticization of Africa and its past, which has been the bane of African theories and philosophies. The theory draws from our belief that our African artists of different disciplines use the arts such as sculpture, carving, literature, and dance, among others, to conceptualize and reframe the continent's experiences dating back to the days of slavery, through colonialism to post-independence. It posits that African artists use the arts to express our political, economic, and cultural struggles, all of which point to a history of racist colonial domination and anti-colonial resistance.

We specifically conceptualize AfriCrit as a theory that represents the belief that African traditional dances, normally performed in a circle, embody notions of nationhood, identity, and sovereignty. Particularly, dance works through linking the dancing feet to the soil upon which the Africans danced barefooted within a circumscribed boundary. Commenting on Zimbabwean traditional dance, Asante (2000) notes how traditional dancers tread on the soil with such respectful steps and solemn grace that participants and watchers envisage the respect shown to the spirits abiding therein. Gonye (2015) further develops the idea of the communion effects of the African dance circle reminiscent of the African-American ring shout performance. AfriCrit offers tools for the development of a critical arts discourse that not only counters the entrenched colonial discourse but that also challenges the continued muting of the African voice many decades after independence. This could help correct the prevailing misconception by some Europeans and Western-educated African elites that defiant African dances are pagan performances, a misconception that has perpetuated the educational preference to modern Western European dances.

We offer, below, linguistic descriptions of two of our most defining Indigenous dances, for which epistemological quintessence has yet to be acknowledged and tapped. The description of *mbende/jerusalem* is, on the one hand, a first-person plural account. This account is based on our cultural understanding of this lived experience, including its transformation, particularly during the colonization of Zimbabwe by the British at the turn of the twentieth century. The narrative on *kongonya* is, on the other hand, a first-person singular witness account (first author) of this dance that was born during the 1970s Zimbabwean liberation struggle.

Mbende/Jerusalem, *Historical Origins, and Peculiar Steps*

Jerusalem, formerly known as *mbende* before the 1890s colonialism (Mheta, 2005), is one of our most popular traditional dances in Zimbabwe.⁴ Before the British colonized our country, the Shona people, but especially the Zezuru, a sub-group from Murehwa in the northeastern parts of Zimbabwe, performed *mbende* at cultural ceremonies such as funerals and festivals. This dance gradually spread to all parts of our country as the people travelled for commerce, trade, and intermarriages.

A dancer must be a vigorous athlete to successfully engage in *mbende/jerusalem*. Our dance is sometimes described as a war or courtship dance, with its somersaults, athletic swings, and gyrations, among other moves. In Shona traditional lore, it is also said that young men and women performed *mbende* as courtship, ritual, or war dance as well as for entertainment (Asante, 2000; Gonye & Moyo, 2015). In each case, our female dancers used to wear costumes such as loose skirts draped in traditional black and white colors—the preferred colors of our nation’s founding spirit mediums. Male dancers wore flapping animal-skin skirts (hunters’ trophies) or black shorts and bare chests. With the growth of the 1960s–70s nationalism, we have added the colors of the national flag to the swaying costume.

Our dance borrows its original moves and steps from the nervous, darting movements of the mouse, a rodent known as *mbende* among the *Manyika* (Shona). *Mbende*’s trademark moves and routines include an athletic crouching, a nervous swaying of the body, a scrapping of the ground with the feet, and an energetic horizontal, sideways gyration consistent with sexual suggestiveness. Both men and women normally perform these rapid, waist swirling moves while facing each other and punctuate the routine with a provocative thrust of the pelvis at the partner.

Transformation and Proliferation of Jerusalem

Asante (2000), an African-American Afrocentric researcher whose findings on *jerusalem* coincide with our account above, records that the Shona performed the *mbende* dance before their “warring” opponents, particularly the Ndebeles, so as to distract the latter, whose gaze became riveted on the gyrating women and somersaulting men (p. 41). Meanwhile, the Shona fighters would be preparing to ambush their opponents. This means that *mbende* embodied war knowledge, tactics, and strategies. Even as *mbende* evolved over the years, it remained “a war dance of distraction, diversion, and disguise” (Asante, 2000, p. 48).

⁴The Shona vernacular name for *jerusalem* was *mbende*. After the colonialists banned the dance, the defiant Shona still performed it. Its performance fostered a sense of identity and common struggle against cultural strangling among the colonized. To disguise its centrifugal and nationalist potential, the Zimbabwean performers spiced it with some Christian tunes and even performed it after Sunday church services under the new name *jerusalem* for Jerusalem. The term ‘Shona’ refers to the majority of African people who lived in Zimbabwe (excluding the Ndebele) and comprises sub-groups such as the Manyika, Zezuru, Karanga, Korekore, and Ndau.

Oral history suggests that in the early years of colonialism, the missionaries and colonial administrators connived to ban *mbende*, charging that it was an embodiment of depraved licentiousness. They also claimed that the dance promoted indolence among the Shonas, who, instead of availing themselves for labor in European endeavors, wasted their energies gyrating under the African sun. The missionaries and colonialists aimed to render the African dances despicable to the African and disorient the African by infusing a lack of confidence in African cultural practices and ultimately ingratiate the African toward the so-called sophisticated European performances such as ballet (Gonye, 2015). However, as the story of *mbende/jerusalem* illustrates, not all Zimbabweans discarded their cultural dances.

Even after the new colonial administration banned *mbende*, the dance re-emerged under the Christianized name *jerusalem*. The recently colonized Zimbabweans continued to come together and perform *mbende*, though their steps were such that they beguiled the underlying protest. With the passage of time, the expansion of urban centers, and the growth of a nationalist armed struggle, *jerusalem* also spread countrywide and was performed beyond the Zezuru geo-ethnic boundaries. Soon after Zimbabwe's independence in 1980, its performance became widespread.

In the next subsection, the chapter discusses the *kongonya* dance in a historical perspective. It first offers a first-person narrative (I) description of *kongonya* by Jairos Gonye in which he relives his experience of the dance as it was being performed at a political meeting in the night called *pungwe*. The text is in italics to distinguish it from the rest of the generalized body text and discussion. The rest of the section makes sense of these experiences in light of the historical development of the dance.

Kongonya and Historical Origins

This one dark night in October 1978 is one among many. This was the height of Zimbabwe's liberation struggle against the Smith-led racist Rhodesian regime, an armed struggle known as the second chimurenga. The place was Nyashanu Farm no. 47 Devuli Range in Gutu district of Masvingo province. The pungwe or night-long political meeting had been called by the Zimbabwe African Nationalist Army (ZANLA) guerrillas of ZANU, where the guerrillas lectured the rural populace and farm workers on the imperative to intensify the war against the oppressive white colonial administration. As usual, the guerrillas, or the comrades as we affectionately called them, interspaced their political speeches with song and kongonya dance. For us four-year-old kids, it was song, music and kongonya more than political awareness that drove us to the pungwe. With hindsight, I now realize that this was a terrible gamble, for noise travels farthest during the night, and the racist Rhodesian army was also prowling in these nights. But why then were there few skirmishes at pungwes, despite that every night was a pungwe and kongonya night in those years?

As the kongonya dance commenced in the backdrop of high-pitched chimurenga song, I became barely conscious of my obscure presence amidst the rising thick dust. I remember looking at the bigger dancers and imitating their steps, moves and routines. What I distinctly remember to this day is that both young men and women danced in line formation, with those dancers behind clutching the waists of those ahead of them—man to woman, woman to man—then simultaneously rolling their buttocks exaggeratedly and stamping the ground as they hopped forward till the leading dancer completed a turn and clutched the waist of the last dancer in the line and thus formed a rotating ring.

In an earlier article Gonye (2013) describes *kongonya* as a dance born of the second *Chimurenga* when the ZANLA guerrillas and their civilian supporters danced amidst political education lessons (p. 69). The *Kongonya* dance is strongly linked to the *chimurenga* politics and war. If the political rhetoric and armed war were the counter-discourse and ultimate expression of speaking back and fighting the racist imperialists, respectively, *kongonya* was the cultural counterstroke to cultural imperialism and an affirmation of the cultural depth of the birthing Zimbabwean nation. This is especially so since *kongonya* was not attached to any ethnic grouping but to the fighting nation as a unit.

Kongonya is a dance of defiance. Whereas Eurocentric perspectives had derogatively denounced African dances as largely expressing sexual lassitude and thus fit for extermination, the Zimbabwean freedom fighters and their civilian supporters resuscitated these so-called irrational dances that we term post-racist performances in this chapter. These were clearly defiant performances because they were boisterously performed in an open ground during wartimes, which would otherwise have called for utmost secrecy. It was as if the performers were actually daring the Rhodesian army and administration to a confrontation (Gonye, 2015). Gonye (2013) suggests that, etymologically, *kongonya* derives its meaning from the Shona root words *kongonyara* or *mas-vanbikongonya*, words which describe the defiant and proud steps of a male baboon and the defiant looks of a woman refusing to be rejected, respectively. Thus, *kongonya* is a dance that facilitated the Zimbabwean armed struggle.

Proliferation and Transformation of Kongonya

Since *kongonya* was a dance mostly performed by the peripatetic Zimbabwean guerrillas, it was not a localized dance but a diffused dance that spread alongside the war. This means that by the time the war ended in 1979, *kongonya* had spread across more than half the country, especially in those areas where ZANLA operated. After independence, *kongonya* was not as enthusiastically performed as it was during the war, though it remained associated with the ruling liberation party, Zimbabwe African National Union (Patriotic Front's) (ZANU PF) political meetings and election campaign rallies.

In post-2000 Zimbabwe, *kongonya* assumed a deeper meaning following the country's land redistribution program, which aimed to redress the historical imbalances that favored a minority White population that still disproportionately owned the land. *Kongonya* reminded the people of the "unfinished

business” of the *chimurenga*—the fight for an equitable redistribution of the land (Raftopoulos, 2009). The Zimbabwean people performed *kongonya* as they mobilized themselves to “invade” the formerly white-owned farms and settle themselves. The dance reminded the people of the earlier 1970s anti-colonial struggle against racialized marginalization, colonial oppression, and cultural imperialism. In the post-2000 period, *kongonya*, whose images were also persistently broadcast via the Zimbabwean national television station, became a way Zimbabwe as a nation counteracted its apparent demonization by the Western European media, following the controversial post-2000 redistribution of formerly white-owned farms (Raftopoulos, 2009). Those images of defiant dancers showed viewers that culture, identity, the economy, and sovereignty were inseparable, in that, while the dance expressed a cultural and national practice, it also demonstrated how a people who wanted to defend their economic resources and political independence used their bodies to express those desires.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The above narratives on *jerusarema* and *kongonya* suggest that both dances have played conspicuous roles on the social and political level. For instance, both *jerusarema* and *kongonya* helped display Zimbabwean identity, cultural resilience, and political defiance. In this chapter, however, we transfer such conspicuousness toward education that re-energizes mental decolonization and argue that these dances should therefore be integrated into the arts curriculum. This is premised on our argument that despite the politicians’ and cultural nationalists’ understanding of the decolonial potential of traditional dances, they have not vigorously pursued the path that might have ensured that *jerusarema* or *kongonya* become epistemological weapons against persistent whiteness in the arts curriculum. We are dismayed that racism and elitism continue to be implicated in the selection and sieving of the content of the arts curriculum even though colonialism ended in 1980. This is so because schools that take dance seriously in post-independent Zimbabwe emphasize dances originating from Western European countries such as ballet, at the expense of the “naked” performances of the majority Africans such as *jerusarema* and *kongonya*. These schools again, though well equipped and professionally staffed, are very expensive for they are mostly private or former white A1 schools where only the children of the affluent and influential elites can go.

As we demonstrate elsewhere (Gonye & Moyo, 2015), even in the predominantly African schools, dance remains an adjunct of music, another marginalized arts subject. Many teachers, who continue to receive colonially inspired education, remain relatively uninformed about the traditional dances they are supposed to teach. Above all, we rue the fact that our 1970s nationalist leaders, most of whom presided over our so-called migration from the racist colonial curriculum to a nationally conscious curriculum, hardly took advantage of the Zimbabwean people’s attachment to their traditional dances evidenced in the

inspirational role *jerusarema* and *kongonya* played in the anti-colonial struggle, to complete the “rupture” with colonialism. There remains a paradox where, in the Zimbabwean post-independence historical context, the politically influential members show interest in traditional dances only when they seek the performers’ political support and endorsement of policies. Such double standards, however, do not serve the cultural and educational interests of Zimbabwe, but only those of a few political elites, and should, therefore, be uprooted.

Zimbabwean dances such as *jerusarema* and *kongonya* represent alternative systems of knowledge extant in African performance. These forms of knowledge could enable us, Zimbabweans, to appreciate our nation’s history and its trajectories, hence the need to centralize them in the Zimbabwean schools’ arts curricula. Dance education should be encouraged and availed equally and consistently across Zimbabwe’s educational levels, viz., the pre-primary, primary, secondary, and tertiary levels. These levels include, respectively, the crèche (1–2-year-olds) and Early Childhood Development (ECD) (3–5-year-olds) settings; the Grade 1 to Grade 7 (6–12-year-olds) settings; the Form 1 to Form 6 (13–18-year-olds) settings; and the teacher training colleges and universities for teacher upgrading and professional performers’ training for personnel who would teach pupils from ECD upward. In this way, education might become a means to achieve transformative social justice and liberation (Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). This is because *jerusarema* and *kongonya* are danced naturally and spontaneously during most pupils’ socialization games and festivities in their neighborhoods, whereas, for ballet, there would be a need for special instructors. This means it could be easier and more culturally valuable for students to study their own dances rather than those imposed from other cultures.

In the event that *jerusarema* and *kongonya* are included in the arts curriculum, the focus and emphasis could be on the ontological or contents value of the performances, and the stylistics or manner of performance. Firstly, area content focus could be on studying and discussing the meanings embodied in *jerusarema* and *kongonya*, particularly the Zimbabwean culture of resistance, resilience, and defiance suggested in both dances as well as the identity and nation formation potential in each. Secondly, practical studies of the manner of performance could center on the idea of dance as a symbol of the survival of African species as suggested in the effusive gyrations of the waist prohibited by the missionaries and colonial administrators—the provocative thrusts of the pelvis area and the stamping of the ground, all of which suggest procreativity. Other equally significant moves and stylistic routines to be scrutinized include *jerusarema*’s darting moves reminiscent of an endangered but alert character; *kongonya*’s defiant moves of a determined fighter; and *kongonya*’s circular moves that signify the dancer’s symbolic and literal defining of the margins and boundaries of an emerging united Zimbabwean nation’s liberated zones (Gonye, 2015).

All this seems to suggest that the study of the defiant *jerusarema* and *kongonya* is a way of placing one’s culture at the center of what is worth knowing and practicing. These dances, in many ways, perform the story of Zimbabwe as a

formerly colonized country whose dance performances are misrepresented and a combatant nation whose inspiration comes from these dances (Gonye, 2015). This finds resonance in Delgado's (2000) notion that storytelling and counter-storytelling are a "cure that can shatter complacency and challenge the status quo," especially in instances where the stories of the dominated out-groups aim to subvert a reality that is raced (p. 60). This is because stories by the racially dominated groups are powerful means for destroying the mindset of the dominant ones by showing that "what we [the dominant] believe is ridiculous, self-serving, or cruel" (Delgado, 2000, p. 61).

AfriCrit could also be viewed in this light as a means of challenging a normalization of white standards in the selection of dance curriculum in Zimbabwe. Drawing directly from Delgado's observation above we contend that Africans could engage in dancing and counter-dancing, movement and counter-movement methodologies that could also be seen as "race"-centered practices that might effectively embody and convey the experiences of black people. This buttresses the notion that our arts curriculum, especially concerning dance, should be taught and learned from our own perspectives and terms.

Finally, we posit that AfriCrit enables us to subvert and modify some images disseminated via the proliferating new information-based technologies including the satellite television and the internet through media such as YouTube, which could be implicated in the marginalization of African cultural performances. Such technologies continue to churn Western European-type dances such as ballet and other modern dances as the standard dances, with the effect that African watchers and students alike aspire more to be ballerinas than traditional African dancers. Drawing from AfriCrit strengthens our appraisal and appreciation of the mediated dances by Africans and other formerly colonized peoples. This way, dances such as *jerusarema*, *kongonya*, hip-hop, raga, *samba*, and *son jorocho*, among others, could be proudly envisaged as decolonizing and identity affirmation tools of the racially marginalized (Banks, 2009; Gonye, 2015; Gonye & Moyo, 2015). The postcolonial Zimbabwe arts curriculum, then, should put dances such as *jerusarema* and *kongonya* at its center in order to locate their culturally affirming and liberating discourse in the foreground.

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SECTION II

Discursive Materials of Racism and the
Arts in Education: Narratives,
Performances, and Material Culture



Discursive Materials of Racism and the Arts in Education: Narratives, Performances, and Material Culture

Sarah Stefana Smith and B. Stephen Carpenter, II

This section explores white property in relation to visual, performance, and textual artifacts about the arts and arts education conceptualized as discursive materials. The chapters in this section trace specters of whiteness revealed through encounters with discursive materials as curricula for K-16 arts learning, teacher preparation, and professional development. This section also turns to popular productions of whiteness and its values, embedded within the rhetoric of the arts and found within traditional arts environments and practices such as exhibitions, critical essays, public spaces, and communities. In this introduction, we frame what we mean by discursive materials through two examples from popular visual culture and visual art that were noteworthy at the time we wrote this chapter. Our discussion of these two examples reveals themes of curriculum and pedagogy, countervisuality, and embodied orientations that resonate with the chapters in this section. Our introduction concludes with an invitation to consider these chapters as inspiration for educational practice dedicated to critical reflection and as informed resistance of the arts as white property.

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FRAMING DISCURSIVE MATERIALS

The arts and popular visual culture, such as classrooms, television broadcasts, movies, art exhibitions in galleries, dance, and live music performances, are sites of cultural discursivity. By definition, discursive materials are unrelated yet adjacent ideas, information, or objects without apparent connection or relationship, yet the term can also reflect an interpretive process grounded in reason and argument. That is, singularly purposed cultural materials function in service to a single narrative, yet “once addressed in terms of beliefs and values they and the social worlds of which they are a crucial part become the subject matter of an art education conceived in terms of visual culture” (Duncum, 2000, p. 35). To experience the discursive materiality of a classroom, a film, an exhibition, or a performance in these two ways is akin to the act of flipping through channels on a television, an active attempt to search for and make meaning among a flickering parade of images, movements, objects, and sounds within the social, cultural, political, and historical context of daily life.

What are the implications of discursive cultural texts (e.g. performance, art, and literature) in shaping how we come to know about racism and the arts? How do discursive materials shape knowledge and understanding of our contemporary material lives? The current conjecture provides considerable examples of intermeshed relationships between discursive materials and racial antagonism. Marked by heightened racial antagonisms in the United States and elsewhere (e.g. the Movement for Black Lives, activism for Standing Rock against the Dakota Access pipeline, movements for immigration, and legislation on gendering bathrooms), and popular culture modes of dissemination, this present moment asks us to think through the ways discursive materials model and renegotiate knowledge and social interaction. Simultaneously, this current conjecture considers how people collectively call on discursive materials to perform certain types of political and socio-cultural labor. A late-night television comedy sketch and a debate surrounding a work of art at the Whitney Biennial offer two examples of the stakes in imagining the arts and arts education, the specter of whiteness, and countervisual modes of production that disrupt such logics.

Larry Wilmore’s sketch “Don’t Mess with Tex Books” (2015) on Comedy Central makes explicit history, conservative and Christian fundamentalism, and their impact on educational curricula. In the sketch, Wilmore turns to the Texas State School Board’s decision to whitewash the K-12 curriculum by boosting conservative figures, downplaying the contributions of racial minorities, and rewriting the history of the United States. This decision calls for the outright omissions of Jim Crow laws and the Ku Klux Klan (KKK), while renaming the Transatlantic Slave Trade as the Atlantic Triangular Trade. Parodying the children’s book, *Goodnight Moon*, Wilmore reads his own text, *Goodnight Slavery*, to a group of children. The book is a performative critique of the history of the United States and its racist past/present. The rewriting of the Texas curriculum exemplifies how sites of knowledge and collective socialization remain fraught spaces of whiteness. The parody sketch and book are discursive materials that map the nexus of racism and white supremacist logics in institutions of knowledge and their impact on current educational texts. While the chapters in this

section are not parodic, they similarly make accessible deeper narratives about racism and whiteness in and through discursive materials.

Simultaneously, Dana Schutz's "Open Casket" (2016) painting has received considerable scrutiny on a national stage in the US. The work, included in the 2017 Whitney Biennial, reproduces the open casket photograph of Emmett Till, published in *Jet Magazine* in 1955, after his murder. Understanding the production of the painting by a White artist as lacking reflection and reproduction of black death, the African American artist, Parker Bright, in peaceful protest, chose to stand in front of the work, blocking it from view. Additionally, a collective of artists of color, organized by art critic and artist, Hannah Black, circulated a petition in response to the work.¹ As a discursive material, Schutz's work raises questions about the institutional implications of whiteness in art, the ethics of race and appropriation, and modes of redress in the broader landscapes of art institutions and their impact on global understandings of race and racism. While the curators of the Biennale have stood by the inclusion of the work in the exhibition, others have critiqued the lack of self-reflection on the part of the artist in producing a work that straddles lines of provocative art, the benign and continual logics of racism, and the limitations of who is granted permission to carry out cultural appropriation.² Like the chapters in this section, these two examples raise questions about how discursive materials become tools for maintaining the status quo of white supremacist thinking, while at times acting to dislodge logics of art and visual culture as white property. The examples of Wilmore and Schutz acknowledge the fraught entanglements through which such discursive materials circulate and contribute to broader debates on race, the arts, and education.

Much like Larry Wilmore's critique of the curriculum decisions by the State of Texas, and Dana Schutz's painting of Emmett Till, the chapters in this section are discursive materials which highlight intimacies of racial antagonisms, historicization, arts and popular culture, and their complicated relationships with and impact on education. Conceived as messy arrangements, discursive materials are multi-pronged constructions comprised of material, ephemeral, and embodied orientations. Because discursive materials depend on ideas, shared values, and beliefs that adhere to physical objects, they are often encoun-

¹For a complete reproduction of the open letter to the Whitney and list of demands, see Alex Greenberg in "The Painting Must Go": Hannah Black Pens Open Letter to the Whitney About Controversial Biennial Work" in *Artnews* (March 21, 2017). Retrieved May 31, 2017, <http://www.artnews.com/2017/03/21/the-painting-must-go-hannah-black-pens-open-letter-to-the-whitney-about-controversial-biennial-work/>

²See Siddhartha Mitter and Christina Sharpe, "What Does It Mean to Be Black and Look at This? A Scholar Reflects on the Dana Schutz Controversy" in *Hyperallergic*. (March 24, 2017). <https://hyperallergic.com/368012/what-does-it-mean-to-be-black-and-look-at-this-a-scholar-reflects-on-the-dana-schutz-controversy/>; Coco Fusco in "Censorship, Not the Painting, Must Go: On Dana Schutz's Image of Emmett Till" in *Hyperallergic*. (March 27, 2017). <https://hyperallergic.com/368290/censorship-not-the-painting-must-go-on-dana-schutzs-image-of-emmett-till/>; co-Curator, Christopher Lew in conversation with Andrew Goldstein. "Why Dana Schutz's Emmett Till Painting Must Stay: A Q&A With the Whitney Biennial Christopher Lew." *Artnews*. (March 20, 2017). <https://news.artnet.com/art-world/whitney-biennial-christopher-lew-dana-schutz-906557>

tered within ephemeral and intertextual spaces. Discursive materials also move beyond tangible artifacts to include relational interactions between individuals. Whether as student and teacher, audience member and curator, or performer and text, these relational modes of interaction mark discursive materials as imbued and embedded in bodily interaction. Considering these and multiple other modes in which discursive materials function, the chapters that comprise this section also question the ways in which people make decisions about what to do with competing ideas, differing beliefs, art objects, tools, language, and knowledge entrusted to the circulation of discursive materials and for what purposes.

Whether iconic figures such as the KKK or Emmitt Till in his open casket are described or depicted in history texts, children's storybooks, paintings, poems, photographs, or public spaces, whiteness is an ever-present specter. The haunting narrative of whiteness is rife with lessons from the past while also situated within an increasingly complex present. Whiteness haunts the arts in education, dominating and framing much of what mainstream society assumes is worth knowing and preserving. Like Wilmore and Schutz, the contributions to this section provide thematic inroads into how the specter of whiteness is taught, learned, and valued as *curriculum and pedagogy*; actual and symbolic practices of critical reflection and resistance to whiteness through *countervisuality*; and ways in which whiteness exists and is challenged through the *embodied orientations* of subjectivities. All of the chapters in this section could easily be considered in relation to each of these three themes. Similarly, the themes exhibit some degree of overlap with themselves. In what remains, we position the chapters in relation to these themes for convenience rather than as prescribed categorization.

CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

Art criticism, musical lyrics and styles, and institutionalized uses of language can be conceived as a set of practices to reinscribe what is to be learned and how. Assuming whiteness as a fundamentally colonizing enterprise in education and only visible when threatened (Tuck & Gaztambide-Fernández, 2013), resistance to its practices of ownership of territory and the tactics for carrying out its mission offer curricular and pedagogical practices intended to reveal ways of knowing which implicate multiple landscapes and geographic contexts. The first two chapters in this section consider how whiteness inhabits the discursive materiality of the arts within South Africa and England. In their chapter, "Whitespeak: How Race *Works* in South African Art Criticism Texts to Maintain the Arts as the Property of Whiteness," Sharlene Khan and Fouad Asfour (Chap. 11) argue that the context of South Africa supports the arts as the property of whiteness through several rhetorical strategies employed within published art criticism written by White critics about the work of Black artists. Fiona O'Rourke, in "Race, Whiteness and the National Curriculum in Art: Deconstructing Racialized Pedagogic Legacies in Postcolonial England"

(Chap. 12), considers implicit reproductions of whiteness in postcolonial England by way of a National Curriculum in Art in pursuit of more racially equitable education. Discursive materiality in this chapter appears in the form of school texts, official curriculum documents, and state policies. O'Rourke makes evident the specter of whiteness hidden deep within arts education practices and offers recommendations for critically informed and anti-racist policy. While not parodies of curricula or policies of whiteness in the style of Wilmore's children's book sketch, both Khan and Asfour (Chap. 11), and O'Rourke (Chap. 12), reveal underlying racist agendas through critical scrutiny of official and public discursive materials.

The remaining chapters in this section are grounded in the discursive materials of whiteness in the arts as they are concerned with racial politics, history, and embodied racialized practices in the United States. For example, in their chapter, "Toward a Counter-visual Education: Cinema, Race, and the Reorientation of White Visuality" (Chap. 13), David Herman Jr. and Amelia M. Kraehe render the colonizing practice of whiteness visible through an anti-racist curriculum situated within lens-based representations in examples from the United States, past and present. In support of young learners in asserting "the right to look" (Mirzoeff, 2011, p. 4), their chapter concludes with a call for engaging pre-K-16 learners in a curriculum of confrontation located in race-conscious critiques of lens-based representations, whether they are produced by mobile phones or Hollywood. James Haywood Rolling Jr., in "Empire Archaeologies: The Symbolic Interaction of Stereotype and New Self-Representation" (Chap. 14), offers an art history lesson on the colonizing curriculum of whiteness rendered visible through the transgressive practices and artwork of Kehinde Wiley and other African American artists from the Harlem Renaissance. Rolling speculates that art education scholars may have much to learn about navigating the social history of whiteness by deploying visual culture archaeology to subvert such logics.

The hidden curriculum of racism and whiteness, as rendered visible through the operationalized examples in the Herman and Kraehe and Rolling chapters, also serves as a case of countervisuality as noted below. Adam D. Henze and Ted Hall, in their chapter in "Dying of Thirst: Kendrick Lamar and the Call for a 'New School' Hip Hop Pedagogy" (Chap. 15), argue in favor of a contemporary approach to curriculum and pedagogy through their critical examination of the music of rapper Kendrick Lamar. Among the goals of their chapter is to demonstrate how digital distribution of rap music has reshaped how it is deployed in educational settings to explore themes related intrinsically to Critical Race Theory. The authors center this chapter on the example of educator Brian Mooney who, inspired by the rapper's lyrical approach and music, featured his *To Pimp a Butterfly* album as part of a unit on Toni Morrison's *The Bluest Eye* in his hip-hop literature class. After learning of this use of his work in high school curriculum, Lamar insisted on visiting Mooney's school as a guest lecturer and performer. This is a vivid counter-example to traditional literary curricula that privilege White authors, coveted texts, and the printed

word. Henze and Hall's chapter seeks to reposition the privilege and ownership of white literary canons and printed word in relation to a wider range of possibilities as exemplified through hip-hop music, lyrics, and the artists who write and perform the work. This repositioning of whiteness marks fertile space to promote critical learning experiences in classrooms about capitalism and cultural representations. Similarly, these chapters align with the *Goodnight Slavery* book in the Larry Wilmore sketch as they reposition power, social history, and whiteness as colonizing curricular enterprises rendered visible through revision and erasure. These chapters are but a few examples of how this section works collectively to reveal formal and informal modes of discursivity grounded in and in resistance to an arts curriculum and pedagogy of whiteness.

COUNTERVISUALITY

Whereby discursive materials are used as the evidence and strictures of art as white property, a reinscription, reinterpretation, and disorientation of these logics provide countervisual strategies to forge new alliances. Visual culture scholar Nicholas Mirzoeff (2011) identifies countervisuality and its relationship to visuality, as marked by the right to look, whereby the "disensus with visual meaning...and the performative right to look, where none exists" (p. 24). Here, countervisuality is animated through Transatlantic slavery plantation logics of surveillance and the imperial and military industrial complexes (p. 8). It is within these sites of categorical race making that countervisuality emerges as an apparatus to subvert the logics of white supremacy. Indicative of critical race scholarship deployed by scholars such as Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) to discursive texts for their own purposes, the arts and education can bear to mobilize strategies of disorientation.

For instance, David Herman and Amelia Kraehe (Chap. 13) put to use Mirzoeff's concept of countervisuality to argue toward an anti-racist curriculum by employing the film *12 Years a Slave* and smartphone footage used by the Movement for Black Lives. Lens-based materials such as feature-length films and smartphone recordings enable students to embody racial difference that marks their bodies in relation to white valorization. Taking a different approach, James Rolling Jr. (Chap. 14) is concerned with empire, as both a construct and practice of colonization, as well as the television series by the same name. Rolling constructs a visual culture archeology of Kehinde Wiley's paintings in response to an indictment leveled by art critic Jessica Dawson of his body of work "as a transgression against a vast empire of white visuality" (p. 248). Rolling argues visual culture archeology as a critical methodology enacted by the colonized to reinterpret practices of whiteness deployed by the colonizer. As such, Rolling overwrites critical education theorist James J. Scheurich who overwrites philosopher Michel Foucault, as he explores intertextual subversions in the work of Wiley and other African American artists, namely Aaron Douglas and Selma Burke. Rolling co-opts, reinterprets, and applies Scheurich and Foucault, like Wiley co-opts, reinterprets, and applies

historical European artworks. Rolling's visual culture archaeology acknowledges the convergence of power and knowledge that comprises the social construction of Eurocentric institutions and identities, the discursive matrices of social normativity, socially transgressive interpretations of identity, and the discourse of visual culture itself.

Countervisuality as a strategy to confront whiteness and cultural hegemony need not be limited exclusively to visual forms of production and consumption but rather can also inhabit other sensory experiences activated through the arts. Again, Adam D. Henze and Ted Hall turn to hip-hop to traverse pedagogy, capitalism, representation, and consumerism (Chap. 15). Their chapter presents an alternative pedagogy of countervisuality in which students exercise their right to look critically at traditional forms of literature accessible in print through the dissection of rap and hip-hop album covers, advertisements, and lyrics. As a critical enactment of interpretation, they argue that Kendrick Lamar's lyrics require critical readings of how white supremacy and master narratives of whiteness influence black artistic expression to reveal interrelationships of capitalism and cultural representation. Similarly, Wilmore's parody of the Texas curriculum in the form of the children's book as well as the televised sketch that sets up the critique do the work of countervisuality. For Schutz, countervisuality exists not within her painting in the exhibition but rather is instigated by the artwork and carried out within a discursive conversation in the public sphere.

EMBODIED ORIENTATIONS

The discursive materiality of whiteness is not a singularly constructed force nor is it influential in the same way to all whose lives experience it or exist in spite of it. In varying degrees, all of the chapters in this section confront whiteness and white property through lived practices, some with a particularly explicit awareness of embodied relationships to memories and histories. For example, in "This Rock Will Not Be Forgotten: Whiteness and the Politics of Memorial Art" (Chap. 16), Elizabeth Whittenburg Ozment raises questions about memorialization, memory, and historicization. Ozment argues that commemorative public art dilutes social complexities, both past and present, and instead promotes an uncritical and unquestioned assumption that whatever is being memorialized is worth remembering and valuing. Ozment draws on a single public work in the southern United States dedicated to preserving the racist politics and practices central to the US Civil War in the 1860s and the literal and figurative projection of contemporary images and bodies onto it. The reading provokes critical reflection about how educational, commercial, and embodied relationships with historical memorials might reimagine key developments and ongoing debates about history and racial identity politics. The cities of Annapolis, Austin, Brooklyn, and Baltimore in the United States, among others, have removed several public monuments of Confederate soldiers and politicians in response to the same key question raised by Ozment: What are we to do with public art relics of our racist past?

In an appeal for critical whiteness studies, this section concludes with a call from Tyson E. Lewis who confronts whiteness through lived experience in his chapter, “Art Education and Whiteness as Style” (Chap. 17). Conceptualized as a style composed of lines that extend white bodies in space, and angles of vision that create hierarchical systems of difference, Lewis argues for aesthetic experiences that interrupt the geometric style of whiteness. The conclusion of Lewis’ chapter offers a detailed description of how the work of artist Kara Walker demands that Lewis’ own white, male body must come to terms with itself in the present and in relationship with the past, as it stumbles, hesitates, and subsequently opens itself up to the possibility of living with its own whiteness beyond discrimination and privilege.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The chapters that comprise this section do not exhaust the ways in which whiteness haunts, perpetuates, and otherwise wrestles for ownership while grappling with these colonizing practices in the guise of discursive arts materials in education. Instead, these chapters are merely a selection of the numerous and complex ways such materials can operate in, demarcate, and territorialize whiteness. In varying degrees, the authors make recommendations for enacting pedagogical behaviors through a critical race consideration to shift the dynamics of how the arts function as white property. Further, the contributions overlap, complement, and complicate each other, offering multiple readings of related discursive materials. For example, both Leake (Chap. 20) and Rolling (Chap. 14) refer to the paintings of Kehinde Wiley yet use this work in service of different yet complementary readings of whiteness. Similarly, published art writing by White art critics about the work of Black artists from South Africa and the United States is central to Khan and Asfour (Chap. 11) and Rolling’s chapters, respectively.

The ethical questions of racial antagonism, institutional implication, and the often taken-for-granted specter of whiteness that coalesce around Schutz’s painting of Emmett Till raise questions of the ethical and relational politics of difference and the knowledge-power nexus in imagining discursive materials. Each chapter in this section mobilizes embodied pedagogical materials in their own right, ultimately calling for the specter of whiteness to be engaged with, acknowledged, and resisted, whether through an orientation to physical embodiment, lyrical consonance, or lens-based text. At the very least, if there is a unifying theme to this section, it is a collective call for critical reflection and informed resistance by educators, artists, and others who may otherwise be oblivious to how they circulate daily through ideologies of whiteness within educational and public spaces, popular visual culture, and the arts. Wilmore and Schutz remind us of the limits of self-reflection on state, institutional, and relational practices and what is at stake for the arts and arts education when Critical Race Theory is not centered. While not limited to comedy sketches on

late-night television, hip-hop music, public monuments, art writing, or exhibitions of contemporary art, this section might serve as inspiration to educators with access to similar discursive materials prime to challenge ideologies of whiteness through critical educational practices and informed pedagogies of resistance.

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Whitespeak: How Race *Works* in South African Art Criticism Texts to Maintain the Arts as the Property of Whiteness

Sharlene Khan and Fouad Asfour

In 2001, South African black¹ feminist scholar Desiree Lewis critiqued a review by White “cultural writer” Nick Dawes of the South African Colored artist Berni Searle’s work *Snow White* (2001):

¹This research utilizes official South African racial categories as established in apartheid and their continued usage post-apartheid: “White” (persons of white European descent), “Black” (local indigenous Black Africans), “Colored” (persons of mixed race and descendants of Malaya/Indian/Mozambican slaves and prisoners), “Indian” (persons of South Asian descent that arrived as slaves in Cape Town in the seventeenth century and, in the second half of the nineteenth century, first as British-indentured laborers and then as merchants), and “Asian” (at one time it included Indian and Chinese but later primarily addressed people of Chinese descent as well as “new” post-democracy Chinese, Pakistani, Indian, and Sri Lankan migrants). Where the term “black” (lowercase “b”) is used, it is used in preference of “non-white” and includes Black, Colored, and Indian South Africans also grouped under the term “previously disadvantaged” (which recently constitutionally includes Chinese South Africans), as does the term “people of color”. These terms are also used to denote identification with blackness as a political self-affirmative project and stance. Generally, “White” and “Whiteness” relate specifically to the South African context, whereas “white” and “whiteness” refer to discussions internationally. Quotes and discussions follow the capitalization and usage of authors in their contexts/works with regard to racial terms such as “white”, “black”, or “colored”, as well as the US/UK spelling employed by authors when quoting them.

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Indeed, as one stands poised between the two screens that comprise the video installation, a single question imposes itself: “And who among you, when the public asks for something to chew on, would give them a video of Berni Searle making roti?”... Instead one simply sighs in affirmation: indeed race, gender and domestic labour cut across the body of the black but not-quite-black woman in complicated ways. Indeed woman’s work has a transformative and even sacramental character, but how tedious the lecture, how dully the point is inscribed on tape [...]. In the end we are standing in front of yet another video of a naked woman performing a repetitive task, and we are bored beyond words. (Dawes, 2001)

Lewis notes the racial-cultural bias of the South African visual arts field and particularly in art criticism written by White writers.² Using black-African feminist critical thought, she argues that Dawes’s dismissiveness toward the work does not lay in the work itself but in the viewer’s inability or refusal to decode the work outside of hegemonic Western art framings and “fine art” values: By using the coercive but entirely fictive “we”, Dawes obviously speaks on behalf of those determined not to acknowledge the vantage points of society’s “others”, those who unabashedly define their partial perspectives as universal and comprehensive. (Lewis, 2001, p. 111).

In South African art discourse, the Eurocentric basis of art history, appreciation, and art writing has been challenged since apartheid for the White writers who inhabit the proxy position of validation and authority. For instance, Black South African artist-writer-curator David Koloane has often raised concerns about the racial framings in which Black artists are spoken about negatively. He elaborates on this in his article “Art Criticism for Whom?” that, “It is interesting to note that the reviews on black artists’ work contain an implicit concern whereas the one on white artists’ work is decidedly affirmative and positive” (Koloane, 1997, p. 71). This chapter maintains that South African art writing suffers from a lack of sustained political interrogation of who is writing, the writer’s body and voice, what and whom they are writing about, how they are writing, and for what purposes. “Art writing” is a rather large terrain that can cover many different forms of writing about art (and we do mean this purposefully), but for this chapter, we want to concentrate on art criticism texts which contain an implicit evaluation and critique of contemporary works of visual art by a writer on a public platform.

Using critiques that have emerged over the years, this chapter unpacks how anti-black colonial racism works in South African art criticism to maintain White bodies—and the narratives and understandings that emanate from them—as central to the wider field of visual arts. We highlight the writer as an embodied subject, pointing out how Whiteness stays invisible in its ethno-specific cultural value judgments and continues to appear as “universal” and

²We investigate the specific art writing that is “art criticism” (which is often conflated with exhibition reviews in the South African context) by White South African writers published in print or online publications and as such refer to it as “White art writing”.

“natural”. We propose that White colonial values that are located in “arts”³ education systems are still based on foundational European colonial-modernity discourses (with all of their racial and ethnic biases). While there are many political levels that need further interrogation in the visual arts in South Africa, and in the corpus of formal and non-formal arts educations, this chapter serves as an introduction to one mechanism (art criticism) by which South African Whiteness frames appreciation, evaluation, historicization, and education about “non-White” cultural productions through art criticism texts in the country.

Why the focus on art criticism texts? South Africa only has a few publications featuring writing on visual arts,⁴ and with a limited publishing field, short newspaper write-ups and exhibition reviews not only have a wider readership (than for instance academic journals), but they become important sources of primary information about artists. As such, these shape the cultural capital of artists and writers, and artists of color have to cope with White writers covering the field. Far from being just fleeting opinion-based texts, art criticism constitutes a form of knowledge framing and evaluating artworks in their current social contexts.

Allied to contemporary visual arts and reflecting on what is “worthy” or “good art” versus what is not, critical art writing straddles cultural-monetary valuation, opinionated judgment, and field knowledge. While our chapter engages the South African context—and how racial dynamics play out in this post-apartheid setting—our observations can certainly ring true in other societies where Western “fine art” and “art history” valuations are foundational. This chapter analyses 20 exhibition reviews written by White South Africans of visual arts practitioners of color between 2001 and 2015, with one review from 1990 (as well as, in some cases, written responses to criticisms leveled at these texts). We critically analyze the language of these texts which has been primarily culled from South African newspapers, the online visual arts magazine *Artthrob*, and the print and online art magazine *Art South Africa*. Our discussion exposes ethnicized socio-cultural value judgments *and the bodies that articulate them* and how they inform the field of visual arts.

LANGUAGE: WHITE TALK + ARTSPEAK = WHITESPEAK

This chapter draws on sociologist Pierre Bourdieu’s (1986/1993) concept of “field”, where the field of cultural production is constructed not merely by individual skill(s) but by the *invested* interests of elites with capital.⁵ Capital (monetary, cultural, knowledge) is a fundamental determinant in who gets to

³“Arts” here includes visual arts, music, performance, and dance (although often in Western colonial texts the word “art” is usually indicative of “fine art”).

⁴This includes newspaper reviews, two online contemporary visual arts magazines (*Artthrob* and *Art South Africa*—now rebranded as *Art Africa*), exhibition catalogues, and one accredited art historical journal (*De Arte*).

⁵Bourdieu (1977, p. 660) argues that “linguistic capital is an embodied capital”, which is carried out in the “articulatory style” of bodies performing a habitus that is inscribed by class, race, gender, and so on.

participate in fields, at what level, and based on which criteria. The elitist field of the visual arts in colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa is a prime example of such a field in which the vested interests of a 10% White minority remains central and eminent in a country that is majority 90% people of color (Black, Colored, Indian, Chinese).

Relatedly, Bourdieu defines the concept of “habitus” as “structuring structures” that generate, regulate, and “organize practices and representations” (Johnson, 1993, p. 5). We argue that not only the elite-making structures which govern naturalized tastes need to be exposed but, relatedly, the bodies that regulate such structures and dispositions. White European settler values, from Dutch and British colonialism, and apartheid’s legislated dominance of people of color in South Africa continue to underscore artistic value systems and related artistic discourses. The White habitus determines the social practice of the art fields not just through a determination of what is art, but also importantly through “structuring structures”.⁶ These include private galleries and privately owned media (the dominant platform for arts representation in the country); White dominance in institutions and publications, determining discourse such as educational curricula and what is authorized in art history (who has access to writing, publishing, and printing); art reviews (print and digital magazines and newspaper reviews); and art criticism (whose opinion “matters”).⁷ In the field of contemporary visual arts (globally), the language of the field itself is exclusionary. Roy Harris (2003) terms this specialist language “artsppeak,” arguing that as the visual arts field has become discourse based, particular codified modes of talking about art and opinion have emerged.⁸ Harris (2003) notes that “right from the beginning of the Western tradition, artsppeak emerges as a linguistic weapon in an ongoing war waged between different parties, all of whom are competing for public attention and prestige not only in the practical business of making a living but in a debate about education and the right way to run society and one’s own life” (p. 28). Thus, who speaks about art, who has the power to judge art and write about art, is a form of power.

⁶ See Khan (2006) which discusses the dominance of White South Africans in the field of visual arts and art history.

⁷ In South Africa, the visual arts field is inseparable from the art history, art writing, and art criticism fields. While art historians have tried to maintain separate frameworks and platforms for themselves, the boundaries between contemporary visual arts and art history are porous in this country, particularly in post-apartheid times where South African art history is under contestation by contemporary theorizations and revisions of the art history canons (moreover, artists and curators write, art historians curate and produce artwork, and anybody with an art degree can lecture in art history).

⁸ Harris (2003, p. xii) says that his term *artsppeak* “covers the whole range of discourse about works of art and their appreciation”, as opposed to David Carrier’s notion of *artwriting*, which “he restricts to ‘texts by both art critics and art historians’”.

In South Africa, the speaking body is too often still the White body of European heritage that problematically frames discourses around its identity. Art writing is a field where personal value judgments, material fact, and disciplinary knowledge are inextricably entwined. Problematically, “art history” (even as it has morphed into “visual culture” disciplines⁹) continues to be framed within a Eurocentric universalized epistemology that simultaneously draws its legitimacy from White speech acts at the same time that it invisibilizes the White speaking/writing body.¹⁰ Many race, feminist, and postcolonial scholars have challenged the codes of art valuation and its white bodies of legitimation internationally, as well as the terrains of visual arts and art history as white resource and cultural property.¹¹

Critical race theorist Cheryl Harris (1993) suggests that “whiteness as property” is based on demarcating the white body as property, both in the sense of “being white” as well as “having a white body”. This property/ownership secures exclusive access to a realm of privileges which “non-white” bodies are barred from. “Thus, the concept of whiteness is built on both exclusion and racial subjugation. This fact was particularly evident during the period of the most rigid racial exclusion, as whiteness signified racial privilege and took the form of status property” (Harris, 1993, p. 1737). Harris’s work is based on a materialist historical analysis of social relations in the US. This reified relation provides whiteness not only with the ability to own, but also the task to “civilize” the savages (through culture and technology), and extends to further rights such as “expectations,” the right “to use and enjoyment,” and the “absolute right to exclude” (ibid: 1736).

Thus, a questioning of privileges, access, rights, values, and speech acts not only points out the bodies that can do so but also the bodies that are not allowed to, or cannot. Anti-colonialist psychoanalyst Frantz Fanon’s oft quoted line, “O my body, make of me always a man who questions!” (Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 181), draws on Maurice Merleau-Ponty’s idea of the body as an “object of consciousness.” “For a being who has acquired consciousness of himself and of his body, who has attained to the dialectic of subject and object, the body is no longer a cause of the structure of consciousness, it has become an object of consciousness” (Merleau-Ponty in Fanon, 1952/2008, p. 175). This body that questions does not hide or take for granted its geo-political positioning but rather places identity and locationality as central to the questions it asks, the answers it elicits, and the things it makes. To speak about art, therefore, is not to speak just about an object or an experience but rather to extend discussions of speaking bodies *in* works of art to speaking bodies *about* works of art. The dynamics of analyzing-writing-discussing bodies of artwork

⁹ See for example the article by Mieke Bal (2003), “Visual essentialism and the object of visual culture”.

¹⁰ See, for instance Walter D. Mignolo’s (2007) article “DELINKING: The Rhetoric of Modernity, the Logic of Coloniality and the Grammar of De-coloniality”.

¹¹ See for instance bell hooks, Vernon Hyde Minor, Henry Louis Gates, Olu Oguibe, Okwui Enwezor, Geeta Kapur, and Jim Supangkat.

already points to the cohesion that exists between written language and visual artworks—how written language writes material bodies and objects as well as ephemeral experiences into being beyond exhibitions, into discourse, into education, and into history.

In South African society, part of this speech act is a “White Talk” identified by Critical Whiteness Studies scholar Melissa Steyn. According to Steyn (2004), White Talk “functions around the comfort, convenience, affirmation, solidarity, psychological well-being, advantage, and advancement of whites ... white people experience their social space as neutral and individually determined” (pp. 144–145). Steyn (2004, p. 151) further argues that White Talk is a naturalized White supremacist ethnic talk around certain symbolic institutions like language, religion, history, arts, and sports.

Features of Steyn’s White Talk include a sense of compatriotism based on “liberal” values; Afropessimism (the belief in African dictatorship, corruption, and ineptitude); White victimhood (reverse racism); amnesia; and White ululation. The re-centering of Whiteness through White Talk in various media post-apartheid¹² serves a maintenance function of securing White cultural perspectives and economic privileges. White Talk can be located in South African visual arts and art history fields, and when combined with the language of Eurocentric value judgment of these fields (artspeak), results in what we lay out below as a “Whitespeak” which frames black artists/arts in particular ways.

This results in a hyper-visibility of the racial-gendered-ethnic body of artists of color, even while the body of the White writer-critic is invisible in its making of discourse. What we outline below are four features of South African White Talk as it manifests in the field of visual arts in the art criticism texts we examine.

WHITESPEAK #1: DISSING—THE LANGUAGE OF OPINIONATED-NOT AS TRUTH

One of the most prominent features of Whitespeak in the art criticisms reviewed was a “language of lack” used to evaluate and talk about black art exhibitions and black artists. For instance, in his review of David Koloane’s exhibition *Explorations* in 1990, White artist and writer Kendell Geers declares that the title of the show is inept because it raises the viewer’s expectations which are never fulfilled. Only in the eighth paragraph does a singular sentence describe the physical and conceptual properties of, or rather the lack thereof, in Koloane’s work:

There is very little evidence of exploration of any kind in Koloane’s work itself, which displays very little development from the earliest works of 1976 to those produced this year; There are a number of small representational works from

¹² Melissa Steyn, in various research, examines mainstream newspaper opinion articles by liberal and conservative White South Africans, as well as workplace environments.

various points in Koloane's career that demonstrate his inability with this particular genre, suggesting that the move into abstract expressionist may have been due to a lack of options rather than the product of any real exploration; It is evident through the repetition that the titles are nothing more than an old formula and the antithesis of any real exploration; **This loss is cunningly disguised** by the gold leaf frames and appropriate mounts that produce a slick, consumable object; There is nothing within the works themselves that is able to shift them beyond the purely decorative. (excerpts from Geers, 1990, emphasis added)

In this 1990 review, we see the overwhelming negativity about Black artists' works that Koloane raised in his 1997 essay. In a similar manner, Julian Brown's (2004) vitriolic review of Black artist-curator Gabi Ngcobo's first solo exhibition (there is no mention of the title) begins with the exhortation that her "show has generated a disproportionate excitement." It is only six paragraphs (out of eight) later of aesthetic *dissing*¹³ that we encounter the first titled work.

...disjointed, quality of works on display varies significantly, premature; weakest part of the exhibition; lurid brown; roughly hewn; feel raw, roughly-stretched, cracking edges; incomplete; bled of their interest by the clumsiness of their construction; angry, intellectual tensions; none quite match; does not convince; **sudden and ambitious artistic expansion merely an aberration.** (excerpts from Brown, 2004, p. 72, emphasis added)

In both textual instances, it is impossible to get a sense of the exhibition and how the artworks exemplify creative concepts and methodologies. Discarding description, framing of the exhibition, or interviews with the artist, the writer casts a negative judgment of the work *and the artist*. There is little contextualization or significance of black artworks which relate them to historical or current art practices and wider discourses of signification. This engagement of black artists utilizes a language of lack that *dismisses* and *disrespects* black creative production as worthy of attention: they never reach potential, they never go far enough, and an investment in their practice will not be rewarded, as we see in the following statements:

Ngcobo seems, in these paintings, incapable of mustering the technical clarity to convince the viewer that her work will repay attention. (Brown on Gabi Ngcobo, 2004)

The work is naïve in an unconscious way. (Sean O'Toole on David Koloane, 2002)

But somehow Tadjó's text ... tends to leave one feeling unfulfilled. (Sean O'Toole on Veronique Tadjó, 2002)

¹³According to the Oxford dictionary, to "diss" means to speak disrespectfully to someone or criticize. In urban slang, to diss someone means to disrespect them.

Besides not being able to fulfill White writers' visual arts expectations, black artists are only clever/cunning in their ability to hide their lack as highlighted in Geers's quote above.

In her review of Kemang Wa Lehulere's exhibition *History will Break your Heart*, which incorporates the works of the forgotten 1960s Black woman artist Gladys Mgundlandlu, Mary Corrigan (2015) insinuates that this strategy is "an expedient way to avoid risk and fill a room with art (and in a short amount of time) that is above criticism" (p. 7). Downplaying the artist's visual historical dialogue with an artist who has not been canonized, the writer suggests that the artist "cunningly shift[s] attention away from himself" (ibid). She further reduces his investigation, with an artist his aunt knew personally, to a "novel solution" (ibid). The language of lack creates a discourse where Wa Lehulere's much lauded decolonial inclusive creative methodologies have no place within the Western fine arts/visual arts code.

The language of lack is all encompassing: black artists cannot get the titles of their works/exhibitions right, black signatures are too prominent or not placed in the correct place, the frames are either too commercial or not good enough, race/politics—sigh—is (again) being brought up. "Not-rightness" keeps black artists in an ever-maturing phase, what South African art historian Colin Richards (1997) notes as a "forced cultural infantilism" (p. 78). In South Africa in the 1990s, it used to be a popular joke that black artists, well into their 40s, could still be regarded as "young artists," a trend that continues in the texts examined:

They are young artists who simply weren't ready for a solo exhibition and I do not discount the fact that they may startle me with their art sometime in the future (Corrigan on Gugulective, 2010)

Ngcobo is a young artist and this is her first show [...] It is to be hoped that the very exciting, new pieces fairly represent her ambitions, talents and her future direction (Brown on Gabi Ngcobo, 2004)

These statements are misleading. At the time of the review, Gugulective already had gained attention in the contemporary South African visual arts field and had won the prestigious Brett Kebble visual arts award. Brown is also incorrect when he states that this was Ngcobo's first show as she had already participated in several group shows locally and abroad and had been nominated for several visual arts awards. Whiteness does not meet black bodies in the here and now but always in an imagined future.

WHITESPEAK #2: MIMESIS AND ALMOST-BUT-NOT-QUITENESS

A second feature of Whitespeak, following black artists' inability to make good art, is the framing of black artists' methodologies as mimetic, as evidenced in some of the quotes below:

The language of the abstract expressionists is appropriated wholesale, without any consideration given to either its specificity or that of our particular contexts; **David Koloane merely plagiarises** an existing style without engaging any of the issues involved. (excerpts from Geers on David Koloane, 1990, emphasis added)

Mahlangu's 2007 works ... seem somehow to have erased this nuanced history, as well as the difficult present faced by many of the amaNdebele today. Endless variation on an (outmoded) theme; catering to a foreign gaze; a selective memory rather than a comprehensive one. (excerpts from Amy Miller on Esther and Speelman Mahlangu, 2007)

To compare a Nobel Laureate, one who has based her whole existence on words, with a painter slash writer is probably unfair; Quite possibly it is because **she attempts to mimic in words** the highly impressionist style of Koloane's painted works, Tadjó also tends to lapse into moments of maudlin sentimentality. (excerpts from Sean O'Toole on Veronique Tadjó, 2002, emphasis added)

In each of the above texts, the Black creative is compared to a White predecessor and is found lacking or not up to standard: David Koloane to Jackson Pollock and Western Abstract Expressionists; painter Esther Mahlangu with Damien Hirst, Sol LeWitt, and David Goldblatt; sculptor Speelman Mahlangu with Cecil Skotnes; painter-writer Veronique Tadjó with fellow writers Nadine Gordimer and Andre Croucamp.

These texts (like those which lament the "youngness" of black artists) are framed by the trope of lateness, suggesting that artists are simply not "there," that their work is naively mimetic. According to postcolonial scholar Homi K. Bhabha in *The Location of Culture* (1994), colonized mimetic subjects are almost-but-not-quite, almost-but-not-white (the slippage in these framings is necessary to uphold colonial valuing). This language of mimesis creates ambivalence in the fields of art history, art education, and "fine art": black artists and their artwork can be used not only as barometers of White sophistication and standards but also as boundaries to mark off the terrains of "fine art" and "art history." Blackness can almost mimic what Whiteness does, but, importantly, in the failure to do so, Whiteness retains its cultural superiority.

The almost-but-not-quite slippage allows the mimetic to always be read relationally to what is mimed. Thereby, Whiteness and European colonial-modernity is operationalized constantly. Geers could have *chosen* to say Koloane's work "references" a Western Abstract Expressionist vocabulary but instead he *chooses* the words "merely plagiarises." O'Toole could have *chosen* to say Tadjó's writing is in conversation with Koloane's style but *chooses* instead to lament her mimicry. O'Toole says it is unfair to compare the work of a Nobel laureate with a "painter slash writer," but in saying so this is exactly what he does, showing that the White writer was able to convey in a sentence the Black artist's practice, which the Black writer could not execute in a whole book.

Such language is not exclusive to White art writing but is learned from art historical texts which are disseminated through high school and university education systems in South Africa. Repeatedly, we read how Black artists learn “art” from White European South Africans who notice their innate intuitive skills; they are shown European art via books and are encouraged—even if illiterate—to mimic what they see; they are unable to develop conceptually; and it is taxing on White patrons, educators, and scholars to inculcate the rules of European “fine art.” Art historical writing in South Africa has been dominated by White writers (this is not limited to local writers) who have often replicated their white Eurocentric art training in their writing, even while acknowledging and validating Black practitioners.¹⁴ As an example, South African art historian Elizabeth Rankin’s text “The Role of the Missions in Art Education in South Africa” (1992) is exemplary of how art education in non-European countries is framed by a rhetoric of “art as white property.” Linked to mainstream Empire whiteness, White settlers have access to an inherent skill set to teach art (even when they are unskilled themselves). Typically, the native artists need to be *encouraged* in their creative practice, and art writing texts often feature words such as guidance, encourage, direct, follow, change, stimulate, influence, inspire, benefit, exercise, and exposure.¹⁵

Rankin’s text not only focuses on the alleged “benefits” of colonial missionary art education, but the author is also invested in actively affirming and reproducing the colonial entitlement to White supremacist rhetoric: the European colonizer/missionary (art educator) as the patron, promoter, benefactor, and agent of change and the Black South African (artist) as passive recipient. In the same vein, local indigenous creative practices, before and during colonization, do not qualify as art educative processes. In art history writing, non-formally trained Black artists are always referred to as self-taught and, by implication, naïve in their production and their knowledge of art practices. Thus, missionary centers which offered arts education to Black South Africans, and private art centers run by White artists, become the origination myth of arts education (as evidencing White philanthropy and morals) in the country. White patrons and artists, thus, are the imparters of “art” and civilization. Such scripts continue to inform the way in which black artistic production is written into being.

¹⁴ In “The Origins of Racism in the Public School Art Curriculum” (1992), F. Graeme Chalmers analyses racial prejudice in the art history texts of the South Kensington School. The impact of this art education curriculum in South Africa is further researched by Rhoda Krut (1983) in *South Kensington to South Africa: Art Education in Government Elementary Schools and Schools of Art in South Africa 1800–1910* and outlined in Mary Ann Stankiewicz’s (2007), “Capitalizing Art Education: Mapping International Histories.”

¹⁵ See for instance Rankin (1992) and Morton (2013).

WHITESPEAK #3: BLACK KILLJOYS, MERITOCRACY, AND THE WHITE (DIS)APPEARING ACT

In 2010, an issue of *South African Art Times* opened a review of the exhibition *From Pierneef to Gugulective* at the South African National Gallery (SANG) with the header “SANG’s reputation trashed.” Curated by SANG’s first black Director, Riason Naidoo, the exhibition brought together South African visual art and craft works. The reviewer, Lloyd Pollak (2010), however, without engaging with the curatorial vision, mostly complains about formalities and that he is unable to find any method to the madness “in this rambling shambles... a pratfall of this magnitude” (p. 1). Pollak attributes what he sees as the failure of this exhibition to Naidoo’s “gross lack of professionalism” and “piteous little curatorial experience.” Editor of *South African Art Times*, Gabriel Clark-Brown, is quoted in a later 2010 *Guardian* article, identifying the problem with the show:

He [Clark-Brown] acknowledged that a recent survey found South Africa’s art market was still 80–90% white but said he opposed the politicisation of art. “As soon as you introduce quotas, it’s going to be a political tool and Stalinise the industry.” He [Clark-Brown] added: “I believe Riason Naidoo was a political appointment rather than on merit. That inevitably leads to certain things. When he starts with his, ‘I’m here to politicise art,’ people do get a bit iffy” [sic]. (Clark-Brown quoted in Smith, 2010)¹⁶

According to Pollak and Clark-Brown, the failure of the exhibition was in large part due to Naidoo’s appointment itself. Sharlene Khan (2011) questions the notion of meritocracy that comes up in employment sectors, including sport and art, arguing that there is no transparency to merit. No criteria are ever outlined by individuals who use these yardsticks, so “meritocracy” is almost impossible to achieve. It is merely known by Whites who lament that their expectations have not been fulfilled.

Here, art history is passed on generationally to other Whites as intellectual cultural property and becomes an embodied merit which is linked to a political, cultural, and economic history. People of color may participate in arts, but they enter the canon of art history only by invitation. Accordingly, White merit does not need to be reflected in academic qualifications in South Africa. Where black scholars need several degrees, White bachelor of arts students can write, lecture, and curate without experience and without

¹⁶ David Smith (*The Guardian*, 1 September 2010) also quotes the editor’s criticism of Naidoo’s decision to remove historical paintings from the Abe Bailey bequest: “The manner in which they came down was a bit distasteful and there were more subtle ways of doing it. He regards them as colonial but they are part of the nation’s heritage and evolution. I find them valuable in terms of keying into the value of art to the nation. They paid homage to the great English masters”.

their merit being questioned.¹⁷ In this disappearing act, Whiteness is turned into qualification in itself.

Cultural psychologist Aída Hurtado (1999) exposes the narrative of the white merit game: “Merit will be defined by me (or those like me) and will have the semblance of objective rules of achievement. When I am questioned about how the rules were developed, I will claim exclusive wisdom for their origins” (p. 238). Merit is exclusionary. It only works if it is able to define who is *not* meritorious. As black artists, writers, and curators have voiced their dissent over White hegemony in the visual arts field in South Africa, and grafted more opportunities since post-apartheid, White critics have taken to bashing their status, questioning their authority. For instance, on the announcement of Black art historian-curator Thembinkosi Goniwe’s forthcoming column in *Art South Africa*, fellow White writer Gerard Schoeman (2009) in his piece entitled “Forget Thembinkosi Goniwe” had this to say:

Readers of this magazine, who have yet to experience the pleasure of hearing Thembinkosi Goniwe pontificate on what is wrong with the SA art world, are in for a treat. His regular column promises to be a perfect platform for more of the same humourless bluster that has made him the enfant terrible at local art history

¹⁷ In 2014, a public debate occurred on the release of statistics of White professors in the country versus Black professors (only 14%), in particular Black women professors. In a *Guardian* article “Why are there so few black professors in South Africa?” (Africa Network Expert Panel, 2014), researcher and filmmaker Zethu Matebeni added to the debate regarding claims around societal and institutional hurdles by stating: “Thirdly, we are often told that it takes about 20 years for an academic to get to a full professor position. This is an incorrect claim, as there have been (and still are) white academics whose careers were fast-tracked and who received professorships even without a PhD. Such processes need to be monitored at universities. How are ad hominem promotions conducted, and who gets to be promoted, when? A number of black academics often share that they do not believe they would ever be promoted, even when they are well-published.” In the comments section of this piece, a commentator seemed to think Matebeni’s statement (that there are White professors without PhDs) unlikely and asked for evidence. The “evidence” is rather glaring in all too many university departments, including Fine Art Departments, where White professors rarely have a PhD. Matebeni’s sentiments can also be noted in Xolela Mangcu’s article “10 steps to develop black professors” (2014) and Busani Ngcaweni’s “How about a qualifications TRC, Professor Bozzoli?” (2016), which hint at problematic criteria in university promotions, particularly attained under apartheid and shortly after 1994 (see also Seepe, 2017 and the Council on Higher Education report 2016). While “professorships” can be conferred on candidates due to their field experience and proven relevance in the field, the authors of this article would like to question the criteria upon which a number of professorships were given to candidates in the 1990s (and how this system is further exacerbated in the visual arts field where persons with social networks and few qualifications become social mediators of value). In response to the racial inequalities of professorships, various “fast-track” programs have been launched at universities, sponsored by the National Research Foundation and the Andrew Mellon Foundation. However, the differential criteria by which many White professors attained their title is vastly different from what professors now have to meet in order to gain professorship (White academics with professorships are not required to get a PhD, while a Black colleague will never attain professorship without one). More related to this chapter, it is never clear what qualifications young White art critics have in order to make the value judgments they do (it is not even clear if they hold degrees in Visual Arts or Art History as there are no art criticism courses in the country).

conferences. Can one be anything but a fan of someone who is so obviously on the right side of history, and where bloated and pugnacious self-image is so demonstrably dying to be recognised and immortalised as a caricature? (p. 23)

Black scholars' contestations against racism are disregarded as "caricaturing." When Mary Corrigan (2010) was critiqued by Goniwe on a patronizing review of a Black visual arts collective from the Cape Town township of Gugulethu, she claims she does not write according to race but then states:

I was disappointed that Gugulethu hadn't delivered...I think he [Goniwe] also chose to assume that because I am white I assess the work of black artists differently to their white counterparts. He should not make assumptions about me and my brand of criticism based on my race. By doing so he is enacting precisely what he is accusing me of doing. (Corrigan on Gugulethu and Theminkosi Goniwe, 2010)

When White value judgments are taken to task, persons like Goniwe are accused of enacting racism by acknowledging the cultural specificity of the bodies of the writers and the particularities of their cultural perspectives and training. There is almost no reflection on the act of reading as being culturally biased. When artworks and creative methodologies by black artists, writers, and curators fail to be understood by White critics, it is a direct result of the failure of the black artist (not simply the visual languages and methodologies employed) and blackness by implication.

Goniwe has noted that the focus on black artists' biographies is always of more interest than the work and deflects from the artist's creative strategies and choices (see for instance in Corrigan, 2010). The embodied rhetoric here posits that bodies of color are always known and are always *spoken for* and *about*. White art criticism texts, then, perform both the role of ventriloquist and judge.

In the above discussions, the bodies of White critics disappear, as White minds are rational, objective, and transparent. Black bodies are rendered too sentimental, emotive, irrational...too bodily. Thus, the Cartesian split between mind-body allows White minds to function without their White bodies (and the privileges and perspectives it brings) to abstract, universalize, and liberalize the discourses they speak and enact. Black artists, writers, curators, and academics who speak out about the lack of racial transformation in South Africa after the end of apartheid are belittled for their stance, which is on the "right side of history" (Schoeman, 2009, p. 23). Since their bodies, works, and methodologies contain no merit, black critics are trying to be troublemakers for the sake of attention. The struggle against race—and institutionalized colonial Whiteness—can always be dismissed as an opinion, a perspective that has no bearing beyond the personal, a card, a game for fame. Larger societal issues are then relegated to the inclusion and presence of particular black bodies, thus making such bodies hyper-visible problems against invisibilized Whiteness.

WHITESPEAK #4: TOO MUCH, TOO LITTLE—NAMING AND VICTIMHOOD

In a country where racial identity was prescribed and surveilled by colonial and apartheid administration for 400 years, it is not surprising that art since the early 1990s has interrogated notions of who “we” are as individuals and groups and has recently become a battleground in representational discourse. Post-1994 has seen many young artists of color challenging critiques of identity in terms of race-gender-sexuality-class-ethnicity-nationalism-religion. Many White writers, however, find it difficult to relate to work that is not centered around Whiteness and, as with the quotes below, regard works structured around black bodies as didactic, literal, and self-indulgent.

Too often cultural products with an intended social objective feel overtly simplistic and didactic; Excessive attention is drawn to the artist’s gender, creating the impression that their oeuvre or aesthetic is shaped by their identity; Of course, such a title neatly pigeonholes all the artists as black female artists and their art as a product of that identity, which does limit one’s readings of their work. (excerpts from Corrigan, 2009, p. 27)

Sociologist Himani Bannerji (1995) reminds us that naming is a significant process, “Those who dismiss so disdainfully all projects of self-naming and self-empowerment as ‘identity politics’ have not needed to affirm themselves through the creative strength that comes from finding missing parts of one’s self in experiences and histories similar to others” (pp. 9–10). Thus, naming as part of redefining subjective positions is not simply an individual process but locates one as part of a collective redefinition, of particular significance to a divided country like South Africa.

Part of this naming outlines how identity categorizations have impacted on black subjectivities. The much-critiqued Truth and Reconciliation Commission in the mid-1990s set the example of acknowledging the pain suffered by persons of color under racial oppression. The recent 2015–2016 #FeesMustFall university movements¹⁸ have highlighted the suffering endured by economically trodden persons of color, particularly women of color who often bear the burden of their households. However, as Steyn noted about White Talk, White South Africans instead view themselves as the new victims in South Africa. Similarly, in art criticism texts, black pain is disavowed, shamed, and considered the reason for any affliction that might befall the black artist for “playing” victim:

But because she keeps the focus on her ‘victimhood’ rather than exposing the duplicity of the system, her audience’s attention is diverted from the nature of the establishment that she wrestles with. (Corrigan on Sharlene Khan, 2008)

¹⁸The #Feesmustfall student protests which took place in 2015 and 2016 at public universities across South Africa called for the suspension of university fee increases, a call for decolonized education, and an end to outsourcing of university non-academic staff which resulted in many workers losing various economic benefits.

This raises a more interesting perspective on the phenomenon of abuse – especially in the light of an exhibition that focuses on women as victims. Wouldn't studies of perpetrators be more interesting? The position of the perpetrator is so much more complex. It is easy to accept and represent victimhood. But predictably it is images of abused victims that are (again) offered up as a means to access and unpack this phenomenon. (Corrigall, 2009, p. 27)

In these ideas above, victimhood is easy, one dimensional, and a position assumed by blackness (a playing of the “race card” or the position of victim)—it is not one conferred by historical and social structures. Since Whiteness may not have experienced racial-class-ethnic victimization and cannot relate, Whiteness cannot see its relevance beyond personal confessionals.

I HAVE AN OPINION, AND I'M NOT AFRAID TO USE IT

Art critical writing in South Africa is indeed in an unenviable state. It has shirked in its responsibility of interrogating racism in the visual arts, art history, and arts education. White supremacist ideologies permeate texts. Art criticism texts are not only an important archive of primary information, and therefore an educational resource on artists in their times, but also function as valuation systems used to validate and dismiss different forms of creative production. Discussions on art criticism in South Africa take for granted a shared understanding of the necessity and importance of this appraising act which presumes informed “criticality” as its basis. From the published art writing we considered in this chapter, it was hard to think of these bodies of writing as “critiques.” Rather, we see them as speech acts of White privilege which did not display much criticality. By “criticality” we mean engagement with artist’s methodologies, concepts, past socio-histories, current geographies, and field innovations and not simply the practice of “criticizing” artists or their chosen creative strategies because one does not personally “get it.” Part of a critical arts education—particularly in a decolonial context—involves understanding perspectives, histories, production, and contexts beyond one’s own. Valuations of artworks can be useful only if evaluators are cognizant of the bias of their criteria but also the illusions of field specialization that it promotes (e.g. the “fine arts”/“craft”/African art categories that still maintain tropes of otherness).

We like to think of art criticism—and art writing more generally—as decolonizing acts themselves. By this we mean not only rethinking how we use language, what we say in content, and an awareness of our criteria of valuation but of art critical writing as being extensions of creative methodologies—so not simply as critique of a material object or experience presented but where writing is a creative act in the reading of, the thinking through and talking back to artworks. Such writing extends the creative capabilities of artworks beyond our physical encounter with them, making them accessible as knowledge. The respect with which we deal with creative production and visual producers in

knowledge-making is beyond personal opinion, particularly in post-colonial societies where support and funding for artists are quite limited and artists tend to produce against incredible odds. Thus, the tasks of enunciation and representing—for all players in the visual arts field—are full of responsibilities to both oneself, larger communities, and previous histories.

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Race, Whiteness, and the National Curriculum in Art: Deconstructing Racialized Pedagogic Legacies in Postcolonial England

Fiona O'Rourke

INTRODUCTION

“There are no White people, only people who think of themselves as White”
James Baldwin, *On being “White”...and other lies*, 1998, p. 180.

Despite its rhetorical commitments to social equity and inclusion, the National Curriculum in England reproduces Whiteness—a political and ideological system of power that maintains “White”¹ racial hegemony—through Eurocentric knowledges that implicitly valorize White populations, while marginalizing those of other racialized groups (O’Rourke, 2016). Sarah Pearce (2012) states “the English National Curriculum can be seen as playing an important role in retaining whiteness as an unquestioned norm, and excluding or marginalizing other cultural perspectives and practices” (p. 459). Other scholars have remarked, “there remain serious problems with the school curriculum, in as much as it is being delivered from a white or

¹ Race is a social construct, not a biological fact. Thus, when I first use racial terms like “White,” “non-White,” “Black,” “Brown,” and names of racialized systems of power, such as Whiteness, I capitalize and/or use quotations marks around them to signify their socially constructed status and to differentiate them from the colors “white,” “black,” and “brown.” Once I indicate that racial terms are social constructs, I consciously minimize my use of quotations marks and instead use discursive strategies to denote this concept, such as by referring to racial categories as imagined identities.

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Eurocentric...standpoint” (France, Meredith, & Sandu, 2007, p. 310). These racialized curricular practices operate across multiple subject areas, including the visual arts. Writing critically about prevailing artistic knowledges taught in secondary schools, Paul Dash (2005) observes “curricula content in England remains traditionalist and largely shaped by white, Western epistemological frameworks” (p. 120). Downing and Watson (2004), who examine visual arts practices at secondary level in England, observe that the content of the curriculum is characterized by the “prevalent use of male, European artists” (p. viii). Eurocentric practices are often maintained in higher education institutions, unwittingly or otherwise. A report published by the University of the Arts, London, which critically examined the knowledges taught on its programs of study, indicated “the White, Eurocentric nature of the art and design curriculum” (Hatton, 2013, p. 40). This body of research indicates that although “race” has long been dismissed as a salient biological category, its ideologies continue to be reproduced in English educational institutions through Eurocentric curricula, which routinely privilege populations identified as White.

These institutionalized practices have significant implications when they are repeatedly enacted in classrooms in postcolonial England. Eurocentric art programs that valorize the contributions Europeans have made to the world’s artistic heritage, implicitly constitute the visual arts curriculum as the property of imagined “White” populations. These racialized curricular practices operate by marginalizing all other racialized groups, namely those signified as “non-White”—who represent the vast majority of humanity, and the significant contributions they have made to artistic knowledge in England, Europe, and the broader global context. When Eurocentric curricular knowledges are repeatedly taught to children and young people in schools across England, they implicitly indicate to them that only populations signified as “White” have the capacity to make significant contributions to artistic knowledge, which reproduces their imagined racial superiority. Debra Hooks and Maja Miskovic (2011) state, “to promote the Eurocentric perspective is to perpetuate the master narrative that fortifies the myth of White superiority and dominance” (p. 202). Thus, a Eurocentric curriculum, which implicitly valorizes “White” populations and their contributions to world knowledge, inculcates children and young people into racist ideologies of imagined “White” racial superiority.

The adverse effects of a Eurocentric curriculum on learner identities and subjectivities in England are well documented (e.g., Dash, 1999, 2010; DES, 1985; France et al., 2007; Harris & Reynolds, 2014; Pearce, 2005; Traille, 2006). The Commission on Asian and African Heritage (2005) describes the Eurocentric National Curriculum as “the bedrock of many a preconception that is widely seen to be the progenitor of prejudice” (p. 11). Sally Tomlinson (2005) argues that the government’s “[f]ailure to develop a curriculum for a multiethnic society has contributed to an increase in xenophobia and racism” (p. 153), particularly among “White” populations. Other studies have revealed how a Eurocentric National Curriculum works in pernicious ways by adversely

affecting the social and educational development of learners from racialized minorities in England (e.g., Ajegbo, 2007). For example, Maud Blair (2001) states young “Black” pupils are “demoralised by a school system which denies them recognition through the curriculum, undermines their sense of self, (and) appears indifferent to their needs” (p. 73). Another report by The Children and Young People Overview and Scrutiny Panel on Ethnicity and Gender Educational Attainment (2005) states “elements of the curriculum are Eurocentric in nature and are of little cultural relevance [to pupils from racialized minorities] which impacts on their ability and desire to study them in any great depth” (p. 21). Thus, Eurocentric curricular knowledges adversely affect children and young people from all imagined racial groups in England, particularly those from racialized minorities.

In a paper that critically analyzes how the English educational system is implicated in reproducing Whiteness, David Gillborn (2005) states, “[t]he patterning of racial advantage and inequity is structured in domination and its continuation represents a form of tacit intentionality on the part of white power-holders and policy-makers” (p. 485). These racialized practices may be tacit or unintentional, but they are not accidental. The social production of “White” racial hegemony in English educational institutions through the curriculum has a long history, which dates back to the imperial era (see Mangan, 1993; O’Rourke, 2016). John MacKenzie (1984) writes that imperial curricular knowledge was honed down “to a series of stark and simple statements about [the]...racial superiority” (p. 178) of imagined “White” populations. While these overtly racist ideologies are no longer evident in present-day English state curriculum policies, their legacy remains in the Eurocentric programs of study they espouse, which implicitly reproduce them.

Given that racialized ideologies are encoded within the Eurocentric National Curriculum and have adverse effects on learner subjectivities, it is imperative that this social apparatus is critically analyzed, particularly how it reproduces Whiteness over time through racialized discourses and visibilities. On a fundamental level, questions must be asked about how these racialized practices work to reproduce and conceal themselves in educational institutions, which have a moral and legal responsibility to challenge racism (Equality Act, 2010). In a socio-historical-political age when equality legislation in England has now made racialized discriminatory practices in educational institutions illegal, how has a Eurocentric National Curriculum, which implicitly promotes “White” racial hegemony, been permitted, justified, and legitimated? How have power holders and policymakers historically constituted the visual arts curriculum as the exclusive property of “White” subjects without the charge of racism? Why do racialized subjects, including power holders and policymakers, continue to invest in “race” though it has been discredited as a salient biological category?

While the National Curriculum has been subject to much academic scrutiny since it was first introduced in the late twentieth century, these processes of racialization are under-researched, which enables them to remain concealed and unquestioned. Consequently, those who work in these institutional

contexts, including “White” subjects like myself, who make up the overwhelming majority of the teaching profession in England (DfE, 2012),² often have little or no awareness of the racialized ideologies of Whiteness encoded in the curriculum they teach and thus continue to tacitly accept them as the dominant norm (O’Rourke, 2016; Gillborn, 2005). Within these contexts, Eurocentric curricular knowledges, which valorize imagined White racial populations, are often tacitly accepted as the norm across a whole range of subject areas, including the visual arts (Downing & Watson, 2004; Hatton, 2013). The absence of empirical research on the social production of Whiteness through the English National Curriculum leaves policymakers and educators with no grounded basis upon which to develop anti-racist practices strategically designed to deconstruct these racialized pedagogic legacies.

To address this gap in the literature, this chapter critically historicizes how Whiteness reproduces and conceals itself in educational institutions in postcolonial England through a National Curriculum in Art from the late twentieth century to the present day. By critically analyzing these often covert processes of racialization, this chapter intends to reveal how they tenaciously secure their hegemony over time so that progressive policymakers, educators and researchers can better understand how to deconstruct them to make visual arts pedagogic practices in England racially inclusive and equitable.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY: DECONSTRUCTING RACIAL INEQUALITY

Critical Race Theory (CRT) provides a powerful analytical framework to expose and deconstruct the often covert production of racial inequality in social systems and structures in Euro-American societies, including those of educational institutions. As a theoretical framework, CRT effectively “uncovers the ongoing dynamics of racialized power, and its embeddedness in practices and values which have been shorn of any explicit, formal manifestations of racism” (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller & Thomas, 1995, p. xxix). For critical race theorists, these racialized power structures are always structured by Whiteness or “White” racial hegemony (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). CRT closely examines the covert and institutionalized ways Whiteness is maintained in mainstream society and culture through social systems and structures. This critical race project constitutes a deconstructive political move that aims to expose how these racialized practices work to maintain Whiteness in ways that intend to suggest how they can be resisted and subverted.

This subversive political project is based on the premise that “race” more generally, and Whiteness more specifically, is a social construct—a basic tenet of anti-racism. The socially constructed status of race is widely acknowledged by modern science, which has invalidated it as a salient or meaningful biological category (National Human Genome Research Institute, 2017). From this

² Government data indicates that 93.6% of the teaching population in England is “White” (DfE, 2012).

vantage point, “race” is not real in a biological sense. Thus, as the epigraph of this chapter states, “there are no White people, only people who think of themselves as White” (Baldwin, 1998, p. 180). Conversely, there are no “Black,” “Brown,” or mixed racialized groups, and so forth. However, although these racial categories do not exist biologically, they are socially real and significantly structure the lives of individuals and collectives. For example, institutionalized practices of Whiteness have produced an unequal distribution of power between racialized groups in Euro-American contexts, in ways that advantage imagined White groups (e.g., Bonilla-Silva, 2012; Gillborn, 2008). Writing about how such practices adversely affect non-White populations in England, Mohan Ambikaipaker (2015) states that they are evident in the “persistent racial and ethnic disparities in multiple social indicators from infant mortality rates, stop and search, incarceration and employment among many others” (p. 2055).

Identifying the social and institutional processes that maintain Whiteness or White racial hegemony is one of the key goals of CRT. The concept of “Whiteness as property” is a key theoretical framework used to critically analyze these processes of racialization. Cheryl Harris (1993) developed the concept of “Whiteness as property” to analyze how White racial hegemony has historically been maintained in American societies when populations signified as White systematically acquired and protected material resources over time through laws, policies, and other social practices in ways that secured power and privilege for their imagined racial group. In her seminal study, Harris (1993) used a genealogical approach to critically historicize how the concept of “Whiteness as property” emerged and was maintained in the American social order. She states that “[e]ven in the early stages of this country...it was the *interaction* between concepts of race and property that played a critical role in establishing and maintaining racial and economic subordination” (Harris, 1993, p. 1716). She indicates that during the Jim Crow era, “[o]nly white possession and occupation of land was validated and therefore privileged as a basis for property rights” (Harris, 1993, p. 278), which was justified and legitimized through state-sanctioned laws, knowledges, and discourses.

While these overtly racist practices have now been abolished, their legacy remains in present-day postcolonial contexts, including the United States and England, where Whiteness confers political, economic, and social power and privilege on imagined White populations (Ambikaipaker, 2015; Gillborn, 2008; McIntosh, 1988). Writing about how these racialized privileges manifest in the United States, Robin DiAngelo (2011) observes that they are evident in the way images of White racial populations are routinely privileged in representations of heroes and heroines, standards of beauty, historical textbooks, and in the mainstream media. Robollo-Gil and Moras (2006) argue that “[b]y the time they reach our classrooms, most White students are thoroughly invested in a system of White privilege that provides them with opportunities and benefits based on their skin color, and, most importantly, that denies the reality of this privilege” (p. 383). These social and material practices have a long history in postcolonial contexts, where White subjects have acquired

political, economic, and social power and privileges over time at the expense of other racialized groups. Harris (1993) observes that “[i]n a society structured on racial subordination, white privilege became an expectation, and...whiteness became the quintessential property for personhood” (p. 1730). In what follows, I employ the concept of “Whiteness as property” to critically historicize how Whiteness has maintained itself structurally in educational institutions in postcolonial England from the late twentieth century to the present day through a National Curriculum in Art.

A GENEALOGICAL ANALYSIS: A SUBVERSIVE QUALITATIVE METHODOLOGY

This study employs a qualitative research methodology to analyze relevant curriculum documents (Prior, 2003) in postcolonial England, as they are a “rich source of information, contextually relevant and grounded in the contexts they represent” (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 277). These empirical data are drawn from textual examples of English curricula in art from the early 1990s to the present day, including state curriculum policies, pedagogical resources, and examination syllabi that were taught in state educational institutions during this time period. These documents provide rich sources of information about the covert reproduction of Whiteness in educational institutions in England grounded in the contexts they represent. The research data from this study are drawn from a doctoral thesis, which critically historicizes how Whiteness, and its structured invisibility, has been socially produced in educational institutions in England through the curriculum from the early twentieth century to the present day, unconsciously or otherwise (O’Rourke, 2016). The documents used in these studies were obtained from London-based libraries. Data collection ran from January 2010 to January 2013. Triangulation techniques, which identify points of connection or discrepancy among the curricular documents, are employed to facilitate a comparative analysis of textual data (Patton, 1990).

This analysis contextualizes empirical data in order to describe the historical, political, social, and cultural contexts within which curricular texts were produced and taught in English educational institutions. Regrettably, within the confines of this chapter, which critically analyzes curricular texts from a broad historical span, namely three decades, spanning from the late twentieth century to the present day, some issues can only be indicated rather than developed. The primary focus is to use vignettes to present a genealogical study, which critically historicizes how Whiteness has been socially produced in English educational institutions through the National Curricula in Art during the specified time period. This is a subversive move that intends to reveal how these processes of racialization work to secure themselves over time, in ways that intend to suggest pedagogical strategies for resisting and deconstructing them.

This genealogical analysis is divided into three sections. Firstly, I outline the historical, political, and social context within which the English National Curriculum was first introduced in the late twentieth century. I critically examine the inaugural National Curriculum in Art and the raced discourses of

Whiteness it encodes, including the subtle and pernicious ways they produce the visual arts as the property of White racial subjects. Secondly, I analyze how these racialized practices are reproduced in fluid and contingent ways in subsequent pedagogic texts in this subject area, including a state curriculum policy and an examination syllabus. Finally, I indicate the key findings of this study and outline how they can be used to develop a visual arts curriculum that resists and subverts these institutionalized practices of Whiteness and promotes racial equality.

THE ENGLISH NATIONAL CURRICULUM

Before 1988, the school curriculum in England was not under the centralized control of the state. Thus, teachers independently developed a curriculum appropriate for what was then termed a “multiracial” society (Tomlinson, 2008). It was within this socio-historical context that an array of curricular practices emerged, including multiculturalism and anti-racism (Troyna & Williams, 1986). Although these approaches to curriculum reform were subject to criticism (Troyna, 1983), they were seen to represent a progressive period in British history when educational systems were moving slowly toward more egalitarian pedagogic practices (Ball, 1993; Figueroa, 1999).

The accession of Conservative parties to power in the mid-1980s and the introduction of a neo-liberal agenda in education stressing a “back to basics” approach resulted not only in a disregard for these progressive curriculum reforms but also a strong de-legitimization of multiculturalism (Resnik, 2009). Writing about this era, James Rhodes (2010) states, “under Thatcher...there was a vociferous rejection of an excessively liberal left, whose promotion of multicultural policies threatened the hegemony of the (white) British Nation” (p. 95). However, Conservative politicians and educationalists did not reject multicultural policies in such overtly racialized terms. Instead, they used language that metonymically connoted racialized meanings, rather than explicitly naming them, thus enabling them to avoid the charge of racism. For example, in an age of rapid socio-political-economic change, Conservative politicians and educationalists argued that “traditional” forms of education, including a curriculum rooted in Eurocentric and Anglocentric cultural heritages, were needed to ensure continuity between the past and the present in order to maintain the stability, order, and cohesiveness of the British nation-state (Crawford, 1998).

In the late twentieth century, the Conservative party initiated a series of educational reforms that would produce these traditional pedagogic practices. These reforms were accomplished by way of the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA), which was introduced by a Conservative government. This piece of legislation marked a significant change in English educational policymaking, especially in relation to the curriculum. It stipulated, for the first time in the history of education in England (and Wales), that the state would centrally define, control, and regulate pedagogical and curricular practices by way of a National Curriculum—a statutory, standardized, and prescribed program of study for all state primary and secondary schools.

This curriculum was organized progressively over four key stages³ across ten subjects,⁴ including Art. Prescribed programs of study were set out in official policy documents—statutory orders and non-statutory guidance, which were implemented in state schools across England from 1988 to the mid-1990s. While the statutory policies specified the programs of study students should be taught at each key stage and the arrangements for assessing pupils, the non-statutory guidance documents presented examples of what was considered to be good curricular practice.

The next section critically analyzes how Whiteness reproduced and concealed itself in and through these pedagogic documents. This data analysis is organized under the following themes, a rhetorical commitment to social equity? the silent presence of Whiteness, an inclusive curriculum?

A RHETORICAL COMMITMENT TO SOCIAL EQUITY?

The ERA and the inaugural National Curriculum appeared to make a rhetorical commitment to social equity and inclusion issues. For example, the ERA stated that the curriculum should be “balanced and broadly based,” should promote the “cultural...development of pupils...and of society,” and should prepare “pupils for the opportunities, responsibilities and experiences of adult life” (ERA, 1988, part 1, ch. 1, section 1. [2][a], [b]). These statements appear to indicate that a wide range of cultural backgrounds would be taken into account in the design of the National Curriculum, and that its programs of study would actively work to equip learners for life in a culturally diverse society. Kenneth Baker, then Secretary of State for Education, also appeared to voice such rhetorical commitments to equity when he claimed that the National Curriculum was likely to be “very useful in holding together a multi-racial and multi-cultural society” (Baker, 1988).

At first glance, the inaugural National Curriculum policies appear to promote mutual respect and understanding among diverse racialized groups. For example, the National Curriculum in Art (DES, 1992) states “[i]n all key stages, pupils should be given opportunities to understand and appreciate art in a variety of genres and styles from a variety of cultures, Western and non-Western” (p. 3). This policy statement appears to encourage teachers to explore knowledges that promote mutual respect and understanding for a variety of cultures, Western and non-Western, which are made up of diverse racialized groups.

³The English National Curriculum is organized into four key stages, which refer to the different stages of learning children and young people in primary and secondary state educational institutions in England progress into from years 5 to 16. Key stage 1 (years 5–7), key stage 2 (years 7–11), key stage 3 (years 11–14), and key stage 4 (years 14–16).

⁴The inaugural National Curriculum was organized across ten subjects—English, mathematics, science, technology, a modern foreign language, history, geography, art, music, and physical education.

THE SILENT PRESENCE OF WHITENESS

Close analysis reveals Whiteness is a hidden or silent presence in the inaugural National Curriculum in Art, structuring which racial groups are respected, valorized, and privileged over others. The silent presence of Whiteness is evident in its programs of study, including the historical narrative of art it discursively constructs. For example, Whiteness is evident in the program of study for key stage 3, which indicates that teachers should design classes that enable pupils to “develop an understanding of art taken from the following periods: Classical and Medieval, Renaissance, post-Renaissance, nineteenth and twentieth centuries” (DES, 1992, p. 9). Collectively, these historical periods reflect the “grand narrative” of European art,⁵ which has discursively constituted the art of “Europeans” as the epitome of artistic progress, development, and success, in ways that implicitly reproduce their imagined superiority (Chalmers, 1996). These discursive practices have emerged from political histories, namely European colonialism and imperialism, and the racialized power structures they justified and legitimized. Henry Giroux (1993) argues “grand narratives” are hallmarks of “the Enlightenment and Western philosophical tradition” (p. 463) that intend to universalize and normalize power structures in postcolonial societies in ways that legitimize European hegemony as the dominant norm.

These raced power dynamics are an ideological substratum to this inaugural National Curriculum of Art and its historical narrative. This is evident in the racialized backgrounds of the artists this state curriculum document advises teachers to explore and recognize as “successful” (DES, 1992, p. C9). The policy document provides long lists of individual European artists signified as White, drawn from different periods in time from the Renaissance to the twentieth century (e.g., “Donatello, Durer, Rembrandt, Poussin, Gainsborough, Turner, Cezanne, Picasso and Dali,” “Jackson Pollock, Alan Davie and Patrick Heron,” DES, 1992, p. C9). Thus, the historical narrative of art presented in this state curriculum document is centered on European artists, that is, the art of imagined White racial identities. Collectively, these discursive practices reproduce the idea of an imagined White racial identity, through a story or “grand narrative” that describes them as a unified social group, in part based on their light skin pigmentation. In addition, this grand narrative credits each of these European artists, who are mostly male, with achieving their own distinctive and influential art. By so doing, these discursive practices construct a powerful White racial identity through a Eurocentric grand narrative, which describes this imagined social group as having their own influential and successful artistic practices.

⁵The terms “master narrative” or “grand narrative” were first introduced by French philosopher Jean-Francois Lyotard (1984) to describe the totalizing narratives or metadiscourses of modernity, which have provided ideologies with a legitimizing philosophy of history, such as the grand narratives of the Enlightenment, democracy, and Marxism.

While this state curriculum document implicitly valorizes the art of Europeans, it marginalizes the art of other racialized groups. For example, this document makes only occasional references to the art of non-Europeans. When non-Europeans are mentioned, they are removed from the hegemonic Eurocentric grand narrative of art, segregated into neatly fenced-off areas and correlated with essentialist systems of representation, such as “Chinese scroll paintings, Aboriginal dream maps” (DES, 1992, p. C9), that do not convey the diverse artistic practices within these cultures. Thus, while imagined White subjects are described in all of their diversity in a grand historical narrative of art, the artistic practices of other racialized groups are described in static and essentialist terms (jagodzinski, 1999). These discursive practices are also evident in the accompanying non-statutory guidance. This state curriculum document names 21 individual European artists who are credited with creating influential artwork but only names one non-European artist (NCC, 1992, p. C12). The racialized power structures encoded within this inaugural National Curriculum in Art, and its non-statutory order, indicate that despite its rhetorical commitment to social inclusion, its discursive practices reproduce Whiteness.

The concept of “Whiteness as property” (Harris, 1993) explored earlier, which refers to how racial hegemony is maintained by acquiring and protecting material resources, can be used to expose how these raced discourses operate. For example, by centering its historical narrative of art around Europeans, while marginalizing all other racialized groups, this state curriculum policy in art constitutes the visual arts as the property of imagined White racial groups. When these curricular knowledges were taught in educational institutions across England, they implicitly indicated that only populations signified as White have the capacity to make substantial contributions to artistic knowledge, which reproduces their imagined racial superiority, albeit in subtle ways.

The inaugural National Curriculum in Art and the raced ideologies it encodes were produced by the English state, which was then led by the Conservative political party. Its racially biased historical narratives, which centered on Europeans or imagined White populations, were part of a neo-Conservative project of “educational restorationism” that aimed to restore or valorize “traditional” knowledge supporting Eurocentric cultural and intellectual traditions, while marginalizing those of other cultures (Ball, 1990). This intention was clearly expressed by the Secretary of State for Education who argued that he believed art must be seen as a practical subject that has a major emphasis on “our national and European heritage” (Lashley, 1993, p. 173). In addition, David Pascall, chairperson of the National Curriculum Council, made it clear that he expected teachers of the creative arts to specifically focus on teaching their students curricular knowledge from the Western cultural tradition (Gammon, 1999). These statements indicate that while the inaugural National Curriculum espoused a rhetorical commitment to social equity, these power holders expected its programs of study to focus on Eurocentric curricular knowledges, which routinely privilege imagined White racial subjects.

CRT scholars have critically analyzed such racialized expectations in postcolonial societies, including the power structures through which they have emerged. In her article “Whiteness as property” Harris (1993) observes “[i]n a society structured on racial subordination, white privilege became an expectation” (p. 1730). These racialized expectations are evident in the aforementioned statements from English state policymakers, who expect the inaugural National Curriculum in Art to valorize Europeans or imagined White populations and the contributions they have made to the artistic canon. However, their racialized expectations are expressed not in explicitly racist terms but rather through literary tropes that metonymically connote them, such as the terms “educational restorationism,” “history,” “tradition,” and “culture.” Barry Troyna (1993) indicates that much of British political and educational policy discourse in the latter part of the 1980s concealed racist discourses, particularly through notions of “culture” which came to act as “proxy concepts” for race (p. 28). Such nuanced racialized rhetoric worked to ensure that a European narrative of art, which is made of a list of White Western European artists, who are predominantly male, is placed center stage, without accusations of racism.

To place Western European cultural and artistic practices at the center of the English National Curriculum in Art reflects this nation-state’s geographical, social, and political location within Western Europe. However, the very idea of Europe, its histories, cultures, and practices are inextricably entangled with those from other geopolitical contexts, though they are often defined in contrast to them. Many postcolonial scholars have explored this idea. For example, in his analysis of European imperialism and resistance to it in diverse geopolitical contexts across the globe, Edward Said (1994) considered these political processes “as making up a set of intertwined and overlapping histories” (p. 19). In post-imperial England, scholars have explored how the legacy of colonialism has historically linked imagined White and non-White populations over hundreds of years. For example, Rozina Visram (1994) remarks on how Britain’s involvement with diverse geopolitical contexts across the globe, particularly in Africa, Asia, and the Caribbean, through exploration, trade, conquest, and colonization, inextricably binds them together, “each having an influence on the destiny and development of the other” (p. 56). Similarly, Antoinette Burton (1994) observes how “British culture at home was shaped...at least since the fifteenth century, by non-White populations living in Britain, the result of slavery and of early modern imperial expansion” (p. 489). These intertwined and overlapping histories have meant that European and British histories, knowledges, cultures, and practices have been entangled with those of non-European cultures, and the diverse racialized groups that constitute them, over hundreds of years.

Indeed, diverse racialized groups have developed many of the technologies that have historically played a vital role in Europe’s cultural and economic development, including iron smelting, agricultural farming, and printing. Writing about the origins of iron smelting in sub-Saharan Africa, centuries before European colonization, Franz Boas (1906) notes that “at a time when the European was still satisfied with rude stone tools, the

African had invented or adopted the art of smelting iron.” Ruth Benedict (2009) indicates how paper and printing presses were invented in China; the cultivation of grains and animals are Neolithic inventions from Asia; and mathematical knowledge was first invented in Asia and was introduced by the Arab civilization to the Western civilization. In his book *The Eastern Origins of Western Civilization*, John Hobson (2004) indicates how Islamic, African, and Chinese resources (“technologies, institutions and ideas”) played a key role in the British Industrial Revolution.

Art history is saturated with tangible examples of cultural exchanges and borrowings between diverse racialized groups. For example, Cubism, which is often constituted as a “revolutionary” twentieth-century European art movement, emerged when a number of European artists became inspired by traditional African sculptures, particularly the abstraction of the human figure, in ways that motivated them to move beyond the naturalism that had defined Western art since the Renaissance (Murrell, 2008). Others have documented how artistic exchanges between diverse racialized groups are evident in artifacts from Britain’s cultural heritage. For example, Visram (1994) observes how the “Willow Pattern Plate”—a product that is commonly perceived to be a fine example of British craft—was inspired by the aesthetic qualities of traditional Chinese ceramics, particularly hand-painted blue and white porcelain, which was exported to Britain during the eighteenth century.

These various examples illustrate how cornerstones of European and British technological, scientific, and artistic heritage are either obtained from or heavily influenced by other cultural groups and thus are not the property of any one social group. Edward Said (1994) remarks that “[c]ulture is never just a matter of ownership...but rather of appropriations, common experiences, and interdependencies of all kinds among different cultures” (p. 261). Remarking on such synergistic interplays and exchanges between cultures, Ella Shohat and Robert Stam (2014) state, “communities, societies, nations and even entire continents exist not only autonomously but rather in a densely woven web of relationality” (p. 48). However, the legacies of European colonialism and imperialism have meant that while these webs of relationality have historically existed for centuries, they are often ignored and negated in dominant pedagogic texts, which only acknowledge the achievements of imagined White populations.

This chapter has indicated that these racialized power dynamics are evident in the inaugural National Curriculum in Art. For example, its Eurocentric programs of study do not acknowledge webs of relationality between diverse ethno-cultural groups and their artistic practices but rather constitute “grand narratives” of art as the property of White racialized groups, which implicitly reproduces their imagined racial superiority. I will later indicate that the racialized power dynamics encoded in the inaugural National Curriculum in Art were reproduced in subsequent state curriculum policies in this subject area (DfEE, 1999) in fluid and contingent ways. There were, however, some efforts to make these policies more inclusive.

AN INCLUSIVE CURRICULUM?

The English National Curriculum 2000, which was introduced by a Labour government, included a detailed statement on inclusion that provided guidelines on how to make educational systems and structures more socially inclusive in ways that were intended to raise the achievement of children and young people from diverse social groups. For example, this statement on inclusion stipulated that all schools in England have a responsibility to provide a broad and balanced curriculum for all pupils “to ensure that all pupils have the chance to succeed, whatever their individual needs and the potential barriers to their learning may be” (DfEE/QCA, 1999, p. 3). This laudable rhetoric of inclusion has also been deployed in state curriculum policies for individual subject areas. For example, the National Curriculum in Art and Design (DfEE, 1999) states “[p]upils should be taught about...differences and similarities in the work of artists, craftspeople and designers in different times and cultures” (p. 16). These inclusive discourses present a positive image of the English National Curriculum celebrating cultural “differences and similarities” in ways that appear to promote mutual respect among different cultures and the diverse racialized groups that constitute them.

However, close analysis reveals that Whiteness is deeply entrenched in this state curriculum policy in ways that almost enable it to avoid detection. For instance, unlike the inaugural National Curriculum in Art and its non-statutory guidance, this state curriculum policy does not explicitly prescribe a racially biased canon of knowledge, such as a long list of White artists, who are constituted as the embodiment of artistic success. Instead, this policy document instructs teachers to focus primarily on the European artistic canon using terms that metonymically connote the artwork of Europeans or imagined White racial groups. For example, the program of study for key stage 3 states “pupils should be taught about...continuity and change in the purposes and audiences of artists, craftspeople and designers from Western Europe...[for example, differences in the roles and functions of art in contemporary life, Medieval, Renaissance and post-Renaissance periods]” (p. 20). As previously indicated, these historical periods refer to the “grand narrative of European art” which has discursively constituted the art of Europeans as the hegemonic norm and as the epitome of artistic progress, development, and success (Chalmers, 1996).

While the art of Europeans is described in all of its diversity through a “grand narrative,” the artistic practices of other racialized groups are acknowledged in marginal terms. For example, the only direct reference to non-Europeans is made in key stage 3, which advises teachers to explore art from “the wider world” and then refers to an accretive collection of the world’s non-European cultures—“Aboriginal, African, Islamic and Native American” (DfEE, 1999, p. 20). This state curriculum policy does not provide clear guidance on how to effectively explore this artwork in ways that are culturally sensitive, such as a judicious selection of knowledge from the world’s artistic heritage that indicates the rich and varied diversity within different cultures. Thus, while

this state curriculum policy includes a statement on social and cultural inclusion, it does not provide art teachers with clear guidelines about how to effectively put this into practice in their classrooms. Consequently, this state curriculum policy reproduces Whiteness in much the same way as the inaugural National Curriculum in Art, namely by centering its historical narrative on European artists, that is, imagined White racial subjects, while marginalizing all other racialized groups and describing them in static and essentialist terms.

Whiteness is also reproduced in educational institutions in England through examination syllabi in art. For example, raced discursive practices are evident in the Assessment and Qualifications Alliance (AQA), Advanced Subsidiary (AS), and A level examination syllabus entitled “History of Art (Art of the Western World)” (2013). This syllabus aims to provide candidates with an appreciation of some significant art historical themes “from Western History of Art, defined as the period from Classical Greece to the end of the twentieth century” (AQA, 2013, p. 6). Thus, within this examination syllabus, art history is conceptualized in exclusively Eurocentric terms.

Eurocentric knowledge systems have historically been privileged in art examination syllabi in England. Kate Hatton (2003) states “it is Europe, and the European classical tradition, which provides an ideal standard by which any art and design work may be examined, and it is to this ‘standard’ that the art curriculum must adhere” (p. 368). Harris’s (1993) concept of “Whiteness as property” explored earlier, which exposes how racial hegemony is maintained by acquiring property, enables one to recognize that these Eurocentric pedagogies discursively constitute art history as the exclusive property of imagined White racial populations through an examination syllabus. These racialized pedagogic practices work by constituting the European classical tradition as the “ideal standard” by which any art and design work may be examined, which implicitly connotes its superiority over other artistic traditions. Ellen Swartz (1992, p. 341) describes such racialized practices as “master scripting” a term she uses to convey how Eurocentric curricula constitute knowledge produced by Europeans as the “standard knowledge students need to know,” which implicitly connotes their racial superiority. When such Eurocentric syllabi are taught in classrooms across England, it inculcates young people into these racialized ideologies by inserting themselves “into their actions and attitudes, their discourses, learning processes and everyday lives” (Foucault, 1980, p. 30), thus securing their hegemony and longevity.

CONCLUSION

This chapter has indicated that Whiteness has been a hidden or silent presence in English National Curricula in Art, which is not explicitly named but lies deeply entrenched in its Eurocentric knowledges, discursive practices, and visual representations. Thus, children and young people in England have been learning racialized ideologies of Whiteness in and through this art curriculum, not through explicitly racist teaching or conscious inculcation but rather

through subtle and nuanced raced discourses and visibilities. These processes of racialization have been supported by a constellation of social and material practices, including state curriculum policies, pedagogical resources, and an examination syllabus, which work concurrently to valorize Europeans and constitute the artistic canon as the property of White subjects. Within the pedagogic context of the classroom, these practices confer power and privilege on imagined White racial populations by implicitly indicating that only they have the capacity to make significant contributions to artistic knowledge, which constitutes them as the embodiment of success and achievement thus reproducing their imagined racial superiority. White subjects, like myself, invest in these racialized curricular knowledges, though race has been invalidated as a meaningful biological category as they satisfy racialized identificatory needs: They bolster up our idealized self-image and provide us with positive forms of racialized identification, albeit at the expense of other imagined racialized groups.

This chapter indicates that Whiteness intersects with other social structures to position White subjects differently within its racialized system of power, which mediates their access to power and privilege. For example, it indicated that English National Curricula in Art have valorized White males from Western Europe in its programs of study (see also Downing & Watson, 2004; Hatton, 2003). Within these contexts, Whiteness intersects with other social demarcations, namely gender and ethnicity, to establish a hierarchy between imagined White racial subjects. However, despite these social stratifications, Eurocentric curricular practices confer power and privilege on members of White racial groups, such as by constituting them as the hegemonic norm.

The genealogical study presented in this chapter indicated these processes of racialization have historically been fluid and contingent, in that they have changed over time. However, these racialized practices have a “changing same” quality at their core (Bonilla-Silva, 2003, p. 9), in that they have consistently worked to maintain White racial hegemony through a historical chain of ongoing and repeated curricular practices. For example, key findings from this study indicate that English National Curricula in Art have historically reproduced White racial hegemony in state educational institutions through reiterative “grand European narratives” that constitute the visual arts as the property of White subjects in ways that implicitly reproduce their imagined racial superiority.

This chapter reveals that these processes of racialization have operated in subtle and nuanced ways in and through discourse. Whiteness’ capacity to conceal itself in and through discourse has been noted by Toni Morrison (1992) who points out that Whiteness has created a literary “language that can powerfully evoke and enforce hidden signs of racial superiority, cultural hegemony, and dismissive othering” (p. x-xi). Similarly, Eduardo Bonilla-Silva (2014) observes “the increasingly *covert* nature of racial discourse and racial practices; the avoidance of racial terminology” (p. 27) in contemporary Euro-American societies. In a socio-historical context where anti-racist legislation has made discriminatory practices in social institutions illegal, the covert nature of racial

discourse in English National Curricula in Art has enabled Whiteness to exert its pernicious power in educational institutions, without the charge of racism.

Since the introduction of the National Curriculum, teachers in England have been inscribed within legislative, ideological, and political frameworks that have meant they are statutorily required to teach its Eurocentric knowledges every day in their classrooms, including the raced discourses they encode. The everyday enactment of raced discourses of Whiteness in classrooms, which implicitly buttress the myth of White racial superiority, has facilitated the daily work required to maintain and normalize this racialized system of power in English educational institutions.

The persistent and repeated patterning of Whiteness in the National Curriculum has significant implications for the English state and its policy-makers who are tasked with providing an equitable and inclusive educational system for all children and young people, which actively works to prevent racist discriminatory practices and promote racial equality through its systems and structures, including those that operate through the curriculum (Equality Act, 2010). These moral and legal responsibilities must now be met through a systemic and structural reform of the English National Curriculum, which aims to challenge Whiteness and promote racial equality through its programs of study.

A significant number of scholars, activists, and cultural organizations have called for such National Curriculum reform in recent decades (e.g., Ajegbo, 2007; DES, 1985; Pearce, 2012). For example, The MacPherson Report (1999) included four recommendations on education, one of these being that “consideration be given to the amendment of the National Curriculum aimed at valuing cultural diversity and preventing racism, in order to better reflect the needs of a diverse society” (recommendation 67). Similarly, the Commission on African and Asian Heritage (2005) recommended that “[k]ey stakeholders should facilitate a more inclusive education system and curriculum that embraces and supports the histories, cultures and identities of African and Asian communities” (p. 83). However, as Whiteness is now so deeply entrenched in the National Curriculum, how does one begin to dismantle its racialized epistemologies, discourses, and visibilities, to make it racially inclusive and equitable?

One intention of this study has been to reveal how Whiteness has reproduced itself through English National Curriculum in Art in ways that can be used to deconstruct these processes of racialization. One of the key findings of this study has indicated that this art curriculum reifies the ideology of race by deploying ethno-cultural categories, such as European and non-European, as though they are natural and neutral descriptive terms, and privileging the former in ways that reproduce their imagined racial superiority. Exposing race as a socio-historical construct, which has been invalidated as a meaningful biological category, is a significant if perhaps small way in which these racialized practices may be de-normalized and challenged. Indeed, just naming Eurocentric knowledges as the product of imagined White racial populations,

rather than tacitly accepting them as the hegemonic norm, has subversive potential. In the words of Allison Brimmer (2005) “simply using the word ‘white’ brings white-ness out of its silent hiding place, and repeating the word white thus becomes a useful anti-racist act” (p. 30). This subversive strategy demonstrates that while an anti-racist curriculum must problematize the ideology of race, it can also strategically use racial categories to deconstruct their hegemonic normativity.

In addition, a National Curriculum intent on promoting racial equity must strategically use racial categories to ensure that the knowledge selected for its programs of study represent diverse ethno-cultural groups in ways that are equally valued. Ultimately, curriculum reform for racial equity must begin by de-centering dominant “grand European narratives” that constitute the visual arts as white property and developing programs of study that bring all racialized groups into the center of the curriculum and recognize them as key contributors to present-day artistic knowledge. This must involve a rewriting of historical narratives of art to deconstruct deeply entrenched binary oppositions between imagined White and non-White racial populations. One of the ways this could be achieved is by recognizing our global artistic heritage as the product of reciprocal, dialogic encounters between diverse racialized groups in ways that equally value their respective contributions (see Dash, 2010). Such an inclusive curriculum would support all learners in the development of their imagined racial identities by valuing their diverse cultural heritages and cultivating within them cosmopolitan sensibilities, which propel learners “to communicate with others and with other traditions and inheritances” (Hansen, 2008, p. 306). Further research is required to inform the design and development of such a National Curriculum, which must work to dismantle racialized pedagogic legacies in educational institutions in postcolonial England, challenge racism, and promote racial equality.

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Toward a Counter-visual Education: Cinema, Race, and the Reorientation of White Visuality

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Image consumption occupies a large portion of childhood and youth activity. Although being with and looking at images are not new or unique to the contemporary world, today's global digital networks have accelerated visual cultural production, such that looking at images is a nearly inescapable part of existence. Researchers have found that children and teens spend almost half of their awake hours consuming media, the vast majority of which involve gazing at images on a screen (Rideout, Foehr, & Roberts, 2010). Moreover, when controlling for socioeconomic status and family makeup, Black, Latinx, and Asian children between the ages of 8 and 18 consume media at about four and a half hours more per day than do their White counterparts (Center on Media and Human Development, 2011). Many arts in education scholars have responded to the flood of visual information children and teens encounter by arguing for greater consideration of popular visual culture as a context for critical pedagogy (Duncum, 1999, 2006; Freedman, 2003; Tavin, 2003; Tavin & Carpenter, 2010). In line with this curricular movement, we, the authors, believe one aim of contemporary visual arts education is to facilitate empowering experiences from which young people can develop their own counter-visual practices.

In this chapter, we approach visual culture in arts education by looking at recent lens-based images of race within mass-mediated popular culture. Unlike the rarefied cultural forms commonly collected and displayed in art museums, lens-based images—including movies, photographs, and videos—are meant to be reproduced and distributed widely. They are made accessible to popular

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audiences through their material reproducibility and use of realism (Stam, 2000). These media qualities help democratize image-making, thus opening up visual cultural production to diverse critical thought and practice.

Our concern with images of race is also in conversation with Critical Race Theory. We seek to contribute to a better understanding of the cultural and aesthetic modes through which “a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained” over time, as well as possibilities for change (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xiii). Popular images have always played a central role in racial formation (Bernstein, 2011; Carrera, 2003; Entman & Rojecki, 2000; Katzew, 2004; Magee, 2012). They *teach* us how to see, interpret, assign, and embody racial differences. The images viewers encounter through mass media—such as movies, television, newspapers, digital platforms, and advertising—help shape their public and personal selves. They “fill our daily lives and condition our most intimate perceptions and desires” (Giroux & Pollock, 2010, p. 2). On the one hand, they act as a catalyst in the ideological process of racializing bodies and indexing identities (Berger, 2010; Hall, 1990; Mills, 2014; Tobin, 2000), wherein the categories of White and non-White are made to appear real and logical. White authority (and non-White inferiority) is represented as though it were an indisputable law of nature rather than a socially and strategically constructed illusion (Haney López, 1996, 2014; Harris, 1993).¹ On the other hand, lens-based images are also used to expose and challenge aesthetic fictions produced by the dominant white visuality (Smith, 2004; Willis, 2000).

Although it is known that images play a role in creating and maintaining notions of racial difference, it is not easily understood *how* such images catch our attention and insinuate themselves into our subjectivities and daily bodily habits. By asking how racial hegemony is instrumentalized through images, one then can begin to elaborate pedagogies and tactics for anti-racist arts education. We attempt to make a contribution in that direction by examining the aesthetic strategies and counter-visual frame of two lens-based visual sites/sights that effectively and affectively challenge white visuality (Berger, 2005). The first is the acclaimed Hollywood neo-slave film *12 Years a Slave*, directed by Steve McQueen (McQueen et al., 2013). Described as an “imaginative documentary” (Jones, 2015, p. 257), the film is based on the 1853 memoir of Solomon Northup, a Black man born free and then kidnapped and sold into bondage.² It reframes white supremacy as an *ocular institution*—a conspicuous

¹We chose to capitalize the terms Black and White throughout the chapter because, even though their meanings are fluid and depend upon context, each category references a specific social group (Haney López, 1996).

²The movie *12 Years a Slave* is a film adaptation of Solomon Northup’s 1853 memoir written by John Ridley and directed by Steve McQueen (McQueen et al., 2013). In his memoir, Northup, who was born a free man in New York, tells of being bamboozled by two traveling circus musicians who offered him a business opportunity to join them for a two-week tour to Washington, D.C. Once in Washington, Northup was drugged by the two musicians and sold to slave traders who transported him and many others to a fate of slavery in the state of Louisiana. The film depicts

visual logic of race—perfected in slavery (Cobb, 2015), ultimately revealing more about the depravity and destructiveness of whiteness, and the White identity it engenders, than it does about the inner lives of Blacks (non-Whites).

We then juxtapose the conscious use of narrative strategies and aesthetic techniques in *12 Years a Slave* with the unstructured, unrehearsed, and unfinished images of contemporary racial violence unfolding on videos created with handheld cell phones. Since 2010, the spontaneous use of cell phone cameras has been operationally central to the emergence of various social movements around the globe, including the burgeoning Black Lives Matter (BLM) movement in the US (Freelon, McIlwain, & Clark, 2016). The cell phone's tiny, mobile lens enables digital photography and cinema to enter into the everyday rhythm of life for the average person (Cruz & Lehmuskallio, 2016). Groups that are frequently misrepresented and excluded in Hollywood are no longer dependent on whitestream media outlets.³ Instead, they can visualize and share their own stories with broad audiences via YouTube, Facebook, Twitter, and other social media.

Both *12 Years a Slave* and the cell phone images that helped give life to BLM testify to the corporeal production and maintenance of white supremacy. We argue that they depict the ways in which bodies are sites of racial fantasies cast by a penetrating *white eye* (Hall, 1990), an historical perspectival system of whiteness that usually remains obscured from view. Our analysis combines Critical Race Theory with theories of cinematic production and new phenomenologies of difference, in particular philosopher Sarah Ahmed's (2006) concept of *orientation*, to show how politico-aesthetic gestures are employed to reframe structures of racial injustice and re-orientate the viewer's gaze. We suggest that lens-based images and image-making present opportunities for a critical race pedagogy in arts education grounded in counter-visual strategies of looking.

THE AESTHETICS OF CINEMA

Cinema is an art form that *plays around* with reality. It affects how viewers perceive. The power of cinema lies in how it manufactures and produces “its own structural modes” (Deren, 2011, p. 145) through the logics of montages or image sequences that can manipulate, obscure, and counter conventional spatio-temporal aesthetic experiences. Images on the screen are two-dimensional abstractions of perceptual experiences that have the ability to connect with viewers as if they were in the scene themselves. This phenomenon happens when watching movies. The conventions of filmmaking—the direction, cinematography, lighting, sound, and, most importantly, the suturing of images—fade into

how Northup endured a life of chattel slavery for 12 years (from 1841 to 1853) before a traveling Canadian carpenter would hear his story and aid him in regaining his freedom.

³The term *whitestream* is used by indigenous scholars and critical race scholars to refer to dominant cultural practices and social structures in North America that normalize the experiences of Whites. Whites and non-Whites can and do participate in whitestreaming (Ahlquist & Milner, 2008; Denis, 1997; Grande, 2004; Johnson, 2011).

the background of our awareness, creating a unity between the viewer and screen (Daney, 2002). It is even plausible to say, in most cases, any sense of production goes completely unnoticed as viewers become enmeshed in the unfolding of the on-screen narrative. Film theorist Jonathan Beller (2002) illuminates this idea when he states, “not only do we confront the image at the scene of the screen, but we confront the logistics of the image whenever we turn—imaginal functions are today imbricated in perception itself” (p. 60). In other words, viewers do not just encounter images on flat screens, but they account for them through perceptual experiences they have in the real world. The “specific ability to abstract surfaces [in this case images on screened surfaces] out of space and time and to project them back into space and time” (Flusser, 2000, p. 8) is an essential function of human imaginative capacity as perceptual beings.

Cinema provides a unique pathway for this imaginative process. It uses images, sounds, and the *mise-en-scene* of filmmaking along with the fluidity of discontinuous snapshots that *leap* into our lives through the gaps they offer us. These gaps give viewers the opportunity to abstract time and space from their individual and collective common knowledge, while offering an opportunity to inhabit the image on the screen as a kind of extension of what the viewer perceives on the screen (Daney, 2002; Ranciere, 2010; Tanke, 2011).

Although a viewer’s encounter with the sequential images on the screen does not typically include images of the viewers themselves, this does little to interfere with a viewer’s ability to embody the unfolding visual narrative. According to film theorist Christian Metz (2011), the symbolic gesture of the

perceived-imaginary material is deposited in [viewers] as if on a second screen, that it is in [the viewers] that it forms up into an organized sequence ... as the signifier of a certain type of institutionalized social activity called the “cinema.” (p. 25)

This screen-viewer relationship is what is meant by the aesthetic nature of cinema. It is a powerfully romantic relationship that can induce the viewer to believe what meets them on the screen is in fact a reality to perceive because it feels true. The aesthetics of cinema and the cinematic narrative play essential roles in how images of racial difference can be represented, identified, and reinscribed in the bodies of US society and across the globe.

PERCEPTION AND THE ORIENTATION OF BODIES

Cinema orientates bodies—bodies on the screen as well as the bodies that view the screen. According to Ahmed (2006), to orientate is to be “turned toward certain objects [human and non-human]...that help us find our way” (p. 1). In the movies, bodies are constituted as performative objects. As representational figures, they orientate visually, directing the viewer toward conscious and unconscious aesthetic experiences made possible through a common racial logic (Mills, 2014; Yancy, 2014). We explain this orientation by pointing out some key factors that work together to constitute the logic of racialized visual bodies.

First, there is the “production of whiteness” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 121), a process in which certain kinds of bodies are made out to be different from the dominant White body. Ahmed’s description of whiteness as a production helps to extend the idea of whiteness as property one inherits and maintains through possessive investment (Harris, 1993; Lipsitz, 2006). She states:

To inherit whiteness is to become invested in the line of whiteness: it is both to participate in it and to transform the body into a “part” of it, as if each body is another “point” that accumulates to extend the line. Whiteness becomes a social inheritance; in receiving whiteness as a gift, white bodies—or those bodies that can be recognized as white bodies—come to “possess” whiteness as if it were a shared attribute. (p. 125)

This line is established and maintained through the corporeal schema. Bodies become objects that indicate positionality, in part, through their proximity to other bodies and objects. The idea of proximity and nearness goes beyond just the physical body; it is also implicated in the attitudinal and gestural performance of bodies. More often than not, Hollywood cinema relies on the performative subtleties of characters and caricatures to establish compelling narratives. These relationships avail particular ways of seeing and being seen, setting in motion a repetitive and routine subconscious acceptance of dehumanizing depictions and omission of non-White bodies, while privileging the status of other fully humanized (White) bodies. According to film theorist Manthia Diawara (2011):

Spatial narration in classical cinema makes sense through a hierarchical disposition of objects on the screen. Thus space is related to power and powerlessness, in so far as those who occupy the center of the screen are usually more powerful than those situated in the background or completely absent from the screen. (p. 602)

This hierarchy extends to societal placement as well. For example, the film *The Birth of a Nation* (1915) by D. W. Griffith, widely considered one of the first iconic depictions of racist imagery in film, “constituted the grammar book for Hollywood’s representation of Black manhood and womanhood...and its fixing of Black people within certain spaces, such as kitchens, and into certain supporting roles, such as criminals, on the screen” (Diawara, 2011, pp. 595–596). This cinematic convention of Hollywood situates White and non-White bodies in relation to each other, creating a visual rendering of dispositional bodies that constitute sociocultural and political stereotypes staged as norms.

Secondly, bodies “take the shape of norms that are repeated over time and with force” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 91). Force manifests as violence taking place within the narratives on the screen as well as the imposition of the images themselves on viewers’ sensibilities. Images of non-White bodies are often

objectified, subjugated, and repressed not only through their spatiotemporal relationship to White bodies but also through acts of violence imposed on non-White bodies. The acts of cinematic force that work to marginalize and objectify non-White bodies require a public display that assists the representative regime of cinema in its efforts to codify, arrange, and appraise bodies, relationships, and actions. It proposes a narrative in which the normative hierarchy is one wherein whiteness is staged as capable and agentic, while offering no such possibilities for Black (non-White) bodies.

THE ACT OF LOOKING REVEALED THROUGH THE CONVENTIONS OF CINEMA

We now turn our attention to *12 Years a Slave*, not simply because it earned the Best Picture award from the Academy of Motion Picture Arts and Sciences in 2014, but more importantly because this much-admired and critiqued film expands our understanding of the potential for cinema to serve as a counter-visual art form for the field of arts education. Through the language of filmmaking, Director Steve McQueen provides viewers an opportunity, as much as Hollywood cinema can, to explore the historical context and nuanced depictions of white racial ideologies steeped in practices of power, domination, and privilege. The genius of McQueen's approach in directing *12 Years a Slave* is that in many ways he turns Hollywood's historic racialized gaze on itself as a phenomenological project.

McQueen uses a combination of cinematic apparatuses—close shots, long durations, and shots that withhold characters from the frame, literally and metaphorically—to intensify the viewer's gaze. His aesthetic sensibility and phenomenological approach queers the narrative so that the relations between White and non-White bodies are made to be seen as "strange" and therefore pulled from obscurity to be noticed. Ahmed (2006) suggests that queering can produce generative "moments of disorientation" (p. 4) that break the viewer out of normalizing frames and practices of looking. These small moments, highlighted throughout the film *12 Years a Slave*, provide opportunities for close analysis of how visual culture participates in the corporeal production of white supremacy and speak to the importance of considering popular visual culture as part of arts education.

The Film: 12 Years a Slave

Here, we explore how performative (gestural) White and non-White bodies within cinematic narratives can work to substantiate and reframe historical and structural understandings of racial injustice. Our analysis focuses on two scenes that illuminate how bodies are racialized and positioned to establish and maintain hierarchical relationships between and among White and non-White bodies. The first scene (scene 12) involves a confrontation between Platt (Chewetel Ejirofor)—Soloman

Northup's enslaved name—and John Tibbeats (Paul F. Dano), a young White Southern carpenter. The subsequent scene (scene 13), which we will call the hanging scene, represents the aftermath of the confrontation in scene 12.

Scene 12: The Confrontation In the heat of the midday sun, scene 12 begins with a wide-angle shot. Platt is in the background bent over, busy nailing wood siding onto a newly constructed weaving house.⁴ Tibbeats, in the shadowy foreground, ties his horse to a tree and walks toward Platt. The intensity of Platt's hammering blares as Tibbeats takes an elevated position, climbing up to the foundation floor of the weaving house. He immediately interrupts Platt's work with a barrage of questions, chastising Platt for not doing the work that he was in fact doing. Tibbeats paces the floor, randomly waving his arms and hands and pointing, dramatic in his attempts to find flaws with Platt's work. Each of Tibbeats' complaints is met with Platt's direct rebuttal explaining how he is doing everything as instructed. Unlike the typical image of an enslaved worker, Platt's body remains upright and attentive, as he looks Tibbeats straight in the eyes, man to man. Tibbeats then places all his attention directly toward Platt as he stares down at him. Out of frustration, Tibbeats kicks at the siding, knocking one completely off. Platt responds not with passivity but instead exclaims, "If I did something wrong, it's because the instructions were wrong," as he stretches his entire left arm out to jab a pointed finger directly at Tibbeats.

Tibbeats pauses, his body remaining still, just long enough to consider that his authority is being challenged by an enslaved Black body. He jumps down from the structure and immediately proceeds to draw his whip from his side. He walks directly toward Platt and yells, "You Goddamn black bastard, strip your clothes!" Platt does not retreat. He reiterates the upright gesture of his body as to ready it for battle. Tibbeats makes another step toward Platt, pushing at his chest and demanding for a second time that he strip off his clothes, only to be met by the same defiant Platt who, while staring at him eye to eye, states with conviction, "I will not!" Tibbeats takes another bigger step toward Platt and grabs at his shirt, as if to tear it off for himself. Platt fights back, quickly beating Tibbeats to the ground. The camera angle follows the heated action as we see Platt on top of Tibbeats, continuously striking him with the whip that was intended for his Black flesh. The fight ends when the plantation overseer, Mr. Chaplin (John Daniel Evermore), enters the scene on horseback. After a brief exchange of words among all three men, Tibbeats storms off the plantation leaving a trail of threats and promises to end Platt's life. The overseer, still high on his horse, looks down at Platt and tells him to remain on the plantation because if he were to leave he would not be able to protect Platt. The scene

⁴A weaving house, also known as a weaving cabin, was a structure on many plantations throughout the Southern slave states in the US. They were designated for craft and weaving work. Weaving houses often contained looms that enslaved Africans used to make clothes and other textiles, as well as items such as baskets (see Stavisky, 1949).

ends with a wide-angle shot. Platt's slightly deflated, contemplative body standing to the right side of the camera's frame, for nearly ten long seconds, still holding the whip in his left hand.

In scene 12, Platt refused to invest in the "line of whiteness" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 125). His unwillingness to cower to Tibeats' unwarranted demands and accusations caught Tibeats off-guard. It disrupted the culture of slavery familiar to Tibeats, a culture that comforted him. When his actions to affirm his superior (White) position over Platt failed, Tibeats sought to restore his place and sense of himself within the racial order. The cultural protocol he followed was a public hanging, which is staged in the next scene.

Scene 13: The Hanging Scene Scene 13 opens with the sound of a loud, harsh, repetitive strum of a violin. A wide-angle shot shows the back of Platt's bowed body sitting in the sunlit wood framing of the weaving house. From an adjacent wooden frame house, a woman quickly peeks from behind a thick curtain and then quickly closes it, as though she does not want to be seen. The camera cuts to a close-up of Platt's sweaty and still pensive face. His breath is slowly paced but intense. His eyes stare toward the ground in deep thought. The sound of horses thumps over the harsh violin strum and then the scene cuts to show Tibeats and his two cronies in the distance. They ride toward Platt who remains sitting at the edge of the weaving house, still holding the whip in his left hand as though time had stopped.

Just as the men approach Platt, the scene cuts to two of the men dragging Platt's body, bound and beaten, by his shoulders to a nearby oak tree. As they drop him to the ground, we hear what sounds like the last breath fly from his body. All three men begin to pull Platt's body up by the noose tied around his neck, creating a silhouette reminiscent of the iconic World War II photograph *Raising the Flag on Iwo Jima*.⁵ Just then, the overseer enters the scene. With gun in hand, he demands that the men stop the lynching and orders them off the plantation.

Before Tibeats retreats from the plantation with his two partners, there is a peculiar exchange between Tibeats and the overseer. Tibeats throws his arm out, just as Platt had done to him earlier during their confrontation at the weaving house, as he points at the overseer and shouts furiously, "You have no

⁵On February 23, 1945, US Marines raised a flag atop Mount Suribachi as a sign of triumph during a World War II battle at Iwo Jima. Associated Press photographer Joe Rosenthal captured the iconic photograph (see Rosenthal, 1945). The iconic nature of the Iwo Jima photograph and its "representative form" served as a "visual metaphor" (Edwards & Winkler, 1997, p. 289) for McQueen's cinematic direction of the hanging of Platt. Aside from the gestural similarity in both images, the context of each suggests a rite/right of conquest. The hoisting of the flag at Iwo Jima symbolizes the forceful claim to Japanese land, and the hoisting of Platt's body is a sign of force that issues a claim of White sovereignty over Black subjectivity. "Rosenthal's iconic photograph operates as an instance of depictive rhetoric that functions ideographically" (Edwards & Winkler, 1997, p. 289).

cause, Platt is mine and mine to do with as I please. You touch —.” Tibeats is stopped mid-sentence when the overseer draws his gun and points it directly at him. Tibeats stares at the overseer as though he cannot believe that another White man would pull a gun on him in order to protect a mere “nigger.”⁶ Before Tibeats turns his gaze away from the overseer (rolls his eyes up and down at him as an implicit challenge) and flees, he looks at Platt’s hanging black body and takes a few short, resistant steps backwards then turns his gaze back to the overseer one last time before he turns and runs toward his horse, leaving the plantation.

The drama that McQueen stages between the two figures is significant. It is within this sequence that we see how a supremacist ideology is orchestrated. Possessive investments in whiteness (Lipsitz, 2006) are coordinated and distributed across bodies. That is to say, all bodies are required to participate in and make sacrifices for the production and maintenance of whiteness. In many ways, the overseer serves as a kind of guardian of that production. He becomes the authority or law enforcer that is charged to extend the perceived rights of Master Ford’s ownership of Platt’s Black body. The overseer’s bodily posture and his gun become a barrier between Tibeats and the laws that endow property rights to the Master—to White dominance. Throughout the entirety of scene 13, McQueen continuously reinscribes the character of the overseer as a kind of visual/narrative motif to signify the protection of whiteness.

Immediately after Tibeats retreats, McQueen cuts to a close-up of Platt’s face as he continues to hang with his toes barely touching the ground. He attempts to glance over at the overseer as to suggest a call for help. The camera cuts to a medium shot of the overseer standing sternly and at a distance from Platt’s body. As the camera returns to a close-up of Platt’s confused and desperate face, the overseer walks away to instruct a slave to fetch a wagon and travel out to summon the plantation owner who is not on the plantation grounds at the time.

A wide-angle shot shows Platt hanging from the large branch of the moss-covered oak tree. No one else is in sight. We come to realize Platt’s isolation—separated from humanity and subsumed by the beautiful and sublime natural landscape of Louisiana. In the background stands the unfinished weaving house, which appears to glow from the Eastern sun. It becomes a significant visual element in this scene. It is the place where the physical confrontation between Platt and Tibeats initially ensued, the place where Platt broke away from the confines of an enslaved disposition and exerted his rights and sense of self-determination. The camera cuts to a close-up of Platt’s feet again, paying special attention as he just barely balances himself on the tips of his toes as if he were rehearsing for a ballet. The intense strumming of the violin that played

⁶“Nigger” is a derogatory racial term that was in widespread usage among White supremacists in the US before the mid-1850s and well into the twentieth century (Kennedy, 2002). More than just a label, “nigger” is deployed to assert the subordinate status of enslaved Africans, African Americans, and their descendants (Harper, 2009).

during the confrontation between the overseer and Tibeats is silenced as McQueen focuses attention on visual narratives throughout the remainder of the scene.

When the camera returns to the wide angle of Platt's hanging body, a Black man and two Black women emerge from the slave quarters. Their bodies gesture in a normative fashion as they resume the business of their daily labor. Before long, several adult Black bodies enter the frame from various vantage points, no one apparently taking notice of Platt hanging on for dear life. A moment later, a young Black woman enters the frame from the left, looking around cautiously as she briskly moves toward Platt's body with a sense of purpose. The camera cuts to a close-up of the woman and Platt as she lifts a small tin cup up to his open mouth. She continues to look around as though under strict orders only to give Platt a sip of water and move on. Platt's gasping body, which is laboring to breathe, can hardly swallow the water. Much of the tiny sip falls prey to his need to gasp for air. The woman gently dabs his mouth as she peers empathically at his face, and then quickly rushes away. As the woman with the tin cup leaves Platt's body, McQueen changes the camera angle so that we see her pass by the overseer pacing back and forth on the porch of the big house. This suggests that the overseer directed the woman to give Platt some water as he remains protective of Master Ford's property. The recurrence of the overseer punctuates the structural process by which White dominance is maintained/guarded.

The air is filled with the sound of cicadas, but the faint sounds of children playing and laughing become audible. The growing intensity of their sounds leads us to the next shot. This time, the camera focuses on three Black children frolicking in the middle of the yard near the weaving house (see Fig. 13.1). The sunlight is now evenly covering all sides of the weaving house as a sign that the day has moved on. The children, who are in the background, become the cinematic focus as the shot is composed to only show an obscure, blurry rendering of Platt's face in the right foreground.



Fig. 13.1 Children playing in background of hanging scene, *12 Years a Slave* (2013)
©Twentieth Century Fox Films, Inc.

The scene switches back to show the big house in the background. The Mistress stands with authority on the second-level porch, calmly surveying Platt's blurred struggling body. She then turns and with a blank facial expression carelessly walks away.

McQueen cuts to one last shot before the final scene. This time the frame's vantage point is from the slave quarters. It is clear that the day has drawn to an end. The sun has settled, and the cadence of the evening has filled the air. There is only one woman apparently still working in the yard. Platt is now seen in the far background. In the distance, although dimly lit, we still see the overseer on guard pacing back and forth on the big house porch. With the night sky nearly commenced, Master Ford (Benedict Cumberbatch) swiftly enters the scene on horseback. He rides up to Platt's body, jumps off his horse, grabs a machete from his saddlebag, and without haste lays one chop to the rope, releasing Platt from nearly a daylong affair that was depicted inside of a four-minute sequence of shots. The scene ends with the sound of Platt's body impacting the ground with a heavy thump.

Why did McQueen extend the duration of this four-minute sequence to reflect what appeared to be more than half the day? What was the intention behind the choice of showing the everyday normal activities play out around Platt's distressed, hanging body? What does it say that the only person allowed to release Platt from the noose was the White figure of Master Ford?

The public spectacle of lynching Black and other non-White bodies is a critical aspect of reifying white domination and has been a part of America's visuality for centuries (e.g., Allen & Lewis, 2000; Gonzales-Day, 2006). McQueen re-appropriates the Black body and Hollywood's cinematic apparatus to put the system of white supremacy and its collective practices on display. As an example, all the characters in scene 13 were incorporated into the line of whiteness (Ahmed, 2006) through their performance. The adult Black bodies who feared repercussion if they interfered with Platt's hanging body, the three small Black children who were being taught to disregard the objectification of "disobedient" Black bodies, the Mistress who chose not to release Platt from near death, and the overseer whose recurring presence safeguarded the entire ordeal—all participated in extending the line of whiteness, some by consent and others by brute force. In contrast to the usual compression of time and space employed in Hollywood cinema, McQueen uses duration as a phenomenological technique to help viewers note the agency, and lack thereof, of bodies in relation to each other. It is a queering tactic. It works aesthetically by deconstructing small distinct moments and exposing them as strange. By lingering in the scene, McQueen shows Platt's body as an object of power.

The spatiotemporal nature of duration in cinema is also a particularly useful practice for arts education. Art teachers often attempt to teach students practices of how to look, how to notice what is present. Looking requires careful consideration, a concerted effort toward being attentive—as in seeing the children playing in the background while Platt's body hangs from a tree, or the overseer's implied presence of authority throughout the scene. This is also true

for the racialized world we inhabit. In scene 13, bodies are turned into objects to be looked upon. As such, bodies concretize racial difference, becoming living signifiers of an oppressive racial system. To recognize systems of subjugation and enact practices to reorient those systems toward more equitable relations becomes a link between seeing and creating counter-visualities.

AESTHETICS BEYOND THE CINEMA: VISUALIZING RACE IN THE AGE OF MOBILE TECHNOLOGY

In popular media, it is common to see images that reduce Black (and other non-White) bodies to thugs and criminals who resist authority (McCarthy et al., 1997). When Black youth are belittled, harassed, threatened, and even killed with guns, tasers, chokeholds, rough rides, and so on, inside their communities at the hands of police officials, it promotes a visuality of dominance that substantiates violence by public officers as logical or even necessary. Through a self-authorizing visual matrix that separates and distances Black and White bodies, the act of looking further strengthens and legitimizes the perception of natural rights, relations, capabilities, and agency of White bodies over Black bodies.

And yet visuality is immanently unstable (Mirzoeff, 2011a). In the present moment, citizens all over the world raise up their mobile devices, not unlike McQueen's cinematic approach, to capture moments that spotlight and confront the force and repressive logic that the production of whiteness requires. This counter-visual practice is a new way of shining a light on the many injustices that befall communities of color. From this "dissensus with visuality" (Mirzoeff, 2011b, p. 478), a collective anti-racist movement has emerged, cohering (for now) under the moniker Black Lives Matter.

One prime example of this counter-visibility comes from the cell phone videos of Michael Brown, a young unarmed Black teen killed by a police officer in Ferguson, Missouri, on August 9, 2014. This incident might have gone unnoticed by the news media, however, because of local eyewitnesses with Smartphones in hand, Michael Brown's case became global news and helped to fuel a conversation about police misuse of authority against communities of color in the US.

Visual images circulated of Brown's dead body left lying (symbolically hanging) in the middle of his neighborhood street while his family and friends looked from beyond the borders of the yellow crime tape that read "Police Line Do Not Cross" (see Fig. 13.2). For nearly four hours, from the vantage point outside the yellow tape, community members captured video footage of his uncovered and exposed body and shared it immediately with a worldwide audience through social media. These images bear witness. They attend to the politico-aesthetic relationship of bodies living under White supremacy. The images have had a powerful effect, helping to animate an oppositional grassroots visual culture, one that is fueled by participatory image-making practices that turn the camera's lens against hegemony (Desai, 2015).



Fig. 13.2 Cell phone video still of Michael Brown in Ferguson, Missouri

A series of BLM images echoes scenes from McQueen's slave epic. In the summer of 2015, for example, bystanders aimed their cell phones at events unfolding at a pool party in McKinney, Texas. One of the few White students at the party recorded approximately seven minutes of the experience on his mobile phone. A highly contentious piece of footage from the seven-minute video comes from the moment when a White police officer is seen pulling a young Black girl by her hair down to the ground and placing his knee onto her back. Minutes later, the video shows him pulling out his gun and pointing it at other unarmed Black youth (see Fig. 13.3). The Black body of the young girl, who is wearing only a bikini, is (mis)treated as hostile and disobedient for speaking out about the injustice being enacted by the police. Like McQueen's phenomenological gaze in the film *12 Years a Slave*, a youngster pointed his mobile device toward events that appeared strange. This moment of counter-visibility shifted the attention away from prescribed norms, orientating the social media audience toward seeing injustice and making it available for public critique.

In another instance, only a few months later, multiple cell phone videos were created by the classmates of a young Black high school girl in Columbia, South Carolina (see Fig. 13.4). In this video, the 16-year-old girl is manhandled—her body snatched up from her classroom chair, slammed to the floor, and then flung across the classroom—by a White school resource officer for



Fig. 13.3 Cell phone video still of Dajerria Becton at a pool party, McKinney, Texas



Fig. 13.4 Cell phone video still of girl being flung across classroom, Columbia, South Carolina

refusing to relinquish her cell phone to the teacher and school administrator. There is an aspect of the video footage that is particularly jarring. While the young Black girl is being mishandled by the White police officer, most, if not all, of her classmates do nothing to stop the situation, nor do the teacher or the administrator. A student seated just behind the girl's desk covers her eyes with

her hands. Another sits with his legs casually stretched out and watches the incidence unfold as if it were a regular occurrence. The unfolding patterns of police brutality against unarmed Black bodies, in many ways, works to normalize the harsh relations between authority and the public—between White and Black bodies. This habitual practice of maintaining the lines of whiteness follows the same logic seen in McQueen’s four-minute hanging scene (scene 13). However, we know that other students took to their cell phones to record the event. These images document moments of counter-visibility.

The visualization of these events is itself a “pedagogical and political event, when,” as curriculum theorist Roger Simon (2014) says, “traces of the past break into the present, [and] remembrance becomes a form of difficult learning” (p. 204). For Simon, “attending to traces of the past brings something new in the current moment in a way that helps remake it” (p. 204). This is clearly illustrated in the work McQueen undertakes in *12 Years a Slave*. Yet we also recognize, within the BLM images, vestiges of those defining practices and postures of white supremacy perfected through Black enslavement and state-sanctioned violence against non-White peoples in North America. As such, it is important that arts educators use popular visual culture to examine and understand the meanings of pedagogical events that hold the potential for changing the invisible dynamics of whiteness and redistributing the sensibilities of its aesthetics (Dyer, 1997; Lewis, 2013; Ranciere, 2010).

CLAIMING THE RIGHT TO LOOK

Whether created in Hollywood or on cell phone cameras, lens-based images are powerful mediating devices that make the world “immediately accessible” (Flusser, 2000, p. 9). These images abound, compelling young people to make meaning and fashion identities within a visual environment saturated with images of race that, by and large, validate dominant white visibility. Indeed, certain children face an existential threat by virtue of how their bodies are looked upon and inscribed within the dominant visibility.

We believe this poses a considerable challenge for PreK-16 visual arts education that demands more conversations and research about how to support children and youth in asserting the right to look. At its base, the right to look depends on becoming perceptive consumers, interpreters, users, and producers of media. It begins with young people developing habits of critically looking at and assessing whitemain images—both material and mental images—and also re-appropriating visual codes, strategies, and platforms to better understand and represent the full spectrum of humanity, including the experiences, perspectives, and desires of people of color. For visual culture theorist Nicholas Mirzoeff (2011b), “Claiming the right to look has come to mean moving past such spontaneous oppositional undoing [and] toward an autonomy based on ... ‘the right to existence’” (p. 4). Thus, one might say that to look is to assert one’s humanity, one’s very being. If we understand existence as being tied to how one looks (in both senses of the phrase), then a counter-visual

education becomes vital to the survival and thrival of Black and all other non-White peoples.

We agree with other scholars who have argued that the arts in education can and should be a space in which learners develop critical skills to interrogate representations and respond to racial injustice (e.g., Desai, Hamlin, & Mattson, 2010). Yet we would add that there is ample reason to be cautious. As Shankar (2014) argues, “A critical appraisal of what and how we choose to deploy our visual resources is what may keep us from reifying the same paradigms we seek to overturn” (p. 354). Indeed, supremacies and stereotypes may be reinscribed by the very acts of trying to foment an anti-racist ethos. Nonetheless, we believe at this historical conjuncture, it is not a matter of whether to look or not look. That is an impossible choice, given the profound way in which image technologies are conjoined with our corporeal existence.

Perhaps the possibilities ahead can be found in the technology itself. The fact that popular visual culture is so readily accessible through digital technologies signals an array of opportunities to examine the functionality of these imaging tools for more participatory image-making practices. We are thinking here of cell phone cameras, digital cameras, and camcorders as well as live video streaming, user-friendly editing apps, and social media. As our analysis illustrates, the technological capacity to make politico-aesthetic interventions already exists across the realm of popular cultural production. We anticipate that, as technologies continually evolve, there will be increasing need for critical perceptual acuity. With this need comes the opportunity for the arts in education to be a space in which children and youth exercise the right to look not only by learning to deconstruct and debate popular and mass-mediated images but also by participating as cultural producers empowered to create, modify, curate, and disseminate counter-visual expressions of their own.

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Empire Archaeologies: The Symbolic Interaction of Stereotype and New Self-Representation

James Haywood Rolling, Jr.

INDICTMENTS OF PERVERSION

Empire is a popular American television series that debuted in January 2015, centered around the drama of a hip-hop music company named Empire Entertainment as the members of the founders' family fight for control of the company (Daniels, Strong, Locke, Spellman, & George, 2015). The series also vividly presents the art collection of the fictional Lyon family. Prominent in this collection are several paintings that are evidently the work of real-life artist, Kehinde Wiley, who was concurrently mounting a retrospective of his 14-year career at The Brooklyn Museum featuring 60 paintings and sculptures (February 20–May 24, 2015) when the series was first aired:

On the Fox show, music mogul Lucious Lyon has at least two Wileys in his New York City pad, and a monster-size canvas of a Timberland-shod swashbuckler (titled *Officer of the Hussars* and owned in real life by the Detroit Institute of Art) presides over the living room of rapper Hakeem Lyon, Lucious's son. In the current show on view at the Brooklyn Museum, dozens of near-identical canvases repeat Wiley's brand of African-American uplift. (Dawson, 2015, p. 1)

Wiley's exhibition was intended to provoke questions about race, gender, and the politics of representation by portraying contemporary African American men and women—often wearing sneakers, hoodies, baseball caps, and other

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material artifacts associated with hip-hop culture—and inserting them “into the generally lily-white” canon of traditional Western European portraiture against ornate decorative backdrops evoking the many conventions therein (Smith, 2015, p. 1). Predictably however, this retrospective also provoked vilification for its alleged appropriation of white property by those deemed unworthy of the mantle.

On March 11, 2015, *Village Voice* art critic Jessica Dawson released a scathing review titled, “What to Make of Kehinde Wiley’s Pervy Brooklyn Museum Retrospective?” The titular indictment of perversion attributed to Kehinde Wiley’s entire body of visual artistry is telling; it is an accusation of pretense and perfidy aimed at invalidating Wiley’s formula for “Black empowerment” through visual mediums:

Where once was a powerful white man, Wiley inserts a firm piece of African-American flesh. Where white power aggrandized itself in official state portraiture, now young blacks from the ghetto, the ones newspaper headlines insist are without future and en route to incarceration, straddle stallions. What does it mean to put a young black man on a horse and call him Napoleon? If it isn’t dangling a fantasy and false hope, then at least it implies that young urban blacks are in desperate need of uplift. You call that empowerment? (Dawson, 2015, p. 2)

In grand brush strokes, Dawson thus paints the history of European portraiture as white property¹ in its officious self-representation of men accustomed to the mantle of power, while caricaturing Wiley’s entire oeuvre as the perpetration of a wholesale fraud based on the premise that young Black men who are “en route to incarceration” are more authentically portrayed as thugs than as powerful. If one accepts her premise, Wiley’s body of work is all too quickly impugned and disparaged as a transgression against a vast empire of white visibility in Dawson’s self-appointed role as both a gatekeeper of the art world *and* caretaker of the Eurocentric normativity at the nucleus of that world. Moreover, Wiley himself is cast as a pervert when this critic actually says out loud: “In what world is a Yale-minted artist who lures young men into his studio with the promise of power and glamour not predatory?” (Dawson, 2015, p. 2).

Why does Dawson deem the visual assignation of power to a young Black man to be so lurid an act? In his comprehensive documentation of the historical imagery of Eurocentrism, Jan Nederveen Pieterse (1990) excavates whiteness, as constituted in Western visual culture, to be an inherited legacy, an assembly of fictions, fantasy, the immaterial, the ephemeral, and the raw material of chance cultural encounters—all fashioned into an ideology of Eurocentric modernity that utilizes texts, both literary and imagic, to typify and institution-

¹In my effort to center anti-racism throughout this writing, I choose to use the lower case for the term “white,” recognizing its historicity as a construct of power, rather than an authentic human ethnicity. On the other hand, unless I’m quoting someone else’s usage of the terms “Black” or “African American,” I use them both interchangeably in reference to my own identity and to others of the African diaspora.

alize norms. This complex of white visibility retains these norms, reproducing and transferring their power from one generation to the next, from one medium to another. Moreover, the empire of whiteness, reinforced by perpetuating such imagery, maintains its essential boundary walls by perpetually counterposing European norms against non-European alterity. Thus, within the iconographic matrix of Eurocentric propaganda, “the management of impressions and images” remains vital to the ongoing politics of preserving a Western empire (Pieterse, 1990, p. 227).

Utilizing the intersection of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the de/re/constructive tenets of visual culture archaeology (Rolling, 2007), this chapter explores the means by which the colonized reinterprets the colonizer through the subversive cultural work of African American artists ranging from Aaron Douglas to Kehinde Wiley. Visual culture archaeology recognizes the power-knowledge confluence that enables: (1) the social construction of modern Eurocentric institutions and identities; (2) the discursive matrices for the social construction of normativity; (3) socially transgressive interpretations of identity; and (4) the interrogation of visual culture as the arena wherein these contestations take place (Rolling, 2007).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race theorizing over recent decades continues as an extension of the initial work begun by progressive legal scholars toward the transformation of an unjust society. Drawing upon a literature base in law, sociology, history, and education, CRT represents an effort to understand the social construction of race and its centrality in the constitution of Eurocentric modernity. CRT further examines the intersection of what have been termed visual microaggressions based on race (Huber & Solórzano, 2015) with other layered, cumulative forms of subordination such as those based on gender or class discrimination. It is worth noting that the work of CRT researchers “exposes deficit-informed research and methods that silence and distort the experiences of people of color and instead focuses on their racialized, gendered, and classed experiences as sources of strength” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). CRT seeks to challenge the camouflaging of race-based beliefs and behaviors within dominant nativist ideology and thus operates within the liberatory and transformative paradigm of social justice. CRT thereby valorizes narratives drawn upon experiential knowledge, since it studies the effects of racism, classism, sexism, and other subordinating sociocultural practices (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 27).

Art critic Jessica Dawson seeks to subordinate Kehinde Wiley, a portrait artist who produces visual narratives of the experiential knowledge of people of color, when she writes: “These aren’t portraits ... [they are] types—to the point where the majority of his titles reflect only the identity of the original sitter; his models remain anonymous” (Dawson, 2015, p. 2). However, this particular indictment carries two erroneous assumptions, first, that Eurocentric portraits are not also archetypes, albeit of a preferred hierarchy; and secondly,

that a portrait functions as a portrait only if the name of the present-day sitter is known and heralded. As an art critic, Dawson should know better; the canon of famous exemplars of portraiture is loaded with unnamed subjects. In fact, contrary to Dawson's indictment, for African American portrait subjects, the un-naming of identities is arguably a central aim of the exercise (Rolling, 2003).

UNEARTHED ARCHAEOLOGIES

The politics of dominance and subordination being what they are, it should not be surprising that the African American community as a whole is positioned to have very little impact upon the work of academic theorists and the traditional research community. Frankly, one of the premises of CRT is to challenge any claims that researchers and institutions ensconced within and/or complicit in maintaining the primacy of the dominant cultural group have been neutral or objective in their examinations of marginalized racial groups.² CRT works instead to expose "deficit-informed research that silences and distorts epistemologies of people of color" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26). Furthermore,

the range of epistemologies that have arisen from the social history of whites 'fits' whites because they themselves, the nature of the university and legitimated scholarship and knowledge, and the specifications of different research methodologies are all cultural products of white social history ... The negative consequence for scholars of color, however, is that they must learn and become accomplished in epistemologies that arises out of a social history that has been profoundly hostile to their race and that ignores or excludes alternative race-based epistemologies because mainstream research communities have assumed that their epistemologies are not derived from any particular group's social history, i.e., are free of any specific history or culture. (Scheurich, 1997, pp. 142-143)

Consequently, contemporary CRT scholars and the like may have much to learn from artists like Kehinde Wiley, whose facility at navigating the social history of whiteness and its tropes is akin to the many artists emerging from the Harlem Renaissance, the influential artistic and intellectual movement that bloomed in the United States from about 1918 to the mid-1930s. Also known as the "New Negro Movement," the Harlem Renaissance featured the emancipation and the annually redounding rebirth of African American cultural agency toward redefining American social identities in the face of the severe distortions of the value of Blackness being trafficked in the United States during that era (Locke, 1925/1992). Strategies gleaned from the arts-based de/

²I understand the term "racial groups" as part of the Eurocentric modernist discourse of hierarchical differentiation. I do not advocate its usage. There are racial groupings because we speak of them. But there are other possibilities that decategorize extant social taxonomies, deconstructing specious hierarchies into heterarchies.

re/construction of prevailing social histories also hold potential relevance for bringing effective resolution whenever a nation's identity or those of its citizens are caught up in the riptide of emergent change—or the need to resist the worst possible social transformations. The archaeologies of US race relations and power politics is inscribed beneath the skin of African American sociocultural embodiments.³ An archaeology is a complex multiformal array of category linkages, which constitutes the deepest epistemological (i.e., ways of knowing reality), ontological (i.e., assumptions about the nature of reality), and axiological (i.e., ethical valuations of the categories comprising reality) meaning-making nexus for a particular culture. Drawing heavily upon Foucauldian premise, critical theorist James J. Scheurich (1997) portrays the United States as an overarching or kind of arch-archaeology wherein

there is one culture ... that has dominated and continues to dominate significantly though not completely, several other cultures (archaeologies), which in their attempts to survive both work to maintain their own archaeological integrity *and* create hybridic spaces of interactional overlap. (p. 167)

Scheurich labels these subliminal archaeological arrangements as “formations” within the greater formation of the dominant cultural archaeology. In other words, archaeologies are systemic. Human beings are sustained by biological and ecological systems; likewise, the meanings we extract from the human experience can be defined, constrained, reproduced, or proliferated through meaning-making systems. In her remarkable book, *Thinking in Systems*, Donella H. Meadows (2008) defines a system as a “set of elements or parts that is coherently organized and interconnected in a pattern or structure” that becomes more than the sum of its parts and “produces a characteristic set of behaviors” classified as its “function” or “purpose” (p. 188). Scheurich's argument is that “human life occurs within and in terms of archaeologies” (p. 169):

Thus, while the archaeology of the dominant group is the most influential one, the most privileged one, such that all of the other formations exist in relation to and ‘within’ it, all people, both those of the dominant formations and those of the non-dominant ones, are constituted by their multiformal positionality. (Scheurich, 1997, p. 169)

No individual speaks the governing positional archaeology into being. Rather, that archaeology, discursively perpetuated, is the antecedent of the individual's race-based subjectivities and his or her epistemological, ontological, and axiological realities. As reproduced in the aspersions cast by art critic

³The thrall of human identity *embodies* knowledge that it captures as salient, emblemizing that knowledge in the form of representative traditions, beliefs, fashions, talk, works of art, and social practices, incessantly reconstituting that knowledge (and identity as well) through the agency of performatives. Identity is art; art is identity.

Jessica Dawson, the archaeologies of US social and cultural relations attempt to subordinate the meaning-making significance of the African American experience, masking how Black lives matter to Black folk in favor of preferred institutional formations. Nevertheless, Wiley's portraits—like the work of other artists of the diaspora such as Robert Colescott, David Hammons, Kara Walker, among many others—wrest back the agency inherent in experiential knowledge by responding to discourses that represent non-Europeans as absent of power, shaking off and frustrating those authorities that, with the same exaggerated resolve as Victor Hugo's police inspector Javert, tenaciously seek to reduce the dynamic lives of people of color to certain and intractable insignificance. This movement beneath the weight of static formations of identity is possible because out of one system "other completely new, never-before-imagined systems can arise" (Meadows, 2008, p. 12).

I am theorizing a visual culture archaeology, that is to say, a noun, the stratified remains of multiformational meaning-making assemblies embedded within the extant visual culture. The far-flung subterranean expanse of any given visual culture archaeology works to preserve a dominant group's self-referential icons, its stigmatizing fetishes, as well as the decolonizing representations of non-dominant subgroups resisting the power of discourse to define. Any given archaeological formation extant within Western visual culture is at times hybridic, at times subliminal, yet always an aggregate of imbricating discourses with all images and representations contesting equally for position and power within the constitution of national institutions and individual identities. This theorizing comes as the result of an exercise, an interrogative dialectic between my own research interests and Scheurich's (1997) postmodern methodology for approaching the analysis of the traditional policy studies problematic, typically encompassing: "(i) descriptions of social problems; (ii) discussions of competing policy solutions; (iii) considerations of general implementation problems; and (iv) evaluations of particular policy implementations" (p. 95). The dialectic I am establishing is transgressive, yet expository, making plain my implicit argument that the dominating regularities of Western modernity are interrogated quite effectively from positions along its margins, marginalia folding inward to become the nuclei for anomalous configurations of identity and methodology. In this effort to erode master narratives from the periphery, I align myself with CRT scholars (Rolling, 2011).

Scheurich (1997) is careful to emphasize that his work is the emergent development of significant interactions with the early works of French historian and philosopher Michel Foucault (1970, 1972, 1974). Moreover, he does not pretend to have correctly "interpreted" Foucault, claiming rather that this "new way of thinking about social and education policies and the social and education problems that the policies are meant to solve or alleviate" emerged from a process of repeated readings (Scheurich, 1997, p. 94). Reflecting in later passages on the development of his new methodology for policy studies, Scheurich concedes that

policy archaeology, as a method for identifying social regularities, is itself emergent within a particular historical period [the postmodern]; consequently, historical changes may lead to the decline and disappearance of policy archaeology as a relevant methodology. (p. 101)

Just as Scheurich (1997) concedes that his efforts may prove fleeting, so must I. In time, what I have gathered in these pages may eventually pass into obscurity. Knowledge, like art, is impermanent, as are our bodies. In keeping with Kehinde Wiley's effort to explore a landscape of amalgamated body types, I employ a similar style of theoretical interaction as that explicated in the endnotes of Scheurich's groundbreaking work. Scheurich refers to his usage of quotes from Foucault in which he makes bracketed substitutions, folding over Foucauldian propositions into his "new" methodology. New knowledge is folded up with what was, what is, and what might have been. Scheurich admits that such substitutions will obviously change "the particular meaning" of Foucault's original statements, but argues that doing so does not "change the more general meaning as it might be applied to [his own] topic" (p. 114).

Palimpsestically, I have overwritten my own set of substitutions on top of Scheurich's careful interrogation of Foucault, with the intent to further mess up the persistence of dominant group epistemologies and methodologies. Nevertheless, I must echo Scheurich's caveat; I do not claim to have *correctly* interpreted either him or Foucault. Nor does Kehinde Wiley claim to have *correctly* interpreted the entire canon of Western European portraiture. This is ultimately because correctness is not the intent of postmodern inquiry but, rather, the deconstruction and reassembly of possible meanings. Scheurich lists four arenas in his policy studies methodology, which I have in turn co-opted for the purposes of my own interrogation. Re-piecing together preexisting texts and artifacts in order to make meaning is a characteristic common to all archaeological digs.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MODERN EUROCENTRIC INSTITUTIONS AND IDENTITIES

Instead of accepting a [modern Eurocentric institution or identity] as an empirical given, this arena questions or brackets this givenness. (Scheurich, 1997, p. 97)

Visual culture archaeology refuses the acceptance of modern Eurocentric social institutions and identities as natural occurrences. Paraphrasing Foucault, "(t)he tranquility with which ... [modern Eurocentric institutions and identities] are accepted must be disturbed" (Scheurich, 1997, p. 97). Rather, this first arena of visual culture archaeology study examines closely and skeptically the emergence of any particular institution, institutional practice, or named identity within the modernist and Eurocentric normative paradigm. What makes the emergence of a normative or otherwise stigmatized institution or identity possible? How did a particular social institution or identity come to be

seen as a norm and the modern outcome some imagined inexorable hierarchy? Why do some social identities make reappearances, demonstrating the ability to signify visual culture elements previously constructed into hierarchies, recasting them into heterarchies? By what process does a marginalized social identity gain the “gaze” of the authorities, and of the dominant group, thereby emerging “from a kind of social invisibility into visibility” (Scheurich, 1997, p. 97)?

Foucault went further to inquire, “how is it that one particular statement [e.g., a modernist discourse of Western empire and social hierarchy] appeared rather than another” (1972, p. 27). What anchored Eurocentricity as the accepted resolution of the evolution of man at the time it was first manifested? Visual culture archaeology advances the premise that modern social identities are social constructions. As a method of inquiry, it critically examines the social construction process—how the modern identity and, in contrast, the marginalized and fetishized identity have both been made “manifest, nameable, and describable” (Foucault, 1972, p. 41).

In examining the naming process, visual culture archaeology “critically probes why and how these strands and traces congeal (become manifest) into what is thereafter labeled” as the natural behavior of a particular normative or stigmatized social identity (Scheurich, 1997, p. 98). Yet visual culture archaeology is not merely the historical study of the emergence of a modern discourse on particular social identities. Visual culture archaeology can be understood through what Foucauldian scholar Michael Mahon (1992) has characterized as the analysis of “the historical a priori” (p. 60). Foucault himself never intended the construal of the term “archaeology” as a form of historical analysis (Foucault, 1989, p. 45). This fact, however, does not preclude historical texts, artifacts, or iconic events from the purview of visual culture archaeology in its methodological applications. Scheurich (1997) is careful to note that, “(o)ne of the prominent features of Foucault’s archaeology has been the retrieval and presentation of previously ignored but provocative historical documents that he then used as ‘evidence’ in the arguments he made” (p. 98).

To be clear, a researcher’s use of visual culture archaeology as methodology in the investigation of the formation of normalized and marginalized social regularities does not necessitate a review of the entire history of that particular social identity. For instance, the focus of this chapter is limited to an examination of the indictment of Kehinde Wiley’s body of work as no more than a perversion of traditional Eurocentric portraiture, or, in other words, an examination of “the constitutive grid of conditions, assumptions, forces which make the emergence of a [normative exemplar of portraiture], and its strands and traces, possible—to investigate how a [normative exemplar of portraiture] becomes visible as a [socially acceptable exemplar of portraiture]” in response to modernist binary assumptions (Scheurich, 1997, p. 98). Visual culture archaeology, as per my overwriting of Scheurich’s overwriting of Foucault, investigates

the conditions necessary for the appearance of a [modern Eurocentric identity], the historical conditions required if one is to ‘say anything’ about it, the conditions necessary if it [the modern Eurocentric identity] is to exist in relation to other [discourses]. (Foucault, 1972, p. 44)

Hence, visual culture archaeology “tries to establish the rules of formation [of Eurocentric modernist identity and its contemporary reinterpretations] in order to define the conditions of their realization” (Foucault, 1972, p. 207) and depict the matrix of juxtaposed relations that make a modern Eurocentric identity and its decolonizing reinterpretations possible. It is crucial to understand that the rules of formation of Western empire require the periodic indictment of a Kehinde Wiley as a “pervy” poseur and counterfeit, whose best artistic efforts will never attain the natural authority of a normative exemplar of portraiture. It is also crucial to understand that the decolonizing strategies employed by Kehinde Wiley in overwriting his own set of substitutions atop the formations of the Western art world’s canonical empire utilizes that very same marginalization to his advantage in the effort to erode the aesthetic conceits of the center.

IDENTIFYING THE MATRICES OF SOCIAL NORMATIVITY

This particular arena of visual culture archaeology posits that there are intractable grids or matrices of “regularities”—socially acceptable institutional practices and identity scripts—which are “constitutive of the emergence or social construction of a particular [institution or identity]” as a modernist discourse (Scheurich, 1997, p. 98). These regularities constitute both what is named as a modern Eurocentric identity or institution, and binarily labeled as a subaltern, undeveloped, or antiquated (post-relevant) identity or institution. These regularities are a complex set of relations, also constituting the range of decolonizing reinterpretations of Western empire. This arena of visual culture archaeology bases itself on the assumption that modernist discourses of social identity “do not achieve their visibility or recognition or status as [socially acceptable identities] in an idiosyncratic or random or ‘natural’ fashion, but ... [by] the interactive intentions and actions of consciously involved social agents or groups” (Scheurich, 1997, p. 99).

Visual culture archaeology reveals a grid of social constructed narratives that together constitute what becomes “socially visible” as a normative identity, as a range of credible interpretations of that normative identity, and as a range of visual shortcomings inhibiting that identity’s social acceptability. Visual culture archaeology aims to identify these grids or matrices for the social construction, in this case, Eurocentric narratives; its methodology is politicized by its ability to render the normally invisible, visible. Foucault (1970) declares that

unknown to themselves, naturalists, economists, and grammarians (of the [Eurocentric] age) employed the same rules to define the [discourses] proper to their own study, to form their concepts, to build their theories. It is these rules of

formation which were never formulated in their own right, but are found only in widely differing theories, concepts, and [discourses] of study, that I have tried to reveal, by isolating, as their specific locus, a level that I have called, somewhat arbitrarily, *archaeological* (emphasis added) ... I have tried to determine the basis or *archaeological system* (emphasis added) common to a whole series of scientific 'representations' or 'products' dispersed throughout the natural history, economics, and philosophy of the [Eurocentric] period. (pp. xi–xii)

Foucault argues that scientists in varying disciplines of inquiry delineate their objects of inquiry, form their concepts, and build their competing theories using the very same modernist material. I argue that artists do the same. Scheurich (1997) proposes that the same matrix of socially acceptable narratives enables widely diverse and seemingly antithetical identities and/or institutions, and that archaeological methods can identify these narratives and their discursive agencies. This is the second arena of visual culture archaeology.

Visual culture archaeology suggests that the master narratives of Western empire-building and their discursive agencies "are 'productive' and 'reproductive'" in the sense that Eurocentric discourse constitutes "what is socially visible or credible," even though the discourses do not literally create the norms of acceptability (Scheurich, 1997, p. 100). Instead, they constitute a lasting hegemony of what is socially selected and validated as "real" or "relevant." Even so, socially agreed narratives change and disappear as a society's demographics alter over time and new narratives emerge, as depicted in the influential science fiction film *The Matrix*. For example, a scene near the end of the film depicts the moment the lead character, Neo, becomes the One, the prophesied leader of the rebellion against machines that dominate and exploit humanity. In that scene, when the invisible, all-constitutive, and omnipresent matrix becomes apparent, all delimitations become evident even as Neo is being reproduced to become the One who surpasses all prior limitations. This agency is analogous to the urgency of Wiley's artistry and all other similar de/re/constructive efforts offered up in the alternative canon of Harlem Renaissance artists.

Scheurich (1997) notes that all "social [narratives] are particular to particular time periods within individual societies" (p. 101). Visual culture archaeology posits that not only can it identify a given grid of socially accepted narratives but also delineate shifts in the regularities that shape the unpredicted emergence of experiential narratives that become, in this case, decolonizing reinterpretations.

SOCIALLY TRANSGRESSIVE INTERPRETATIONS OF IDENTITY

This arena involves the study of how possible interpretations or reinterpretations of identity are proliferated and altered *within* matrices of the prevailing hegemony of narrative meanings. Eurocentricity is an example of one such master narrative and framework for discursive hegemony. Matrices of socially

accepted narratives and their discursive agencies similarly constitute *ranges* of acceptable and unacceptable sociocultural persons and positions. It is notable that this shaping and reshaping is not necessarily the intentional or conscious activity of cultural workers and researchers. The grid of modern Eurocentric narratives and their discursive agencies are *deep structures*, similar to language usage, and will evolve so that while certain usages eventually become obsolete, some become vernacular, and others become subversive.

In the field of sociology, the term “symbolic interactionism” refers to the theory that the meaning of symbols is determined through the course of human interaction (“Symbolic interactionism,” 2017). Herbert Blumer (1969) set forth the following major tenets of symbolic interactionism: first, that “human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them;” secondly, that the meaning of such things for a person “is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows;” and thirdly, “that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things (s/he) encounters” (p. 2). Identity is one such symbol. Social psychologist Walter Truett Anderson (1997) claims “personal identities would be hard to locate without the network of symbols within which we are defined and the internal monologue with which we continually remind ourselves who we think we are” (p. 263). Psychologist Howard Gardner (1995) points out that a transgressing story “must compete with many other extant stories; and if the new stories are to succeed, they must transplant, suppress, complement, or in some measure outweigh the earlier stories, as well as contemporary oppositional ‘counterstories’” (p. 14). Critical theorist Homi K. Bhabha (1994) notes the hybridity inherent within these solutions:

The access to the image of identity is only ever possible in the negation of any sense of originality or plenitude; the process of displacement and differentiation (absence/presence, representation/repetition) renders it a liminal reality. The image is at once a metaphoric substitution, an illusion of presence, and by that same token a metonym, a sign of its absence and loss ... [a] shifting boundary of otherness within identity. (p. 51)

Decolonizing narratives are developed as proliferations inserted and differentiated within the interstices of familiar binaries: good and evil, strong and weak, normal and abnormal, and so on. When Kehinde Wiley paints his portrait subjects in an overtly sexualized manner, Dawson accuses him of perversion and predatory behavior as the *natural* binary to Eurocentric heteronormativity. The matrices of the Western art world’s canonical empire occlude from her view Wiley’s reinterpretation of the Black body—translated from traditional European fetish object to the subject of normal, healthy human sexual desire.

THE STUDY OF VISUAL CULTURE

In the activist tradition of CRT scholarship, this final arena of visual culture archaeology study examines the evidence and effect of heterarchical repositionings of institutional practice and identity scripts within the extant hierarchies of Western visual and popular culture empire. I am theorizing a visual culture archaeology, in this usage, as a verb, as a surreptitious fracturing of the multi-formational meaning-making assemblies manifested within the extant visual culture. The de/re/constructive agency of visual culture archaeology functions to collapse the constructed hierarchies between a dominant group's self-referential icons and tropes, its stigmatizing fetishes, and the decolonizing representations of non-dominant subgroups resisting the power of discourse to define. Visual culture archaeology as methodology works to de-stratify extant discourses, instead repositioning images and representations into new hierarchies in the constitution of emergent institutional practices and individual identities. Thus, it is important to investigate the action of reinterpretations deposited within visual culture, how they occur, and what their effects are. Visual culture archaeology is thus an arena preserving both the remains of the West's canonical empire *and* the de/re/constructions of its decolonizing agents:

Western hegemony [or, empire] was further manifest in works of art and literature depicting the non-western world, in which fresh impressions mingled with medieval fables and notions drawn from the Bible and the classics. In painting, poetry, theatre, opera, popular prints, illustrated magazines, novels, children's books—a broad range of imaginative work—non-European worlds were represented as part of European scenarios. (Pieterse, 1990, p. 224)

In 1927, French graphic designer Paul Colin published a limited edition of 45 lithographs made of dancer Josephine Baker and her revue in Paris, when the French obsession with African American jazz musicians and dancers was at its zenith. The portfolio of lithographs, titled *Le Tumulte Noir*, depicted raw lines of energy in a simple three-color format that seemed only to heighten the popularity of the images and the revue, both of which sold out. But what was this tumult being reviewed? The dark figures in Colin's images—do they not echo a full historical pantheon of stigmatized figures relegated to entertainment and spectacle, devoid of humanity, of reason, of normativity? Paul Colin's images are frenzied, zig-zagged, fetishized figures. They do not behave with propriety. They are sensual, single-minded, and unashamed. Captured on stage, these are loose-limbed figures that love to show an audience a good time. They seem to beckon to be manipulated and fondled. Colin presents the cartoons of ferocious males and females, dressed up for the night—each one with the limbs of their bodies suggestively splayed, vast puckering red lips, or unabashed eyes leering back at their captors.

It should not be overlooked that by the early twentieth century and during the 1920s, France had established itself as a major imperial power with a large part of their colonial empire located in West and Central Africa, as well as several of the Caribbean Isles. It was largely due to the political instability of mainland France during the 1950s that many of the Francophone colonies were able to push for their independence. Thus, the French were familiar with acts of domination regarding arrays of mysterious Black bodies, fully believing in their own political, intellectual, and biological superiority, and their right to capture and frame their nationality in contradistinction with these “less than normal” bodies as they saw fit. Because artist Paul Colin believed he had likewise captured the talented dancer and performer Ms. Josephine Baker on paper, he would ultimately claim that it was he who “invented” the popularity of Ms. Baker (cited by Barnwell in Powell & Bailey, 1997, p. 86). Colin’s sense of private property ownership went so far as to take Josephine Baker for a time into his bed as his mistress. In keeping with the colonial aspirations of his day, what Colin actually captured in his portfolio of lithographs was yet another caricature of the danger and allure of the seething Black body as Western fetish.

Less than ten years later, as the period known as the Harlem Renaissance concluded in the mid-1930s, African American artist Aaron Douglas reinterpreted the Western caricature of a colonized people in a mural series comprised of four panels (Fig. 14.1).⁴

Utilizing a limited color palette, silhouetted imagery, and loose-limbed bodies overtly similar to Paul Colin’s interpretations, in this image Douglas throws us a Trickster.⁵ These Black bodies are more than they initially appear to be. They are not collectible objects. They are subjectivities, telling their own alternative tale of origin and worldview. These bodies are no longer totemic of abnormality, no longer fetishized. In fact, the totem in this image is purposefully removed from Black skin and centrally placed at the top of the painting in the midst of the trace etchings of concatenating circles. The totem emanates meaning central to the Black bodies, to Africa, and is independent of Europe.

The audience is repositioned to stand within the context of the painting. These dancers are not on display as a night’s worth of entertainment, or as living advertisements intended to draw a crowd for a theatrical entrepreneur. This is an intimate dance of unspoken purpose that will not be shared with outsiders. Rather than inviting the viewer, these Black bodies turn their backs on us, shielding their codes and meanings, their self-possessed normality, their concealed customs. The viewer is clearly intruding.

⁴The 1934 mural series by Aaron Douglas titled *Aspects of Negro Life* was painted using oil on canvas as a project for the 135th Street branch of the New York Public Library as commissioned by the Works Progress Administration. The four murals were titled *Song of the Towers*, *From Slavery Through Reconstruction*, *An Idyll of the Deep South*, and *The Negro in an African Setting*.

⁵According to Garrison (2009), “Tricksters are devious shape shifters that carry out some of the profoundest cultural work possible ... Tricksters break rules, violate laws, and rewrite regulations ... Their logic is that of paradox. They even defy the logic of non-contradiction ... They are creators, and re-creators, of interdependent, imperfect, unfinished, and ever-evolving worlds” (p. 67).



Fig. 14.1 Aaron Douglas, *The Negro in an African Setting*, 1934

These bodies have eyes that are not vacant, naive, or unfocused. These eyes do not reveal; rather, they conceal. What these eyes see and have already seen is not for the taking. They will not give up their secrets without a fight. These bodies have lips that protrude and bulge as do those in Colin's posters, but these lips are dark and hard and exclamatory. These lips express a silent cadence, a rhythm of language shared freely within the boundaries of their alternative matrix—ancient vectors exceeding the boundaries of the Western map of annexed territories. These lips communicate; they do not perform. They are not mute; they are discursive. They call to one another and respond not to indictments but to the privileges of membership (Fig. 14.2).

Similarly, in a plaster bust of educator Booker T. Washington (1856–1915) sculpted by African American artist Selma Burke, we see further indication of a shift in archaeological regularities as catalyzed by the Harlem Renaissance prior to World War II. Burke depicts a Black thought leader who championed education and entrepreneurship as the natural end-run around the sociopolitical impediments of Jim Crow segregation, his profile made visible again to the African American community in this bust, gifted to Frederick Douglass High



Fig. 14.2 Selma Burke with her portrait bust of Booker T. Washington, c. 1935

School in 1936. Inserted by Burke into the Eurocentric narrative of “American progress,” in this photograph the visages of both Washington and Burke gaze at us, informing us of their self-awareness as teachers and founders of educational enterprises serving their local communities. While Washington was the first

President of Tuskegee University, Burke was a product of a different HBCU,⁶ Winston-Salem State University, who went on to work for the Works Progress Administration and teach art to children in Harlem before eventually establishing the Selma Burke Art Center in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; she went on to earn three honorary doctorate degrees herself. Through education, both Washington and Burke sought to facilitate the agency of young people to overwrite and rescript the lesser value white America ascribed to their identities. Selma Burke's personal agency as a Black artist is also reflected in this contribution to the visual culture canon of the United States, causing us to focus our gaze upon a newly reinterpreted schema of African American identity.

CONCLUSION

In the theater of multiple selves and simultaneous possibilities, the gallery of reinterpreted images becomes the grounds for newly enunciated, inaugurated matrices of identity. Kehinde Wiley is no more guilty of perversion than were Aaron Douglas or Selma Burke before him. What these three artists *have* successfully done is to warp the Cartesian coordinates of the Eurocentric hegemonic grid, turning theoretical and imagic illegitimacy “into a strategy of political subversion” (Bhabha, 1994, p. 62). According to the touchstones of Eurocentricity installed throughout Western visual culture, no African American male whether in 1934, 1945, or 2015, should be this contributive, this meaningful, or this confrontational in the face of Western norms. According to the master narrative for African American males that prevailed until the great Harlem Renaissance repositioning of the “New Negro” in the stead of centuries of misshapen caricatures and misrepresentations, Black men—whether they be portrait subjects or their artists—can only credibly be viewed as bereft and perpetually requiring support or containment (Locke, 1925/1992).⁷ Visual culture archaeology as methodology, and as demonstrated here in this chapter, reveals that African Americans have resisted such delimitations, employing the agency to lead poststructural lives long before that term was first coined or its research first promulgated from the ivory towers of academia.

In conclusion, strategies gleaned from the arts-based de/re/construction of oppressive social histories carried out in yesteryear are still currently visible in the artwork of Kehinde Wiley. His artwork reveals: (a) the social construction of modern Eurocentric institutions and identities through the agency of swapping present-day sitters into a sea of age-old Western pictorial tropes; (b) the matrices of social normativity by confronting his audience with characteristically polarized iconographies of African American identity (e.g., empowered

⁶Abbreviation used in the United States which stands for Historically Black Colleges and Universities.

⁷Alain Locke (1925/1992) described the representation of the “New Negro” as “the shaking off [of] the psychology of imitation and implied inferiority” and the “shedding of the old chrysalis” in the achievement of spiritual emancipation and self-understanding (p. 4).

vs. invisible) often within the same picture frame; (c) the agency of socially transgressive interpretations of identity to unmask the hidden gatekeeping intentions and machinations of critics like Jessica Dawson; (d) and the inherent potential of revisiting the tropes and stereotypes of Western visual culture as a means for resisting the power of empire-building discourses.

Utilizing such strategies blunts the historical tide of institutionalized racism and mediates the power of marginalizing experiences in contemporary life, preventing the premature foreclosure of new narrative possibilities for institutions and identities yet to be reborn (Rolling & Bey, 2016). If every identity is a meta-symbol—a by-product of the symbolic systems of verbal and mental imagery by which we construct or reconstruct our lifeworlds—then Blumer’s (1969) assertion that the meaning of such things “is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one’s fellows” (p. 2) gives license to Kehinde Wiley and other artists, scholars, and educators to continue to stir the pot.

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Dying of Thirst: Kendrick Lamar and the Call for a “New School” Hip-Hop Pedagogy

Adam D. Henze and Ted Hall

The contrast of images on the 2015 BET Music Awards stage seemed both flagrant and poetic: floodlights poured past the frames of two police cruisers—the doors and hoods covered in red and blue graffiti—while pyrotechnics surged and the red and white tendrils of a huge, tattered US Flag waved in the background. The music cued and a voice called out “Alls my life I has to fight nigga.”¹ The dancers in front unfroze and drifted center-stage-left to surround one cruiser. On the roof of the squad car stood a rapper, holding a mic in one hand and straddling the flashing red and blue siren. “Hard times like, ‘God!’/ Bad trips like, ‘Yea!’” Smoke crept across the stage floor as the music swelled, and rapper Kendrick Lamar yelled, “But if God got us/Then we gon’ be alright!” as fireworks burst behind him.

Erika Ramirez (2015) of Billboard Magazine called the performance “powerful,” stating the words of Lamar’s single *Alright*, which represent “unity and resilience,” especially in the wake of increasing police violence against black

¹Note on use of terms: As literacy researchers concerned with learning how language and words impact people, our aim was to manipulate or alter as few terms as possible in our textual analysis. Although there are reasons to omit terms like racial slurs or misogynistic phrases in public dialogue, doing so here would misrepresent the ways that hip-hop music affects the narratives of young people. Our decision was to preserve lyrics and related texts as they were originally written, welcoming critiques of terminology from readers at stake.

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men and women in the US.² Others were not as convinced. Conservative pundit and frequent hip-hop detractor Geraldo Rivera claimed the performance sent “exactly the wrong message,” going as far to say, “Hip-hop has done more damage to young African-Americans than racism in recent years” (Ramirez, 2015). Of course Rivera focused on lyrics such as “Nigga, and we hate po-po/Wanna kill us dead in the street fo sho,” highlighting violent themes while neglecting to focus on the song’s critique of a brutal police state. Though anyone with a rudimentary understanding of either hip-hop or race discourse could view Rivera’s standpoint as suspect, the pundit’s words mirror the dismissive attitudes many people in the US hold toward contemporary rap music.³

There are plenty of scholars who advocate for hip-hop as an ideal vehicle for fostering dialogue about race and culture (Perry, 2005; Rose, 1994; Somers-Willett, 2009), particularly in educational spaces (Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008; Hill, 2009; Jocson, 2008; Low, 2011). However, even within hip-hop circles, some people claim the good days of rap are over. In an interview with Jo Fuertes-Knight (2013), producer DJ Snips essentially claims there are no more true emcees and the quality is nowhere near old school artists of the late 1980s and early 1990s. A unifying claim among the “hip-hop is dead” argument is that commercialization is responsible for diluting what once was a culturally rich art form (Rose, 2008; Tanz, 2007). According to Watts:

American popular culture is today constitutive of the vigorous exchange relations of spectacular consumption—an intensely overblown interactive consumer network where some black (and white) folk gladly sell their souls for a thrill ride toward ultimate juice and “manhood.” Meanwhile, on the streets of the “United States Ghetto” rap artistry is celebrated as the profit-making industry that it most assuredly is. (2012, p. 724)

While the commodification of rap music has routinely affected its artistry, to say that contemporary hip-hop is uncharacteristically more commercial than its previous iterations ignores the priority shifts many artists are making in the digital age. For example, when veteran hip-hoppers El-P and Killer Mike formed the supergroup *Run the Jewels*, they decided to adopt a crowdsourcing

²Since our primary discussion revolves around social constructs of race and how they relate to issues of power, we typically use the uncapitalized terms “black” and “white” when referring to racial groups in our analysis, unless quoting or referring to other terms being used by another author. It should be noted that between the revision and publication stages of this chapter, Kendrick Lamar released his critically acclaimed album DAMN. One of the most notable aspects of the album is a shift in language regarding Lamar’s racial identity. However, since analysis in this chapter refers to terminology used during the releases of Lamar’s second and third studio album, the authors have decided to utilize the terms most commonly used by the artist during the time period.

³“Rap” and “hip-hop” are not synonymous terms, as “rapping” refers to the art of emceeing on a mic, while “hip-hop” refers to the overarching culture that includes emceeing, deejaying, break-dancing, graffiti writing, and so on.

model to fund their first three albums. After meeting their goal, the duo released links to digital versions of their albums for free download. The shift has affected the lifestyle choices rappers are traditionally known to promote as well. Instead of selling a narrative of lavish excess, Chicago artist Chance the Rapper has spent the last five years giving back to his community by raising money for Chicago schools (Crew, 2015) and hosting open mics for aspiring young poets and performers (Briscoe, 2015). The shift has also arguably impacted the content of rap lyrics. Notably, in a recent review of an Angel Haze concert, writer Chris Kelley said of the agender, feminist rapper, “Instead of the escapism of conspicuous consumption and recreational drug use, Haze opts for confessional catharsis, their heart not just on their sleeve but ripped out and exposed onstage” (2015).

However, when the quality of contemporary rap music is challenged, modern-day fans often conjure the name of one artist to serve as an exemplar: Kendrick Lamar. Although he has been releasing mixtapes since he was a 16-year-old local Compton favorite named K.Dot, Kendrick Lamar became known to a sizeable portion of mainstream listeners with the release of his second studio album *good kid, m.A.A.D. city (GKMD)* in 2013 (Barnes, 2015). Not long after, Lamar created a buzz in the fan community with his “Control Verse” on the song *Control*, part of a collaboration with label mates Big Sean and Jay Electronica (Shipley, Reeves, & Lee, 2015). The bridge of Lamar’s verse begins as an all-out assault on industry rappers: “Miscellaneous minds are never explaining their minds/Devilish grin for my alias aliens to respond.” Lamar won over a larger audience still with an impassioned “performance for the ages” of his single *i* on Saturday Night Live (Young, 2014). Wearing blacked-out contact lenses, his hair half-braided and half picked out, Lamar’s explosive precision and sweaty energy reminded many older viewers of Golden Era rappers like Method Man and Old Dirty Bastard of The Wu Tang Clan (Balfour, 2014).

Undoubtedly, the most important conversation surrounding Lamar’s work was sparked upon the release of his 2015 album *To Pimp a Butterfly (TPAB)*. The album is an unflinching testimony of what it means to be black in a white supremacist, hyper-consumptive capitalistic society. The complex discourse over race and commodification present in Lamar’s lyrics has deservedly captured the attention of numerous educators. In a blog post entitled *Why I Dropped Everything and Started Teaching Kendrick Lamar’s New Album* (2015), educator Brian Mooney detailed his decision to embed lessons involving Lamar’s album into his unit covering Toni Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye*. Mooney spoke to National Public Radio (NPR) about his decision to privilege a rap album as an ideal classroom text: “As our students and the demographics of our country are becoming more and more diverse, we have to start thinking about the nature of the canon, and what we consider texts, and what we consider worthy of study” (“A Visit from Kendrick Lamar”, 2015). Mooney’s post about his lesson plan gained so much traction online that it even reached the attention of Kendrick Lamar himself, who insisted on visiting Mooney’s high

school as a guest lecturer and performer. Instead of relying on the music of bygone artists like Run-D.M.C., Mooney's hip-hop unit is refreshing because the texts being examined are part of students' lived culture.

The aim of this chapter is threefold: first, it is an attempt to provide an entry point for educators and hip-hop pedagogues who are unfamiliar with the work of new artists like Kendrick Lamar. Despite the resurgence of quality hip-hop music on the market today, there remains a gap in the field of hip-hop pedagogy between the artists privileged by educators and those cherished by students (Hill, 2009). Hip-hop pedagogues continue to write about the legacy of acts like Public Enemy and KRS-One, despite the fact many teenagers dismiss 1980s and 1990s era artists as the emcees their parents used to like.

Second, this chapter hopes to demonstrate how the age of digital distribution has transformed how rap music is deconstructed in educational settings. Whereas traditional methods of discussing rap focus solely on the textual analysis of song lyrics, the hip-hop canon in the age of digital distribution contains everything from posts on social media to interviews on online podcasts.

A student in Brian Mooney's *Hip-Hop Lit* class explains, "We dissect album covers, we dissect advertisements, we go through songs and dissect the literature of the song" ("A Visit from Kenrick Lamar," 2015). We contend that a New Literacies focus could help educators discuss the multimodal texts inherent in hip-hop (Baker & Leu, 2010; Cazden et al., 1996; Street, 1993). In short, educators with a New Literacies paradigm believe students undergo rich literacy processes by dissecting multimedia hip-hop texts, ranging from YouTube videos to discussions on online fan forums.

Finally, we hope to pursue an understanding of how Kendrick Lamar's latest two albums—*GKMD* and *TPAB*—can be used in educational settings to discuss themes inherent in Critical Race Theory (CRT). By showcasing how hip-hop literacies can be used to examine issues of race and culture in US schools, we hope to provide strategies for educators who wish to decolonize their classroom curricula in search of a literary canon comprising fresh, engaging texts written by authors of color.

"THE GHOST OF MANDELA, HOPE MY FLOWS THEY PROPEL IT"

CRT presents a unique theoretical position that challenges mainstream theories within educational research. Three premises frame CRT: systemic racism is pervasive; permanent racism is structural; and racism must be actively challenged (Bell, 1992; Crenshaw, 1995; Delgado & Stefancic, 2017; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995; Lynn, Yosso, Solórzano, & Parker, 2002; Milner, 2007; Tate, 1992). CRT rejects educational paradigms based on liberal and colorblind ideologies (Bell, 1992; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). CRT, in theory, and practice, represents a break and a departure from the mainstream theories on pedagogy in several ways. First, it offers a radical critique of how the intersection of power and race shapes K-12 school curriculums. Second, CRT makes

explicit the importance of inviting the stories of marginalized youth in the classrooms. Finally, it offers an alternative to deficit notions based on cultural assets that all students bring to the learning environment.

CRT has critiqued whiteness in the overall curriculum in the K-12 classroom. Instead, CRT scholars have promoted decentering the curriculum in an effort to make it more culturally relevant (Hall, 2011). CRT scholars have suggested that it is important for students to locate themselves within racially constructed curriculums by engaging with and producing culturally relevant texts. Additionally, CRT proponents encourage counter-storytelling tropes that view each student’s home culture as an asset in the learning process. CRT is ideal as an embedded framework in hip-hop pedagogy in this sense because, as Rose (1994) claims, “Rappers speak with the voice of personal experience, taking on the identity as the observer or narrator” (p. 2).

CRT is empowering because it provides a vocabulary that can be used to critique—and ultimately change—the status quo. As a result, students are not only more cognizant of their position but are also well equipped to move toward the radical action necessary to transform society. Hip-hop has the potential to serve as a vehicle for those wishing to vocalize their frustrations when actions fall short of solving that which is critiqued. For example, Bell (1987) is resigned to the permanence of racism in society while also committed to the continual struggle against it. He describes the struggle as “both the recognition of the futility of action and the unalterable conviction that something must be done, that action must be taken” (p. 198). Furthermore, CRT is a theory that enables students with opportunities to use their voice to challenge racial oppression.

A CRT emphasis on societal structures is essential to our work for several reasons: first, we can explore how hip-hop pedagogy can be employed to challenge racist structures without singularly implicating individuals or organizations. Second, we can adhere to the core assertion of CRT that racism is not merely an individual pathology but a socially constructed racial system embedded in the design of institutions in the US. Finally, hip-hop as a counter-narrative invites the voices of culturally marginalized youth to be represented. Throughout this chapter, we frame pedagogical goals within CRT to examine the ways the work of Kendrick Lamar recognizes and challenges racism and how students can use his “texts” to create dialogues of their own in the classroom.

When dissecting hip-hop texts in education settings, we advocate for the use of a New Literacy Studies approach. Street (1993) explains New Literacy Studies complicates the “divide” between literacy and orality. Whereas “autonomous models of literacy” treat it as a practical skill, absent of social context, proponents of New Literacies Studies “view literary practices as inextricably linked to cultural and power structures in society and to recognize the variety of cultural practices associated with reading and to write in different contexts” (pp. 4–5). Baker and Leu (2010) point out new methods of communication brought on by technological advancements and the development of the

Internet have fundamentally changed the ways “readers” process “texts.” Therefore, a New Literacies approach in a classroom also tasks students with developing the digital literacy skills necessary to think critically about a tweet or blog from a hip-hop magazine, for example, or conduct a politically informed visual analysis of an artist’s music video or album cover. These types of classroom activities subvert the traditional literary canon because the term “text” no longer refers solely to the printed script of authors institutions have long favored. In addition to narratives told through the print medium, a classroom that values multimodal literacy processes says a text can be a story by Sojourner Truth, a song by Billie Holiday, a graffiti piece by Jean-Michael Basquiat, or an online interview with a rapper named K.Dot. Essentially, New Literacy Studies is compatible with CRT because it explores relationships between power and identity and rejects the Eurocentric notion that literate rigor can only be conveyed through the written word.

Since an idealized “new school” hip-hop pedagogy tasks young readers with processing texts through numerous mediums, there are more opportunities for students to consider how art is consumed in capitalist societies and how the commodifying of texts into a sellable product negatively impacts artists. A popular example is documented in hip-hop journalism articles detailing a legal dispute between photographer Giordano Cipriani and Lamar’s team over a claim they used his photograph for the album cover art for the *Blacker the Berry* single without approval or compensation (Gordon, 2015). In another incident, the owner of Lamar’s label TopDawg blamed Interscope Records in a tweet for haphazardly leaking the album *TPAB* a week before its intended release day (Kyles, 2015). As texts increasingly become products of collaboration between multiple artists, it is essential that young people understand how systems of power affect the agency and authenticity of voices involved in such projects.

In order to give researchers and practitioners a better understanding of how a New Literacy Studies approach to hip-hop pedagogy can foster dialogue on race and privilege, we aim to demonstrate how “reading” the audio samples, cover art, music videos, advertisements, interviews, and hypertextual sources (like the fan-annotated site RapGenius) contribute to our understanding of Kendrick Lamar’s latest two albums, *GKMD* and *TPAB*. A multimodal, new school text set reminds students of the ways “spectacular consumption” (Watts, 2012) informs how various cultures are represented through art. As will be made evident in this article, the trajectory of Kendrick Lamar’s work serves as a stark testimony of the realities many black artists face when their texts are commodified into a product by white audiences.

“COMPTON, USA MADE ME AN ANGEL ON ANGEL DUST”

The black lettering scratched across the cover of *GKMD* refers to the album as *A SHORT FILM BY: KENDRICK LAMAR*. Though the term “short film” is being used ironically—since the text it refers to is an audio recording—the

tightly woven narrative of Lamar’s sophomore album utilizes storytelling techniques commonly found in cinema. As the opening track *Sherane AKA Master Splinter’s Daughter* begins, the listener can hear the sound of a two-reel movie projector being switched on. Immediately, we hear a chorus of young, black male voices asking God for forgiveness; the prayer functions as a poetic invocation and establishes the prevailing theme of “redemption” in the album. As the prayer concludes, ambient tones fill the speakers, followed by a subtle bassline riff and a distorted cry in the distance.

As the elements of the beat congeal, we hear Lamar’s voice, calm and reflective: “I met her at this house party on El Segundo and Central.” Context clues like references to landmarks and popular music place the setting to around 2004 in West Compton, California. The album’s story starts “in media res” or in the middle of things: a 17-year-old K.Dot (Lamar’s younger persona) meets an unfamiliar teenage girl at a party near his high school:

“Where you stay?” She said “Down the street from Dominguez High”
 Okay, I know that’s borderline Compton or Paramount
 “Well is it Compton?”
 “No,” she replied and quickly start batting her eyes and
 Strictly had wanted her thighs around me.

Though subtle, the dialogue of this conversation serves as the finger that flicks the first domino of tumultuous events that tumble across the remainder of the album. *GKMD* tells the story of an impressionable teenage protagonist (a “good kid”) surrounded by gang violence, rampant drug use, and police brutality plaguing the city of Compton. The record presents an opportunity for educators because it functions as a “concept album,” meaning that a cohesive narrative can be gleaned through the song lyrics, sound effects and cues, skits, and related album art. As the album proceeds verse to verse, track to track, perspectives switch, times shift back and forth, and Lamar as a protagonist ages and learns. For example, themes in song lyrics and skits inform the listener of K.Dot’s decision to ignore his better judgment—he borrows his mother’s van and drives into rival gang territory to visit Sherane. At the end of the first song, young Kendrick arrives at the girl’s home and is immediately confronted by two men “in black hoodies,” demanding K.Dot tell them who he is and “where he stay.” This is just one example of how a theme like gang violence is brought up in *GKMD* only to be revisited in a later track through a different context or perspective.

The next song fast-forwards the narrative timeline: we hear the perspective of an adult Lamar reflecting on the state of rap in the music industry. Though the track does not propel the events of the story forward, the song both establishes Lamar as a reflexive narrator and urges listeners to adopt a more critical ear. It is not until five tracks later that we learn young Kendrick’s fate: “For the record, I recognize that I’m easily prey/I got ate alive yesterday.” Critic Ryan Bassil explains K.Dot’s beat down serves as a narrative turning point. “The

run-in with the gangbangers kicks off the half of the story. It's like the bit in every good gangster story where the protagonist realises [sic] that they need to break out of the death-ridden community they're living in, before it eats them alive" (Bassil, 2013). The plot twist allows the narrator to reflect on critical themes such as peer pressure, self-medication, tribalism, and retaliatory violence, which makes *GKMD* a useful text for discussion on issues that many adolescent students face in urban schools and communities.

“IF PIRUS AND CRIPS ALL GOT ALONG/THEY’D PROBABLY GUN
ME DOWN BY THE END OF THIS SONG”

The nonlinear storyline of *GKMD* allows Lamar to serve as a multi-voiced narrator, who speaks from various reflexive points along the character arc of a naïve K.Dot evolving into a mature Kendrick Lamar. Whereas traditional gangster rap often promotes misogyny, lavish drug use, and a fetish for violence, Lamar instead represents such ideologies as the perspectives of his pre-enlightened self. On track 3, *Backseat Freestyle*, the timeline rewinds chronologically to the beginning of the narrative. A skit at the close of track 2 informs us that K.Dot is riding around with his homies, carelessly smoking blunts, and freestyling to a “beat CD.” Lamar adjusts the pitch and resonance of his voice to signal that he is speaking as his younger self. “Goddamn I got bitches, damn I got bitches/Damn I got bitches, wifey, girlfriend and mistress.” Instead of shaming young people for harboring toxic attitudes inherent in commercial hip-hop culture, Lamar offers such perspectives as a starting point for a young protagonist in need of ascension.

When viewed with a CRT lens and contextualized with the trajectory of the album, the tone and lyrics of the track suggest that K.Dot is just an uninformed kid. He wants nothing more than to transcend his marginalized standing but perhaps sees no alternatives other than the tools available to young black teenagers in Compton. “Martin had a dream/Kendrick has a dream/All my life I want money and power/Respect my mind or die from lead showers.” Lamar switches tenses and fluctuates his vocal tone from track to track (and sometimes from verse to verse) in the album. This models for young people how a complex identity can be constructed by viewing life experiences through varied reflexive lenses.

In addition to adopting different voices, instrumental cues also signal to the listener a time shift in the narrative. At the end of track 6, we hear the aforementioned “Sherane” instrumental once again. Production duo Tha Bizness explains that they created the cue by adding distortion effects to found sounds, samples, and musical riffs (*Native Instruments*, 2013). The resulting tone of the beat is sorrowful and evokes a murky, dreamlike state. By focusing on audio-based narrative tools such as sound effects and orchestral cues, educators can promote a more nuanced pedagogy that does not solely promote print-based texts. For example, the beat also signals a metaphysical shift of voice for the narrator. While the love song *Poetic Justice* is an introspective examination

of Lamar’s feelings for Sherane, the instrumental at the end of the track snaps the listener back to the external scene of conflict in her driveway: two gang members in black hoodies have surrounded K. Dot and his mother’s van, as evidenced by the skit’s concluding track 6. Focusing attention on hip-hop skits can be a lucrative practice for classroom educators because it gives students the chance to decipher oral codes and social cues related to systems of power and inequity.

The skits themselves also advance the story forward. Whereas skits on hip-hop albums often function as comedic interludes, the numerous skits in *GKMC* have a yarn-like quality that weaves strands of narrative throughout the album. Two tracks after Lamar gets jumped, we hear the voices of two teenagers arguing. “Pass Dot the bottle, damn! You ain’t the one that got fucked up.” Following his beating, K.Dot meets back up with his friends who offer him liquor. The skit reintroduces the themes of self-medication and peer pressure, subjects that are further explored in the following song *Swimming Pools (Drank)*. As a standalone single, *Swimming Pools* serves as a testimony of the alcohol abuse running rampant through the Section Eight housing Lamar once called home (2012). However, juxtaposing the lyrics of the bridge—“Pour up (Drank), head shot (Drank)” —with the break—“I ride, you ride, bang”—suggests young K.Dot has himself fallen victim to the cycle of self-destructive excess he witnessed as a child. When contextualizing the lyrics with the skits proceeding and following the song, the listener is presented with an additional narrative: as K.Dot and his friends get drunk they pressure him into retaliating against his attackers with a drive-by shooting. Skits on the following tracks depict the events to come. K.Dot’s friend is killed in the crossfire, plunging the narrative into an introspective lament on the horrific impacts that systemic racism, neoliberal capitalism, gang-affiliated tribalism, and The War on Drugs have left on black communities in Compton.

Since *GKMC* is constructed nonlinearly, with multimodal narrative tools, the text can be dissected either as one epic-length work or as separate intersecting pieces. The fragmental story is ideal for secondary teachers who might have trouble convincing their school administration that there is literary value in songs like *Backseat Freestyle* where vulgarity, misogyny, and unabashed violence are essential themes. However, a track like *good kid* contains no curse words, racial slurs, or vulgar terminology, which makes it ideal for most classrooms welcome to using hip-hop as a text. While the song serves as the initial fork in the road for the protagonist in the album, as a standalone track the song acts as a powerful indictment against the pitfalls of systemic racism. The first verse presents the barrier of warring neighborhood gangs who hold influence over black adolescents while the second verse introduces a racist police force who pushes the same kids toward the prison pipeline. Themes including drug dependence and dysfunctional education institutions confound the conflict described in the song. Kendrick Lamar’s *GKMD* serves as an alternative to “Crack is Wack” narratives espoused by some old school hip-hoppers like Kid ‘n Play and DJ Jazzy Jeff & The Fresh Prince. Instead of modeling a narrative

of prohibition, K.Dot's transition to Kendrick models progression. It is important for educators to consider whether the narratives privileged in their classroom discussions allow students to reflect on their own transformations.

Near the end of the album a skit depicts a neighbor confronting K.Dot and his friends mourning the death of their friend and plotting revenge. She asks the boys to disavow their violent lifestyle and ask God for forgiveness, which brings the listener back to the prayer heard at the beginning of the album. Though this redemptive ending is told through biblical themes, such allusions also refer to Lamar's ascension as a successful rapper which has metaphorically elevated him above many of the societal ills highlighted in the album.

“LOOK INSIDE THESE WALLS/AND YOU SEE I’M HAVIN’ WITHDRAWALS”

The album artwork also adds layers of meaning to the narrative of *GKMC*. The cover of the deluxe edition depicts what seems to be a faded Polaroid photograph of a dark minivan with tinted windows. The surface of the photograph seems worn with age, the rough creases mirroring the texture of the cracked street in the image. As mentioned earlier, the title of the album is scratched along the bottom of the Polaroid in the same black lettering as a gang tag graffitied on a wall. The bold black-and-white Parental Advisory sticker at the bottom right corner of the cover punctuates the image with nefarious undertones.

The van functions both as a metaphorical vehicle for the protagonist's growth as a character and as an actual vehicle in the story that transports the protagonist from setting to setting. The image is complemented by select lines in the lyrics: “Pack a van with four guns at a time, with the sliding door.” The line compliments the image by capturing the moment in the story when the protagonists' trajectories are compromised by selfish motives—a common trope in coming-of-age narratives. Dialogue from skits also enhances our understanding of the van as a narrative vehicle. Throughout the album K.Dot's mother leaves voicemails inquiring about the whereabouts of her car. While the dialogue gives the listener an insight to the poverty and drug dependency present in the protagonist's home life, it also establishes a rough timeline by correlating K.Dot's character arc with his time spent driving his mom's van. Whereas one vehicle drives K.Dot toward danger, the other “vehicle” drives Kendrick toward redemption.

Another powerful image is the cover of the single *Swimming Pools (Drank)*. The left side of the cover is framed by the edge of an ajar wooden door, suggesting readers are viewing an image not often shared. Inside the doorframe, we see bare walls and a dusty hardwood floor. The white flash of a window with cobweb-like pale curtains punctuate the drab background. Occupying the right half of the image is the silhouette of Kendrick Lamar sitting in a wooden chair, his shoulders hunched with elbows on knees. The bright color of the chair and Lamar's clothes contrast against his skin and the shadows in the room. At the

bottom center of the photograph, near Lamar’s shoes, sits a nearly empty bottle of brown liquor. We can see the left side of Lamar’s face, though his line of sight is turned slightly toward the distance.

The visual artifacts represented in the photographs are also replicated in mediums separate from album cover artwork. An official commercial for *GKMC* shows a black teenager driving a dented Chrysler minivan through the streets of Compton while the music video for *Swimming Pools (Drank)* shows Lamar rapping in the same musty room, sitting on the edge of the same wooden chair. The repetition of images across varying mediums establishes *GKMC* as a richly layered, multimodal text. By using a New Literacies approach to deconstructing hip-hop albums as intersecting, multi-genre works, educators promote a culturally competent pedagogy as an alternative to traditional teaching that privileges a textually bound, Eurocentric literary canon. Though his sophomore album undoubtedly changed the way critical hip-hop texts can be discussed and dissected in educational settings, Lamar’s next release would become one of the most talked-about albums in the past decade.

“NOW I’M RUNNIN’ GAME, GOT THE WHOLE WORLD TALKIN’”

Though a majority of our analysis of *GKMC* focuses on narrative elements present within the storyline, a substantial amount of discourse relevant to Lamar’s third studio album has taken place through supplemental texts, such as news articles and interviews, and in digital spaces, such as fan forums and social media. A multifaceted text set is ideal for educators because including critically engaging informational texts in instructional units on hip-hop can show students how to use skills they have learned in class to deconstruct the stories they value in their home lives. Pioneer journalist William “Upski” Wimsatt claims, “The job of the hip hop journalist is to capture the attention of the rap listener, and to sharpen their thinking at the same time” (2008, p. 67). In similar ways, that literary theory and criticism can inform our understanding of traditional poems, the use of digital journalism in classrooms can enrich critical analysis related to pop culture.

In a January, 2015, cover story for *Billboard Magazine*, Lamar spoke of the clashes between protesters and police in the days following the shooting of Michael Brown and the grand jury decision not to indict Daniel Pantaleo for the murder of Eric Garner (Edwards, 2015). Given his reputation for fostering complex discussions regarding the impacts of racism on urban communities, some fans were surprised by K.Dot’s response:

What happened to [Michael Brown] should’ve never happened. Never. But when we don’t have respect for ourselves, how do we expect them to respect us? It starts from within. Don’t start with just a rally, don’t start from looting—it starts from within. (Lewis, 2015)

Critics online accused K.Dot of promoting respectability politics, a set of principles that ignore the harms of systemic oppression and instead insist that the best way for black folks to achieve upward mobility is to adopt palatable attitudes and conduct themselves in a way deemed appropriate by white folks (Cox, 2015). Blogger Taylor Lewis said she “felt that [K.Dot’s] comments gave the predominately white publication the wrong impression, suggesting to readers that there is a lack of self-respect in the Black community, and that that is the first thing to address in this fight for justice” (2015). Lamar’s comments also caused a stir in social media communities such as “Black Twitter.” Rapper Azalea Banks tweeted, “lol do you know about the generational effects of poverty, racism, and discrimination?” She added, “I really pray for the minds of the urban youth, I really do because I was once on the side of feeling like I wasn’t owed anything” (2015).

Kendrick Lamar did not initially respond to the criticism. Instead, he spent the following two months with collaborators crafting perhaps the most prolifically dense commentary on race ever attempted in the hip-hop canon. In March of 2015, Lamar released *TPAB*. While *GKMC* functions as an examination of the mechanistic impacts of systemic racism, *TPAB* delves into the deep emotional turmoil internalized by black artists in a hyper-consumptive industry fueled by a white consumer fan base that fetishizes black suffering. In the bridge of the first single *Blacker the Berry*, Lamar draws a parallel between hip-hop consumers and media voyeurs who watched the events of Ferguson unfold on their televisions:

Six in the morn’, fire in the street
 Burn, baby, burn, that’s all I wanna see
 And sometimes I get off watchin’ you die in vain
 It’s such a shame they may call me crazy
 They may say I suffer from schizophrenia or somethin’
 But homie, you made me
 Black don’t crack, my nigga

The schisms described by Lamar—both mental and physical—allude to W.E.B. Du Bois’ concept of double consciousness, “whereby one is both American and black, two identities inextricably linked and yet at times in conflict” (Perry, 2005, p. 19). Lamar unflinchingly portrays Du Bois’ metaphor of “twoness” in *Blacker the Berry* as the internalized conflict, self-hatred, and shame he feels as an artist who has profited from narratives of racialized violence. The song ends:

So why did I weep when Trayvon Martin was in the street
 when gang banging make me kill a nigga blacker than me?
 Hypocrite.

In a review of *TPAB* in *Salon Magazine*, writer Priscilla Ward claims, “K.Dot’s tell-it-like-it-is blackness sets the stakes high for the rebirth of a renaissance

movement: a paradigm shift back to raw black creativity. That’s truth that can’t be taken and pimped—if we’re woke, that is.” Lamar boasted in *Rolling Stone* that *TPAB* “will be taught in college courses someday” (2015).

“I OWN BLACK, OWN EVERYTHING BLACK”

Though K.Dot’s journey in *GKMC* is personified as a van ride through Compton, the narrative yarns present in his third album are less bound to time and space. The result is a more metaphysical vehicle that transports the listeners across the numerous black soundscapes in US popular culture, including Jamaican Dancehall breaks, 1970s soul hooks, and samples from recognizable Blaxploitation movies. “Sonically, Lamar’s new album is adventurous, incorporating elements of funk, spoken-word poetry, and free-jazz, augmented by lots of live playing” (“The Trials of Kendrick Lamar,” 2015). Because of the album’s eclectic influences, *TPAB* is brimming with allusions to a range of influential black icons, such as Alice Walker, Nelson Mandela, Michael Jackson, and Ice Cube. The album itself provides listeners with an alternative to the Eurocentric literary and historical canon, which helps to explain why an educator like Brian Mooney saw *TPAB* as an opportunity to cross-apply themes with less-represented works in school curricula like Toni Morrison’s *The Bluest Eye*.

The dialogue of *TPAB* is undoubtedly driven by the “conversations” Lamar creates with elders and peers in the genres of black artistry he admires. DJ Spooky explains the replication of sounds and images in remix literacies is more than mere mimicry: “Replication as differentiated from mere reproduction. Replication as it stands derived from reply: the copies transcend the original, the original is nothing more than a collection of previous cultural movements” (Miller, 2004, p. 36). The result is a richly woven, multimodal mosaic that transcends the oft-streamlined, “single-story” pedagogic discourses that mitigate popular representations of black culture (Adichie, 2009).

The opening track *Wesley’s Theory* begins with a sample of the 1973 Boris Gardner song, *Every Nigger is a Star* crackling and popping on an old vinyl player. The sample is a recognizable black power anthem in music and cinema and sets a bold precedent for an album which tasks listeners to examine the invasive dynamics between white audiences and black artists. A voice cries out, “Hit me,” and the beat begins. The ad lib is an allusion to the Godfather of Soul James Brown but also functions as a nod to iconic hip-hop group *Public Enemy* who used the phrase to kick off their single *911 is a Joke*. The funk-infused beat itself serves as a discourse with Lamar’s peers in the music industry, co-constructed by producer Flying Lotus and bass player Stephen “Thundercat” Bruner. The lyrics also allude to other black artists in the industry such as Dave Chappelle, the black comedian who infamously turned down a multi-million-dollar contract because he felt the racial themes of his television show were being maligned for the sake of white entertainment. The track title itself is a reference to Wesley Snipes, a black actor who was “sniped” (or targeted) by the entertainment industry when he was inevitably persecuted,

charged, and found guilty of income tax evasion. Legendary black musicians such as George Clinton and Dr. Dre appear in spoken cameos in the song, warning young Kendrick about the pitfalls of staying on top in the music industry.

The dialogue of *TPAB* is also conveyed through an examination of Lamar's fracturing senses of self. The theme of Duboisian double consciousness permeates throughout the album, exemplified by the duel metaphor of the butterfly and the caterpillar. Lamar explains in the resolution of the album how the two images personify the conflict he feels as a black rapper in a capitalistic society:

The caterpillar is a prisoner to the streets that conceived it. Its only job is to eat or consume everything around it, in order to protect itself from this mad city. While consuming its environment the caterpillar begins to notice ways to survive. One thing it noticed is how much the world shuns him, but praises the butterfly. The butterfly represents the talent, the thoughtfulness, and the beauty within the caterpillar. But having a harsh outlook on life the caterpillar sees the butterfly as weak and figures out a way to pimp it to his own benefits.

Lamar uses similar dueling perspectives throughout the album in interesting ways. For example, lines from a poem are threaded throughout the album. "I remember when you was conflicted/Misusing your influence/Sometimes I did the same." In the final track *Mortal Man*, we discover that the verse is actually an imagined conversation with late rapper Tupac Shakur, whose legacy is often contextualized with themes of violence and excess in popular narratives. At the conclusion of *Mortal Man*, Lamar has a simulated conversation with Shakur, splicing his own questions into a 1994 interview with the legendary Compton rapper. The discussion serves as an inspiring model for thoughtful intergenerational dialogue that is needed between new school and old school proponents of hip-hop pedagogy.

"I RECOGNIZE YOU'RE LOOKIN' AT ME FOR THE PAY CUT"

Like *GKMC*, the narrative of *TPAB* is supported by visual imagery. The album cover features a black-and-white "victory tableaux" of shirtless black men standing on the lawn of The White House, brandishing cell phones and 40-oz liquor bottles and waving stacks of twenty dollar bills (Clark, 2015). However, the starkest collection of images is undoubtedly represented in the music video (i.e., short film) for the song *Alright*.

Whereas music videos of 1990s era hip-hop mostly showcased artists rapping and living lavishly in front of crowds of people, the music videos of many contemporary artists like Lamar use sounds and images to build a much richer, layered narrative. The song *Alright* is an upbeat track whose primary narrative is the perseverance of the black community, while images in the music video contextualize the song with depictions of police brutality and

urban violence. Powerful music videos like *Alright* are ideal texts for classroom discussion because they give students an opportunity to reflect on ways an author or artist's worldview can serve as a focal point for reflecting on their own experiences.

Utilizing the same black-and-white style as the album cover, the opening images of the video paint an almost apocalyptic view of Compton: tennis shoes slung over a telephone wire; buffed-out graffiti on a dilapidated fence; a black boy's face lying on concrete; a police helicopter in the sky; the blackened frame of a car on fire. In one scene, the smoke clears and we see a waist-up image of a man with a *Crown Royal* bottle tipped up to the ceiling. The film cuts to a close up of a hooded protester; blood trickles down her face; and fire roars in the background. The film cuts to the scuffle of a gang initiation and then to a malt liquor bottle bursting against a wall graffitied with rainbows. Money in the air like confetti. More fire. A man spews malt liquor toward the camera. A boy runs from a gang wearing baggy, dark clothing. Then, in an extended sequence, we see the face of a man with dreadlocks being slammed against a wall. As handcuffs are slapped against one wrist, the man turns and shoves the white officer behind him. The officer turns, cheating his body toward the camera and pulls out a pistol. The gun fires and the bullet flies in slow motion. The scene switches to a lone streetlight against a distant city skyline. The opening credits appear.

The next scene functions as a bridge between the introduction and the portion of the video that contains the song. We see Lamar in the driver's seat of a car, with label-mate Schoolboy Q in the passenger seat. Lamar begins freestyling, and the four men bob their heads to the beat. "To Pimp a Butterfly, another classic CD/a ghetto lullaby for every one day MC." The man in the seat behind Lamar pours a sip of malt liquor out the window, and as the camera pans out, we see that the car has no actual wheels. The vehicle is being carried at the axles by four, middle-aged white police officers in uniform, huffing and puffing under the weight of the car. The image is a powerful depiction of a capitalistic society fueled by the state-sponsored persecution of young black men.

Throughout the remainder of the music video, Lamar floats above the city of Compton, as black folks cheer him on from the streets corners and fire escapes below. As Lamar effortlessly raps while drifting in the wind, he takes on an almost godlike persona. However, the climax of the video reminds us that celebrity cannot save him from the pitfalls of white supremacy. We find Lamar standing on the same streetlight seen earlier in the film. For a moment, it seems he is going to lose his balance, but he corrects himself. A police cruiser pulls up and an officer wielding a shotgun steps out of the driver's side door. Lamar dances on the streetlight unknowingly. The officer drops the shotgun to his side and instead points his finger in a gun gesture toward the sky. The officer carefully aims and flicks his forefinger. The sound of a gunshot rings out and the music stops. The scene cuts back to Lamar on top of the light. Blood spurts out of his shoulders and he tumbles in slow motion toward the ground. As he falls, flailing, the rapper recites the same poem from the album: "I remember

when you was conflicted/Misusing your influence/Sometimes I did the same.” Lamar hits the dirt and the screen cuts to black. A few seconds later, the film cuts to a close up of Lamar’s face in the dust. He opens his eyes and smiles at the camera. The film fades back to black.

“ILL EDUCATION, BABY”

In the song *momma*, an adult Kendrick Lamar meets a little boy he says resembles his features. “Nappy afro, gap in his smile/Hand me down sneakers bounced through the crowd.” The boy reminds Lamar of his younger self who hoped to escape a mad city of poverty and delinquency:

He looked at me and said, “Kendrick you do know my language
You just forgot because of what public schools had painted
Oh, I forgot, ‘Don’t Kill My Vibe’, that’s right, you’re famous.”

Because the two speak the same vernacular, the boy sees he too can follow a similar path as Lamar. However, this dialogue flips the common hip-hop trope of elders passing along wisdom to unlearned youth. The boy sagely encourages Lamar to listen to his ancestors, to stay true to himself, and warns him to stay away from excess and ignorance. The conversation reminds educators that ideal hip-hop pedagogy has Freirean roots that privilege the funds of knowledge (Freire, 1972, 1998; Moll, Amanti, Neff, & Gonzalez, 1992) that students bring to the classroom. In the song, Lamar shares his local knowledge:

I know everything, I know cars, clothes, hoes, and money
I know loyalty, I know respect, I know those that’s ornery
I know everything, the highs, the lows, the groupies, the junkies.

The song is a bold reminder to educators that a critically sound hip-hop pedagogy values the truths from lived experiences young people bring with them into the classroom and not exclusively the “wisdom” passed down by old head emcees. Ideally, there will always be space in new school hip-hop canons for pioneers like Grandmaster Flash and Rakim Allah but it is also crucial to include the artists who make the music students listen to when they go home. The album *TPAB* reminds us that elder voices like Dr. Dre and Tupac Shakur can be accessed through dialogic conversations with young artists. In a 2011 interview following the release of his first single “HiiiPoWeR” (Horowitz), 23-year-old rapper Kendrick Lamar stated that a silhouette of Tupac Shakur once visited him in a dream. The vision told him, “Keep doing what you’re doing. Don’t let my music die.” While many educators may make Tupac Shakur the focus of their hip-hop unit, innovative albums like *GKMD* and *TPAB* remind us that it is also important to highlight the artists who’ve been impacted by the rappers we ourselves loved as teenagers. When Lamar won Best Rap Album in 2016, he thanked Ice Cube, the legendary Compton rapper who handed him his

Grammy. “This for hip-hop,” he said (Ehrlich, Wild, Horvitz, & Restrepo, 2016). He dedicated his win to 1990s-era rappers Snoop Dogg and Nas. “We will live forever. Believe that. Aight,” he said with a smile, and then he walked across the stage with the stature of the giants who’d paced in front of him.

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This Rock Will Not Be Forgotten: Whiteness and the Politics of Memorial Art

Elizabeth Whittenburg Ozment

On the morning of August 1, 2015, hundreds of neo-Confederate demonstrators rallied to defend a monumental artwork on the outskirts of Atlanta, Georgia, known as the Stone Mountain Memorial.¹ Although the attendees did not all belong to one particular organization, they collectively responded to J. T. Nicholson's call to defend the public face of the Confederate States of America (Flowers, 2015; Funke, 2015; Nicholson, 2015). The majority of their time in the memorial park passed without remark by tourists or park officials because the message of their spectacular visual displays was so clear that few words were needed. Theirs was a demonstration of white intimidation—a looming display of their perceived entitlement to space and control over public property on the basis of racialized regional membership.² Protesters draped

¹This study blends archival and ethnographic research that focuses on the reflection of Southern racial politics in public art in the United States, and was submitted to this anthology before Trump's election, the August 2017 Charlottesville riots, and many other relevant events. The fieldwork that informs this chapter spans six years of interviews, focus groups, and observations that relate to Stone Mountain and is inclusive of the August 2015 rally. Debates about Civil War sculptures were not on the minds or tongues of ethnomusicologists when I began this project, but that is changing, and a decision had to be made about expanding this chapter to reflect current events and the continuation of my fieldwork at Stone Mountain and other Lost Cause installations. My final decision was to leave the chapter intact as an introduction to one site of an ongoing power struggle that reverberates across our communities and throughout this book.

²Readers will find my stylistic usage of the uppercase Black and lowercase white forms, in keeping with Kimberlé Williams Crenshaw's (2011) denotation of Black as a proper noun that encapsulates peoples of African descent within the United States, and a cultural identity that was historically denied. Given that white and whiteness does not equally capture any one ethnic,

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themselves in Confederate flags and took to the sidewalks, saturating the memorial park with their presence. Mustered in human numbers and in the accumulation of vehicles and other property, including firearms and staged Confederate flag displays, they did what was possible to encompass the greatest amount of space. At dusk they congregated in the center of the park lawn where other visitors, most of whom did not seem to identify in any immediate way with the neo-Confederates, slowly filled in the surrounding green space. Together they stared at the mammoth mountainside carving before them, glowing like a ghostly spirit, spotlights enhancing the texture and shadows of three massive Confederate generals on horseback—Robert E. Lee, Stonewall Jackson, and Jefferson Davis—each with his hat clutched against his heart.

Spotlights shifted in color from white to green, and the beating bass from the park's soundtrack grew in intensity and volume, as if someone were pumping life into the mountainside, bestowing it with a heartbeat so loud and deep that it reverberated in the bodies of onlookers. Animated laser beams circled and intersected to create a cartoonish figure of an outsized toothy smile and Nick Fouquet hat, a caricature of American pop singer Pharrell that bounced and danced across the mountain surface while lip-syncing, "clap along if you feel that happiness is the truth" (Williams, 2013). The image of a palpitating grid simulated the sculpture breaking free from the confines of the mountain, an intense buildup to a firework show that united the cheering crowds. Protesters lingered with their billowing Confederate flags on the lawn until the show concluded, and then slowly regressed to their vehicles where they claimed the property once more by leering at non-demonstrating visitors until the park emptied.

Their rally responded to, among other things, demands by the Atlanta chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) for the immediate removal of the Stone Mountain Memorial carving, as well as highly publicized petitions by the former producer of the FX animated series *Archer*, and hip hop artist Big Boi to augment the monument with depictions of Atlanta-based rap group Outkast and/or Martin Luther King, Jr. (Malloy, 2015). Such appeals and the cultural clashes surrounding them are by no means new developments in the history of this public sculpture. However, the 2015 neo-Confederate rally at Stone Mountain accrued heightened meaning in the context of increased national focus on recent racially charged crimes, police violence, and accompanying civil rights protests.³ The timing of the rally foregrounds the fact that to a certain extent, similar scenes have been systematically reenacted by millions of people since the inception of the monument's laser show in 1983. How do we reconcile

national, or cultural identity within the United States, my lowercased white and whiteness recognizes the fluidity of this category.

³The rally occurred shortly after a racially motivated mass shooting at the Emanuel A.M.E. Church in Charleston, South Carolina, Bree Newsome's removal of the Confederate flag from the South Carolina Statehouse, and the anonymous placement of Confederate flags outside Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, Atlanta church.

the contemporary discourses and lived practices that respond to this public artwork with the inherited legacy of violence that inspired its creation? By locating this monument within a broader sociohistorical context that takes into account its relationship to Jim Crow politics, and drawing parallels between the racialized meanings of memorial carvings and other remnants of the unresolved Civil War in the United States, this chapter argues educational and commercial use of this Confederate memorial reflects key developments in Southern identity politics.⁴ Ultimately, the chapter engages ongoing debates about the future of Confederate monuments in the United States as an effort to respond to the following question: what are we to do with public art relics of our racist past?

MEMORIAL SCRIPTS, IDEOLOGICAL STASIS, AND PUBLIC PEDAGOGY

The urban landscape of the United States is littered with symbolic objects deemed unforgettable. Once placed, their own monumentalization validates the cause about which they speak. The more naturalized and deeply seated that message becomes, the longer a monument remains relevant to those who view it. This highlights why established monuments are so rarely removed. Commemorative artworks inevitably dilute the social complexities of the past and the present, and they convey a fairly universal message: whatever is being memorialized is worth remembering. What makes commemorative art *monumental* is the intent to create fixed public statements about a moment its patrons wished to preserve for all time.

As one of the most conservative forms of public art, *memorials* promote “an illusion of timelessness” (Stewart, 1992, p. 29), even if the monument accumulates a history for itself more complex than its originating message (Hale, 1998; Savage, 1997). Stasis of commemorative tangibility brings the past into the present by bridging time periods through shared understandings of identities that may or may not have previously existed. Memorial gaze, like all forms of looking, must be performed by raced, classed, gendered bodies and bodies coded by other identity categories that are informed by historically and socially coded interests (hooks, 1995). Public experiences of these artworks shape individual and collective relationships to the people and ideas the art registers. The messages contained within memorials, the commemorative acts they inspire, and the inevitable shifts in social behavior related to those artworks together form *memorial scripts*, projections of past ideals that become frameworks for future actions by present-day people (Fig. 16.1).

⁴In this chapter, I use the terms “monument” and “memorial” interchangeably, in keeping with the meanings and employment of these terms in the contemporary United States. Given that Stone Mountain stands as a tribute to an ideological movement, and those who died for its cause, both terms capture the purpose of American public memory markers. For an overview of how these terms have been used in Western history and art scholarship, see Doss (2012, pp. 37–40).



Fig. 16.1 Jack Lane and W.C. Lane were freelance news photographers who documented social, economic, and political change in twentieth-century Georgia. An airplane provides perspective to Stone Mountain and the in-progress memorial carving in this 1954 Lane Brothers photograph. *Stone Mountain; Carving, Lane Brothers Commercial Photographers Photographic Collection, 1920–1976, Georgia State University Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University*

In the case of the US South, the memorial scripts generated by Confederate monuments serve a pedagogical function to transmit revisionist narratives about the underlying causes and outcomes of the Civil War (1861–1865). These monuments came at a critical juncture in Southern history. The US public fell into a period of great memorialization immediately following the Civil War, and it is estimated that veterans and ladies' associations commis-

sioned over a thousand monuments by 1914 in the South alone (Fahs & Waugh, 2004).⁵ It was no accident these products were rendered in stone, as they were intended to resist change and reflect a cultural attitude of staunch conservatism that attempted to reconcile rifts between the Old and New South. Civil War-themed artwork from this period fell into emancipationist, reconciliationist, and Lost Cause camps (Blight, 2001; Gallagher, 2008).⁶ The majority of artworks reflected a Lost Cause ideology in which a blend of white supremacy and Christian idolism valorized the Confederate experience and worldview. Ritualistic displays of Confederate iconography immortalized the Confederacy and permitted whites to reaffirm their membership in the New South. As Confederate memorial sites assumed the status of holy icons and became pilgrimage sites for mourners of Old South customs. Memory and status of Robert E. Lee in particular rose above all other Confederate heroes to provide the white South with an “honorable” military history they selectively divorced from slavery (Foster, 1987; Gallagher & Nolan, 2000) (Fig. 16.2).

This Southern mythology flooded popular culture, particularly in products aimed at children (Blight, 2001; Coski, 1998). The Lost Cause became a valued public pedagogy that rationalized racial homogeneity and compensated for white Southern fears about the inevitable entrance of people of color into their society. These Lost Cause narratives greatly informed Southern racial politics during reconstruction, Jim Crow, the Civil Rights era, and to a certain extent, continue to inform Southern political rhetoric. If Lost Cause ideology was the greatest twentieth-century political and educational tool used to exonerate the South’s prolongation of racial injustice, it was appropriate that the largest and most notorious symbol of the Lost Cause was carved into a granite mountainside on the edge of Atlanta, the metropolitan center of the New South that dually symbolized Southern progressivism and fantasy.

UNVEILING THE STONE MOUNTAIN MONUMENT

The carving at Stone Mountain took more than seven decades to complete, a lengthy emergence consistently marked by its many participants’ complicity with the social and state-sanctioned politics of white supremacy. It was first conceived in 1914 by a Confederate widow who organized the Georgia

⁵Private funding for these projects necessitated that their design appeal to the most affluent collectives. Many of these objects were later donated to government entities, but they continue to represent the ideals of individuals who felt entitled to speak to and for a larger collective.

⁶Lost Cause mythology glorifies a fanciful confederate history as an origin story, civil religion, cultural movement, and litmus test for white southern authenticity and regional difference. Robert E. Lee, Jefferson Davis, and Stonewall Jackson emerged as the great trinity of Lost Cause heroes. The conceptual linking of these three figures fused military and political might with overtones of Christian theology and created a confederate mythology that absolved white southerners of any responsibility for slavery or its aftermath. See Blight (2001), Coski (1998), Gallagher and Nolan (2000), Wilson (1980).



Fig. 16.2 Early promotional materials for the Stone Mountain project professed Lost Cause sentiments and circulated designs for carving the Confederate Trinity into the mountainside. In this image, a classically figured Daughter of the Confederacy pulls back a stage curtain to reveal the future Stone Mountain Memorial. Such artwork aided fundraising efforts by the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC) and the Stone Mountain Confederate Monumental Association. *Stone Mountain promotional material, Stone Mountain collection, 1915–1977, Stuart A. Rose Manuscript, Archives, and Rare Book Library, Emory University*

Division and Atlanta Chapters of the UDC and made the monument one of the organization's most advantageous causes (Coski, 1998). Gutzon Borglum, more famous for his role as the sculptor of Mount Rushmore, first designed the monument as a shrine to the Confederacy, which he predicted would be "an enduring testimonial of fraternity" (Borglum, 1920). His message was welcomed by many white Southerners, including UDC historian Mildred Rutherford (1924), who explained in the first published history of the memorial that it was intended to signal the region's transition into the modern era:

What is the Meaning of the Memorial? ... Might does not make right, and the surrender did not mean a Lost Cause. The principle for which the Confederate soldier fought was not lost. The violation of the Constitution by an interference with state rights is today a vital issue of our United States Government. The spirit in which the Confederate soldier returned to his home was the spirit that really preserved the Union. (p. 2)

Widespread resistant sentimentality, similar to Rutherford's sentiments, aided efforts to complete the Stone Mountain monument. Successful fundraising for the carving during the first two decades of the twentieth century coincided with the mass publication of Civil War memoirs and novels, including Thomas Dixon's *The Clansman* (1905), later adapted on film by D.W. Griffith's as *Birth of a Nation* (1915), both of which fueled racist and anti-Semitic outbursts. Among the numerous examples of identity-based paranoia and violence during this period in Atlanta was the abduction and lynching of Leo Frank by a gang of self-proclaimed "knights" who celebrated their crimes by burning a cross at Stone Mountain (Cobb, 2008; Dinnerstein, 2008).⁷ The intersection of Frank's murder with the 1915 Atlanta premiere of *Birth of a Nation* motivated William J. Simmons and Samuel Venable, the owner of Stone Mountain, to revive the Ku Klux Klan fraternity atop the mountain, thus cementing the property's identity as terrain from which to launch responses to white fright and safeguard white power (Cobb, 2005; Coski, 1998) (Fig. 16.3).⁸

It is important to stress the degree to which Georgia's white society embraced the Klan during the first half of the twentieth century and how vital the political influence of this organization was to the advocacy campaigns for the Stone Mountain Memorial. James Venable, of the mountain-owning family, provided personal assistance to the project when he served as mayor of Stone Mountain from 1946 to 1949, and a series of other Georgia politicians with Klan ties supported the project (Chalmers, 2000, pp. 71–77; Essex, 2002,

⁷ Frank was a northern-born Jewish factory manager who was convicted of raping and murdering a white teenage girl named Mary Phagan. Proceedings from his trial reflected Southern white anxieties about policing Northerners, non-Christians, and people of color in Southern spaces. Two years after his sentence, in 1915, the self-proclaimed Knights of Mary Phagan abducted Frank from prison and hanged him outside Atlanta. They celebrated his murder at Stone Mountain.

⁸The second Klan expanded the anti-reconstructionist principles of the nineteenth-century organization to include Jews, Catholics, and new immigrants.



Fig. 16.3 In this 1939 Lane Brothers photograph, the granite mountainside features prominently under the feet of the Klan. *Ku Klux Klan ritual on Stone Mountain, Georgia, Lane Brothers Commercial Photographers Photographic Collection, 1920–1976, Georgia State University Special Collections and Archives, Georgia State University*

p. 17). Borglum himself joined the Klan and incorporated a shrine to the fraternity in his plans for the monument (Doss, 2012, p. 11). But it would be wrong to suggest that the Stone Mountain memorial was exclusively a project of the Klan, or Confederate veterans, or even white Southerners, because the sculpture appealed broadly to white Americans, whose funds, including government dollars, flowed to the memorial association, not unlike today.

Stone Mountain exemplified memorial ventures across the South during the first quarter of the twentieth century. The sheer volume of commemorative art in Southern towns reflected regional efforts to reconcile the Confederate past with hopes for building a modern Southern society that happened to be founded on a collective sense that Southern progress was somehow indebted to that very past. As Glassberg (1990) writes of the 1920s South, “it was both home to civic uplift campaigns to move the New South into the forefront of modern life and to the Ku Klux Klan rallies and fundamentalist religious movements condemning that life” (p. 252). But as the decades wore on, despite widespread support for the monument, Stone Mountain came to reflect the organizational flaws and financial mismanagement that plagued many American

memorial projects. After a series of exposés in newspapers about power struggles among the memorial association leadership, Borglum abandoned the project and the carving sat largely dormant until Governor Eugene Talmadge recouped the project in 1941 (Hale, 1998). In 1958, the Georgia General Assembly purchased the memorial site with US\$1.1 million of state tax money and planned to expand the memorial into a state park. The state's decision to rely heavily on prison labor linked the property to the state prison complex and other institutionalized reflections of existing racial power inequities (Brown et al., 2010; Stone Mountain Park Master Plan, 2005).⁹

As the project moved through the turbulent 1950s and early 1960s, state interest in the monument reflected white Southern resistance to civil rights for people of color.¹⁰ After Governor Herman Talmadge's warning to white Georgians of an impending "nigra takeover" (Kruse, 2005; Tuck, 2001, p. 75), racism became even further entrenched in state politics. Lost Cause advocates and leaders of hate organizations were appointed to political offices, including the appointment of Samuel Green (then Klan Imperial Wizard) as Talmadge's lieutenant colonel (Tuck, 2001, p. 77). Construction of the carving continued while anti-integration politics unified white Southerners, whose leaders expressed their rejection of the 1954 Supreme Court *Brown v. Board of Education* decision through Confederate iconography, as exemplified by Georgia's 1956 adoption of the Confederate battle flag as the state flag and the addition of protections for the Stone Mountain Memorial to the state code (Bartley, 1995; Coski, 2005; Martinez, 2008; Georgia General Assembly, 2018).

The memorial to the heroes of the Confederate States of America graven upon the face of Stone Mountain shall never be altered, removed, concealed or obscured in any fashion and shall be preserved and protected for all time as a tribute to the bravery and heroism of the citizens of the state who suffered and died in their cause. (Georgia Code, 1956, 50-3-1)

In one bold move, Georgia's politicians intensified the message they were carving into the mountainside by making explicit the linkages between Confederate militarism and mid-century white anti-integration politics. Amid civil rights demonstrations and violent backlashes of the early 1960s, and despite the Klan's rallying on top of the mountain just three days after Martin Luther King, Jr., famously identified the site with the line "let freedom ring from Stone Mountain," the property opened as a racially segregated state park

⁹It is important to note that although the Stone Mountain Memorial Association (SMMA) remains a state entity, the association itself does not receive any tax funds (Freeman, 1997). The Prison Work Camp on the west side of the Park was demolished in 2002 (Stone Mountain Park Master Plan, 2005).

¹⁰By the time the state assumed control of the mountain, changes in the distribution of electoral power in Georgia effectively excluded Black districts from discussions of state funding priorities.

in 1963 (Wade, 1987).¹¹ The memorial sat incomplete, but Lost Cause nostalgics flocked to Stone Mountain Park to visit a restored plantation house in which Butterfly McQueen performed as a kitchen slave (Prelli, 2006).¹² The park emphasized Old South nostalgia during the 1960s–1970s, concurrent with annual Labor Day Klan rallies that James Venable organized on the portion of the mountain property his family retained (Sewell, 1997). By the official dedication of the completed carving in March 1972, the park resembled a neo-Confederate Disneyland, complete with a skylift, auto museum, train, and Scarlett O’Hara riverboat ride (Hollis, 2009). Public concern over aging facilities inspired changes in park management and attractions during the early 1980s, including the installation of a laser show in 1982 that projected animation onto the mountainside sculpture, and has since been viewed by over 25 million guests (Jones, 2012; Willis, 1982).¹³

Heated debate about the ethics of Confederate iconography in contemporary society thrust Stone Mountain Park into the 1990s flag wars with representatives from the NAACP and the Sons of Confederate Veterans (SCV) passionately defending opposing viewpoints. Park administrators remained committed to Confederate commemoration, but took great efforts during this time to diminish its association with slavery and the Klan by restricting historical interpretation of the site after the park was selected to be a venue for the 1996 Summer Olympic Games (Prelli, 2006). Stone Mountain Park entered into a public-private partnership with Herschend Family Entertainment Company (HFEC) in 1998, delegating management of the park’s commercial aspects to HFEC while the state-sanctioned Stone Mountain Memorial Association (SMMA) retained control of the carving and educational programming, a partnership that endures to this day (Herschend Family Entertainment, 2017; Lowery, 2012, p. 237).

The SMMA recognizes “a legislative mandate to maintain the Park as a memorial to the Confederacy and a place of public recreation” (SMMA, 2005, pp. 4–1). On the entertainment side, Peter Herschend stated in a *New York Times* (2000) article that his primary goal was to fashion a new narrative for Stone Mountain, one that emphasized the “fun” aspects of Southern culture, including sweeping landscapes, iconic architecture, and culinary treats.¹⁴ Of course this revisionism necessitated the erasure of slavery, Jim Crow, and the Klan from the park’s associations. When questioned about the ethics of these historical omissions, Herchend replied, “We’re not in the business of history,”

¹¹ Martin Luther King, Jr., delivered his seminal “I Have a Dream” speech in at the Washington D.C. Lincoln Memorial during the 1963 March on Washington for Jobs and Freedom.

¹² Butterfly McQueen portrayed “Prissy” in the 1939 film adaptation of Margaret Mitchell’s *Gone With The Wind*.

¹³ This show significantly boosted attendance, exceeding 7000 visitors nightly since 1983 and is claimed by Stone Mountain management to be the world’s longest continually running laser show (Willis, 1983; Stone Mountain Park, 2017).

¹⁴ Peter Herschend is Co-founder, Executive Vice President, and Vice-Chairman of Herschend Family Entertainment.

thus tasking Herschend Entertainment and the SMMA with the daunting task of preserving Confederate elements of the park while also responding to the recreation needs of an ever diversifying twenty-first century public (Sengupta, 2000, p. 18).¹⁵ This brief history of Stone Mountain is, at times, reminiscent of other monumental artworks in the United States such as Mount Rushmore (South Dakota), Richmond's Monument Avenue (Virginia), and architectural preservation projects such as Colonial Williamsburg (Virginia), Monticello (Virginia), and the Alamo (Texas). Conceptualizing public artworks as a set of racially informed decisions unveils stories about the toleration of racist nostalgia in the public sphere.

MEMORIAL SCRIPTS AND THE RACIALIZATION OF PUBLIC COMMEMORATION

As a souvenir of racist practices in the United States, the Stone Mountain monument invites spectators of all races and ethnicities to participate in the celebration of whiteness while obscuring their failure to see their complicity in the institutionalization of white privilege, what I will term here as *racist spectatorship*. If, as some feminist and critical race scholars including Delgado (1989), hooks (1995), Mulvey (1975), and Yancy (2008) have argued for decades, the field of representation is the site of an ongoing power struggle, then Stone Mountain's greatest asset is the power to advance a particular racial ideology. This reality is reproduced most literally during the laser show when the "South" and all of its people are depicted as physically materializing from the bodies of the white men on the mountain. What is projected upon these Confederate bodies is a memorial script about racial and spatial constructions, an "invisible center" (Yancy, 2004, p. 2) from which whiteness gains meaning by becoming synonymous with Southern authenticity.¹⁶

Blackness, on the other hand, only manifests temporarily during the laser show, as a visitor on Confederate property. Juxtaposing Blackness against a Confederate wall marks whiteness as materially significant. It is important to consider the instability of the laser show in comparison to the static-ness of the Confederate carving. The incorporation of Black images and sounds during the laser show are but momentary gestures of disruption that only highlight the impermeability of the granite sculpture. These appropriations of Blackness via the images and sounds of popular Black musicians, including James Brown, Ray Charles, Whitney Houston, and Outkast, promote racist spectatorship by extending an invitation to people of all colors to partake in a nightly celebration

¹⁵ Indeed, park visitor demographics have rapidly changed over the past 20 years as many of the counties surrounding the city of Atlanta have achieved minority-majority status. According to the most recent census, African Americans now account for approximately 75% of the population of the city of Stone Mountain, a far cry from the 14% Black population when the laser show was first introduced.

¹⁶ Many vivid images of the laser show may be viewed on the Stone Mountain Park website.

of whiteness. As established in my opening description of the Pharrell motif, shifts in images and sounds offer Stone Mountain a new rhythm and a false sense of racial innocence that is constructed and articulated through seemingly frivolous pop singles and childish cartoons. These artifacts plunge audiences backwards into the nostalgia of their childhood while simultaneously reconfiguring this landmark into a symbol of value-free and family-friendly fun. We may thus read the presence of Black artists like Pharrell projected against the Old South backdrop as a reconfiguration of the happy slave, a grinning caricature puppeteered to frolic around three Confederate giants. Such a reading highlights why neo-Confederate protestors and other Confederate heritage advocates might gladly patronize the show.

However troubling these projections of Blackness may be, at least Blackness is acknowledged in the popular laser show. Standing-in for all people and things non-white, Blackness in this attraction diversifies images and sounds at Stone Mountain, and reinforces the color line. Viewers should wonder what such a limited representation of Southern-ness and American-ness must imply for audiences of Latinx, Jewish, Asian, and Indigenous heritages—indeed, the list of excluded identities continues far beyond this litany. Even if the inclusion of non-white voices and images in the laser show is intended to neutralize the white supremacist origins of this monument, it actually achieves the opposite effect, by insulating white people from the pressure to critically examine themselves.

Erasure of the monument's historical associations with white supremacy through the guise of multicultural inclusivity benefits white people by absolving them of the responsibility to confront their own investments in whiteness. The laser show's tacit acknowledgment of the mountain's racist history may also permit white audiences who do not identify with those origins to imagine themselves as pure, innocent, and perhaps even anti-racist in comparison to the carving's Confederate generals or to hate organizations that employ Confederate imagery. If even some white audiences are able to distance themselves from the Confederate monument in this way, these nightly spectacles enact a process that contributes to what Yancy calls the "social ontology of whiteness" (2004, p. 1). His ontology allows whites to buttress their sense of racial identity and to maintain an uncritical association of whiteness with goodness while ignoring the racist implications such ideology carries for people of color (Yancy, 2004, p. 4). All visitors must ask, how do people of color benefit from Stone Mountain? If there is no answer, then all people who visit this site face a product that perpetuates white supremacy and are therefore left to act upon that realization.

Should the Stone Mountain Memorial remain? What ethical responsibilities do the state, the memorial association, and/or Herschend Entertainment have to actively moderate public engagement with this site of public sculpture? In order to resist the normalizing power of America's monumental landscapes, we must challenge the guardians of memorial art to engage with contemporary society's most pressing cultural questions. If re-examined critically, such artifacts

of racist practices in the United States may lead to new strategies for confronting enduring racial injustice. Given that critical race theorists, including Harris (1995) and Delgado (1989), link social justice activism with knowledge production, the study of memorial art must be of great concern to critical theorists, because the intersection of entertainment and education at these monuments influence contemporary meanings of racial belonging. Stone Mountain embodies a transformation of space into memory and of history into property; a transformation into something that is owned, manipulated, and consumed by a consenting public. It is the active enactment of this granite landscape that exemplifies Harris' (1995) description of property as a dynamic racialized resource:

As whiteness is simultaneously an aspect of identity and a property interest, it is something that can both be experienced and deployed as a resource. Whiteness can move from being a passive characteristic as an aspect of identity to an active entity that – like other types of property – is used to fulfill the will and to exercise power. (p. 282)

The monument remains an example of white appropriation of land that was in its origins a racialized conception of property ownership that continues to be “implemented by force and ratified by law” (Harris, 1995, p. 277). By developing a critical resistance to the stasis of this and other monumental artworks, viewers can articulate a transformative approach to problematic cultural artifacts. Whatever future is found for these relics, we must realize that reconfiguring their appearance does not erase their legacy. As the UDC (Rutherford, 1924) passionately professed during the monument's early construction, this rock will not be forgotten, nor should it be, for in Stone Mountain we can read the history of race in America.

Returning to the scene that opened this chapter, those who participate in the continuation of Stone Mountain must question how recent struggles over the control of this and other monumental artworks illuminate relationships between property entitlements and the reification of racial categories. The August 2015 Confederate rally most vividly demonstrates widespread public understanding that iconography can empower representative social groups, a concept that Georgia's most powerful politicians struggle to engage. After the Atlanta City Council passed a resolution in July 2015 urging Georgia governor Nathan Deal to appoint a committee to study future uses for the monument, Deal stated:

I would ask those who think this is such a big issue, if they would exert the same amount of influence and time and effort to try to make sure that the children in our school systems in this state who are in failing schools get a good education, it will erase any of the things that they think the memorial symbolizes. I would hope they see that in the same light in which I do. (Quoted in Bluestein, 2015)

Captured in Deal's statement is a failure to recognize the memorial has functioned for decades both implicitly and explicitly as a pedagogical site. Far from

being a separate consideration from the state's educational endeavors, the monument actually is a curriculum that Georgia provides to its citizens and other visitors.

Consider, for instance, that the state-authorized SMMA manages the park's educational outreach programs and thereby actively engages an educational agenda. In addition to free online classroom instructional materials, SMMA offers free field trip admission to the Memorial Park to PreK-12 public schools, daycares, and homeschool students (Stone Mountain Park, 2015).¹⁷ Their programs are so popular among Georgia schools that space at SMMA's structured field trips often fill within the first two months of the academic year (SMMA, 2015a, 2015b). Educational programs in geology, ecology, and military history at Stone Mountain align with Georgia's science and social studies curriculum. Yet similar to so many education outreach programs at heritage sites across the United States, there is a missed opportunity here to involve the public in meaningful discussions about the contested history and uncertain future of Confederate memorials. Despite efforts to make positive use of this space, the current pedagogy of Stone Mountain Park remains one of racist spectatorship. Its educational philosophy of universal invitation and evasion mirrors Herschend's "fun" narrative: come to Stone Mountain to learn, but not to question. This strategy may be easier to sustain from a management perspective, but no longer can we afford to ignore how the inscription of white figures onto a mountainside maintains a colonial legacy of white entitlement to the Southern landscape. Monumental art demands responsive pedagogies that encourage critical reflection and inspire positive change. In the case of Stone Mountain, reluctance by politicians and park management to confront the carving's legacy of white resistance to universal civil rights discourages critical public dialog about why this and related Confederate iconography still resonates deeply, in many opposing ways, with contemporary audiences in the United States.

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¹⁷The SMMA describes their educational mission as follows: "The Stone Mountain Memorial Association Education Department offers both school and public programs free of charge [free to the public with the price of admission] and are able to provide these programs because SMMA is financially self-sufficient. All park operations, maintenance, and capital improvements are funded through lease and miscellaneous revenues. Public school buses are admitted into Stone Mountain Park for free" (SMMA, 2015a, 2015b).

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Art Education and Whiteness as Style

Tyson E. Lewis

With the majority of elementary and secondary school teachers racially identified as white and schools becoming more and more ethnically and racially diverse (Sleeter, Torres, & Laughlin, 2004), the question of whiteness cannot be avoided if we are to continue to uphold the ideal of educational equity and equality.¹ While there are many critical theorists of education who focus on whiteness as a normative, institutional structure of power, privilege, and discrimination (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001), or as set of internalized mental beliefs or ideologies (King, 1991), recently there has been growing interest in whiteness as a pre-cognitive, pre-personal form of embodiment.

For instance, Granger (2010) argues that literature on anti-racist, anti-discrimination education relies almost exclusively on a “right thinking” approach at the exclusion of the “visceral grip of racism” (p. 71) over pre-conceptual bodies and their habits. Likewise, DeLissovoy (2010) calls for a critique of Freirian scholarship that has an “overriding preoccupation” (p. 420) with questions of consciousness rather than the lived experience of race, class, and gender oppression. Moreover, Leonardo and Zembylas (2013) attempt to complement anti-racist consciousness raising with an embodied and affective approach to understanding whiteness. Finally, in my own work (Lewis, 2017), I have argued that whiteness is constituted on the level of what Maurice Merleau-Ponty (2012) would call the “body schema.”² Although differing

¹ All racial terminology is not capitalized throughout this chapter as whiteness refers to structures of privilege and discrimination (both in relation to institutions and in relation to bodies) rather than a particular culture or particular ethnic group racially identified as white.

² The body schema for Merleau-Ponty is the most basic form of situated spatiality that enables the body to project into space without mental oversight. The body schema, in short, enables an individual to have meaningful, holistic, unified, and integrated experiences of a meaningful world.

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somewhat in terms of the specific details and theoretical frameworks, these authors all agree that there is more to racism than either abstract institutional frameworks or internalized beliefs/ideologies.

In this chapter, I add to this growing body of literature on whiteness in two ways. First and foremost, any theory of whiteness should be grounded in a socio-cultural phenomenology of the body (Lee, 2014). A phenomenological approach foregrounds whiteness as a lived experience that fundamentally shapes a body's relationship to its world. I will call this fundamental relationship the *style* of whiteness. Drawing on Maurice Merleau-Ponty as well as phenomenologists of difference, I will explore the *corporeal geometry* of whiteness as a particular kind of embodied stylization. What emerges is a description of the *aesthetic dimensions of discrimination* through the geometric deployment of lines (that maximally extend white bodies into space) and an angle of vision (that constitutes totalized and rigidified racial hierarchies). Second, I will argue that the perceptual pedagogy of certain forms of art has the ability to interrupt, suspend, and render inoperative this geometric style, opening up perception to difference in non-racist and non-discriminatory ways.

To illustrate how certain works of art offer moments of suspension of discriminatory stylizations, I will offer a phenomenology of my own white, male body as I interact with an installation by noted artist Kara Walker. I will demonstrate how Walker's art disorients the stylistics of the white, male body by throwing the body off-line and queering its angle of vision, producing a body that is no longer at home with the inherited privileges of whiteness. Indeed, her art produces an existential crisis of the embodied white self, opening up a space wherein the invisible privileges afforded to certain bodies become visible reminders/reminders of racism and sexism that bodies preserve as part of the fundamental structure of whiteness. What is at stake here is demonstrating the *educational value* of art for promoting an alternative to discriminatory ways of being in the world. I will then conclude with some implications for art educators.

WHITENESS AS STYLE

While Fanon (1967), Irigaray (1993), and other phenomenologists of difference have problematized various aspects of Merleau-Ponty's phenomenology, I would like to suggest that focusing on his description of style gives us access to the structure of whiteness as a lived experience in new ways. This is not to dismiss criticism of Merleau-Ponty but rather to read Merleau-Ponty anew, in accordance with feminist and critical race theorists in order to unlock something that he missed in his own theory of style. In particular, I will focus on two structures defining the style of whiteness: corporeal lines and the perceptual gaze. Linking style to whiteness will reveal, first, how the embodied style is always already implicated in the politics of privilege and discrimination and, second, how race is lived through an aesthetic geometry of lines and angles that connect and disconnect bodies on a pre-conscious level.

Importantly, Merleau-Ponty (1993) argues that “perception already stylizes” (p. 91). Perception is not a neutral reproduction of what is, free from bias. Rather, it is itself a certain stylized point of view on the world. Style is neither subjective (a mere mental construct added to a raw perception) nor objective (a measurable entity existing in the universe independent of “us”). It is best described as a pre-thematic, singular “communication with the world” (p. 91) that exists on the level of the body and its particular coupling with environmental affordances. Because style is neither something that can be consciously controlled through self-reflective directives nor objectively quantified, it can seem strange or unfamiliar when we are confronted with evidence of our style(s). Thus, Meacham (2013) writes, the uncanny nature of style “appears as something foreign to our active intentional lives, driving us to do or say things that we did not actively mean or intend, and giving us the sense that we are not quite sure who is speaking when we open our mouths” (p. 12). This phenomenon would seem to explain why one’s style of behavior, speaking, and gesturing, is completely foreign while nevertheless remaining distinctly and irreducibly *one’s own*. On this view, whiteness is not represented through the mind’s eye so much as presented in the act of perceptual grasping and appearing. This means that racialized stylizations happen below the level of mental processing/propositional meaning making. Hence, there is a new reason for explaining the disconnect between thoughts (“But I’m not a racist!”) and actions (micro-aggressions, discriminatory slips of the tongue, and so forth).

Against any form of substance ontology, Merleau-Ponty (2012) observes, “The unity of the thing, beyond all of its congealed properties, is not a substratum, an empty X, or a subject of inherence, but rather that unique accent that is found in each one, that unique manner of existing of which its properties are a secondary expression” (p. 333). There is no hidden substance, which unites all the properties of a thing. Rather a thing is unified by its *style*. This style is the “accent” of the thing that differentiates it from other things that share similar properties. The woolly red carpet is differentiated from the red wallpaper because of the particular stylization of red as it holistically appears in relation to woolly-ness or to wallpaper-ness. Stated differently, what something is cannot be extracted from how it appears (there is no pure “redness” that exists outside of the accent red acquires through its stylistic variations).

To think of whiteness as a style thus complicates depictions of whiteness as property. Discourses of whiteness as property have shed important light on how whiteness is historically correlated with capitalism, white settler colonialism, and the expropriation of lands and labor (Harris, 1993). Yet, conceptualizing whiteness (on the level of lived experience) as property is somewhat misleading in the following sense. If we think of whiteness as property, then whiteness becomes reified as a particular attribute (e.g., ownership, legal status, and so forth) that is added onto a more basic substance (i.e., the human). The implication here is that as property, whiteness is different from the substance to which it is affixed. The substance *x* might be the abstract notion of “the human” (for instance) which somehow transcends its historical specificity

(its contingent properties). But whiteness as style helps us understand that whiteness *goes all the way down* to the most basic and fundamental structures of self. Stated differently, *who* one is cannot be separated from *how* one is in the world, one's style. To interrupt and suspend whiteness is therefore to interrupt and suspend *that which is so basic and fundamental to the white self that it is invisible*. Stated differently, there is no principle substance (i.e., humanity) below race, class, or gender—there are only stylistic variations of these positions.

But if whiteness is a pre-conscious, embodied style, how can we further describe its aesthetics of discrimination? In what follows, I will be highlighting the one-dimensional geometry of whiteness. As Calderón (2009) argues, whiteness is a kind of one-dimensional way of being in the world. Drawing from both Herbert Marcuse's work on one-dimensional society as well as Critical Race Theory, Calderón draws a map of whiteness as a myopically destructive form of living that fundamentally denies the multiple dimensions of experience beyond, or in contradictions with, whiteness. Here I would like to take up Calderón's provocative analysis and push it further by proposing a phenomenology of whiteness in relation to basic geometric forms such as lines and angles. In doing so, I will further operationalize how whiteness is lived through the tracing out of lines and the occupation of certain angles of vision and, in turn, how such lines and angles can be fractured, set off-course, and rendered inoperative through encounters with certain kinds of artworks.

To begin, if style is the accent that defines a body and its perceptual grasp of the world, then this accent has an orientation or line that it traces. For Ahmed (2006), orientation is a fundamental feature of phenomenological geometry. In her work, she highlights how bodies are oriented toward and around certain social roles, pieces of equipment, and meanings. Here a phenomenological distinction is necessary. To be oriented *toward* something means that something is in reach or is available to us. To be oriented *around* something means "not so much to take up that thing, as to be taken up by something, such that one might even become what it is that is 'around'" (Ahmed, 2006, p. 116). Unlike Merleau-Ponty, who never questions the racial dimension of his own phenomenology, for Ahmed, whiteness is a central orientation that follows its own internal, sensorimotor intelligence. To embody whiteness in one's movements, forms of extending into space, and modes of perceptual access means that one is oriented around racial privilege even if one is not oriented toward such privilege (as a conscious, intentional goal, desire, or problem). In other words, those who embody whiteness do not have to face this whiteness. In this way, whiteness becomes part of the taken-for-granted background, acquiring a kind of gravitational pull that attracts and repels certain bodies, actions, affective conditions, and modes of behavior. It puts certain things, roles, and practices within easy reach. Whiteness is therefore *a way in which bodies move through and extend into space*. Whiteness is granted privileged access to the world, unencumbered by limitations such as racial discrimination, and thus exhibits maximal extension, ease of movement, and unfettered being.

Style, as Merleau-Ponty discusses it, is composed of certain orientation lines toward and away from roles, equipment, and focal practices. Ahmed helps us understand how stylistic accent marks are composed of lines pointing in certain directions rather than others, thus setting parameters on what can appear in any given experience. Stated differently, Ahmed helps us articulate the geometry of whiteness as a style as enabling (and disabling) certain ways of being. To receive the phenomenological privileges of whiteness means that one *is* a certain stylized orientation that grants extension, ease, and access that one inherits and lives without necessarily having conscious intentions to do so. This style is therefore paradoxically both pre-personal (unrecognized and anonymous) yet also completely one's own. As critical race theorists, such as Bell (1992), have pointed out in relation to the law, whiteness has often been seen as unproblematic and thus a neutral way of life in the United States. Precisely because the law is oriented around whiteness, whiteness becomes a kind of taken-for-granted and, thus, neutral background that orients the law toward certain (biased and discriminatory) decisions that privilege some over others. The orientation of bodies and the orientation of legal structures, thus, suture together into an effortless flow to form a mutually reinforcing network of lines that enable white bodies to extend and access social, political, and economic resources without question.

Yet the style of whiteness is more than a line; it is also a certain angle. Or perhaps more accurately, whiteness is both a bodily orientation (existing in the limbs) and a perceptual orientation (ways of sensing the world and, in particular, ways of looking). If the former concerns how bodies position and extend themselves in space through lines, the latter concerns what appears (what can make itself present) within a certain angle of sensing. While there has been much scholarship on the heteronormative whiteness of the gaze, what I would like to focus on here is the recent phenomenological description of racialized viewing by Al-Saji (2014). Al-Saji argues that whiteness as gaze transforms relational differences into oppositional and hierarchical differences. This happens in the split second of perceptual grasping before the mind has a chance to reflect on the implicit politics of such stylization. The result is a totalizing, hierarchically ordered, and rigidified angle of looking that shuts down the openness, receptivity, and dynamic qualities of perception. The unlimited feeling of "I can" that accompanies the gaze of whiteness is predicated on a fundamental "I cannot" see otherwise than the hierarchies that the gaze dictates. In other words, the assumed total access of the white, male gaze to the world must disavow its inability to see outside or beyond the hierarchies it constitutes. The gaze is therefore (a) operating at a speed which is faster than thought can either intentionally control or apprehend, (b) producing a totalizing effect, which (c) is indicative of a sense of control and superiority ("I can" without limitations).

Fielding (2006) draws an even tighter connection between whiteness, masculinity, and the gaze. Instead of locating racism within the mind's eye (beliefs/ideologies), Fielding turns toward Merleau-Ponty's analysis of color and

lighting defining a phenomenal field. Colored lighting affects an entire perceptual scene, ceasing to become a color at all and more like an invisible atmosphere. Such lighting sets a certain level or horizon that maintains certain relations between objects and orients our bodies in certain directions and not others. Think of a spotlight that fixes all attention on a stage through a predetermined angle. What Fielding wants to point out is that this analysis of lighting as it affects the schematic experience of the body is directly connected to the experience of race, wherein whiteness sets a kind of perceptual level or horizon that organizes a field of visibility and meaning. The apparent neutrality of lighting is actually an implicit whiteness affecting how others appear within a system of relations of inclusion and exclusion. Stated differently, white light is an orientation around whiteness (as a background level) which enables an orientation toward certain things and people. Summarizing, Fielding (2006) writes, “Merely focusing only on how racism is perpetuated through representation and signification will not lead us to inquire into the ontological foundations that dictate how things and people appear according to a racist and sexist lighting level” (p. 79). Racism is a perceptual orientation, a certain stylistic accent that exists within the phenomenal coupling between body and world “cast[ing] rays of illumination and shift[ing] the ways that things and people appear within a field of relations” (p. 80)—rays that are all the more powerful because they remain invisible to the very look which they make possible.

A phenomenology of whiteness as style means that we have to take seriously the ways in which the body is oriented and the ways in which perception is discriminatory on a pre-conscious level. And this produces a unique educational problem. Can we interrupt the corporeal geometry of lines and angles that compose the style of whiteness? Ahmed’s work concentrates on moments of disorientation that both suspend the straight lines of whiteness and open up alternatives. For her, disorientation means the “becoming oblique of the world” or the “strangeness of familiar objects” (Ahmed, 2006, p. 162). Moments of disorientation happen when the coupling of body and world breaks down or where the immediate fusion of meaning and action is suddenly rerouted or redirected toward another possibility. In other words, the style of a way of being breaks down, suddenly feeling artificial, strange, or uncanny. Perhaps one could argue that disorientation is a kind of *stumble off-line*. For Ahmed, moments of disoriented stumbling signal the possibility of “queer” politics as the introduction of something new into the world that is in the world but not necessarily of it. For her, disorientation is not simply negative but is also positive. It “gives what is given [the world] its new angle” (p. 162).

As opposed to the velocity and closure of the heteronormative whiteness of the gaze, Al-Saji proposes a *hesitant angle* of looking. To hesitate means that one’s gaze is tentative, incomplete, unsure of itself. The “denaturalizing effect” of hesitation is, for Al-Saji (2014), “not only the suspension of its [the gaze’s] immediacy, but also a changing of its directionality [orientation]” (p. 148) toward relational differences. Simply stated, a hesitant style of perception

“acknowledges its blind spots” (p. 153) and as such remains open to and receptive of dynamic becoming and difference. In sum, the challenge is as follows: What kind of education can render inoperative the style of whiteness through phenomenological disorientations and hesitations?

Interestingly, Merleau-Ponty gestures toward art as perhaps the best way to open up new lines and angles. Art concerns bodily orientation and perceptual activation rather than mental reflection (meaning thematic or propositional thought), and because of this, it offers an education of the senses, a redistribution of what can be sensed. In other words, art offers the possible experience of the phenomenological breakdown of style, enabling orientations around whiteness to emerge as a concern. As Merleau-Ponty (2012) points out, when one is introduced to new colors (and, I would add, patterns within a visual field), one experiences “a new use of one’s own body” that “reorganize[s] the body schema” (p. 155). Although Merleau-Ponty is explicitly discussing color in the abstract, it is interesting to think of color here as racialization. When one is exposed to new colors, one’s body is disorganized and thus could *potentially* fall off-line.³ Indeed, it is my contention that aesthetic education can induce certain forms of stumbling off-line and perceptual hesitation which are necessary for any educational project interested in suspending the discriminatory geometry of whiteness.

In what follows, I provide a detailed phenomenological description of one such educational moment from my own life: the confrontation between my white, male body and Kara Walker’s provocative art installation *Darkytown Rebellion* (2001). What is most unique about Walker’s artwork is its simultaneous juxtaposition of beauty and repulsion, racial stereotypes and racial ambiguity, delicacy and brutality, pleasure and pain, classically elegant cut-paper silhouettes, eighteenth century physiognomy, and postmodern kitsch. The narrative dimensions of her large-scale murals offer jarring combinations of horror, romance, fable, and political satire. As a Black, female artist Walker has a complex relationship with much of the iconography which she employs. While some might argue that her work is politically suspect because of its ambiguous use of stereotypes, it is precisely this ambiguity that has a certain pedagogical power to disrupt the style of white, maleness which bodies like mine bring with them into a gallery space. In what follows, I will focus on my own perceptual double takes—my own stumbles and hesitations around Walker’s work. For me, experiencing Walker’s installations in a multiracial gallery space provides an opportunity to reflect on the whiteness and heteronormativity of my own bodily geometry—thus highlighting a tendency to misrecognize seamless integration between sensorimotor skills, intentions, and worldly affordances as neutral rather than as highly problematic privileges of the few.

³Granted that throughout art history, most of the Western canon has had the opposite effect, merely functioning to extend lines of whiteness and rigidify the angle of its gaze.

A QUEER STYLE: THE CASE OF KARA WALKER

Darkytown Rebellion (2001) is an installation that ostensibly represents a slave rebellion. On the first glance, the parade is a celebratory event with figures striding forward carrying flags of liberation. The silhouettes are, on the surface, beautiful, delicate, lyrical, playful, and pleasurable. Yet as my eye is drawn in by the image, moving forward to gain access to the intricate details of form and narrative content, something shocking happens, and ambiguity sets in. For instance, to the right side of the composition a woman sweeps where a baby's legs appear, suggesting a black woman aborting her child so as not to give her master another possession or, perhaps a white woman disposing the evidence of her husband's affair with a slave. The scene is racially charged but, for me, in a pensive, indeterminate way. Here, I would like to cite Kymberly N. Pinder's (2008) observation of the effects of such violent and racially pensive works on a multiracial audience:

How is a white male supposed to react to these texts when standing next to a black woman, and vice versa? At the Walker, I [Pinder] observed middle-aged black women tsk-tsking and nodding to one another alternately with disapproval and agreement. White men and women of various ages often smiled tensely and looked at the floor when an African American entered the space. A number of black visitors with whom I spoke in Minneapolis and New York said that they felt most uncomfortable looking at the work in the presence of whites. (p. 644)

I can testify to the accuracy of this description, as I too have been part of such a scene. The indeterminacy of the images coupled with a multiracial audience in a museum space evokes shifts in perceptual orientations, inducing perceptual unease. For white audiences (myself included), a disturbance in otherwise unfettered viewing is a lesson in the politics of interruption, of stumbling around in a racially uncomfortable gallery space. Where there was once unaccounted for and unproblematic access to the formal pleasure of Walker's techniques there is now disorientation, discomfort, and uncertainty. Such embodied reactions are themselves the particular traces of privilege now surfacing as strange and unfamiliar in the foreground of my experience. The background, peripheral context (who is looking, who is listening, who is standing close by) is thrust into the perceptual foreground. The "neutral" space of the gallery becomes a contested space of looking toward and looking away, of recalibrating distances, tone of voice, facial gestures, and so forth. Indeed, *my perceptual grip on the image could no longer be immune from its own racial context*. For those viewers racially identified as white, this means changing the orientation of the eyes and the body and how the two comport themselves toward the work and other viewers in the space. A series of awkward stumbles ensue: smiling tensely, whispering comments, coughing, and averting eye-to-eye contact with black patrons who might not approve, who might judge, who might point me toward my whiteness. Through such stumbles, I had to indirectly confront a racialized network of potentially conflicting orientation lines and angles of viewing in the gallery.

For instance, to get a better look at the rebellion, I walked forward, pulled by the graphic details of the image which demanded a certain proximity. But as I approached, I literally entered the frame of the image, stepping into the colored light projected onto the wall. Once in the image, my shadow became part of the cast of characters. For me, this experience was disarming. My white, male body as a silhouette became a living addition to the narrative—oppressor, oppressed, or something else, something unimaginable yet made present inside the frame? The sensation of uncomfotability was further strengthened by the fact that I suddenly found myself virtually standing in the pool of red light that seems to drain from the body of the murdered child at the heart of the image. The enveloping perceptual field that emerged through this interaction was a powerful indictment of the pleasures of looking afforded to a white, educated, male body that took for granted the voyeuristic access the gaze offered. Stepping into the glare of the projected light seemed to throw off the distance afforded to the white, male gaze.

From this new angle *inside* the spotlight, I became objectified, projected, *projectified* (thrown into a complex situation that implicated me, interrogated me, and demanded my responsibility for crimes/desires which I could not even fathom). The challenge posed by the image was a challenge to fundamentally alter the angle through which I view the world—it challenged me to question what kinds of perceptual availability had been granted to me and why. In this sense, the work made the invisible light of the gaze part of a perceptual field. The taken-for-granted stylistics of viewing folded back upon themselves, becoming strange, disorienting in their very familiarity. Turning back to Ahmed (2006), I would argue that Walker offers an unsettlingly “queer angle” (p. 169) through which I could view my whiteness being viewed.

Walker’s art draws white eyes closer through the seduction of beautifully crafted silhouettes, while disrupting any quick and easy perceptual pleasure through the brutality of the content. For white viewers who come to the images with a certain style that has been granted to them by virtue of their whiteness, one becomes hyper-sensitive to the act of seeing, of bodily comportment, of a perceptual field predicated on white privilege that preconditions any perceptual stylized access to the world. The racial politics of the gaze of whiteness, as Pinder’s observations remind us, becomes uncertain, losing its mastery and voyeuristic safe distance/self-certainty. The perceptual pedagogy of Walker’s art rests on turning perception back on its own phenomenological preconditions (the gaze) through a shadow play of forms that turn around the unseen history of perception, thus breaking down the boundaries that immunize self from confronting its own historical positionality. Whites see their own seeing—perception becomes a social and embodied point of disorientation rather than a neutral, immediate, and decontextualized given. And this shift in what has been made present/accessible to the eye embodies the particular queer politics of the perceptual pedagogy of Walker’s work.

The shadow play in Walker's work is precisely this space of blurring and unhooking of boundaries separating bodies, images, and styles. Yet before we can appreciate this point in full, the shadow itself needs further phenomenological elaboration. Here Merleau-Ponty can provide a useful starting point. Merleau-Ponty (1993) writes that one way in which the perceptual pedagogy of the arts "educates" the eye is by "giv[ing] visible existence to what profane vision believes to be invisible" (p. 126). In this sense the invisible is within the visible, yet in everyday perception, it remains transparent. As an example of the invisibility within the visible, Merleau-Ponty offers the shadow. "Everyone," he writes:

with eyes has at some time or other witnessed this play of shadows, or something like it, and has been made by it to see things and a space. But it worked in them without them; it hid them to make the object visible. To see the object, it was necessary *not* to see the play of shadows and light around it. (p. 128)

In Rembrandt's paintings, the role of shadows in constituting objects is thrust into relief through chiaroscuro. The shadowy background is thrust into the foreground, the invisible becomes visible, and the effect is a rather startling re-orientation of the eye toward the constitutive yet forgotten dimension of perception. Pushing Merleau-Ponty's analysis further, I would argue that the *human* shadow has particular existential importance. Under normal illumination, the shadow of the body is largely unobserved. It is properly situated in the background of our everyday experience and thus does not constitute a noticeable dimension in our experience of ourselves as embodied actors. Yet under modified conditions, the shadow can grow or shrink, becoming increasingly distorted or monstrous. Such lighting can cause a momentary phenomenological breakdown of the taken-for-granted relation between self and shadow, producing shock. Indeed, our own shadow can even frighten us. Certain lighting effects produce a shadow that is uncanny. If the shadow in its average and everyday existence was not intuitively connected with the body's own integral sense of self, then there would be nothing horrifying in moments of uncanny breakdown where the shadow appears as other.

This brings us back to Walker's work and how it disorients the white, male body's average, everyday relation to its shadow. When cast upon the wall, the shadow's *intimate otherness* is thrown into relief. The shadow becomes a character that the viewer does not immediately recognize as familiar. The intimacy between shadow and body becomes a kind of extimacy where the white, male body simultaneously recognizes and misrecognizes the self's shadow as it partakes in desirous, murderous, violent, sexually scandalous dramas that unfold across Walker's compositions. To whom does that shadow belong? And by extension: Are those actions indeed my own? What am I responsible for, what acts am I complacent with if they are results of my shadow rather than "me"?

The neutral lighting of the gaze now has to take into account its own "shadowy" past—a past which is both self and other, intimate and extimate—that is fully traversed by perverse desires and illicit transgressions. Is the white audience

now simply the shadow of its own shadow? A shadow of its own dark shadow cast upon history? The taken-for-granted transparency between the self and its shadow is repartitioned through a perceptual shift in the gaze that must now focus on its own invisible supplement (the shadow). A new relation between foreground and background constitutes a new stylization of vision demanding an alternative sensorimotor response that does not yet have a name, that is hesitant and unsure, but is irrevocably linked to a heightened sense of bodily comportment toward the shadows which otherwise would pass unnoticed. In short, the unproblematic link between the style of male whiteness and the shadowy supplement is rendered queer; the otherwise fluid connection between body, lighting, and projected image is given over to new configurations. This new configuration is not merely a seeing of what was previously unseen. Rather, letting the unseen (the invisible) into the perceptual field queers the field itself.

The extimacy between self and shadow is also accompanied by a merging of shadows as they move across Walker's cutouts. That which was a static image produced by the artist's hand becomes cinematic, that which was fixed becomes dynamic, and that which seemed to be a recollection of the past (imagined, dreamed, or otherwise) becomes part of the present moment. When the audience crowds together, shadows linger and conjoin to the point where spectators cannot tell black from white, self from other, "mine" from "yours." The audience members become linked, divided, repartitioned through the indetermination of this shadow play. Thus, solitary viewing becomes relational "acting" through the movement across a lighted screen that is now transformed into a stage. Such acting is no longer vertically hierarchical so much as horizontally open. The strange yet familiar shadows engage in a kind of virtual miscegenation that bring bodies into relations—even as those very same bodies remain isolated and atomized within the gallery or museum space. It is as if the shadows cross the very racial lines which sensorimotor stylizations habitually refuse to cross. Thus another invisible dimension of the perceptual field is thrown into stark relief: our always already being-with-others in a world. What kind of being-with-others is proposed here? How does it fundamentally problematize the myth of the (white, male) detached voyeur? How are we supposed to be-with strangers, others—those who are separated from us by race, class, and gender differences? The shadow play does not answer these questions but forces the issue.

The resulting queer disorientations and oblique angles of viewing should not be seen as deprivations (loss of order to be lamented). Concerning the possibilities opened by disorientations, Ahmed (2006) writes: "such a deprivation would not be livable simply as loss but as the potential for new lines, or for new lines to gather as expressions that we not yet know how to read. Queer gatherings are lines that gather...to form new patterns and new ways of making sense" (p. 171). This means that perceptual disorientation is not only a failure to align with the lines offered by the world but also presents the "possibility for another way of dwelling" (p. 178). A new geometry of *diagonal* lines and *oblique* angles opens up alternative styles of being white and male while

suspending the most discriminatory aspects of such a geometry. Whiteness as privilege—or a whiteness that no longer effortlessly controls, hierarchies, and has immediate access to the world—is rendered inoperative.

As Al-Saji (2014) might argue, my gaze shifts from the rigidity, violence, and purported wholeness of whiteness to a more open yet hesitant gaze that is unsure of its proper place in the world, doubtful of its own internal logic. Here privilege is not immediately granted and received but is something problematic—becoming a kind of uncomfortable irritant. Hesitation for Al-Saji is precisely a moment of delay where the unfettered access to the world offered up to the white, male body does not rush toward fulfillment of its inheritance but rather stumbles over itself and as such opens up to new possible orientations beyond racist stylization. As a white, male audience member, I am left with pensive questions that fundamentally call into question how “progressive” I think I am, how “divested” of racial imagery I have become, and how “enlightened” my own stylized access to the world is, how “pure” my desires are for naked, black bodies, and how “in control” I am of my gestures, postures, and comportments. In short, stumbling around and hesitant looking become new accents of a style yet to come.

ART EDUCATION: A LESSON IN STYLE

It might seem like a flippant remark to suggest that anti-oppressive art education should first and foremost be about style. But as I have argued throughout this chapter, style cuts to the very heart of how we live in a world, who we are, and what kinds of relationality are possible. Critical art educators, such as David Darts (2006), might very well view style as an out-of-touch formalist problematic, which, at best, is of secondary importance or, at worst, is an outright obstacle to promoting art activism. On this view, stylistic concerns found in more conservative notions of critique take emphasis away from pressing social and political inequalities that should be the focus of anti-racist, anti-discriminatory pedagogies. Yet the marginalization (or exclusion) of aesthetic questions by certain critical art educators creates a false division between aesthetics and politics and, as Paul Duncum (2002) argues, ends up throwing the baby out with the bathwater. When aesthetic categories such as style are marginalized, then what is *irreplaceable* about art education in anti-oppressive projects is lost. Because whiteness and maleness are geometric styles, aesthetic questions are intrinsically political and political questions are inherently aesthetic. As such, the vocabularies and processes developed inside of art education for thinking through questions of style can and should be recouped as essential for developing an anti-discriminatory practice that can suspend whiteness and maleness on the pre-conceptual, pre-thematic level of sensorial stylistics.

Art education, as John Baldacchino (2015) argues, is not so much about learning a new style as it is *unlearning* old stylizations. And in this unlearning, art education can offer up a fragile and seemingly useless gift: stumbling around and hesitant looking. These gifts seem to stand in stark distinction to more or

less romantic and heroic notions of art education that call for social activism (see Anderson, Gussak, Hallmark, & Paul, 2010). While unlearning habituated stylizations is important for all students (for different reasons), I would suggest that for white, male pre-service art educators (interested in teaching in predominantly minority schools), moments of prolonged stumbling around and hesitant looking are urgent and necessary for disorienting embodied geometries of discrimination that might very well take root in even the most progressive forms of anti-discriminatory art pedagogy. To hesitate and to stumble, these are strange actions that do not speak to *activist* interventions or to the positive emotions that we want to attribute to liberation through art making, teaching, and viewing. Instead of finding one's voice or expressing one's authentic self or building collaborative projects that celebrate similarities and differences (as is sometimes the case in social justice art education), we find a much more pensive and puzzling art education that emphasizes uncanny moments of embodied suspension, phenomenological disorientation, and encounters with the shadowy stylistics of privilege that live within pre-conscious ways of seeing and lines of movement. While Walker's artwork does not offer its white, male audience easy solutions, political platforms, or soothing consolations, she does offer a moment of queer freedom: the precarious freedom to unlearn and thus open up alternative lines and oblique angles that (even if only for a moment) suspend the immediacy and transparency of privilege, access, and power.

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SECTION III

Lived Practices of Race and Racism
in the Arts: Schools, Communities,
and Other Educational Spaces



Lived Practices of Race and Racism in the Arts: Schools, Communities, and Other Educational Spaces

Michèle Irwin and Amelia M. Kraehe

This section presents boots-on-the-ground, empirical investigations of the arts as white property. The studies take place in local contexts of arts-based teaching and learning. Using a range of qualitative methods, such as narrative inquiry, portraiture, interviews, youth participatory action research, and auto-ethnography, the authors highlight the lived practices of students, teachers, and visual and performing artists. The collective result of the respective inquiries offers what critical race theorist Derrick Bell (1992) calls racial realism or “a hard-eyed view of racism as it is” (p. 378). The view is a multifaceted one that captures racial subordination as it manifests in everyday practices from individual to organizational levels of the arts in education.

To more fully appreciate the social experience of race and substantiate the insidious nature of contemporary racism, Bell (1992) and other critical race theorists argue for empirical methods along with theory (Carbado, 2010; Obasogie, 2013; Quintanilla, 2013). When used in tandem with Critical Race Theory, empiricism is vital in the struggle for racial justice and forging resilient self-concepts to cope with “the ways and means of subordination that, over time, have been normalized as ‘tradition’ and culture” (Culp, Harris, & Valdes, 2003, p. 2442). The authors in this section present empirical research that

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investigates how white supremacy and hegemonic forces play out in what could be considered the tradition and culture of arts classrooms. At the same time, the authors also agree that the arts can be enacted as an agent of change for educational equity and racial justice or as cultural critic and Black feminist bell hooks (1994) declares, “the function of art is to do more than tell it like it is—it’s to imagine what is *possible*” (p. 281).

Insights gleaned from previous empirical studies of the arts in education provide an instructive backdrop for understanding the significance of the research in this section’s chapters. A large-scale US study conducted by the Strategic National Arts Alumni Project (SNAAP, 2013) suggests there is an array of structural inequalities in the arts professions that correspond with race and that block people of color with arts degrees from pursuing careers in the arts at the same rates as Whites. These include a lack of access to career opportunities and a greater school debt burden. Whites also enjoy higher levels of satisfaction and belonging than non-Whites during postsecondary arts education (SNAAP, 2013). This tracks closely with findings from the Urban Arts High Schools project in Canada, where Gaztambide-Fernández and Parekh (2017) examined district- and school-level data and found that specialized arts programming in Toronto’s K-12 public schools was unique in that it functioned as a pipeline that helped secure white privilege and middle-class advantages through greater access and belongingness in arts spaces. These studies begin to paint a picture in which arts education preserves and intensifies social disparities by helping to fuel White racial segregation and economic inequality. This, in turn, sets the conditions for the kinds of choices individuals make about participation in the arts.

Chapters in this section broadly consider visual arts, music, and theater education in K-16 learning environments through rich field observations, interviews, and analyses of racialized practices, artifacts, and settings that constitute present-day enactments of the arts in education. From this thick accounting, two common themes emerged that help answer real-world questions concerning where, why, and how racial subordination endures, and what can be done about it. Some authors consider the limits and opportunities written into the *instructional space* where interactions between students and with teachers occur. Other authors seek to understand how racism is transmitted and point to *visual modes* as defining factors in the obstinacy of white supremacy. Whether from a spatial or visual perspective, all authors ponder what can be done to disrupt whiteness as a defining feature of the arts in education through, among other things, careful pedagogical practices that recruit and represent teachers and students of color.

SPACES OF INTERACTION AND INTERSECTION

The arts are commonly reserved as a space for exploration of the self and the other through symbolic practices and material experimentation. The space of the arts manifests as both ideal and real, a figurative and literal place in which

one may encounter boundaries governed by hegemonic forces. Several authors, including Juliet Hess (Chap. 19), Maria Leake (Chap. 20), Pamela Harris Lawton (Chap. 21), and Samuel Jaye Tanner (Chap. 22), examine the racial boundary-making that happens in local arts classrooms, and they explore the practical implications and possibilities for reshaping them.

In a multiple case study, Hess presents the practice of four elementary school teachers who worked to disrupt dominant paradigms of music education in their classrooms. Hess contends that school music classrooms are spaces where whiteness is privileged through an overattentiveness to a Western classical repertoire and Western European composers. This happens through a curriculum as well as a pedagogy that demands the embodiment of still comportment, relies on musical notation, universalizes aesthetic elements specific to Western composition, and makes limited use of aurality. Participants of non-European musics are relegated to periphractic spaces or “the margins of school music.” In the chapter, Hess offers an explanation of periphractic space as peripheral and marginalized in relation to the spaces that hold power and privilege. Eurocentric music practices and pedagogies push students with musicality and knowledge of world musics to the periphractic space outside of the music classroom where they have less access to resources and power. The teachers and practices Hess engages with in the chapter interrupt the Eurocentric pedagogical practices that relegate students to the margins.

Hess provides a bird’s-eye view of the music classroom as a space where whiteness can be found at its center, with non-White persons relegated to the margins. To this same point, Leake suggests that the deleterious forces within the space can become just and equitable by pulling into the center a plurality of voices, identities, and practices of artists of color. Whereas these two representations of arts spaces underscore student and artist bodies, Lawton gives her attention to the more fundamental problem posed by the relative absence of non-White artists and art educators in K-16 art classrooms. She uses portraiture and narrative analysis to examine her own narrative and those of racialized subjects (teachers and students). Her study reveals institutionalized racist practices and the ways in which they influence the attrition of teachers and students of color in art. Lawton’s study indicates that economic factors, a lack of role models, and the low regard of art and teaching as career options perpetuate whiteness, signaling the need for awareness and targeted intervention.

Tanner seeks to understand the space of the theater classroom as having both oppressive and generative potential. And, indeed, his study offers evidence of both. In a year-long youth participatory action research project centered on the building of a collaborative play, he explores whiteness and race more generally with a group of teens and colleagues in the theater program where he teaches. The process was messy, according to Tanner, but revealed honest and at times emotional responses to whiteness and racism that were afforded by the space of the drama classroom. The writing and performance of the play extended the group’s race conversation beyond the walls of the classroom, into the school community, and the community beyond the school.

VISUAL MODES OF TRANSMISSION

Three authors, Gloria Wilson (Chap. 23), Tingting Windy Wang (Chap. 24), and Hess, share a concern for the images present in artist-teacher practices and lived experiences, and the influence of such images on the cultural transmission of racism. Images and other visual forms of representation hold particular currency in the twenty-first century. People exist within a visual field that is technologically mediated and omnipresent, though many times it recedes from consciousness, becoming less visibly obvious than at other moments when it is noticeable, even spectacular. Visual culture studies and critical race scholar Martin Berger (2005) makes an important observation about the significance of images in a society organized on the premise of white supremacy. He says,

images do not persuade us to internalize racial values embedded within them, so much as they confirm meanings for which the discourses and structures of our society has predisposed us. Instead of selling us on racial systems we do not already own, the visual field powerfully confirms previously internalized beliefs. (p. 1)

In short, images and other visual representations reflect and reinforce our previous cultural schema. They provide both the context and the means by which a person takes in, makes sense of, and reifies the racial ordering of the world. Wilson considers visual culture as a site where racist ideas are promulgated to maintain a social order and the ways in which Black artist-teachers negotiate their identities within that order. Wang suggests that the influence of global mass media has enabled an articulation of white supremacy in art education in China. In a similar manner, Hess contends that whiteness is privileged by the visual mode of transmission inherent in the ensemble paradigm of music education. The three authors agree that the Eurocentric gaze is at the heart of visual culture; that images, therefore, can perpetuate racism; and that an understanding of how the production and reception of visual culture operates is necessary in order to disrupt racist paradigms.

Wilson explores questions of the arts participation identity through an analysis of interviews with three K-12 Black American artist-teachers. The artist-teachers, Wilson has discerned, use “crooked room strategies” in order to densify their participation in a Western art world. The crooked room refers to the distorted representation of the Black body in a hegemonic visual field. This chapter outlines how the artist-teachers maneuver around and assert themselves within the “crooked room” in order to disrupt racialized practices and participate fully in artmaking. By detailing the artmaking practices and participation of the three artist-teachers, Wilson suggests that the historically problematic representations of the Black body in the art world are transmuted through strategies of assimilation, self-determination, or resistance.

Wang, too, considers representations of the body in visual culture. She explores how images of Anglo-European beauty that are idealized in mass media representations are consequently reproduced in the graphic schema of Chinese children. Her study is situated in an urban art program in Changsha, Hunan, China, and suggests that white supremacy is a practice that travels. The children participating in her study preferred to draw human figures with physical features characteristic of popular media images of beautiful and heroic White people rather than in the visual language traditionally used in China to represent Han people. This lies in contrast to Wang's (2012) previous study that suggested a less emphatic influence of Western beauty ideals on the figure drawings of rural children. Wang contends that children in urban China may experience to a much larger extent the imposition of hegemonic Western media images over their otherwise limited range of life experience. The images exert a strong influence on their emergent belief systems. Teachers, too, influence children's graphic development. According to Wang, it is commonplace for children living in urban Chinese cities to receive art instruction in after-school programs where they are more likely to be steeped in Western techniques than traditional Chinese techniques that are taught at school.

Visual modes of representation play a role outside the visual arts as well. We were introduced earlier to Hess's empirical study, but her argument about the visual modes by which whiteness is re-inscribed in music offers another take on the significance of the visual field. Hess points to the Eurocentricity of the Western ensemble paradigm that dominates music education. The paradigm prizes recognition of printed musical notation as a skill for replicating works composed by others. Hess argues that dependence on visual transmission through graphic notation limits the use of aurality and orality in the music classroom, and, by proxy, limits student engagement, enjoyment, agency, and creative application of music in their music education.

CONCLUSION

The authors in this section call for imaginative, justice-driven, and equitable teaching and learning practices that will forge more profitable relationships between students, teachers, and institutions. Although the authors have delimited their own approaches to the problems of white supremacy and racial inequity in and through the arts, the overarching concern among them is about the necessary intercessions at the individual, interpersonal, organizational, and cultural levels. Here we see, again, the emancipatory potential of the arts when understood as creative cultural participation. The authors imply that art products, practices, and education can effect social change by gaining force and momentum at the individual, interpersonal, and organizational levels. Whether the chapters reframe the problem, attend to issues of white self-consciousness, or suggest culturally sensitive and relevant practices, each chooses as its context a layer of the social ecological framework to consider.

The chapters in Section III bring added depth to previous studies of racial influences on the trajectories of participation, belonging, and advancement in the arts education and arts professions (Gaztambide-Fernandez & Parekh, 2017; SNAAP, 2013), by deconstructing local practices of the arts in education and identifying hidden and not-so-hidden racial structures and ideologies. In doing so, they suggest ways in which the arts curricula, teaching, and learning might be reassembled to be less distorted by race. Rather than longing for the transcendent “post-racial” equality that often bolsters inequitable systems to the detriment of those at the bottom of the racial hierarchy (Bell, 1992), the authors instead suggest striving toward policies and practices that do not worsen conditions of subordination. The hope shared by all in this section is that from such striving more egalitarian conceptualizations and configurations of the arts will emerge.

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Musicking Marginalization: Periphractic Practices in Music Education

Juliet Hess

Critical race scholar Cheryl Harris (1995) begins her chapter in the collection *Critical Race Theory: The key writings that formed the movement*¹ with a narrative of her grandmother’s working life in which she “passed” as White to gain access to and privileges associated with the working White world.² Harris uses the story to demonstrate that to have “Whiteness” is to possess something valuable not otherwise available to people of color. School music classes often privilege practices associated with Whiteness. These practices include the requirement of still comportment while listening and performing, the prevalent place of musical notation and Western musical elements, the dominance of Western classical repertoire and Western European composers as the primary curricular material, and the limited use of aurality in school music. Music education historian Ruth Gustafson (2009) cites a 99 percent attrition rate of

¹ A more extensive version of Harris’ chapter in this collection originally appeared in the *Harvard Law Review* (Harris, 1993).

² Consistent with the APA Style manual (American Psychological Association, 2010), I capitalize “White” and “Black” throughout this chapter, except when the words are within a quotation from an external source. Section 3.14 of the APA Manual “Racial and Ethnic Identity” says: “Racial and ethnic groups are designated by proper nouns and are capitalized. Therefore, use *Black* and *White* instead of *black* and *white* (the use of colors to refer to other human groups currently is considered pejorative and should not be used). Unparallel designations (e.g., *African Americans* and *Whites*; *Asian Americans* and *Black*) should be avoided because one group is described by color, while the other group is described by cultural heritage. For modifiers, do not use hyphens in multiword names, even if the names act as unit modifiers (e.g., *Asian American* participants)” (p. 75).

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African American students from school music in the United States and makes a case that music education historically and presently reinscribes Whiteness through curriculum, printed materials such as textbooks, and pedagogy.

Employing Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a theoretical framework, this chapter argues that classroom practices in US music education often relegate participants with non-Eurocentric musical experiences to periphractic space (Goldberg, 1993a) or the margins of school music. Critical race scholar David Theo Goldberg (1993b) defines periphractic space as the circumscription of racialized bodies in terms of location and their limitations in terms of access to power, rights, goods, and services. Urban theorist Mike Davis (2006) notes that “[p]eriphractic space implies dislocation, displacement and division” (p. 47). For some students in music class, this periphractic relegation is the marginal space in the classroom—the students unworthy of attention. However, as the 99 percent attrition rate elucidates (Gustafson, 2009), many African American students in the US elect to leave music, noting that the manner in which these programs devalue their musical abilities and epistemologies pre-determines this so-called choice.

This chapter explores validating specific Western musical practices—still physical comportment in listening and performing music, the use of Western standard notation and musical constructs, and the limited use of aurality—as periphractic practices in music education. After exploring practices that often circumscribe students of color to periphractic space, I suggest possible ruptures—ways that music educators can interrupt the Eurocentric ensemble paradigm to recognize students’ own musical enculturation. I draw examples from a multiple case study of four elementary music teachers in Toronto committed to challenging dominant paradigms of music education.

SITUATING THE CONCEPT OF PERIPHRACTIC SPACE WITHIN CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race scholars Delgado and Stefancic (2001) outline core CRT principles—a critique of liberalism and Eurocentrism, a focus on intersectionality and counternarratives, among other principles. CRT provides a significant critique of power and dominance and serves as a tool to unmask power relations. CRT allows scholars to

understand how a regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America, and, in particular, to examine the relationship between that social structure and professed ideals such as “the rule of law” and “equal protection.” (Crenshaw, Gotanda, Peller, & Thomas, 1995, p. xiii)

CRT works as an analytical tool to deconstruct “oppressive structures and discourses, [reconstruct] human agency, and [construct] equitable and socially just relations of power” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 9). In the ensuing discus-

sion, I situate periphRACTic space at the intersection of three tenets of CRT—the critique of institutional and systemic injustice, the critique of Eurocentrism, and the critique of Whiteness and White supremacy as a dominant ideology.³ For the purposes of this chapter, the critique of Eurocentrism that CRT provides is not descriptive in the case of music education; rather, I draw upon Battiste’s (1998) assertion that European ethnocentrism relies on a theory of diffusionism (Blaut, 1993)

in which knowledge is thought to be diffused from a European center to its periphery. This theory postulates the superiority of Europeans and their descendants over non-Europeans, founded on a false polarity between “civilized” and “savage,” and “center” and “marginalized” peoples. (Battiste, 1998, p. 22)

Battiste further notes that the “universality of Eurocentricity creates a strategy of difference that leads to racism, which allows Europeans and colonialists to assert their privileges while exploiting indigenous people and their knowledge” (p. 22). This European ethnocentrism, she asserts, perpetuates colonization and cognitive imperialism. The critique of the imperialism of Eurocentrism is crucial in the analysis of the dominant paradigm of music education that privileges Eurocentric musics and practices. I use CRT explicitly as a lens to recognize the Whiteness and Eurocentricity present in the institution of school music and the manner in which privileging practices steeped in Whiteness relegates other practices to periphRACTic space. In employing CRT to reveal the Whiteness in three specific school music practices—the expectation of still comportment, the privileging of Western standard notation and Western musical constructs, and a limited “Whitened” version of aurality—I put forward possibilities to disrupt the relegation of certain raced and classed bodies to periphRACTic space through the work of four Toronto music teachers.

PeriphRACTic space is a geographic distinction—the physical circumscription of racialized bodies in terms of location and their limitations in terms of access to power, rights, goods, and services (Goldberg, 1993b). PeriphRACTic spaces are peripheries—marginalized spaces without access to resources enjoyed by the main body politic. They are highly visible; the center is keenly aware of the periphery (Goldberg, 1993b, p. 198). Feminist scholar bell hooks (2000) provides a powerful example of a periphRACTic space—the other side of the tracks. hooks reminds us that

To be in the margin is to be part of the whole but outside the main body. For black Americans living in a small Kentucky town, the railroad tracks were a daily reminder of our marginality. Across those tracks were paved streets, stores we could not enter, restaurants we could not eat in, and people we could not look directly in the face. Across those tracks was a world we could work in as maids, as janitors, as prostitutes, as long as it was in a service capacity. We could enter that

³I note here Mills’ (1997) distinction between Whiteness as a political commitment to sustaining White supremacy and Whiteness as phenotype-genealogy.

world, but we could not live there. We had always to return to the margin, to beyond the tracks, to shacks and abandoned houses on the edge of town. (hooks, 2000, p. xvi)

Beyond the tracks is a periphractic space. The community residing in what hooks calls the “main body” is always already overtly aware of this other space and maintains its borders with hypervigilance. Goldberg further argues:

[t]his notion of periphractic space is relational: it does not require the absolute displacement of persons to or outside city limits, to the literal margins of urban space, but merely their circumscription in terms of location and their limitation in terms of access—to power, to (the realization of) rights, and to goods and services....in short, periphractic space implies dislocation, displacement and division. It has become the primary mode by which the space of racial marginality has been (re)produced. (Goldberg, 1993a, p. 47)

Relationality is crucial in understanding spatial delineations; periphractic spaces are periphractic *in relation* to spaces of privilege, power, and access. Critical race scholar Mona Oikawa’s (2002) work on Japanese internment in Canada, for example, concurs with the relationality of these spaces and argues that periphractic spaces have become “the primary mode by which the space of racial marginality has been articulated and reproduced” (p. 77).

In this chapter, I reconfigure the concept of periphractic space both figuratively and literally to consider what musical practices might push certain students to the margins of music class. In the majority of this discussion, the circumscription is figurative and occurs through the enactment of pedagogical practices. However, recalling the almost 99 percent attrition of African American students from school music programs in the United States (Gustafson, 2009), at times, this periphractic space is actually the space outside school music.

THE ENSEMBLE PARADIGM: DOMINANT PRACTICES IN MUSIC EDUCATION

The Western ensemble paradigm is the dominant paradigm of North American music education (Hess, 2013). It privileges bands, orchestras, and choirs that perform Western classical repertoire over other types of music groups that work with non-classical forms and genres of music-making. Teachers usually control the activities within a Western classical sensibility (Bartel, 2004) often through positioning themselves as conductors of the ensemble. Alternatives to the teacher-as-conductor paradigm sometimes unnerve students accustomed to this model (Lamb, 1996). In schools and ensembles, technique is frequently privileged over musicality (Bartel & Cameron, 2004) and the cognitive over the playful (Kennedy, 2004). Curriculum content is largely a replication of music created by someone else rather than creating or composing original

material (Bartel, 2004)—a model very different than visual or language arts which focus more on creativity and original work. Western standard notation—a complex symbol system used to communicate pitches and rhythms through reading—is often privileged over aural transmission—a process that teaches music through listening and repetition (Brown, 1973), honoring the aural nature of music as a phenomenon.⁴ Furthermore, this paradigm of music education fosters a subject who conforms to such objectives.

These practices comprise the main body politic in the music classroom. Practices and pedagogies beyond these “traditional” approaches are typically relegated to the margin of music class. Both the central and marginal practices and pedagogies are inherently raced and classed. Approaches that conform to the Western ensemble paradigm—the paradigm that privileges bands, orchestras, and choirs to exclusion of other possibilities—are distinctly Eurocentric; repertoire, mode of transmission, emphasis on Western standard notation, and the director-focused classroom are practices associated with White, middle class values. Conversely, practices relegated to periphRACTIC space in the music class typically demonstrate values that do not conform to the raced and classed nature of the dominant paradigm of music education. These practices include movement and dance in response to listening and performing music and privileging aural and learning music by ear (instead of through reading). In this case, the consequences for non-conformity with the Eurocentric paradigm are significant.

NON-CONFORMING BODIES AND PERIPHRACTIC SPACE IN MUSIC EDUCATION

Whereas students conforming to this narrow band/orchestra/choir ensemble paradigm of music education are validated, other students, often students of color, are relegated to periphRACTIC space. This relegation occurs through validating practices that privilege White Eurocentric epistemologies, while devaluing skills typically associated with Black musicianship such as improvisation, oral tradition, and movement. I draw on three examples to demonstrate how some institutions place value on certain practices typically associated with Eurocentric notions of music, while relegating other practices to periphRACTIC space. I examine ideas of the required still comportment in listening and performing music, the value placed on Western standard notation and Western constructs of music, and “acceptable” forms of aural/oral learning that occur in the dominant paradigm of music education.

Comportment

Comportment constituted as bodily stillness is significant in considering the raced aspects of music education practices. Gustafson’s (2009) historical study explores the history of music instruction in the United States through detailed

⁴I elaborate upon these ideas later in this chapter.

examination of textbooks employed in the classroom. Beginning with songbooks used in the 1830s, Gustafson reveals the ways in which the lyrics and accompanying illustrations sought to produce the “civilized” singing subject—the White subject. Bucolic, pastoral, and patriotic lyrics taught students in the mid-1800s to behave “appropriately”—to work hard in school, be physically active, but not too physically active, and to mind their elders. Teachers, Gustafson argues, associated too much physical movement with sexual activity and deemed it inappropriate. When vocal music instruction shifted to music appreciation in the 1890s,⁵ music educators cultivated a specific type of music listener. Dominant music appreciation practices discouraged a physical response to music. Instead, educators stressed a consciousness of musical structure. An ideal listener “paid attention to rhythmic detail but made no indication of it” (Gustafson, 2009, p. 153).

The Western Eurocentric ensemble paradigm valorizes stillness in music participation. Teachers often encourage students to be rhythmically precise without outwardly marking such precision. When movement occurs in music class, it is often in younger grades in general music. Orff Schulwerk and Dalcroze Eurhythmics methods both center movement in their respective approaches. However, while these approaches consider the child holistically (Dolloff, 1993; Young, 1992), movement parameters are often prescribed. Music education scholar Susan Young’s (1992) argument for the place of movement in music education points to its absence in typical pedagogy.

Practices outside the Eurocentric ensemble paradigm often demonstrate intrinsic links to movement; movement is a fundamental aspect of music. In Ewe music from Ghana, for example, drumming, dance, and song are completely integrated; they actually share a word in the Ewe language (*vu*). Ghanaian drum and dance scholars David Locke and Godwin Agbeli (1992) translate *vu* as “Drum”—a term referring to items in the repertory (p. 12). Performing a *Drum* “integrates the arts of drumming, singing, dancing, poetry, drama, costuming, and sculpture. A Drum is simultaneously aesthetic and utilitarian; not only is it a manifestation of beauty, mastery, and creativity but...it also fulfills a social purpose” (p. 12). Similarly, music education scholar Minette Mans (2000) points to *ngoma*—a southern African term that “summarizes the holistic connections between music, dance, other arts, society and life force”—as a philosophical departure point from Western frameworks of understanding music and music education. *Ngoma* is holistic and encourages total involvement in the musical happening (Mans, 2000). These examples can also be found in musics outside of the Western classical paradigm. Dance and movement intrinsically connect to listening, performing, and participation practices in Western popular music and many musics of the world. Embodied practices are perhaps more prevalent than practices requiring still comportment.

⁵ See Chap. 6 for detail on this pedagogical shift.

The connection between music and movement resides in practices outside of Western classical music. Movement has no particular place in the Eurocentric ensemble paradigm.⁶ Political scientist Mark Tunick (1992) points to the orchestra or chamber group as an example of a discipline functioning well, and yet he recounts the necessity of participants to “count strictly, under the gaze of each other or of the conductor” (p. 32) and wonders whether such an ensemble is evidence of the urge to control the body.

Gustafson (2009) makes the explicit link between still comportment and Whiteness; the White subject fostered through specific musical practices does not overtly demonstrate a physical response to music (Gustafson, 2009). In the majority of the world’s musics, however, movement connects intrinsically to what each music is about. Imposing Eurocentric classical restrictions on physical responses to music invalidates the musical responses of a significant population of students. When music class is synonymous with the Western classical ensemble, students embedded in musical traditions beyond this conception of music do not necessarily find their physical responses to music welcomed in that context. Bodies that do not conform to such precise discipline become outliers in such music programs, relegated to periphRACTIC space in which teachers do not validate, or worse, disapprove of students’ responses to music that emerge from their own identities and experiences.

Emphasis on Western Standard Notation and Elements of Music

In music education, Western standard notation and Western conceptions of the elements of music dominate the discourse, curriculum, and pedagogy. Notation is privileged as the primary transmission practice—a visual symbolic system representing an aural phenomenon. Fred Seddon (2004), music education scholar, argues that while educators are expanding music curricula to be more inclusive, learning by ear, improvisation, and composition were previously not considered valuable skills in music education. Music education critical race scholar Lise Vaugeois (2009) contends that privileging written transmission in schools is classed and raced. She points to notation as a systemic barrier in music education, noting “[a]nother systemic means of ranking and excluding are programs that focus exclusively on notation-based ensemble programs. The curricular significance of literacy versus orality is strongly rooted in class and race divisions” (p. 17).

Within classical music, learning music aurally typically occurs as an early practice in methods such as the Suzuki approach to string education (Suzuki, 2012) that one moves through toward a notation-based approach. Aurality also takes place through “performance practice”—a term that refers to “techniques that are implied, and not written or notated” (Cole & Schwartz,

⁶See Garnett (2005) and Hess (2012) for Foucaultian discussions of the physical discipline of participation in choral music.

2016a).⁷ Often historically based, transmission of performance practices typically occurs from teacher to student. While aurality within classical music often takes place solely in these capacities, outside of Western classical music, learning music aurally is prevalent. Patricia Shehan (1987), music education scholar and ethnomusicologist, defines orality. Shehan employs the word “orality” to describe techniques involved with participating in musics that draw on oral tradition, often through the means she describes below.⁸ I combine notions of orality and oral tradition with aurality to emphasize the role of the ear in oral tradition learning. Shehan notes that orality includes

the following interrelated forms: immediate imitation of teacher demonstration by the student, mnemonic systems of pitch and rhythm, vocalization or recitation of pitches and rhythms, and memorization of phrases and formulaic passages. (p. 2)

Missing in this definition is the informal aspect of orality—learning through participation rather than explicit instruction. This type of orality/aurality is an inherent part of many musical learning practices globally. Shehan constructs her definition through the observation of Thai, Japanese, and Indian musics that combine written and aural traditions. Other music scholars examine a range of musical practices that draw on orality/aurality (Booth, 1987; Brown, 1973; Green, 2001; Holmes, 1990; Prouty, 2006). As jazz musician and scholar Marion Brown (1973) contends, “the most outstanding difference between Western and non-Western societies is the role that the eye plays in the former and the role of the ear in the latter” (p. 15).

Written transmission, unlike oral transmission, involves a symbolic system that represents sounds. It requires a translation process whereby the performer must decode symbols and translate them into sound through the medium of an instrument. Oral transmission, conversely, often eliminates the necessity for translation. Given the prevalence of aurality in musical practices outside of Western classical music, the necessity for translation and the “code” to do so poses a barrier to access by excluding individuals often along classed and raced lines. Navigating notation often requires private lessons alongside school instruction. Julia Koza (2008) points powerfully to the Whiteness inherent in auditioning for a music education program noting that students auditioning for music programs require years of private lessons in White Western European musics. A postsecondary music program, for example, will not accept an aspiring Gospel singer with 15 years of experience singing at a local church unless that singer can also demonstrate mastery of Western classical styles and notation.

⁷The dictionary entry continues: “Some examples [of performance practice] would include the technique of using vibrato in some forms of jazz. Although not always notated, certain styles of jazz expect the use of vibrato. Ornamentation has changed throughout the years and the interpretation of most of the common ornaments need to be performed in the style appropriate to the era” (Cole & Schwartz, 2016a).

⁸See Booth (1986) to further explore the practices of oral tradition in music.

Centering Western standard notation in this way and privileging it as the primary mode of transmission for music valorizes the classical Eurocentric model of participating in music. CRT allows us to recognize the Eurocentricity and Whiteness inherent in privileging visual modes of transmission over aural approaches. In identifying the manner in which music education places Western standard notation at the top of the hierarchy of transmission practices, CRT facilitates the recognition of the students who this practice pushes to periphRACTIC space, delimiting their ability to participate in the “main body politic” of music class because their music education does not validate their transmission approaches.

In a past research project, I interviewed nine students in the Ghanaian drum and dance ensemble I directed at a Canadian elementary school (Hess, 2009). I asked students about transmission preferences and the degree of comfort with oral and written practices. All nine participants read music relatively fluently and played band instruments in the school instrumental program. A few students also studied piano privately. Despite familiarity with notation, students overwhelmingly preferred learning orally/aurally to learning through notation. They found oral transmission easier and more enjoyable because it was interactive (Hess, 2009). The student population was racially and socio-economically diverse. Predominantly comprised of students of color, significant populations at the school included students with South Asian, Southeast Asian, and East Asian heritage; Black students with roots in several countries in Africa and the Caribbean; and White students predominantly of Eastern European or Italian descent. The majority of students spoke at least one language other than English, and many students were multilingual. At the time, the district school board identified the school as a “performance plus” school—a designation indicating significant socioeconomic need in the local population and the school board commitment to provide extra resources.⁹ The school also ran a “gifted” program that brought students in by bus from other neighborhoods. These students typically came from middle class homes. Students preferred oral/aural transmission, yet the instrumental program at the school placed greater emphasis on notational literacy. Aural transmission was often a cocurricular activity. Students more comfortable with learning music aurally did not find their approach to learning accommodated in the mandated instrumental program. They literally found their learning validated in the space outside the formal school music program.

Similarly, aspects of music within the ensemble paradigm are characterized according to the Western “elements” of music including melody, harmony, rhythm, timbre, texture, dynamics, form, and so on. While these “elements” of music are not universally applicable, it is common to see these elements employed as sites of analysis for musics outside the ensemble paradigm. Within ethnomusicology, for example, D. A. Masolo (2000), a specialist in African

⁹See <http://www.yrdsb.ca/AboutUs/DirectorsAnnualReport/Pages/Performance-Plus.aspx> for more information on this designation.

philosophy, contends that non-Western arts and musics are judged by Western criteria. In the classroom, Seddon (2004) concurs that when Western classical teachers broaden their classroom repertoire, they often do so through a Western classical framework (p. 212). Music education scholar June Countryman (2009) specifically targets the elements of music and wonders if it may be possible to consider music through more universal constructs such as repetition/contrast or tension/release (p. 32). While I respect this attempt, I am wary of notions of universality. Given the diversity of the genres that comprise all of the musics of the world, the possibility of identifying a construct that truly applies to *all* musics seems unlikely. Tension/release, for example, does not apply universally. While tension/release often applies to classical music¹⁰ and to popular styles that build toward a modulation two-thirds of the way through the song,¹¹ many musics do not employ tension as a construct. Ewe polyrhythmic drumming (Locke, 1987; Locke & Agbeli, 1992), for example, does not necessarily build in tension. Rather, drummers typically maintain constant intensity throughout. Although this construct of tension/release may be applicable to more musics than Western notions of dynamics (volume), it is not universal. Educators might consider ways to instead think specifically about each music introduced through the constructs it presents.

Although elements of music such as melody and rhythm are often applicable, separating music into components is not always culturally accurate, nor is privileging elements that may not apply to certain musics (e.g., dynamics). It is an issue of ethnocentricity—viewing all musics through a Western lens—and relates directly to Battiste’s (1998) likening of European ethnocentricity to cognitive imperialism. Ethnomusicologist Gage Averill (2004) captures this problem beautifully in the title of his article “‘Where’s ‘One?’ Musical Encounters of the Ensemble Kind” about representation in the world music ensemble. I hear this question frequently in the study of Ghanaian music. “One,” in this case, signifies the first beat in a measure in Western musics. Asking “Where’s ‘One?’” presupposes that the music encountered is organized according to the logic of Western (White Eurocentric) musical frameworks and negates the possibility that different musics employ different logics. Privileging Western Eurocentric notions of counting and organization validates a (White) Western system over other means of organizing musics. Students in North American school music classes who encounter non-Western musics for the first time often view them through a Western lens to better understand them. In thinking non-Eurocentric musics on Western European terms, musicians engage in a form of cognitive imperialism (Battiste, 1998) and simultaneously validate Eurocentric means of understanding music as the most significant system for knowing music.

¹⁰ See, for example, the *Sturm und Drang* movement in music that literally communicated “storm and stress” before release (Cole & Schwartz, 2016b).

¹¹ See <http://www.riverfronttimes.com/musicblog/2012/01/30/the-six-best-key-changes-in-pop-music> for a popular culture exploration of this phenomenon in six songs.

Elements such as melody, harmony, rhythm, and form apply to classical and popular Western musics. Because students often enter a music class with a range of musical experiences (Peters, 2004), the constructs they use to understand music may be different from the ethnocentric lens operating in the classroom. Given the institutional power of the Western perspective, students may find their elements of music and musicking practices unrepresented and/or misunderstood in the program, leaving their perspectives on the margin of music class. While these students may be physically present and compliant with class instruction, over time, they may come to recognize that their musicking practices are of little value in school music in comparison to the musical practices of their White, middle class peers engaged in private lessons outside of school. While CRT allows us to recognize and critique the institutional power, Eurocentricity, and ethnocentricity inherent in this practice, students operating through epistemologies that differ from this ethnocentric approach find themselves relegated to periphRACTIC space or the margins of music education.

“Repeat After Me”: A Whitened Aurality

As Shehan’s (1987) definition indicates, aurality in music learning encompasses many facets. Her conception of teaching in this definition assumes a teacher/learner situation over a participatory experience. Over the last 15 years, I have studied Ewe (Ghanaian) music (Locke, 1987; Locke & Agbeli, 1992), Afro-Cuban folkloric drumming and rumba (Fernandez, 2006), and Afro-Peruvian cajón (Feldman, 2006). I learned in a participatory manner—through being in a music setting, observing carefully, and attempting to join in. In drumming practices, I have imitated, engaged in repetitions, improvised in a culturally inappropriate manner and then again in an appropriate manner,¹² taken the lead, followed those who were more knowledgeable, accepted help and corrections when offered, and respected my place in various hierarchies. In singing (noting that singing and drumming are not always distinct practices), I have harmonized, responded, and learned through participation.¹³

This aural learning has challenged me on multiple levels. In my work with Ghanaian (Ewe) music, upon first encounter, I struggled to retain any of the drumming specifics I learned from week to week. What I could retain, I could not place in the greater context of the polyrhythms. It took about six months before I began to think the music on its own terms instead of through the

¹²As I learned to improvise in Ewe music, I knew the expectation was to improvise at certain times. At the beginning, I played improvisations I felt fit into the music. When I did so, I received surprised and disapproving looks from the Ghanaian master drummer with whom I worked. As I continued to study, I came to understand that improvisations, while improvised, occur in the music within set parameters. Once I understood the parameters, I learned to improvise in a way that made sense within the context of the music.

¹³My experience of learning Ghanaian music aligns with Lave and Wenger’s (1991) notion of “legitimate peripheral participation”—a process through which “newcomers become part of a community of practice” (p. 29), becoming full participants in a sociocultural practice.

Western classical framework, which operated until that point as my epistemological framework for understanding all musics. Participation in this music challenged me to begin to operate through a second musical epistemology, which posed a fundamental challenge to my identity. Learning Ewe music also helped me recognize the value of aural transmission practices—a recognition that allowed me to open up my notions of what counts as “musicianship.” It further allowed me to recognize the limitations of the type of aurality typically taken up in school music.

In contrast to this experience of aurality, for schools in the United States and Canada, aural learning often entails learning by rote—a process valorized particularly by various elementary methodologies. Learning by rote, as practiced in elementary methods such as Kodály (Houlahan & Tacka, 2008), focuses on shorter pieces. There is a tacit assumption within these approaches that longer songs are inappropriate to teach by rote. The teacher first gives a sense of the whole song and then breaks it down into smaller sections, usually having students echo the song a line at a time. The teacher then increases the length of the material to be repeated until the students can perform the whole song. In my personal aural learning experience described above, the experience is both student-centered and student-directed. Learning by rote, conversely, is teacher centered, and while it supports some forms of musical development, it provides little possibility for student agency.¹⁴

This type of aural learning fostered in schools is but a narrow “Whitened” conception of the possibilities of aural learning. In a discussion of the revised Bloom’s Taxonomy—a taxonomy that originally categorized cognitive processes from basic to complex through the stages of knowledge, comprehension, application, analysis, synthesis, and evaluation¹⁵—professor of psychology and education Richard Mayer (2002) positions rote learning in contrast to meaningful learning:

When teachers concentrate solely on rote learning, teaching and assessing focus solely on remembering elements or fragments of knowledge, often in isolation from any context. When teachers focus on meaningful learning, however, remembering knowledge is integrated within the larger task of constructing new

¹⁴The top three hits in a Google search on how to teach a song by rote all returned a similar strategy. While the Unitarian Universalist Association (<http://www.uua.org/re/tapestry/resources/music/chapter5/129364.shtml>) suggests extensive context work, the steps on this site and on other sites (<http://www.uua.org/re/tapestry/resources/music/chapter5/129364.shtml>, and <http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=3&ved=0CDEQFjAC&url=http%3A%2F%2Ffaculty.nipissingu.ca%2Fcaroler%2FResources%2FTeaching%2520a%2520Song%2520by%2520Rote%252006.doc&ei=qfuWVcqNHcXm-QGL0p3wBQ&usg=AFQjCNGrI8kfbkLZ9XPRWdb14ZjGgkCoJQ&sig2=D4ehMiEa7fd3VWFVt73oWw&bvm=bv.96952980,d.cWw>) are teacher-centered and provide little opportunity for agency.

¹⁵See <https://cft.vanderbilt.edu/guides-sub-pages/blooms-taxonomy/> for an explanation of Bloom’s original and revised taxonomy.

knowledge of solving new problems. In other words, when meaningful learning is the goal, then remembering becomes a means to an end, rather than the end itself. (Mayer, 2002, p. 228)

The revised taxonomy uses verbs instead of nouns to capture the cognitive processes. These stages include remember, understand, apply, analyze, evaluate, and create.¹⁶ The process described above for teaching by rote focuses on remembering over higher-level cognitive processes. Higher-level processes may be engaged after the song is learned; however, as my experience demonstrates, this type of aural learning does not involve the agency I employed in my learning experiences. Aural learning in North American music classes is often a listen-repeat model as opposed to listening while harmonizing or participating in call-and-response. Gustafson (2009) points to ear training in schools as the focus on reproduction of the score as is¹⁷—a process that fosters little agency.

The methods for classroom use such as the Kodály method and the Orff approach that encourage this type of aural learning emerge from Eurocentric paradigms (Germanic and Hungarian) that privileged Western classical music. Although both approaches encourage the use of folk songs, the creators of both approaches were steeped in Western classical tradition. This narrow version of aural learning is rooted in Eurocentrism and privileges both musics associated with White Eurocentricity or Whiteness versions of folk music from a range of countries. Rather than creating spaces for students to engage in complex aural practices in which they participate outside of school, school music often limits aural practices to “Whiteness” versions, thus stifling student agency and creativity. Students who engage in musical practices outside of school that require agency in aural learning may find it difficult to conform to a version of aural learning that is obedient to the score and portioned out by the teacher section by section. These students may thus find themselves relegated to the periphRACTIC spaces beyond school music education.

These three practices—regulated comportment, notational literacy, and learning by rote—are examples of dominant practices in the White Eurocentric Western ensemble paradigm. School music education since the 1830s, as Gustafson (2009) notes, aimed to cultivate the White subject and reproduce Whiteness as a dominant ideology. The rejection of movement and complex notions of aural learning often associated with racialized communities from normative Western music education reinscribes the dominance of White, Eurocentric practices. The privileging of White Eurocentric and ethnocentric practices in the institution require interruption in order to stop the practice of pushing bodies that respond to music physically, engage in fluid aural musical transmission practices, and operate through different musical epistemologies to the periphRACTIC space beyond school music education.

¹⁶ See <https://cft.vanderbilt.edu/guides-sub-pages/blooms-taxonomy/>

¹⁷ See Chap. 8.

RUPTURING THE DOMINANT PARADIGM: IMPLICATIONS FOR MUSIC EDUCATION

Gustafson points to a 99 percent attrition rate of African American students from school music in the United States. I have taken three of many possible examples—the expectation of still comportment while listening and performing, the emphasis on Western standard notation and elements of music, and the “Whitened” version of aurality—to demonstrate how music programs and teacher pedagogy relegate practices from outside of Western classical music to the margins of music class—practices associated with racialized populations. In this final section, I suggest possible ruptures—ways that music educators can interrupt the Eurocentric band/orchestra/choir ensemble paradigm—so that students’ own musical enculturation is respected in the classroom.

I draw examples from a multiple case study of four elementary music teachers in Toronto committed to challenging dominant paradigms of music education (Hess, 2013).¹⁸ Amanda, Anne, Sarah, and Susan brought a range of musical experiences to their programs and centered social justice work in their teaching. All four teachers were White, middle class, and female. They were schooled in both Western classical music and other musical traditions and committed to anti-racist work. In 2012, I spent between 96 and 112 hours observing in each of their classrooms, following an observation protocol, keeping a journal, and conducting teacher interviews at the beginning, middle, and end of each observation period. The work of these four teachers in the public school system suggests that interruptions to periphractic practices are possible.

Disrupting Still Comportment

While the traditional ensemble paradigm of music education valorizes still comportment, these four teachers routinely disrupted requirements to remain physically still while listening to music. In the time I observed, Amanda’s kindergarten through grade six program traced West African music across the transatlantic passage to its landing points in the Americas. Students studied a range of musics including Brazilian *maculelê* and Cuban *salsa*. Amanda taught at a school of significant privilege. The student population was predominantly White and in middle or upper middle socioeconomic classes. In conceptualizing the unit based on African-influenced musics in the Americas, Amanda struggled with framing the curriculum for the students so that the oppressive history was not lost. Students studied *maculelê* from Bahia, Brazil. *Maculelê* was originally performed with machetes on plantations and operated as a covert way to train enslaved populations to fight while appearing to dance. When Amanda introduced *maculelê*, students learned the context and then learned to dance. They used rhythm sticks instead of machetes, but they engaged physically in the movement and enacted martial arts to music. They participated in an activity in which the appropriate response to hearing music was to move intensely.

¹⁸This section draws on data discussed in Chaps. 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Beyond choreographed movements, students in Amanda's class had opportunities to move expressively. "Freeze dance" was a common last activity in the younger classes—a game that allowed students to choose the song, dance freely in the classroom space, and freeze when the song paused. The song choices were musics the students valued and movements were often free and expressive. Students experimented with different types of dancing and received encouragement from their peers and from Amanda. Physical responses to music were important to this program. By honoring physical movement as a valid response to music, Amanda shifted a practice often relegated to periphRACTIC space into the center of the program. Gustafson (2009) asserts that the requirement of still comportment in response to music is a practice steeped in Whiteness. In making movement a central part of her program, Amanda interrupted Whiteness and shifted what once was on the periphery toward the main body politic. These interruptions occurred with a predominantly White student population, a crucial tenet of Amanda's philosophy that centered the disruption of Whiteness and White privilege.

Decentering Western Standard Notation and Elements of Music

The mandated Ontario Arts Curriculum (2009) strongly emphasizes Western standard notation and elements of music. Rather than center notation, Amanda, Anne, Sarah, and Susan taught primarily through oral transmission. Sometimes oral/aural transmission entailed learning music by rote. At other times, students participated in classroom music, adding their part when they were ready. These teachers had different priorities for their students. Amanda described her classroom focus:

The big thing for me is that kids feel welcome and they feel like this is a place where they're safe to say and do things that in other contexts they're not. I think it will eventually, if not already, lead to creativity. I don't want a rigid music program because I've been there and it doesn't inspire anything except being academically correct. I want ideas to flow ... I want them to hear about stuff, talk about stuff, think about stuff. It's more important to me than knowing what a dotted eighth means. (Hess, 2013, pp. 164–165)

Amanda privileged comfort and critical thinking over notation. Susan also taught in a school of socioeconomic privilege. The kindergarten through grade eight population was predominantly White with a small percentage of students, mostly of color, from a local housing project who lacked the socioeconomic privilege of their classmates. Susan was an experienced teacher who recognized that learning music through notation was one musical behavior within myriad possibilities:

I don't make [notation] the whole focus because there's so many other kinds of musical behaviors which I think are really important as well including composing in whatever way. And I never have kids compose directly from notation. It's

always another way in and then we use notation, sometimes, to record what they've created. And sometimes we don't 'cause that's not always the logical end result. (Hess, 2013, p. 165)

Despite the emphasis on notation in the ensemble paradigm of music education, these four music programs emphasized learning through oral transmission over learning through notation. They valued fostering diverse musical behaviors. This shift in emphasis destabilizes the Eurocentric practice of privileging notation and opens up the possibilities of transmission practices that resonate with the students' own experiences. Normative music education places notation at the center of the program and relegates other transmission practices to periphractic space. Susan and Amanda both made choices that shifted transmission practices that music teachers typically marginalize to the center of the program.

These programs also decentered Western conceptualizations of musical elements. Sarah taught at a kindergarten through grade five school at the other end of the socioeconomic spectrum. The student population was predominantly of East Asian descent. Many students were new to Canada or first- or second-generation Canadians. While I observed, Sarah taught a Javanese Gamelan unit—an area of specialty for Sarah. Gamelan, unlike other musics studied in the program, used a tuning system distinct from the major and minor tonalities of Western music and a technique unlike other techniques employed in class. Unlike many Western musics, Gamelan orients toward the end of the phrase or cycle. A large gong accentuates the end of each phrase. Gamelan is collaborative; the instruments interlock polyrhythmically to create a whole. In Sarah's class, students needed to consider different elements of music to succeed at Gamelan. Concepts of melody and harmony did not match Western constructs and the music did not conform to a Western conceptualization of dynamics and form. Students considered music through a different lens—a hopeful possible goal of music programs. CRT reveals the Eurocentricity and ethnocentricity of viewing all musics through Western classical constructs. Students who draw upon different musical epistemologies often find themselves relegated to periphractic space. Instead Sarah's program centered a range of musical epistemologies and decentered Western classical constructs in the process, disrupting the dominant relationship between center and margin. These programs did not conform to normative agendas of notation-driven programs conceptualized through Western constructs.

Aurality Beyond Learning by Rote

The practices of aurality in these four music programs went far beyond learning music by rote. Anne's kindergarten through grade six school had significant socioeconomic need. The school population was predominantly children of African descent. Some were new immigrants to Canada and others were first- or second-generation Canadians. Afrocentric musics comprised a large part of

Anne's program. In Anne's and Susan's programs in particular, there were times when both teachers encouraged students to "figure it out"—to take a melody or bass line learned aurally and learn how to play it by experimenting. Anne and Susan sometimes scaffolded this process. At other times, students worked to actualize music on an instrument by themselves. One afternoon, Anne taught a melody by rote and let the students "figure it out":

Students are focused on picking out the melody. As they work on the Orff instruments, the melody emerges from a number of instruments over the general din.... Some students help each other. One girl is helping students—showing them how it goes. She takes on a role of responsibility. Anne assists other students. There is confusion about the ending. One girl asks if she can play it on the recorder. Anne says yes. The bass metallophone and bass xylophone play a solid bordun while the metallophones play the melody.¹⁹ Two students play the recorder and then the xylophones play. The two recorder players write down the notes on their sheets. They double check it on their Orff instruments. A number of students try it on recorder at the end of class. At recess, one girl picks it out on the piano. Another goes to the piano and tries to pick out Beethoven's *Für Elise*. One student picks out the melody on the steel pan. (Hess, 2013, p. 167)

Students used many strategies to pick out the melody aurally. Once students "figured out" the melody on one instrument, they quickly applied their learning elsewhere—a cognitive practice that extends far beyond "remembering" on Bloom's Taxonomy (Mayer, 2002).

Another significant aural practice in Anne's program was the manner in which Anne created the possibility for students to go beyond assignment parameters. In a grade one class, Anne created an improvisation activity.

Students are focused on their improvisations for the song. The structure Anne provided was basic; four measures of three quarter notes plus a quarter rest. It's really interesting to hear their individual improvisations. Some fit the prescribed structure. Others are quite musical, but do not meet her expectations. (Hess, 2013, p. 183)

Anne explained that she provided the structure to ensure student success. Anne encouraged students to follow the structure, but she did not insist or label any musical behavior as "wrong." As a result, multiple students did not follow the structure and created patterns with a great deal of complexity. Ultimately, Anne opened up multiple paths to improvisation. In this context, Anne's definition of improvisation did not limit the students but facilitated one possible way to improvise. In these four classrooms, aural practices were valued and extended far beyond learning by rote. Instead, Anne's program brought aural practices that are often marginalized in music class into the center of the program, destabilizing the place of a "Whitened" aurality and honoring the rich aural practices and abilities of the students in her class.

¹⁹ A bordun is an open fifth and is fundamental to the Orff approach (Steen, 1993).

Honoring Physical Responses and Aurality

In the Western Eurocentric band/orchestra/choir ensemble paradigm, practices that center aurality and physical responses to music frequently do not have a place. Instead, these practices often occur on the margins of music class, along with the (often) racialized, classed student population who participate in musics that do not conform to this ensemble standard. Programs that privilege still comportment, Western constructs and notation, and a narrow conception of aurality often relegate bodies which operate using different epistemologies to periphractic space. In these four programs, there were ruptures—disruptions to dominant practices in music education and an honoring of aurality and physical responses to music. These interruptions drew practices that frequently occur only in the margins of music class to the center of the program. In doing so, these teachers validated students' varied responses to music, their diverse epistemologies, and their own practices of aurality, unsettling the Eurocentricity and Whiteness in the dominant paradigm in the process.

CONCLUSION

In reconsidering periphractic space—the circumscription of racialized bodies both in terms of location and in terms of their access to power, rights, goods, and services (Goldberg, 1993b)—something additional becomes important. Within the context of cities, it is significant that we know the locations of these periphractic spaces. Inhabiting a city encompasses an often hyperawareness of such spaces. Applied to music education, this awareness is crucial. Many music educators are keenly aware of the students their programs do not serve—the students relegated to the periphractic spaces or fringes of music class who do not see their musical practices valued in classroom contexts. However, music educators have a responsibility to act—to push back against the injustice of the circumscription and the dominant mode of obedience to the score.

In her work on postsecondary music audition processes, feminist music education scholar Julia Koza (2008) pointed to the manner in which auditions both “listen for” and cultivate a White subject (student) through validating specific practices and repertoire at the expense of other practices and repertoire. After a clear critique of the Whiteness intrinsic to the audition process, she urges postsecondary music educators to continue to listen for Whiteness—not to “fund” it but “to recognize its institutional presence, understand its technologies, and thereby work toward defunding it” (p. 154). Music educators, then, must vigilantly look to the margin to understand both the raced and classed nature of the bodies relegated to this space and the practices that these bodies value as crucial to their musicking. Educators must do so not to “fund” this relegation but in order to “defund” or subvert it. If hypervigilance is a practice associated with periphractic spaces, perhaps that vigilance toward disruption might be employed rather than reinscription of such exclusion.

If musical practices outside of White, Eurocentric musics are not honored in music education programs, educators have the responsibility to disrupt these practices that continue to valorize White Eurocentricity above all else. In the four music programs discussed, teachers worked to value practices associated with a wide range of musics and populations. Educators need not see these ruptures as “alternative” practices. Alternative implies a hierarchy wherein such practices are always already situated as Other. Rather, music educators may be able to create “both/and” music programs—programs that explore both aurality and notational practices and embrace a wide range of musical practices in a manner that is multicentric (Dei, 2003; Hess, 2015). The attrition of African American students from school music in the United States (Gustafson, 2009) is a serious issue in music education—a problem that suggests music education spaces are White spaces. Rupturing such spaces will entail a deep valuing of a broad range of musical practices. Four teachers in Toronto have begun this work. It is a path strewn with possible missteps, but if music educators wish to counter the relegation of certain music students to periphRACTIC space, it is one worth travelling.

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The Politics of Representation: Reconstructing Power and Privilege Through Art

Maria Leake

How do our memories and experiences of the past inform our cultural memories in the present? Growing up, Kehinde Wiley (African American) recalls going to major art museums and wondering why no one portrayed in the art looked like him. As a contemporary artist, Wiley problematizes the politics of representation by replacing white figures from art history with people of color.¹ Carmen Lomas Garza (Mexican American/Chicana²) remembers growing up in South Texas experiencing traumatic civil rights discrimination against Latinos,³ including being punished for speaking Spanish at school. At age 13, Lomas Garza decided to become an artist and create work that celebrates and honors her Chicana heritage, including writing bilingual children's books to counter external attempts to silence her voice.

¹The terms *white* and *black*, in reference to skin color, are used in lower case letters throughout this chapter. The intention is to reflect equitable practices that do not privilege select members of society over others.

²Carmen Lomas Garza self-identifies as a *Chicana*. Planas (2012) says the term “Chicano” was originally used by wealthy Mexican Americans as a derogatory term to describe less wealthy Mexican Americans. During the 1960s civil rights protests, when many students walked out of classes to raise awareness to discriminatory practices from South Texas all the way to California. Activists of Mexican and Latin American descent adopted the term to (re)frame the term to embody their efforts to enact change and awareness. Chicano is masculine, while Chicana is feminine.

³The terms “Latinos/ Latinas” refers to people of Latin American origin or descent. Latino is masculine, while Latina is feminine. *Latinx*, a more recent term, is gender neutral and a non-binary alternative.

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This chapter situates the artistic practices of both artists, Kehinde Wiley and Carmen Lomas Garza, through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) to examine how their efforts to counter elitist and exclusionary practices of the past can serve as exemplars for K-16 educators working to incorporate more democratic and culturally inclusive instructional practices in the present. Possibilities to create instructional spaces, where students “become subjects in the instructional process, not mere objects” (Ladson-Billings, 2014, p. 76) are highlighted to disrupt controlled narratives that too often perpetuate distortions of history.

ENCOUNTERING STEREOTYPES

In 2015, I had the pleasure of working with approximately 700 students enrolled in a predominantly Latinx urban elementary school in Dallas, Texas.⁴ As a Latina myself, fostering learning connections between the students’ lives and local and global cultural traditions made teaching and learning dynamic and never predictable. A coworker who supported my endeavors gave me a book called *The Kids Multicultural Art Book: Arts and Crafts Experiences from Around the World* (Terzian, 1993) as an educational reference to further connect art activities with international cultural traditions, particularly by recreating ceremonial art.⁵ However, when reviewing the content and suggested activities in the book, I noticed that information regarding cultural traditions of select groups of people like the Plains Indians of North America was perpetuating stereotypes or oversimplifications of entire groups of people, their traditions, and beliefs. For example, the book suggested that in just four simple steps, students could transform a simple brown paper bag into “your own Native American vest with authentic Indian designs” (Terzian, 1993, p. 16). Additionally, when reading the information provided in the “cultural clues” box, readers learn that this is still a style popular and worn by native peoples on their skirts and jackets. The art activities in the book romanticized and objectified cultural artifacts, while omitting information regarding how objects and images may reflect religious or spiritual associations within these specific cultures. Teaching about cultures other than one’s own in ways that reinforce stereotypes and provide misinformation goes against the recommendations of many art educators (Ballengee-Morris & Stuhr, 2001; Ballengee-Morris & Taylor, 2005; Garber, 1995; Kraehe, Acuff, Slivka, & Pfeiler-Wunder, 2015). The book’s suggested activities reminded me of one day at work when about a hundred pre-K students walked past my classroom dressed in so-called Indian costumes that they had made in their class using brown paper bags, face paint,

⁴To view more specific data on this Dallas Independent School District campus, please see http://www.dallasisd.org/cms/lib/TX01001475/Centricity/Shared//SchoolProfiles/SCHOOL_PROFILE_120.pdf

⁵Examples of ceremonial art for students to recreate using common everyday materials as a form of cultural appreciation included the Korhogo Mud Cloth and Wodabbe Mirror Pouch from Africa, Chippewa Dream Catchers and Inuit Finger Masks of the Native Americans, and Japanese Kokeshi Dolls from Asia, to name a few.

and colorful feathered headbands. I wondered, then and now, whether teachers who engage their students in these activities realize they are perpetuating stereotypes and being insensitive to specific tribes and the deep religious meanings that these objects may have. I also wondered how teachers' participation in such activities, as presumably educated role models, influences their students' long-term associations with being culturally sensitive or insensitive. Research by Spanierman, Todd, and Anderson (2009) indicates that there are three primary long-term psychological costs to whites in particular that result from discriminatory practices: white empathy, white guilt, and white fear. White empathy is when sadness or anger results from recognizing racism. White guilt stems from recognizing a privilege or unearned advantage in society. Finally, white fear is recognized when there is an irrational fear of people of color.

There are also long-term effects of marginalization of people of color as understood. Being culturally insensitive, constantly and continually putting down people who are racial minorities, and invalidating their experiences is what psychologist Derald Wing Sue calls *microaggression*. These acts are what Sue calls "covert forms of racism" (Sue as cited in Hampson, 2016, para. 5). For example, encountering microaggressions has been a lifelong reality for Kimberly Johnson Rutledge, a woman of Miami Indian descent. Rutledge (2013) urges educators to reject stereotypes of indigenous peoples, arguing that symbolic meanings and spiritual cultural traditions should not be taken out of context. She offers suggestions regarding instructional resources that are culturally sensitive and socially responsible. Rutledge's ongoing efforts to promote culturally sensitive practices are an enactment of *social justice*. Although Bell and Desai (2011) remind us that there are many ways in which people conceptualize social justice, it should

enable people to develop the critical analytic tools necessary to understand oppression and their own socialization within oppressive systems, and to develop a sense of agency and capacity to interrupt and change oppressive patterns and behaviors in themselves and in the institutions and communities of which they are a part. (Bell, 2007, p. 2)

Adopting a social justice lens prioritizes the personal lived experiences of students and "seeks to dismantle systems of inequality" (Dewhurst, 2011, p. 365), allowing humanity to be more fully understood (Freire, 1970, 1994).

Guiding students to critically question "both how our social world and schooling are created and how, without these closer looks, schools recreate the social injustices of the world" (Garber, 2004, p. 8) is a recommendation that seems relevant in the contemporary classroom. As an educator with 25 years of K-16 teaching experience, I know that I have unintentionally perpetuated stereotypes in the past, and students enrolled in my university classes have shared similar realizations.⁶ However, we now engage in critical readings and discussions about

⁶I have worked with graduate and undergraduate art education students enrolled in the University of Nebraska at Kearney's online program from 2010 to 2013 and 2015 to present.

ideas raised by numerous art educators who address culturally sensitive teaching practices so that we can take affirmative steps to make more well-informed choices in and out of the classroom.⁷

Although there is no singular and prescriptive way to approach social justice in art education, Dewhurst (2011, 2014) recommends pedagogical activities which help students in *connecting*, *questioning*, and *translating* ideas related to social injustices they have experienced. Through the process of unpacking the various social, cultural, and other factors impacting how injustices are reinforced in students' lived experiences, art educators can nurture "the process of translating their ideas into objects or actions that will affect injustice" (Dewhurst, 2011, p. 11). Ballengee-Morris and Stuhr (2001) add that because each of us embodies personal cultural identities that are informed by multiple components such as our age, gender, sexuality, economic status, religious and political associations, geographic locality, and how we classify our ethnicity and race, educators must also be cognizant of how to be respectful of differences. Consequently, it is imperative that as educators, we create an environment where the individual and uniquely situated nature of our students' voices are shared to support students in developing lifelong skills of examining complexities in life from multiple perspectives (Ballengee-Morris & Taylor, 2005). Yet, challenging stereotypes and systems of oppression can be problematic for teachers and students in learning institutions if a framework is not in place to support a diversity of ideas (Cook, 2015; Dewhurst, 2014; Garber, 2004; Kraehe et al., 2015; Tremblay, 2013).

This chapter explores how two contemporary artists, Kehinde Wiley (African American) and Carmen Lomas Garza (Mexican American/Chicana), represent history from their uniquely situated vantage points and, in doing so, counter elitist and exclusionary representations of people of color. Suggestions for creating instructional spaces that can help K-16 students become active creators of art that reflects their own lives are highlighted as opportunities to reframe power and privilege in art education. Putting CRT into practice can help art educators create the conditions that support more equitable educational practices.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY: DISRUPTING THE STATUS QUO

Disrupting oppressive systems that silence select voices and challenge stereotypes are concerns addressed in both social justice theory and CRT. CRT draws attention to the unfair practices of privileging culture and histories of whites while simultaneously silencing the voices of non-whites. CRT problematizes

⁷I have students read and discuss ideas involving sensitive teaching practices that respect the diverse cultural identities of students in our classrooms raised by Acuff (2012), Ballengee-Morris and Stuhr (2001), Ballengee-Morris and Taylor (2005), Desai (2000, 2002), Fey, Shin, Cinquemani, and Marino (2010), Garber (1995), Keifer-Boyd, et al. (2007), Kraehe (2010, 2015), and Lampela (2005), along with others.

the “ways in which structural arrangements inhibit and disadvantage some more than others in our society” (Trevino, Harris, & Wallace, 2008, p. 8). Participation in a dichotomy of relations between whites and non-whites over time reinforces social interactions reflecting racial hierarchy, such as those informing the beliefs of white supremacists. White supremacists believe that whites embody positive attributes like “virtue, intelligence, beauty, sobriety, and creativity” whereas non-whites are associated with “irrationality, dirtiness, vice, ugliness, lasciviousness, and intoxication” (Montoya, 2005, p. 244). Similarly, in countries where colonization has privileged whites over non-whites for decades, contemporary artists of color often face more obstacles to success than their white counterparts (Kader, 2006). Although it continues to evolve, whiteness implies social differentiations from people of color and is situated as the cultural norm (Bonnett, 2005). The concept of whiteness suggests that what is not white is exotic; it is out of place (Roediger, 2001).

Deconstructing hierarchies which continue to privilege whiteness as the cultural norm is addressed by many educators in art education and beyond (Acuff, 2012; Delgado, 1989; Desai, 2009; Hartmann, Gerteis, & Croll, 2009; Jung, 2015; Keifer-Boyd, Amburgy, & Knight, 2007; Knight, 2006; Kraehe, 2015; Kraehe et al., 2015; Lazos Vargas, 2003; Roediger, 2001; Shin, 2011; Solorzano, 1997; Stovall, 2005; Tranby & Hartmann, 2008). Assuming people of color are morally and culturally inferior to whites is an example of using a *cultural deficit lens* to maintain whites in a position of power and privilege (Solorzano, 1997; Solorzano & Yosso, 2001; Spillane, 2015). For example, art educator Sunny Spillane reflects on the ways in which her own whiteness was used against students of color when she began her teaching career in an elementary school. She recalls administrators forcing her into uncomfortable and socially unjust situations like filing reports against her own students.

[T]he normal childhood behavior of my elementary aged students was criminalized through the process of writing endless discipline referrals and police reports and I absolutely believe this unfairly oppressed my students—not just in terms of the power dynamic between my social position as a white teacher and theirs as black students, but as systemic racism. (S. Spillane, personal communication, October 17, 2016)

Spillane (2015), who now works with students in higher education, openly shares these and other past experiences with her pre-service teachers because she feels it is important to bring discussions about race and oppressive practices to the forefront of teacher preparation programs. Like Spillane (2015), Ladson-Billings (2014) also prompts educators to think through how we interact with students who have been consistently marginalized to break the cycle of injustices and allow students’ voices to be active participants in the learning process. Yet, De Lissovoy and Brown (2013) argue that while educators may have good intentions when discussing complex issues such as how to approach anti-racist practices by bringing whites and people of color together, the differences that

are expressed during these interactions need to be respected. They suggest that engaging in anti-racist practices that address issues of material and cultural oppression should focus on building relationships between people of color and whites rather than seeking out radical actions (De Lissovoy & Brown, 2013). Inserting divisive points of view which are “rigid and highly judgmental” (Niemonen, 2007, p. 171) during such discussions can impede building relationships, even if the goal was to promote anti-racist practices.

Building human relationships is a critical component to deconstruct oppressive hierarchies, but there are further obstacles, such as textbooks, that seek to silence voices and perpetuate stereotypes by controlling information to be shared with students. Textbooks are artifacts that retell histories controlled by various government institutions. Textbooks can be equally influential in how learning about culture and cultural contributions can be understood or misunderstood. When textbooks leave out or present stereotyped information about select cultural groups, it is a distortion of history that can have long-lasting psychological effects on our students (Arudou, 2015; Brown & Au, 2014; Brown & Brown, 2010; Dudden, 2015; Weissert, 2014).

In Texas, for example, there was controversy over state plans to approve a new textbook for Mexican American studies courses, yet it was not written by Mexican American scholars (Ayala, 2016; Helm, 2016; Michels, 2016; Oyeniyi, 2016; Planas, 2016; Ramirez, 2016; Saenz, 2016; Tallet, 2016; Villa, 2016; Wang, 2016; Zelinski, 2016). The textbook reinforced negative stereotypes of Mexican Americans and was found by scholars to include 141 passages with errors (Oyeniyi, 2016).⁸ It ultimately was not approved for state adoption. One of my current high school art students shared with me how upset she and her mother became when they heard a news story about this proposed textbook. She shared that not only did the textbook distort the history of Mexican Americans but also downplayed slavery by implying that blacks had a choice to be slaves. Several years ago, another one of my high school students explained how he became aware of discrepancies in the state-adopted textbook as he was conducting research for a mural about the contributions of Latinxs to the San Antonio community. The mural, called *Yo Soy El Futuro/I am the Future*, was a collaboration with artist and judge Daniel Guerrero. This is the speech that he presented at the dedication of the mural project:

Hello and bienvenidos a todos ustedes! (Hello and welcome to everyone!)

My name is John Contreras.⁹ I am an eleventh-grade student here at Fox Tech High School. I am grateful to have been a part of this art project with Daniel Guerrero that has allowed students like myself to publicly recognize the accom-

⁸ Examples of stereotypes featured in the proposed book implied that Mexican Americans are lazy (Tallet, 2016; Villa, 2016), are illegals either due to criminal activity or entering the country illegally ((Tallet, 2016), and that Chicanos in particular are trying to overthrow the government (Wang, 2016).

⁹ John Contreras, a former student at Fox Tech High School, chose to use his real name to convey his story, rather than take on a pseudonym.

plishments and contributions of Mexican Americans to San Antonio. As a student, I was shocked to see that only three pages in our United States history textbook dealt with Mexican American history. This is why this project is of such significance to me as a proud Mexican American. The fact that I have helped to create a piece of public art that is for the benefit of all of San Antonio is overwhelming to me. (J. Contreras as cited in Leake, 2010, p. 260)

Just as John became personally aware and upset by the omissions of the cultural contributions of Mexican Americans in a Texas history book, examples of government agencies, institutions, or individual teacher practices continue to maintain hierarchical control over curriculum content. One can look at what happened in Tucson Unified School District. When the Mexican American studies program was forcefully removed from the educational offerings available to high school students in a predominantly Latinx community, protests erupted. According to reports (Madrigal, 2012; Narvarete, 2012; Robbins, 2013; Smith, 2011; Suarez, 2010, 2013), school district board members who supported the decision said action came in part because white students in the class were said to feel uncomfortable, and these courses violated a 2010 state law which does not allow schools to teach about one particular ethnic group. In this instance, the state and a public institution of learning forcefully controlled and limited information about a selective cultural group in the name of equity. Another example of institutional control over individual teacher practices was also apparent when Howard University middle school teachers were given pink slips in front of their students for going beyond the prescriptive curriculum regarding select ethnic groups (Demby, 2015; Manuel-Logan, 2015). Institutional concerns regarding how to approach the divisiveness between white and non-white students continues to evolve, and finding solutions to address this issue remain unresolved (New, 2016). Yet doing nothing to counter discriminatory practices against minority students betrays democratic education (Cerezo, McWhirter, Pena, Valdez, & Bustos, 2013; Darder, 2011).

Pedagogical practices that embody CRT concerns inform the recommendations made by Paris (2012), Paris & Alim (2014) and Ladson-Billings (2014). They embolden educators to deconstruct cultural omissions from official classroom curriculum by creating teaching and learning opportunities that support and respect the diversity of K-16 student populations. Acknowledging and embracing “cultural pluralism and cultural equality” (Paris, 2012, p. 93) through pedagogical practice allows all students to reflect and make meaning from the world around them. Through the process of exposing and questioning assumptions with our students about how different cultures are portrayed in popular media and in life, students and teachers can reexamine whose narratives are privileged and why that understanding is important (Acuff, 2012; Knight, 2006). The arts can and do help individuals reconstruct erased narratives, thereby illustrating that art can serve as a counter-hegemonic act to disrupt the status quo (Kader, 2006; Leake, 2015b).

THE ARTS AS COUNTER-NARRATIVE

Art can enable new representations (Desai, 2009) to emerge and shift power into the hands of the artist to tell his or her own story for contemporary audiences.

The arts can help us remember, imagine, create, and transform the practices that sustain oppression as it endures across history and locality. When tuned to that purpose, the arts play a vital role in making visible the stories, voices, and experiences of people who are rendered invisible by structures of dominance. Equally important, the arts confront how we have learned to see and provide new lenses for looking at the world and ourselves in relation to it. (Bell & Desai, 2011, p. 288)

Counter-narratives in art can reveal first-hand insights of personal experiences that cannot be captured through quantitative data alone (Lazos Vargas, 2003; Malin, 2015). Through art making, each person has the potential to tell their own story and insert their voice into their work. Visually articulating narratives that reflect social injustices has the potential to help both the storyteller and listener realize that “I am not alone” (Delgado, 1989, p. 2437). Artists who counter grand narratives by representing aspects of history that are often swept under the rug help viewers reflect on the past through a contemporary lens (Leake, 2015a, 2015b). When looking at the culture of others as represented in art, viewers should remember that inserting our subjectivities into the viewing experience will occur, whether we are aware of this or not. If as viewers, we allow our subjectivities to be informed and modified by learning about alternate perspectives of art, alternative narratives can emerge.

The art of Kehinde Wiley and Carmen Lomas Garza confronts the social inequities they experienced and observed growing up as people of color. Their artworks provide viewers opportunities to experience a “new history” that celebrates diversity, thus shifting power and privilege into the hands of the artist. What follows is a brief exploration of the work of artists Kehinde Wiley and Carmen Lomas Garza, as understood through a critical theory lens. While I could have selected other artists who have responded to concerns of racial and ethnic omission, like artist Robert Colescott and Jaune Quick-to-See Smith, these two contemporary artists have captured my imagination for many years. In 2005, I was first introduced to Carmen Lomas Garza’s work through artist and Judge Daniel Guererro when he shared educational resources about Mexican Americans with my art students. Subsequently in 2009, I stumbled upon a Kehinde Wiley exhibition near the high school where I worked and have been an admirer of his work ever since. Both artists’ work and motivations for creating art connect with me on a personal level for different reasons. Each time I share Wiley and Garza’s work with K-16 art students, our shared personal connections with the artist’s motivations and the subject matter help us discover new possibilities to question how, through their work, the artists reshape relations of power and privilege. Wiley and Garza’s art continues to inspire viewers to tell their own stories.

THE ART OF KEHINDE WILEY

Kehinde Wiley's work challenges omissions of people of color from Western art historical canons.¹⁰ As a youth visiting art museums with his mother, he noted that he didn't see anyone who ever looked like him and used this awareness to inform the development of his work. Wiley speaks to his interpretation of how people of color have been represented in the film *An Economy of Grace*:

I always think about the exotic. Often times, we think about the exotic as something that is far away, an unknown set of ideas and cultural practices. Sometimes the exotic can be right in front of you. I think that when I watch television or participate in the media culture in America, sometimes the way that I've seen black people be portrayed in this country seems very strange and exotic because it has nothing to do with the life that I have lived or the people that I've known. (K. Wiley as cited in Johnson & Chermayeff, 2014)

The first time I stood in front of Kehinde Wiley's work in 2009, I saw select pieces from *The World Stage Series*. This series focused on contemporary Nigerian and Senegalese men as (re)presented in an intimate gallery space in San Antonio, Texas (see Figs. 20.1–20.4). As part of this series, Wiley set up satellite studios in select regions around the world, where he immersed himself in the local culture by living there for several months at a time to become familiar with local practices, history, and the art of the region (Artpace San Antonio, 2009; Jackson & Cleveland, 2009). I was captivated by the men of color looking directly at me, wearing what appeared to be everyday clothes but presented in a high art style. The placement and poses of the figures visually commanded my attention, while the detailed brushwork and intricate patterns that occasionally overlapped the figures appeared to also add a dynamic quality to the viewing experience.

Some years later, I attended Wiley's 2015 retrospective exhibition at The Modern Art Museum of Fort Worth, where his numerous works referenced art historical styles including altar pieces, stained glass windows, bronze sculptures, and formal portrait paintings. There was one portrait featuring Michael Jackson, a celebrity figure, included in the exhibition, but most of the people included were street-casted by Wiley and his assistants.¹¹ The common thread

¹⁰ Artist Robert Colescott (1929–2009) also addressed the void of non-white art in his body of work where he replaced white figures from art history with people of color (Langer, 2009). I had the pleasure of attending a lecture by Robert Colescott when he visited the University of Texas at Austin on June 15, 1989. He shared his personal inspiration for creating works that challenged the art historical canons.

¹¹ *Street casting* is a practice whereby Wiley and his assistants go into the streets of the local community he is working in and asks people that catch his attention if they would like to be a model for his work. He often brings along examples of his paintings to show prospective models, and if selected, they are hired. On the day of the photos being taken, models are often shown examples of famous art historical works to inform how they want to present themselves in the portraits. Most often, except for in the case of the women who modeled for his paintings featured in *An Economy of Grace*, models wear their own clothes for these photo shoots.



Figs. 20.1–20.4 Kehinde Wiley. *The World Stage: Africa, Lagos-Dakar*. This exhibition was organized by The Studio Museum in Harlem, New York (Photos courtesy of Artpace San Antonio. Photo credit Todd Johnson)



Figs. 20.1–20.4 (continued)



Figs. 20.1–20.4 (continued)



Figs. 20.1–20.4 (continued)

of this prolific artists’ retrospective seemed to be that of people of color from around the world taking center stage in these works, thus creating “new histories” inspired by Western art historical canons of the past. The variety of works included in this retrospective, along with the dialogues and special events surrounding his exhibition’s opening, drew massive crowds, and tickets to hear Wiley speak in the museum’s auditorium ran out in less than three minutes.¹²

Audie Cornish (2015) interviewed Wiley for National Public Radio. She described how he takes “contemporary people—oftentimes, it’s young black men, young black women—and puts them in poses you’d expect to see in the Louvre or the Met” (para. 1). In the interview with Cornish, Wiley shared how his experience of discovering a discarded police mug shot of a young black male on the street early in his career shaped his understanding of how portraiture can be used to assert power and control over people. Wiley contextualized how his work is “a rebuke of the mug shot. It’s an ability to say that I will be seen the way that I choose to be seen” and that his models decide for themselves “how they want to perform themselves” (K. Wiley as cited in Cornish, 2015, para 12). Wiley acknowledges that he does not shy away from fashioning what some may see as an uncomfortable (re)positioning of white figures of art history with people who have “black and brown bodies like my own” (K. Wiley as cited in Cornish, 2015, para 20). In fact, he says that within “that discomfort

¹²Since I was not able to secure a seat in the museum to hear the lecture by Wiley, I had to watch the simulcast lecture projected onto the wall of the museum’s restaurant, along with other enthusiastic fans of Wiley’s work. Many of the people at my table had driven hours to attend the event.

is where the work shines best” (K. Wiley as cited in Cornish, 2015, para 12). Wiley’s work reflects the principles of CRT by purposefully reconstructing art history, using new representations of people of color to disrupt controlled narratives that have privileged select cultural groups and select bodies.

When I showed my elementary students the work of Kehinde Wiley and shared what I had come to learn about his inspiration to create art that featured people of color to counter historical canons, which usually only featured white people, they seemed to understand the philosophy behind the artist’s work. Using child-friendly language, I showed the students examples of the original works of art that inspired Wiley’s work, side by side with his own representation of the image featuring a person of color. Most of the students seemed to not only understand but also appreciate how and why the artist had made the choices he had in his work. As Wiley says:

Everything is political. If I were to paint a bowl of fruit, I would be a young black American male painting a bowl of fruit. What I do in my work is to look at the canon, but to imagine people that look and feel like I do. (K. Wiley as cited in Johnson & Chermayeff, 2014)

Wiley’s thoughts and actions as an artist made CRT and discussions about cultural sensitivity, power, and privilege accessible even with my youngest students by opening up opportunities to discuss race and exclusionary practices using art.

Prater and Smith (2015) also recommend utilizing Wiley’s work to have K-5 elementary students explore issues of skin color, gender identity, and power by having them role-play what powerful poses look like and to portray themselves in positions of power. Similarly, Buffington (2009) suggests using Wiley’s work with pre-service educators to help unpack societal issues like privilege, equity, and identity to prepare these future educators to demonstrate multicultural competence with students from diverse backgrounds and prevent them from engaging in the perpetuation of cultural intolerance.

The art of Kehinde Wiley, as well as the his inspiration for creating his work, invites opportunities to connect K-16 students with concerns of CRT, as does the work of Carmen Lomas Garza who represents happy memories of her family to confront external attempts to silence her Chicana voice.

THE ART OF CARMEN LOMAS GARZA

The art of Carmen Lomas Garza is described as having “the warm charge of first-hand experience, of a life lived and loved” (Cotter, 1995, para 6). Garza’s art is highly narrative and celebrates her past through art and bilingual stories that pay homage to her cultural roots growing up in Kingsville, Texas in the 1950s and 1960s. In paintings such as *A Plaza in Texas in the 1930s*,¹³ Garza

¹³ To view *A Plaza in Texas in the 1930s* and look at a lesson plan developed by UTSA Institute of Texan Cultures (2015) in relation to Garza’s work, please see http://www.texancultures.com/assets/1/15/Carmen_Lomas_Garza_4th-6th_07092015.pdf

depicts a common scene of courtship that took place in many South Texas *plazas* (downtown public squares), where men and women would exchange glances as they walked counterclockwise, in hopes of meeting someone special. Through the process of creating art to retell her memories, Garza creates artifacts honoring her past.

Every time I paint, it serves a purpose—to bring about pride in our Mexican American culture. When I was growing up, a lot of us were punished for speaking Spanish. We were punished for being who we were, and we were made to feel ashamed of our culture. That was very wrong. My art is a way of healing these wounds, like the *sálvia* plant (aloe vera) heals burns and scrapes when applied by a loving parent or grandparent. (Garza, 1996, p. 2)

On May 23, 2015, I had an opportunity to attend a special workshop and lecture featuring Carmen Lomas Garza near the closing of her retrospective exhibition in San Antonio, Texas. During this event, Garza openly shared her memories of her life experiences encountering racial injustice and cultural disrespect in South Texas after World War II, ideas explored in depth by Cortez (2010), Fernandez (2003), and Karlstrom (2002). Garza disclosed how as a young high school student, she was aware that speaking Spanish anywhere on campus would result in being paddled if you were a Latinx student, whereas the same punishment was not in effect for white students who spoke Spanish or other foreign languages. Similarly, she and other students of color had to wait to take a shower in the locker room until after all the white students finished. At home and in her community, she described how Latino veterans, including her father, were refused service in restaurants upon their return from serving the country and they, as humans, were compared to dogs. She recalled her family protesting against one local funeral home that refused to accept the remains of a Latino soldier, fearing that the attendees of color would become drunk and disorderly. A wide range of discriminatory practices such as the ones described by Garza are contextualized in the documentary film *A Class Apart: A Mexican American Civil Rights Story* (Sandoval & Miller, 2009).

As a young student teacher working toward her art education certification, Garza was reprimanded by the principal when she translated lessons she presented in English into Spanish for students with limited English language abilities. Consequently, when she allowed a student to play Santana music in the classroom, rather than the country/Western music that the school approved of, Garza was once more called into the principal's office. Garza was finally asked to leave her student teaching assignment at Robstown High School when she was seen speaking with students after they had walked off campus as a form of social protest against discriminatory practices toward Latinxs at the campus. Sadly, the male students who were part of this walkout and were 18 years of age were immediately drafted into the Vietnam War as they were "technically" no longer enrolled in school. If Garza did not take the option to leave, the principal let her know that the placement of the other student teachers of color might also be in jeopardy. Garza's lifelong awareness of discrimination affirmed her

commitment to become a full-time Chicana artist addressing social injustices through her art and actions at the age of 23. Cortez (2010) said that “[d]uring this time she [Garza] reassessed her commitment to art and made a decision to devote herself to a type of artistic production that would be valued not only for its inherent expressive value but also as a narrative of the often-ignored history of Tejanos after World War II” (p. 28).¹⁴

Garza’s work has been likened to a dialogue in which “she conveys to the viewer a message about the past and the present, and the viewer responds by relating the imagery to his or her own experience” (Cortez, 2010, p. 97). I can attest that when my elementary students look at and read the stories of Garza’s childhood memories, they see many parallels with memories and events of their own lives. The Austin Children’s Museum (now called Thinkery) used examples of Garza’s two-dimensional art to create three-dimensional installations for museum visitors to interact with and experience before it travelled to the Brownsville Children’s Museum (see Figs. 20.5 and 20.6). As Garza shared with Williams (2006):

“This is my mother’s kitchen,” said Garza when she stepped into the Tamalada scene.

“She cried when she first saw the exhibit opening in Austin. My father almost cried too.

He built our house and all the cabinets in the kitchen,” Garza said. “He never thought he would see the kitchen he built remembered in a museum setting.” (para. 5)

When I look at Garza’s art, including *La Tamalada/Making Tamales*, I too am transported back to my own family’s tradition of having everyone in the kitchen socializing while preparing this special holiday food item. Both my elementary students and I, although raised in different parts of Texas and being generations apart, found common ground in this tradition depicted in Garza’s art, which is still very much a part of our Latino culture. Garza’s body of work depicting her family memories reflects the concerns of Critical Race Theory by not allowing her culture to be marginalized by others. As she notes on her website, “I saw the need to create images that would elicit recognition and appreciation among Mexican Americans, both adults and children, while at the same time serve as a source of education for others not familiar with our culture” (Garza, 2012). Garza’s work embodies the principles of CRT by refuting external attempts to silence her cultural heritage and pride. Published stories about children of color by authors/artists of color was something that was almost non-existent in 1975, when Garza and her publisher began putting out

¹⁴ According to the UTSA Institute of Texan Cultures (2017), the term “Tejanos” is described as follows: “Encounters between Spanish, Mexican and indigenous peoples created a mestizo – mixed – population commonly identified as Tejanos. Their contributions to the Texan identity and culture are significant, and can be seen all around.” Retrieved from http://www.texancultures.com/los_tejanos/



Figs. 20.5–20.6 Installation views of interactive exhibits inspired by Carmen Lomas Garza's art (Photos courtesy of Thinkery)

books (Rohmer, 1997). However, thanks to their publishing collaboration (Garza, 1990, 1996, 1999), Carmen's art, which is complimented with her bilingual recollections, is helping readers from all over the world better appreciate the richness of Mexican American cultural traditions.¹⁵ Through her efforts to make her memories and stories of growing up as a Latina in South Texas accessible to viewers from around the world, she shifts power and privilege into the hands of children everywhere to celebrate who they are and honor cultural diversity and traditions.

CREATING INSTRUCTIONAL SPACES TO REFRAME POWER AND PRIVILEGE IN ART EDUCATION CURRICULUM

The challenge of deciding what curricular content to include and exclude from our educational programs has been addressed by many in our field (Bolin & Hoskings, 2015; Buffington, 2014; Desai & Chalmers, 2007; Krug & Cohen-Evron, 2000; Pérez Miles, 2012; Sanders & Gubes Vaz, 2014; Ulbricht, 2011; Wasson, Stuhr, & Petrovich-Mwaniki, 1990). Our curricular choices reflect our worldviews, biases, and professional constraints (Acuff, 2012; Desai, 2000, 2003; Keifer-Boyd, et al., 2007; Knight, 2006; Kraehe, 2015; Kraehe et al., 2015; Pérez Miles, 2012). Embracing cultural pluralism reflected in our students' lives invites endless possibilities to promote their first-hand insights and voices through art (Bailey & Desai, 2005; Bastos, 2006; Buffington, 2014), thus disrupting grand narratives. As Ballengee-Morris & Stuhr (2001) point out, educators should encourage students to draw upon their intersecting personal cultural identities to disrupt the homogenizing of the cultural concept. The concept of reflecting a personal cultural identity is an inherently dynamic process as we as humans are constantly being influenced by the world in which we participate. Through the process of sharing personally relevant stories and histories through art, opportunities for K-16 students to explore issues relevant to their lives can emerge (Buffington, 2009; Esposito & Swain, 2009; Freedman, 2000; Prater & Smith, 2015).

While I will suggest a few possibilities for connecting CRT with practice for implementation with K-16 students, they are in no way meant to be prescriptive. I firmly believe that each of our individual teaching and learning contexts should inform how educators choose to create instructional spaces for our students to challenge the status quo regarding power, privilege, and race in art education and beyond. What follows are some curricular possibilities which can be utilized as frameworks for starting discussions and finding personally meaningful paths forward to have our students tell their own stories.

Creating New Histories Rolling (2010) prompts educators to utilize narrative inquiries with art students to help them reinforce individual histories,

¹⁵To view numerous examples of Carmen Lomas Garza's images online, visit her webpage at <http://carmenlomasgarza.com/>

rather than dominant histories. Montoya (2005) agrees that narratives can be utilized as “cultural tools” to help students create counter-stories that help individuals to reinvent themselves by retelling stories of their life that are in opposition to dominant narratives (p. 245). In the work of Carmen Lomas Garza, the artist focuses on the positive memories from her youth, growing up in South Texas, and honoring the cultural traditions she experienced growing up, as a form of social protest against those who tried to silence her Chicana voice. Garza’s narrative process is an example of creating a new history that is self-authored. Educators can facilitate opportunities to encourage K-16 art students to reflect and retell their individual histories using the media of their choice and contextualize these memories visually and in written statements in the language(s) of their choice.

Reimagining Art History Critical Race Theory seeks to encourage ways to counter elitist and exclusionary practices that distort history by privileging individuals from select cultural groups. For example, Kehinde Wiley problematizes the exclusion of people of color from art historical canons considering how people of color have been historically presented, misrepresented, or underrepresented in art history. Prater and Smith (2015) recommend using Kehinde Wiley’s art to foster “critical thinking about representations of skin color, power, and gender” (p. 46) with K-5 students through discussions and studio activities, whereby students role-play powerful central figures from Western art historical canons to challenge grand narratives. Another curricular possibility would invite students to explore art history books and recreate canonical Western art history in a manner that is inclusive of friends or family in a contemporary context. Through this process of selectively casting individuals to be featured in the work in a manner similar to Wiley’s artistic practice, K-16 students can help to bridge the gaps between controlled representations of people’s sexuality, gender, age, economic background, religious or political affiliations, and ethnic portrayals in past works of art in the present. Students can decide to work individually or in groups to decide which elements to include and exclude from these reimagined art history images to counter omissions of the past.

Deconstructing Stereotypes Solórzano (1997) and Solórzano and Yosso (2001) recommend having pre-service teachers work together to identify, critique, and alter storylines to recreate characters they see portrayed in popular media. These ideas, which encourage critical reflection could be adapted for K-16 students. For example, Joel Parés, created a series called *Judging America* in which he photographed the same person twice to bring the topic of stereotyping to the viewers’ attention (Parés, 2016). In the first image, the person poses as a stereotype that society has labeled them with, such as a terrorist or thug. Then Parés counters these images with a second photograph of the person portraying himself/herself as they have chosen to be recognized in society, including their role as a nurse or Harvard University graduate. Parés has

witnessed numerous harsh examples of stereotypes aimed against his friends and family, and uses this series to make people aware that stereotyping and judging others is hurtful and wrong (Elliott, 2014; Siczkowski, 2014). Students in K-16 settings can become active participants in finding their own means to add to the conversation by interviewing friends or family members to find out if they have ever been stereotyped and what that experience was like. Students may choose to adopt ideas from the work of Parés to create art that provokes awareness of the harmful implications of labeling others through art.

CLOSING THOUGHTS

While there are innumerable possibilities for incorporating the conceptual ideas of CRT into pedagogical practice, exploring the work of Kehinde Wiley and Carmen Lomas Garza can open up instructional opportunities that engage K-16 art students in identifying and challenging narratives of the past through art and artistic practices. Wiley and Garza's artwork can serve to encourage students to use their life experiences and art as a counter-hegemonic practice to (re)construct and (re)present cultural distortions or omissions of the past through a contemporary lens. Working with culturally diverse student populations, art educators have the choice and opportunity to use the classroom as a political site where power and privilege is no longer in the hands of a select few but rather encourage each student to draw upon their own lives as inspiration for their art—recognizing that we all have valuable stories to share.

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Where Is the Color in Art Education?

Pamela Harris Lawton

“I am tired of work; I am tired of building up somebody else’s civilization” (Johnson, 1922). This excerpt from the poem *Tired* by African American writer Fenton Johnson (1888–1958) speaks to the status of Black people the world over. No matter how hard we work, or how far we advance, we are still viewed as the “other” and subject to inequitable treatment. As an African American woman artist/educator/scholar, I am often the only person of color on the art education faculty at the US colleges and universities where I have taught. This scarcity is also reflected in the students I teach. I find this disheartening, considering the population of P-12 schools in these college communities is mostly students of color. Why are there so few art teachers of color teaching children of color? Why are there so few people of color teaching art? How can we motivate more of our children of color to consider careers in visual art/education if there are no models that look like them teaching them?

While the concept of race is a socio-political construct (Omi & Winant, 1994), the roles we play as a consequence of race are deeply rooted in US society. In the years following the Civil Rights movement great strides were made toward rectifying racial inequities. However, the mystique of a post-racial society inspired by the Obama Presidency has not been realized. The attitudes of many Americans regarding privilege remain unchanged and helped spawn the nationalist political machine that elected President Donald Trump. The effects of racism and White privilege permeate our daily interactions: the ways in which we live, define our lives, and educate our children. US society was founded on property rights (Bell, 1987; Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), and the privileges afforded by these rights connect to education in many ways, such as the property taxes that fund public schooling. Taxpayers in more affluent

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communities pay higher property taxes and “resent paying for a public school system whose clientele is largely non-White and poor” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 53). Almost daily, mainstream media bombards us with disturbing stories of racial tension and violence, often directed at and perpetrated by young people. Shortly after the landmark legislation declaring segregated schools unlawful in the US, Margaret Just Butcher (1956) made an observation that holds true today:

[by] setting up an inveterate tradition of racial differences in the absence of any fixed or basic differences of culture and tradition on the Negro’s part, American slavery introduced into the very heart of American society a crucial dilemma whose resultant problems, with their progressive resolution, account for many fateful events in American history and for some of the most characteristic qualities of American culture. On all levels, political, social, and cultural, this dilemma has become the focal point, disruptive as well as constructive, of major issues in American history. . . . The Supreme Court Decision of May 17, 1954, it must be remembered, did not solve our dilemma; it merely gave legal sanction to people working for an integrated society and a true cultural democracy. (p. xi)

Despite the legal victories that resulted in the desegregation of US schools, 50-plus years of busing has resulted in a majority-minority student population in these same schools. According to Orfield and Lee (2005) “U.S. schools are 41 percent non-White and the great majority of non-White students attend schools which now show substantial segregation” (p. 5). The large number of children of color that comprise the American public school population, particularly in urban city centers, is disproportionate to the number of teachers of color in these schools. In the 2011–2012 school year of the approximately 3,850,100 teachers in all schools, public and private, over 80% were White and 76% were female (Goldring, Gray, & Bitterman, 2013). This lack of teacher role models of color may account for the low number of students of color in teacher education programs, particularly in arts disciplines where only 2.1% of all teachers are arts/crafts teachers (Parsad & Spiegelman, 2011). This research seeks to uncover, understand, and problematize the factors contributing to this phenomenon.

Using the qualitative research approaches of portraiture and narrative inquiry with a Critical Race Theory (CRT) lens, this chapter examines how White privilege impacts art and art teacher education. The concept of Whiteness (Essed, 1991; Frankenberg, 1993; Hill, 2009; Sullivan, 2006) comprises several interconnected dimensions. It is “a location of racial privilege; a standpoint from which White people look at themselves, at others and at society; and a collection of taken-for-granted social practices. The ongoing practice of Whiteness reinforces White supremacy” (Liu & Pechenkina, 2016, p. 189). Desai (2010) suggests that art teacher education needs to confront racism more directly, going beyond the “colorblind ideology produced and reinforced through multiculturalism and visual media”(p. 22) to have meaningful discussions about race and racism. The life histories of art educators of color gathered

through interviews and questionnaires address why so few people of color, Black women in particular, pursue careers in art and art education. In a field dominated by women (Goldring et al., 2013), why are so few of them women of color? An analysis of these narratives provides insight into the role White privilege plays in the process of becoming an artist/educator and achieving both personal and professional success in the field of art and art education, and it suggests strategies for increasing the numbers of artists/educators of color.

PORTRAITURE, NARRATIVE INQUIRY, AND CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Portraiture, an educational research methodology developed by Sara Lawrence-Lightfoot (1986), is a narrative form of inquiry used to create “a full picture or portrait of an event or person that tells as much about the subject as it does the researcher, or portraitist” (Chapman, 2007, p. 157). The more detailed the portrait the more universal human themes are brought to light. Founded in Lawrence-Lightfoot’s experience as a portrait subject for artists’ renderings of her in childhood and young adulthood, portraiture “captures the complexity and aesthetic of human experience” (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2005, p. 5). It allows the researcher to create *life drawings* of the subjects being researched, exposing their bare essence or a view from beneath rather than on the surface (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2005). Portraiture is a paradoxical method, a means of “embracing contradictions, the ability to document the beautiful/ugly experiences that are so much a part of the texture of human development and social relationships” (Lawrence-Lightfoot, 2005, p. 9).

Within this research, I use narrative inquiry following the definition posited by Clandinin and Connelly (2000). It is based on the Deweyan concept of learning through hands-on, lived experience. People learn through thinking about, studying, and living life. Thus, their “narratives become a way of understanding experience” (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000, p. xxvi). In this context “life and education are inseparable” (Lawton, 2004, p. 51). “Each of us assimilates into himself [*sic*] something of the values and meanings contained in past experiences” (Dewey, 1934, p. 71). Experiences are synonymous with continuity—the notion that experiences grow out of other experiences which in turn leads to new experiences (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

To better understand narrative inquiry in qualitative research, Clandinin and Connelly (2000) constructed a three-dimensional metaphoric framework based upon educational philosopher John Dewey’s definition and conception of experience as education (Lawton, 2004). Dimension One is the personal and social, Dewey’s *interaction*. Dimension Two is the temporal—past, present, and future, Dewey’s *continuity*. Dimension Three is place, Dewey’s *situation*—the boundaries tangible and topological within which the inquiry occurs. Within these three dimensions the researcher moves in four different directions: inward, examining internal feelings, emotions, moral dispositions; out-

ward, investigating the surrounding environment; and backward and forward exploring temporality—past, present, and future (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000). Story is the *unit of analysis* in narrative inquiry and the goal is to make meaning through storied examination of lived experience (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

CRT has its roots in critical legal studies and legal theory (Bell, 1987; Harris, 1993), focusing on “race as the primary lens for exploring legislation and its political enactments” (Chapman, 2007, p. 157). CRT connects, broadens, and extends the field of critical theory, “a framework or set of basic perspectives, methods, and pedagogy that seeks to identify, analyze, and transform those structural and cultural aspects of society that maintain the subordination and marginalization of People of Color” (Solórzano, 1997, p. 6). In educational research, a CRT lens is used to highlight race as a focal point in “understanding and transforming the educational system” (Gillborn, 2005; Kraehe & Acuff, 2013; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). CRT examines the ways in which people of color confront and overcome barriers to find a measure of success for themselves and others (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

Story is the common denominator for each of these research frameworks. Portraiture allows the researcher to create in story form a detailed rendering of the subject through examination of the interactions and contexts particular to the individual but unveiling common human themes of experience. Narrative inquiry approaches experience as a form of education and story as a means of understanding experience. CRT examines the contexts, socio-political events, personal histories, and legal tenets that impact a participant’s narrative. The “researcher connects participants’ experiential knowledge as racialized subjects to the multiple ways in which people of color understand, and navigate their communities, schools and professional lives” (Chapman, 2007, p. 157). In this study, I use the portraiture method to gather data from racialized subjects and examine the data through narrative inquiry and CRT frameworks. In addition to interviews with former students and colleagues over the last ten years, I explore my own narrative experiences of becoming an artist/educator to create a fuller picture as to why so few Black women become artist/educators.

I examine how the absence of art teachers of color as role models impacts pre-service and in-service art educators of color. Three narrative categories arose from the data and are analyzed through Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) three-dimensional metaphoric framework: (a) participants’ narratives of experience as art students, (b) their relationship with their art teachers, and (c) influence of their personal histories on their decision-making processes and professional lives.

RESEARCHER SELF-PORTRAIT

The portraiture method takes into account the portraitist's (researcher's) perspective as equally important in conducting research. Therefore, I will begin with a self-portrait examination of my own experiences as a Black woman artist/educator, metaphorically moving in four directions: inward, outward, backward, and forward (Clandinin & Connelly, 2000).

As a scholar, my research interests are deeply rooted in personal experience and narrative. Perhaps this is because I came to scholarship having first been an artist, singer, and teacher, all roles that involve storytelling. Since childhood, inspiration for all my creative endeavors derived from family relationships, history, traditions, artifacts, and an abiding curiosity to know more about who came before me, what they were like, and how my ancestors shaped who and what I am and strive to become.

Thus, research for me began in childhood with questions about my family's antecedents and a search for answers through stories passed down from elders' lips, to artifacts lovingly shared, and to familial creative acts of art, music, dance, drama, and literature. This has been the subtext of my life. My research, teaching and art-making practice, influenced by family narrative experiences, explores identity through the examination of self and other, self as other, self and community, and self as educator (Lawton, 2008). I am a fifth-generation educator from Washington, D.C. My great-great grandmother was one of the first fifty teachers hired by the federal government for the Washington, D.C., colored public school system in 1868.¹ At that time there were 25 teachers of color and 25 White teachers for the racially segregated public schools.

In terms of this research, Washington, D.C., is unique in that the District of Columbia Public School (DCPS) system was developed by the federal government in 1805 and later control was turned over to local government. All female teachers in the colored school system were paid the same, regardless of race; however, men were paid more than women who held the same or similar positions. An act of Congress established public schools for Black children in Washington, D.C., in 1862. Thus, there were teachers of color teaching children of color from the earliest days of public schooling for Blacks and this situation remains true today in Washington, D.C.; the majority of teachers are Black and the majority of students are Black, mixed race, or Latino/Hispanic in ethnicity (Rich, 2015).

As a product of DCPS, I was educated from the mid-1960s to late 1970s in an ethnic, racial, and cultural bubble, unaware that in most urban city centers children of color were not being taught by teachers of color (Rich, 2015).

¹ *Colored* was the politically correct term used in the US for referring to Black people or people of mixed race following emancipation. The term was later replaced with *Negro*, then *Black*, and now *African American*. This author prefers to use the term *Black*, as *African American* is confined to Black people in the Americas. For the purposes of this chapter *people of color* is used instead of *minorities* or *non-Whites* as these terms can have a demeaning connotation. When used, the terms *Black* and *White* are capitalized, as they refer to groups of people, not colors.

Teacher-mentors who looked like me were a constant in my P-12 education. It was not until I went to college at the University of Virginia (UVA) and was one of two Black art majors that I realized how unique my education in Washington, D.C. was. In most of my art and sociology courses, I was either the only or one of three Black students in my classes. I remember thinking how odd it was that my Black peers enrolled in African American studies courses. Didn't they already know a lot about our history? I certainly received a very thorough education on African American history and culture in my P-12 education. The answer was no. Most of my Black college friends came from small cities in Virginia where the history and contributions of Black peoples and cultures were often excluded or minimally covered in the curriculum.

I attended UVA in the late 1970s. This was a time when affirmative action was in full swing and college admission counselors were actively recruiting Black students for predominantly White colleges. The problem with this was that there were no supports in place to retain these students once they were accepted. The attrition rate for Black students was high (Bromley, 2016). Many struggled and dropped out within the first year, and many, myself included, were subject to untold numbers of racial insults, slights, microaggressions,² and exclusions from students and faculty alike. Trying to succeed, feel affirmed, and develop academic competence and confidence in this environment, at a time more than 20 years after Civil Rights legislation was enacted in the US to make attending White institutions possible, was difficult. In my art history classes, there were no lectures that focused on Black modern or contemporary artists. In our art history foundation courses, we had one chapter each on West African Art, Egyptian Art, and Chinese Art and all from ancient times or 200–300 years in the past. What I know about Black art and artists I learned in high school and built upon later as a MFA student at Howard University, a historically Black university. Sadly, this story has not changed much since I was an undergraduate art student. There are no courses offered at UVA on African or African American Art aside from one current course offering entitled *Art and Cultures of the Slave South* (<http://www.virginia.edu/art/art-history/courses/>).

Years later I became a high school art teacher in Prince George's County, Maryland, a suburb of Washington, D.C. The school's student population was predominantly Black and Latino/Hispanic, but the majority of teachers and school administrators were White. There were seven art teachers in the art department: three Black including one Black Latina, one Latina, and three White. This did not strike me as odd, at the time, but as I moved from the P-12 teaching arena to higher education, there was a marked dearth of both students and faculty of color in art and art education departments. While some of these

²The term *microaggression*, as defined by Columbia University Professor Derald Wing Sue et al. (2007), refers to "brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, or environmental indignities whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial slights and insults toward people of color" (p. 271).

institutions had healthy overall populations of students of color, few of these students were enrolled in art or art education programs.

There are of course economic reasons for this phenomenon. My own parents felt that I should major in a subject that would lead to a financially secure profession, as art was something I could always do as a hobby or sideline. This view is one shared by families of the dominant culture as well. Art educators have failed in helping students, families, and school administrators make connections between art study/making and professional fields that depend upon the critical, creative thinking, and hands-on skills honed in art disciplines. Otherwise these comments and beliefs would not persist.

Being the only full-time faculty of color in the art education programs at all four institutions of higher education where I have taught—Tyler/Temple University, University of North Carolina at Charlotte (UNCC), Corcoran College of Art + Design, and now Virginia Commonwealth University³—I have become hyper-aware of the lack of students of color in my classes. These college students will conduct their practicum experiences with predominantly (90% or more) Black and Latino/Hispanic P-12 learners. There were times when the few students of color I did have entered my classes flustered and frustrated by experiences in their studio or art history courses. At Tyler, one biracial student entered class upset by a comment made by her art history professor. The semester had just started and she enrolled in a contemporary art history course focusing on art after 1940. She was excited to learn about the contributions of Black artists to modern and contemporary art and asked the professor what African American artists they would be studying. His reply was, *None, as there were none that made significant contributions*. Others have been shut down during studio critiques with comments like: *Why are you still dealing with racial issues in your work? We live in a post-racial society now, move forward* or, the classic response, *Your work is too ethnic*. It is a given that young college art students will explore their evolving identities through art. Most of the stu-

³According to the 2010 census data, the population of Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, where Tyler/Temple University is located, is home to 1.5 million people, of which 43.4% are Black. The student population at Temple University is 13% Black, 11% Asian, and 6% Hispanic/Latino. There are five full-time faculty members in art education and one is a person of color. The city of Charlotte, North Carolina, has a population of approximately 731,000 of which 35% are Black and 13% are Hispanic/Latino. Seventeen percent of the student population at the University of North Carolina at Charlotte is Black and 8% are Hispanic/Latino. The art department includes studio, art history, and art education programs and there is one full-time faculty of color. The District of Columbia is home to approximately 600,000 people of which 50% are Black. The Corcoran College of Art + Design, recently merged with the Columbian College of Arts and Sciences at George Washington University, has 12 full-time faculty members, none in art education since I left. I was the only full-time faculty of color when I was employed there. Of the two visiting professors currently on faculty, one is Asian. There are no demographics currently available on the student population, but there were about 300 students there when I left in 2015. The city of Richmond, Virginia, has a population of approximately 220,000 of which 50% is Black. At Virginia Commonwealth University, there are seven full-time faculty members in the art education department and I am the sole faculty of color. Sixteen percent of the student body is Black and 7% Hispanic/Latino.

dents of color I encountered created works connected to racial and gender identity. Many of the White students' art addressed sexuality. Why did none of these professors make similar comments about the overabundance of genitalia in White students' artwork? These one-on-one microaggressions are examples of racism enacted in art classes on a regular basis and can account for some of the reasons why students of color either drop out of art programs or do not pursue art careers after graduation.

PORTRAITS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS

Looking outward at my students and reflecting inward on this phenomenon led me to question why I became an art educator. Is my experience unique or fairly common to other artists/educators of color? Beginning in 2006 while teaching at UNCC, I developed a set of questions that I began asking the art educators and art/art education students of color I encountered (see Table 21.1). My teaching experiences to date emphasized the importance of having a teacher of color, a reflection of the ethnic, racial, and cultural backgrounds of most of the students in class, and how this anomaly impacted students' engagement and feelings of self-confidence in the art room. As I moved to other institutions, I continued to ask these questions of artists/educators of color of all ages and geographic locations.

As a person of color in a profession where there are so few of us, particularly Black art educators, I gravitate toward those who look like me. I am curious about their path to the profession and this research is a way of teasing out common narratives and themes of human experience that may explain why so few people of color pursue careers in art/art education. This study was conducted using a snowball sampling approach. I began with colleagues and students I worked with over the years at four institutions and they put me in touch with others. The interviews took place mostly through email inquiry. Respondents emailed me answers to the questions (see Tables 21.1 and 21.2). Only one interview took place over the phone and was transcribed. I began this study in 2006 and continued it through 2013 as I met other art educators of color. Respondents signed informed consent forms, but no IRB application was filed, as the institution I worked with when I finalized data collection, review, and analysis did not have an IRB in place.

Table 21.1 Interview questions/questionnaire

-
1. Who/what influenced your decision to pursue a career in art education?
 2. How many (women) art teachers of color have you had contact with?
 3. Why do you think there are so few women of color teaching art, at any level?
 4. What do you think are some possible strategies or pathways to increasing the number of artists/educators of color?
-

Table 21.2 Participant demographics

<i>Pseudonym^a</i>	<i>Age range</i>	<i>Ethnicity</i>	<i>Position</i>
Juanita	30–40	Black/Latina	HS art educator/administrator
Donna	30–50	Black	K-12 art educator
Carol	30–40	Black	K-12 art educator
Tina	30–40	Black	Artist/college studio instructor
Linda	30–40	Black	HS art educator
Ida	Over 70	Black	Retired art education professor
Marla	20–30	Black	UNCC student
Anne	20–30	Black	UNCC student
Debra	20–30	Black	Tyler/Temple student

^aNames changed to protect anonymity

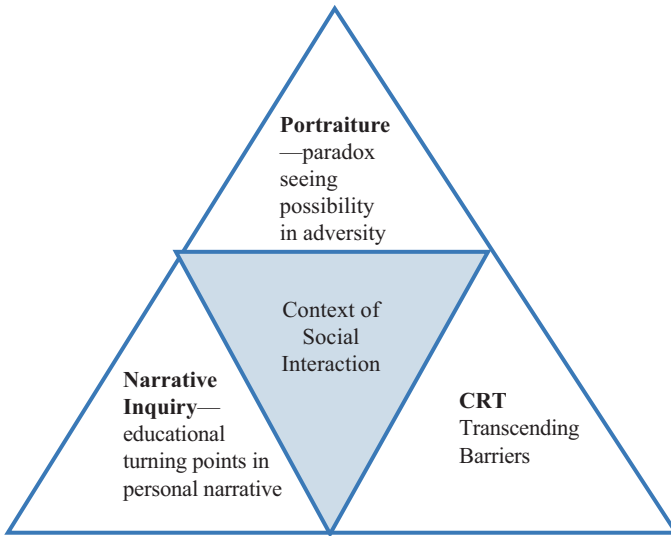


Fig. 21.1 Intersection of research frameworks

Data Analysis: Sifting Narratives Through Intersecting Frameworks

Story was the unit of analysis used to analyze the data. They were examined through the intersecting frameworks of portraiture, narrative, and CRT (see Fig. 21.1). The *context of social interaction* was the inner space connecting the research frameworks, participants’ narratives, and the impact on the field of art education through critical reflection of participants’ narratives of art/education experiences. The narratives were categorized into three types: (a) participants’ narratives of experience as art students, (b) their relationship with their art teachers, and (c) influence of personal histories on their decision-making process and professional lives. Clandinin and Connelly’s (2000) three-dimensional metaphoric framework is referenced in each narrative that involved

re-living and re-visioning art/education experiences through personal/social interaction in the art education classroom, examining continuity of experiences, past, present, and future, and the boundaries (place/situation), tangible and topological, in which narrative experiences occurred.

Within the overlapping inner space, called the *context of social interaction*, portraiture highlights the paradoxical, embraces contradictions, and revises personal narrative to see the possibilities in adversity as part of a holistic learning experience. From the perspective of CRT, narratives may also question and destabilize presumptions of the universality of Whiteness (Kraehe & Acuff, 2013). Through critical reflection on these re-told narratives, I was able to identify racist practices, institutionalized racism, and barriers to opportunity that racism creates, as well as new conceptual constructs that offer possible steps toward transcending these barriers. This critical re-examination of the past brought awareness of those educational experiences that were turning points in developing new knowledge and understanding.

Through analytic induction of the narratives, I identified several themes or patterns in relation to the research questions posed. Analytic induction is a form of thematic analysis whereby the researcher identifies specific themes and categories that are interpreted in relation to the research questions posed (Merriam, 1998). I then sifted the narrative themes through the intersecting frameworks discussed for interpretation.

NARRATIVE THEMES

An examination of narrative evidence revealed three recurring perceptions or thinking patterns contributing to the low numbers of artists/educators of color: (a) economic factors; (b) lack of education about art/education as a profession and/or the low reputation of art/education as a profession; and (c) scarcity of artist/educator role models of color.

Economic Factors

Juanita, a colleague from my high school teaching days, recalled that she was most influenced to teach art by her high school art experiences. She had attended a boarding school located in a rural, predominantly White mountain town. The students were mostly underserved English language learners (ELLs) of color.

I first caught the bug for teaching art while in high school. I had to substitute for my art teacher and saw the immense potential to infect others with my creative perspective. However, my initial goals for college were not inclined towards the arts or education. My family felt that I should major in something that was lucrative, particularly since I was the first person to attend college in my family . . . many credits and changes of majors later, I turned to art education as a way to circumvent the “starving artist” syndrome. It was a slow progression, but the best choice I ever made. (Juanita, personal communication, February 21, 2006)

Marla initially pursued a major in graphic design as a way of making money with her art. However, after working with children in a variety of capacities, like summer camp and doing art projects with her young nephew, she was inspired to pursue art education and make a difference in children's lives, particularly minority children, as her teachers did for her. She wanted children to understand that art making has value and artistic interests and skills should be nourished and encouraged.

Linda, a recent graduate from the Corcoran College of Art + Design, but not the art education program, decided to pursue a teaching career.

I think that minorities are not encouraged to go into the arts in general because it does not seem practical. Going to art school is costly with less assurance that you will get a "decent paying" job post collegiate studies. I think our parents worry about securing our futures. I don't think that they do not appreciate or dislike the arts, but the field does not fit in a traditional work, 9-5 type model. I think teaching is still a female heavy field regardless of subject matter. The nature of teaching is to play a nurturing role, which is not encouraged in males. (personal communication, May 15, 2015)

Tina, an artist/educator and college photography instructor, further explained how economics impacts whether students of color select art/education as a career:

I believe that there are not many non-White female art educators teaching art because it is not really considered and marketed as an option for a lucrative (financially) and satisfying career. There are many reasons for this. (personal communication, May 19, 2015)

Despite the age/generational differences between us, these respondents' narratives align with my own in that my parents appreciated the arts and encouraged my creativity, but in terms of college education and training for a lucrative profession, art careers were not considered. Similar responses were uncovered in a study of Black youths' attitudes about art and artists (Charland, 2010). Artists/educators need to find workable solutions to shift this perception.

Lack of Education/Low Reputation of Art/Education as a Profession

Most of the participants mentioned how education as an academic field, and art education in particular, have failed to garner support and/or respect as a profession in both mainstream and minority communities. Here, four participants echo this sentiment:

Generationally, non-White families, in my opinion, do not foster the arts as [a] career path. It is observed as a hobby. It is instilled that we become lawyers, doctors, and engineers. Furthermore, they encourage us to be on par with our White counterparts in the fields of technology. However they fail to realize the value of the arts and its contribution to these fields that were created and advanced by the means of art and design. (Tina, personal communication, May 19, 2015)

Culturally art is not encouraged as a career in the minority community that will provide for the family. Art is its own subculture and unique way of applying for college jobs and other opportunities. (Carol, personal communication, April 13, 2015)

I think the big reason [there are so few art educators of color] is because it is not encouraged, or not a field that is highly looked upon. While the [general] population acknowledges that teaching is a vital career, it is taken for granted and not appreciated like it should be. This causes a double problem for those who are interested in teaching art, because outside of the commercial aspect of art, the field of art isn't truly valued as it should be either. Many think of one facet of art, or are closed minded to the concept of understanding its history and the processes that go into it. It could also be because some may view it [art] as too challenging a field to go into . . . Teaching in of itself is challenging, add the component of art which entails loads of preparation, familiarity with hundreds of materials, teaching students to try a variety of new things without being too critical, and being comfortable with one's own ability in art can be overwhelming. (Debra, personal communication, February 14, 2006)

The art degree can be difficult to pursue. You must have a talent to do art, and you must have a talent to teach. I am an artist as well as a teacher. I am presently working on my masters in art at Winthrop University. The sacrifices are numerous. The pressure can be relentless. We are not raised as Black women to pursue education at this level for art. (Donna, personal communication, May 19, 2006)

I find it puzzling that the education profession is not a highly regarded one, at least at the P-12 level. Engineers, doctors, scientists, and lawyers all had a P-12 education and surely they had competent teachers who inspired and encouraged them. Additionally, as these narratives attest, art education requires familiarity with a multitude of materials and techniques, a high level of technical and conceptual skill, and the ability to effectively teach these skills. This does not take into account the difficult task of socializing learners to be respectful, caring contributors to a global society. Teaching is a profession that requires so much more than imparting knowledge and teaching students to be critical thinkers. As artists/educators, finding strategies to uplift our profession is key in recruiting highly skilled and diverse practitioners whose perspectives and innovations will broaden and enrich the field.

Scarcity of Artist/Educator Role Models of Color

Almost every one of the participants mentioned they had little-to-no contact with artist/educator role models of color in their own education.

In the ten years I have taught art, I have had contact with five African American female art teachers and that includes my trips to art [education] conferences. (Donna, personal communication, May 19, 2006)

From kindergarten to senior high school, I had not had any encounters with any art teachers of color. They were also all female. I went to Howard University for undergrad where I had my first art teachers of color. I had no art teachers of color in grad school. (Linda, personal communication, May 15, 2015)

Minority children tend to mimic the careers and interests of the people in their communities. These people serve as their role models and if few or none are art teachers, then the children themselves will not think about art/art teaching as a career. (Anne, personal communication, February 20, 2006)

Ida, the oldest participant and recently deceased, was born and raised in Brooklyn, New York. She attended private schools, which was unusual for a Black child growing up in the racially segregated Depression era of the 1930s and 1940s. Her mother was a teacher and the biggest influence on her in terms of pursuing a teaching career. Ida attended college during the 1940s and had no contact with any teachers of color, art or otherwise, until she pursued graduate study at Teachers College, Columbia University. She later went on to become an art supervisor and art education professor.

Students of color are not the only ones who feel racial and ethnic diversity in college faculty is crucial to the education process. On one of my teaching evaluations at UNCC in response to the question, "What strengths of this instructor do you feel greatly affected the quality of this course?" a student wrote, "her ethnicity." This was a course in which there were no students of color.

IMPLICATIONS

There is a popular saying, "If you can see it, you can be it." At a fundamental level, these narratives suggest that students of color are more likely to consider the possibility of careers in art/education when they see themselves reflected in the profession. The possibility may increase if they are exposed to artists/educators of color who have achieved financial and personal success. This is a first step toward envisioning the possibility of an art/education career as adults. Additionally, for any student to consider art/education as a career, given the field of education's low level of esteem, establishing meaningful teacher-student relationships, connecting to art teacher role models of any race, ethnicity, or gender may inspire students to see themselves as artists/educators.

The narratives collected here, my own included, examine the impact of racist practices and institutional racism in learning environments in which the context of social interactions between educator/student, student/student, and educator/educator is too often enactments of racial microaggressions in both the curriculum and the teaching/learning relationships. These microaggressions may dissuade students from pursuing art/education careers. The lack of exposure to successful Black artists/educators makes it difficult for students and their families to view art/education as a stable career choice. The lack of support

from higher education institutions and school systems in encouraging and recruiting students of color into art/education careers adds to the perception of art/education as a poor career choice. In addition to reducing racialized social interactions and “destabilizing the presumed neutrality and universality of Whiteness” (Kraehe & Acuff, 2013, p. 297), why is it so important to increase the number of artists/educators of color teaching children of color? Why not just train teachers to be more culturally aware and socially just? First, intersectionality plays a part in whether or not young people see themselves reflected in their teachers. As a profession, education is majority female, and thus a Black female may identify with a White art teacher as a role model because that teacher is also female. Second, educators should strive to be culturally responsive and socially just. Teachers have the power to shape how young people view themselves, their world, and their potential as contributors to a democratic society.

In examining what scholars (Charland, 2010; Chatman, 1993; DiMaggio & Ostrower, 1990) studying similar questions posit in comparison to the narratives collected here, the common thread connecting theoretical concepts appears to be the need for greater diversity in education overall, that educational experiences are enriched when there is a multiplicity of voices, diverse perspectives, and people engaged in social interaction. Ethnocentrism leads to narrow-minded and racist viewpoints and attitudes about the contributions of others. For example, Chatman (1993) states,

The visual arts face a critical need for more minority role models not only to help attract more minority students but to enrich all art students. We cannot expect to turn out exceptional art graduates if our students are only exposed to the work of a narrow segment of society. (p. 22)

This connects with Anne’s comments about children of color mimicking the careers of those they are exposed to in their communities and my observation that the White students in my classes appreciated and learned from my perspective as a Black woman artist/educator. When Black students are exposed to successful Black artists/educators in the same way they are to sports figures, they may see art/education as a viable career option, particularly if they have an affinity or personal interest in art/education. When White students have more opportunities to interact with artists/educators of color they may better appreciate and support the contributions of minorities to the profession and American culture.

Since I began this research ten years ago, the Black Lives Matter movement has shed a spotlight on social and cultural institutions where there is a clear imbalance in the treatment of diverse racial and ethnic groups. The same can be said about the arts and education. A recent article in the *New York Times* addressed the same question that I do, “where are the teachers of color?”

Few would say that a black child needs to be taught by a black teacher or that a Latino or Asian child cannot thrive in a class with a white teacher. “Ultimately, parents are going to respect anybody who they think cares for

their kids. . . but if there are no people who somehow mirror the parents and the kids, then I think there could be a problem” (Andres Alonso as cited in Rich, April 12, 2015, p. 2). This comment reflects the attitudes of several of the respondents I contacted regarding their reasons for becoming artists/educators. For example, Debra commented:

I kind of felt like I should do my part to give back what I have learned to those born after me. . . . [T]here is such a potential for educational success (especially in minority groups), yet there is so little of it used. I figured what better way to give back and expand young minds than to teach art. (personal communication, February 14, 2006)

Students of color need a sense of belonging, of knowing that their people and culture contributed in meaningful ways to the foundation of our country. This may enable them to see themselves as future contributors and innovators and promotes healthy identity formation.

What can be done to increase the number of artists/educators of color? Respondents suggested several strategies for recruiting, retaining, and increasing the number of artists/educators of color. Ida told me that when she began teaching art education at UNCC in 1972 there were many more Black students in the art program, mostly because she recruited them. Having taught for so long in the Charlotte-Mecklenburg school system before and after integration, and being the county art supervisor, she aided in recruiting Black students into the art program. She knew all the principals and art teachers and knew who the gifted art students were. Others mentioned that artists/educators thriving in the field should make time to interact with young students, visit their former high schools, discuss the financial realities, not myths, and encourage students with an interest in art to pursue artistic professions. Linda echoes this in her comments and suggests that personal satisfaction should be the ultimate goal rather than economic gain:

I think that if non-White artists reach out to more young students and encourage them to follow the path of something they believe in rather than just worrying about money, that would help. Also, those that have found financial and personal successes in the art field should take on more young students as interns to give them a practical idea as to how they can: 1-navigate the art world, 2-find success financially, and 3- personal fulfillment. (personal communication, May 15, 2015)

The typical career pattern is to establish oneself in a lucrative profession that will enable one to live a middle-class lifestyle. As one approaches the age of 30 or 40, perhaps he or she tends to think more about personal satisfaction, particularly if financially stable. Making the case to students and parents that art/education is a field where both economic and personal satisfaction can be achieved is one key strategy for increasing the numbers of artists/educators of color.

I think the community needs to be educated on the various different ways that it [art/art education] can be financially sound as a career and also to be willing to work hard if you would like to work in another community [racial and ethnic group outside of your own] and feel confident with code switching [the ability to alternate between two or more languages/cultural codes] a lot. (Carol, personal communication, April 13, 2015)

Tina felt that even more could be done, such as restructuring the curriculum, making the arts a core subject, rather than a *special* one. Changing the perception the field of education has of the arts is fundamental to how parents, students, politicians, and the general public perceive the place of the arts in education.

Some possible strategies or pathways to increase the numbers of non-White artist/art educators are promotion and marketing. In my opinion, race is not the primary issue relevancy is the prevalent concern in art education. Some ways to accomplish this are identifying and promoting the academic implications and critical thinking strategies that would benefit students. Furthermore, making the arts a daily academic subject rather than a special [subject]. Again, making the arts relevant in an education setting will draw more people, White and non-White, to this brilliant field. (Tina, personal communication, May 19, 2015)

Tina acknowledged that race and racial microaggressions are rampant in education in general but felt that attracting more people of any race to art/education was key to establishing art/education as a viable career.

While most of the artists/educators interviewed had few if any artist/educator role models of color as teachers, each had achieved economic and personal satisfaction as artists/educators and were themselves serving as role models to their students. Their suggestions—educating the community through talks at schools and local school board meetings, pushing for curriculum reform, one-to-one mentoring, attending professional conferences, and networking with other artists/educators of color—are all small but powerful ways in which to make a difference in a system that unfairly advantages White students (Chapman, 2007; Gillborn, 2005; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Given that by the year 2050 the population of the US is predicted to be majority persons of color (Passel & Cohn, 2008), art education needs to find ways to address the negative impact of White privilege, the effects of racial and ethnic bias in the arts, and be proactive in the recruitment, support, and retention of artists/educators of color as well as training White artists/educators to be culturally responsive and encouraging toward their students of color. We need to find as many ways as possible for our students of color to envision themselves as artist/educators and change agents for racial balance, equity, and social justice.

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Naming Whiteness in a High School Drama Program: A Youth Participatory Action Research, Theatrical Inquiry into Whiteness

Samuel Jaye Tanner

K-12 schools in the United States are places where white supremacy can be reproduced or disrupted. Schools are constituted as potentially both oppressive *and* generative spaces for students and teachers to either submit to or transform the operating logics of white supremacy. Educational scholars such as Gloria Ladson-Billings (2000), Zeus Leonardo (2013), and Decoteau Irby (2014), have examined US schools for traces of what critical race theorist Cheryl Harris (1995) calls the “heavy legacy” (p. 290) of whiteness as property. These scholars of color illustrate how schools were created to serve White people. Still, there is a need to explore how White teachers and students might participate in dismantling the legacy of whiteness as property in schools.

As a White English and drama teacher invested in anti-racist practice, I designed a teaching project during the 2012–2013 school year so that the mostly White high school students in the extracurricular drama program at my school could study whiteness (see Beach, Johnston, & Thein [2015] and Tanner [2015, 2016] for other descriptions of this project). *The Whiteness Project* was a teaching project in which I employed an arts-based, critical whiteness pedagogy. Students participated in Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) that investigated whiteness. They wrote and performed a play that was inspired by their inquiry. I documented our work using methods of critical ethnographic research. This chapter is concerned with two questions that emerged as I considered how whiteness contributed to the way my school’s theater program worked:

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1. In what ways did the mostly White students and adults in this theater program reify whiteness as property?
2. In what ways were they able to challenge or transform whiteness?

First, I describe the theoretical design and practical implementation of *The Whiteness Project*. Next, I use the work of critical whiteness studies (CWS) scholars—especially relying on scholars of color such as Toni Morrison (1992) and The Reverend Thandeka (1999)—to theorize my vignettes. In doing so, I identify how white supremacist logic was defended and transformed through the work of the participants. I hope other educators might be inspired by my work to imagine different interventions that mobilize arts-based practices to identify and undermine the reproduction of white supremacy in schools. Barone and Eisner (2011) describe arts-based research as “an effort to utilize the forms of thinking and forms of representation that the arts provide as means through which the world can be better understood and through such understandings comes the enlargement of mind” (p. xi). Specifically, I utilized the creation of a play as a way to engage my White students in this enlargement.

SECOND-WAVE CRITICAL WHITENESS STUDIES AND CRITICAL WHITENESS PEDAGOGY

Although CWS has gained traction in the field of education, still there is a noticeable lack of research concerning practical implementations of critical whiteness pedagogies. Much of the established teaching and learning on White identities in education are overly rooted in McIntosh’s (1988) white privilege framework that simply documents White colorblind identities (McIntyre, 1997, Levine-Rasky, 2000; Sleeter, 1993). Lensmire et al. (2013) are critical of this focus on white privilege. They argue that it has led to confessional pedagogies across diverse teaching and learning contexts that actually impede the efforts of anti-racism pedagogies with White people. This is because confession is not the same as action or transformation. Jupp (2013) also critiques the limitations of white privilege frameworks and identifies a second wave of CWS in which White identities are conceptualized in more sophisticated and nuanced ways.

Jupp, Berry, and Lensmire (2016) completed an exhaustive review of second-wave critical whiteness scholarship. They write that, from this second-wave approach, whiteness “refers to hegemonic racial structurings of social and material realities” and that White identity “refers to the multiple, intersecting, and (often) privileged race-evasive ways of conjugating” identity but, importantly, “does not totalize, reduce, or essentialize White identities to these important, however partial, understandings” (p. 5). I situate this chapter in this space of second-wave CWS, an approach that does not essentialize White identity. Doing so might provide what Jupp, Berry, and Lensmire (2016) described as a key opportunity

to develop and revise multidimensional curriculum and pedagogy that presume complex understandings of race-evasive and race-visible White identities, that recognize the problematics and potentials of race-visible representations, and that anticipate the intricate missteps and advancements that accompany teaching and learning about race, whiteness, and White identity. (p. 27)

Creating multidimensional, second-wave critical whiteness teaching projects might be difficult, in part, because of the complexity of the White psyche. Thandeka (1999) describes White identity as a meltdown that results from being raised by caretakers who force White children to adhere to a White ideal. This racialization process creates emotional rage in White people against persons who have been Othered. In her words, “Such rage can flow from the release of ancient feelings of fury against the persons who originally assaulted the self for being different – one’s own caretakers – now directed towards persons who have been racialized as ‘different’” (Thandeka, 1999, p. 128). Furthermore, Toni Morrison (1992) claims that “an internal devastation is linked with a socially governed relationship with race” (p. ix). In other words, teachers should expect White students to react to multidimensional teaching about whiteness with rage, devastation, and turmoil. Certainly, this is illustrated in the vignettes I share later in this chapter.

The Whiteness Project experimented with how Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR) and a theater production could be used to address Lensmire’s (2010) call for more complex, nuanced pedagogies meant to motivate anti-racist action in White students. Ultimately, I use this chapter to transgress. I tell and interpret stories about a unique teaching project “that might disturb this internalized, inflexible ordering of racial reality. Perhaps our internal reference points for race existed so as not to permit us to analyze our White identities, and potentially resist the lockstep discipline of our Whiteness” (Tanner, 2017, p. 11).

MULTIDIMENSIONAL PEDAGOGY: YPAR AND PLAYBUILDING

Both YPAR and playbuilding offer potentially decolonizing disruptions to traditional educational practices because they can be used by educators to: (a) design learning outcomes in collaboration with youth, (b) share power with a youth collective, and (c) allow the ideas generated by the collective to dictate the curricular or artistic agenda. In other words, content is not imposed on students. Rather, an organic process occurs where people share power to generate educational processes. Cammaroto and Fine (2008) argue that “PAR blurs the line between pedagogy, research, and politics” and serves as “an invitation to a long-term struggle that forces us to operate in these in between spaces” (p. viii). Furthermore, Fine (2008) describes action research with youth as “a radical *epistemological challenge* to the traditions of social science, most critically on the topic of where knowledge resides” (p. 215). YPAR offered a unique way to study whiteness. Situated by this project, whiteness was

not treated as static content that could objectively be presented to students; rather, it was employed as a concept that students could conceptualize and consider on their own and, therefore, transform.

Playbuilding served as a useful, arts-based vehicle to mobilize our inquiry (see Norris (2009) for models of my approach to engaging students in the creation of a play). Students engaged in playbuilding by creating a collaborative play. The play extended their consideration of whiteness. Students represented their understanding of whiteness through the artistic work of writing a script, acting as characters, and producing a performance. Indeed, Norris (2009) contends that playbuilding is a “form of participatory research in the extreme” because of its inclusion of a live audience and a process where “all stages of the research are collaborative and open to the possibility of new insight from other participants” (p. 40). In concert with YPAR, playbuilding created unique pedagogical conditions for students to engage art to conduct a radical consideration of whiteness.

THE WHITENESS PROJECT

Nearly 40 9th to 12th grade students spent the 2012–2013 school year voluntarily engaged in *The Whiteness Project*. Most of the students were White, though there were a few students of color. A smaller group—of roughly 15 students—was engaged in each of the three phases of the project described below, whereas others only interacted with research, writing, or the production of the play. I recruited students the previous year by announcing the project at the drama program’s annual awards ceremony. All students had some previous involvement with the extracurricular drama program at Primville Area High School (PAHS).¹

Students met with me during the summer of 2012 before the school year began. Initial work consisted of journal entries, theatrical exercises (i.e. image theater, sculpting, and scene creation), and discussions in response to questions such as: (a) What is whiteness? (b) When did you learn that you were or were not White? (c) What do you want to learn about whiteness? Students participated in workshops in September that dealt with concepts such as white privilege, historical race law, critical whiteness theory, structural white supremacy, and excerpts of work by authors of color such as Toni Morrison (1992), Ralph Ellison (1953/1993), and The Reverend Thandeka (1999). Students also designed and conducted various research projects during the fall. One group used theater workshops with elementary students in the school district to investigate how children understand and embodied race at different age levels. Another group devised an ethnographic study of White and Black spaces in the high school. We met weekly to discuss our research, findings, and reflect on what the group was learning about whiteness.

¹The name of the high school has been changed in this report.

As both a teacher and a researcher, I spent the year facilitating this process, as well as taking daily fieldnotes, documenting student work via video recordings, and collecting students' journals, poems, essays, and scriptwriting along with ethnographic artifacts. Ultimately, my purpose in *The Whiteness Project* was to work with the heavy legacy of whiteness in my local context as a high school teacher and drama director. Doing so unearthed multiple entry points into examining whiteness, white supremacy, and—to borrow from Harris (1995) once more—the function of whiteness as property in our high school drama program. What follows is not a comprehensive analysis of this project; rather, it is a storied interpretation of a small cross-section of data in relation to the question I asked earlier.

DEFENDING AND TRANSFORMING WHITENESS AS PROPERTY

As mentioned earlier, I rely on Toni Morrison (1992) and The Reverend Thandeka (1999) to theorize ethnographic vignettes below in terms of the ways in which White people defended whiteness as property—often ambivalently—in the drama program during the year *The Whiteness Project* took place. In other words, whiteness was not something that was openly discussed in our robust, locally acclaimed theater program. Most of the White people involved in the program, students and teachers alike, would express anti-racist sentiments. Still, our program was almost entirely White. People of color did not seem to have a place in it.

The defense of whiteness as property was visible at an individual level through a White student, Megan's, involvement in the project, which I describe below. It was also clear at a social level through informal student interactions—namely two White students, Tony and Adam's, joking in the vignettes below. Finally, it happened at a structural level through the well-intentioned planning of my White colleague, Veronica.

Next, I rely on student work that came from *The Whiteness Project* to draw conclusions about how to subvert whiteness as property. Both Hannah and Victoria—also White students—wrote essays to conceive of ways to create change in our own drama program. The collaborative play students wrote also reflected Hannah and Victoria's realizations.

IN DEFENSE OF WHITENESS

Megan Megan was a White, 11th grade student who was invested in all phases of the project. She kept a detailed journal, attended workshops and meetings, and conducted various research investigations that included an analysis of whiteness in social media.

Megan chose 26 screenshots from social media that included images, captions, and comments from the following social media sites: Facebook, Twitter, Tumblr, and Instagram. She created a short description of each screenshot in

order to consider how whiteness operated in each of the 26 images. Megan made handouts for other students and gave a talk about her analysis at the research session that was held after school in my classroom.

One of the screenshots that Megan captured was an anonymously published Tumblr post that simply read: “white teenagers: nigga.”² The post did not contain an image. Still, Megan reacted to it strongly. Megan responded to the post by writing the following statement on a handout she created for her peers:

This just bothers me. I don’t know why, it just does. It has to do with racial masks, and playing a character gleaned from the media – “whaddup, bro?” etc. Teenagers talk in certain voices/using certain words to appear a certain way, to wear a certain mask. It just bothers me. (Megan’s description of social media handout)

Megan uses the phrase “just bothers me” twice in this excerpt to express an aversion (and confusion) brought about by the idea of White teenagers using the word “nigga” in the public space of a Tumblr post. Thandeka’s (1999) complex theorization of how White people react to whiteness—as described below—is useful in making sense of Megan’s response, a response that may be illustrative as to how whiteness defends itself as property at the individual level.

Thandeka (1999) argued that White people do not always knowingly defend white supremacy because of a desire to protect, privilege, and oppress people of color. Rather, she understood “Euro-American’s White racial identity as an impaired sense of a core self, an inability to relate to others with self-integrity” (p. 26). For Thandeka, this impaired condition “is the result of episodes in which a person’s difference from a White ideal was attacked by her or his own caretaker(s)” (p. 26). Thandeka concluded that White people face severe, internal consequences whenever they are reminded of the trauma that accompanied learning to submit to the White ideal at the hands of their caretaker(s). According to her, the

white self-image that emerges from this process will include the emotional fallout from the self-annihilating process that created it: the breakup of one’s own sense of coherency, efficacy, and agency as a personal center of activity. Whenever the content of this white racial image is exposed, white self-consciousness can feel shame – and rage. (p. 26)

Megan’s response to this post on Tumblr could be read as a small example of what Thandeka described as the “self-annihilating process” of whiteness. The Tumblr post itself was very simple. Still, Megan’s reaction to the short phrase was visible discomfort and confusion. Perhaps, Megan was confused when confronted with words that triggered reflections on her own White self-image.

² *Nigga* is a colloquial term used in African-American Vernacular English. It is a reappropriation of the ethnic slur *nigger*.

External reminders of whiteness cause White people to recall the socialization process and, as Thandeka argues, leads to “white self-consciousness,” “shame,” and “rage.” In Megan’s own words, the post “bothers her but she is not sure why.” Being “bothered” by the juxtaposition of the phrase “white teenager” and the word “nigga” disturbs Megan, and this obstructs her ability to think sensibly about how whiteness operates in this post. Her response is honest, but it may also hinder careful reflection on white supremacy in this instance because she is “bothered.”

Whiteness as property might be defended from scrutiny on an individual level—not because of Megan’s insidious desire to uphold her own privilege—but, rather, because she is upset when whiteness is made visible to her *and* her own reaction confuses her. The Tumblr post is just a short phrase, but her reaction is significant. Despite her attempt to analyze them, the three words impede her ability to carefully consider the text.

By the time of the student research presentations, I had shared with Natalie—a White former student and volunteer, teaching and research assistant who helped facilitate and document the project—my concerns about the increasing difficulty Megan was having with this project. Natalie shared these concerns. Her fieldnotes in December document this worry when she wrote, “Megan seems to get angry with this process and I am not sure why” (Natalie’s fieldnotes, January 12, 2012). Megan grew quiet or frustrated in meetings. I discussed Thandeka’s (1999) conception of white rage with Natalie. We began to wonder if Megan’s surprisingly volatile outbursts were due to the continued exposure of her White racial image due to the project. Whereas Megan’s reaction was the most extreme, other White students also took us aback with their volatile responses to studying whiteness. Indeed, I documented how emotional some of my White students became during their participation in the project. I wrote that “Hannah has cried three or four times” and “Victoria just sort of exploded on a number of occasions,” causing me to wonder in my journal if whiteness might be “attached to deep emotional instability” (fieldnotes, November 28, 2012).

Natalie set up weekly meetings with Megan to talk through her responses to this project. This mentorship helped Megan vent and process her frustration. At the end of the project, when asked if she had figured out what whiteness was in an interview with Natalie, she responded:

NO! (*Laughs*). I know how to deal with people better than I did. I will never stop thinking about this. ‘Cause like, I think about this stuff all the time and I have for a while but I notice stuff more. It’s never going to be the same for my family, ‘cause any time something racially related comes up my mom goes “Hey, Megan, whiteness” and I’m like stop stop. (Megan, interview, May 24, 2013)

This comment suggests Megan both continued to struggle with a consideration of the White racial image (i.e. “stop stop”) *and* was becoming used to being conscious of whiteness in her everyday life. Megan’s experience suggests

White people may not always be aware of how they defend against contemplations of whiteness at an individual level. This can cause confusion or, as Lensmire (2010) described it, extreme ambivalence. This ambivalence manifests in public interactions—in this case, Megan’s involvement in a high school theater program—where it protects white supremacy by activating white rage (Thandeka, 1999) instead of a careful reflection or discussion about race. White rage protects whiteness as property because White people have difficulty holding the White racial image in their consciousness, making it difficult to think or talk sensibly about whiteness.

Adam and Tony Adam and Tony were two White students who more overtly—though perhaps naively—defended the drama program at PAHS as white property. Adam was a senior during *The Whiteness Project* and Tony was a junior. Both Adam and Tony participated in each of the three phases of the project. Other students saw them as leaders in the drama program at PAHS and generally looked up to them. Adam and Tony shared an off-color sense of humor. They joked about sexuality, race, and taboo subjects. I often laughed with Adam and Tony because they were funny, intelligent young men. *The Whiteness Project* forced me to take pause when their subject matter turned racial. I no longer laughed with my students. Instead, I puzzled over the nature of their humor.

Humor is complicated in educational spaces. Hansen (2012) and Tierney (2013) have written about the importance of paying careful attention to humor in educational space. Specifically, Tierney wrote an account of how three male students of different races used what first appeared to be racist humor to engage practices of deep critical learning. She asked educators to consider how humor can illustrate critical, joyful learning. Paying attention to Adam and Tony led me to believe that they were using humor to both critique normative white supremacy *and* defend our theater program as a White space. Below, I illustrate how Adam and Tony reified the drama program as white property.

I had to cancel a whiteness project meeting the morning before school early in October. Without letting me know, the school’s principal had scheduled a meeting in the auditorium, the site of our weekly morning meetings. Fourteen students showed up at 7:00 A.M. to attend and, without a place to meet, they walked down to my theater classroom to join other students gathered there. Many students involved in the theater program socialized in my classroom before and after school. I had created a circle of comfortable chairs that belonged to my grandmother near the door—away from the more official spaces of my office, the stage, and desks.

I returned to my classroom that morning, went to my office, and used the morning to catch up on my fieldnotes. I overheard Tony and Adam joking with each other while other students listened and laughed:

As I am writing this, it is 7:40 in the morning. There are 20 drama kids over in my grandmother's chairs area. Adam is pretending to be an ambiguous foreign person and is reading a story aloud in a ridiculous accent and everybody is gathered around and laughing. And they are all White. And he just said, "because, that is how Mexicans talk," after reading the story. "Isn't it Spanish?" one of the students asked. "No, it's Mexican," Tony laughed. (fieldnotes, October 1, 2012)

This excerpt illustrates how two White students' joking protected the theater program as white property. Adam's essentialist performance of a "foreigner" that speaks Spanish and Tony's naïve response that all Spanish speakers are Mexican served as ridicule that excluded non-Whites from their social interaction. In this moment, both young men performed a perceived difference from the White ideal in order to elicit a laugh, which solidified that difference. Their White audience—all participants in the drama program—accepted this humor. This joking likely would have alienated any students of color who might have wanted to hang out with the theater kids in the morning. Tony and Adam were both conducting research into whiteness *and* protecting the whiteness of the drama program by joking.

Two students of color who were involved in *The Whiteness Project* commented on different occasions that Adam and Tony's sense of humor made them uncomfortable (fieldnotes, January 27, 2013). A month later, I scheduled a meeting with Adam to discuss his sense of humor. During this meeting, he told me he "was not a racist" and the reason he joked about race was just to "make people laugh." When I asked him if he would make the same types of jokes around people of color, he told me "if I was comfortable enough with the person, yes" (conversation with Adam, February 28, 2013).

The problem was that people of color did not feel comfortable enough to laugh *with* Adam or Tony, so it was rare that Adam actually interacted with people of color. Whereas humor can be used to critique white supremacist ideology (and Tony and Adam actually used it to do so in scenes they created for the play), it was also used in ways that made students of color feel unwelcome in the drama program.

Veronica My colleague Veronica was excited to introduce her production of the play *A Raisin in the Sun*. She believed that it would be exciting for our students of color if our program were to produce a traditionally Black play. Hafsa was a junior; she was also a student of color. Hafsa told me she had been upset by the way that *A Raisin in the Sun* was announced at the annual awards ceremony. After Veronica introduced the show, Hafsa said Tony and Adam were in the first row, and she saw they were laughing. She didn't think that producing *A Raisin in the Sun* would be an effective way to bring students of color into our program. I responded by telling her that thinking about Veronica's whiteness and how that informed her thought to do the project might be interesting (fieldnotes, May 30, 2012).

I was worried that *A Raisin in the Sun* would fail because Veronica did not spend enough time considering her own whiteness or structural white supremacy when planning the project. Nor did she reach out to Black students to find out what plays they might be interested in producing. Nor did I for that matter. Gonzalez, Cantu, Gonzalez (2006) illustrate how a drama project focused on Latinx identity was unsuccessful at disrupting white supremacy in a high school theater program because “we did not address whiteness. Latinx ethnicity was set against the unspoken and unnamed power of whiteness” (p. 124). My fear was that Veronica was setting Black identity up in a similar way by producing *A Raisin in the Sun* in a drama program that had never attempted to account for the presence of whiteness. Natalie also noticed this when Veronica described the project at an informational meeting for parents in the fall. Natalie wrote the following in her fieldnotes:

Veronica’s announcement about *A Raisin in the Sun* project: She mentioned a lack of diverse participation in PAHS drama, and a propensity to produce “white shows,” she discussed colorblind casting. She said it doesn’t matter if a family has a white mother, black father, and Asian child. (Natalie’s fieldnotes [account of an event], September 22, 2012)

Natalie followed up her account of Veronica’s statement with the analytic memo below:

This seemed absolutely absurd to me. Not only did the idea of “colorblind casting” sound ridiculous because obviously everyone is some race and that is part of who they are, but also was Veronica not listening to what Tanner was working on? Obviously Tanner’s show would take this issue on in a much more academic, meaningful way than this crazy notion. Singling out African-American students to act in a show specifically chosen for African-American students would probably make the whole lack of diversity thing an even bigger issue. Now you are suggesting that students of color should only feel comfortable participating when the show is directly tied to their race? And what about the idea of colorblind casting, I guess that’s out the window when you want an all minority cast. (Natalie’s fieldnotes [analytic memo], September 22, 2012)

As Natalie, Hafsa, and I worried, Veronica’s project was not successful in creating a more inclusive drama program. She held auditions and cast an all-Black ensemble in February—during Black History Month.

The timing of the play was remarkable. To Veronica’s mind, perhaps, it was appropriate to share the drama program with Black students precisely because it was Black History Month. But producing this particular project during Black History Month reinforced whiteness as property by affirming the notion that Black students would be welcomed into the theater program only during times that the White institution had sanctioned for them.

Students stopped attending after two rehearsals and the play was never performed. Veronica blamed the students’ poor work ethic and lack of commit-

ment. Veronica's characterization of her students offended me, because it seemed frightfully consistent with longstanding racial stereotypes. These same students confided in me when I spoke with them later that they could not work with Veronica:

"She doesn't get it, Mr. Tanner," one girl told me. "She's so White."

Veronica's failure might be more fully explained by Gonzalez et al. (2006) studied reflection on staging a play. The White director in that research learned that breaking down white supremacist contexts required reckoning with whiteness:

It has taken me nearly three decades to recognize ways that whiteness permeates my personal and professional life. But I am just now considering that a successful intercultural exchange in my drama program first requires that we identify whiteness and make it visible, and second, that all participants engage in the more complex process of self-cultural interrogation. (p. 138)

Perhaps, Veronica's failure came from not engaging students in a more complex interrogation of how whiteness permeated her "personal and professional life." She protected whiteness as a form of property in the drama program by attempting to diversify our program through the inclusion of a "Black play" without first accounting for her own whiteness and how structural white supremacy undergirded our program. Furthermore, both Veronica and I contributed to whiteness as property by not inviting Black students into discussions about how to create a more inclusive drama program, even if it meant rearranging our scheduled theater season. I had this conversation about including racial diversity in the theater program many times with individual students of color—many of whom participated in *The Whiteness Project*—but I never tried to give them a slot in our theater program to produce a show. It is also important to note that when a "Black play" was scheduled, it was relegated to a slot that coincided with Black History Month, thereby affirming that the rest of the calendar year was not to be disturbed by a "Black performance."

Veronica was as skeptical of *The Whiteness Project* as I was of her production of *A Raisin in the Sun*. I admired her desire to tackle issues of race but, to my mind, whiteness was the primary issue to tackle, before students of color might feel as though they had a stake in our theater program.

Hannah and Victoria Hannah and Victoria, both White, were 11th grade students during *The Whiteness Project*. They were involved in all three phases. Despite disparate research agendas (Hannah's research question wondered if identifying as queer normalized whiteness whereas Victoria was investigating how White people learned to be White as children), both brought essays to me on the same morning in February. They arrived around 7:00 A.M. on a Thursday morning before school with their pieces. I was surprised that each

girl had voluntarily written an essay based on their YPAR research that considered how we could make our theater program more racially inclusive. Each essay outlined what the students thought was needed to transform the racial climate of our theater program. We sat together and discussed what they had written in my grandmother's chairs.

Hannah's essay was three pages in length, while Victoria's was nearly 20 pages. Both were calling for careful self-reflection by White participants in the drama program in order to understand how they participated in creating an oppressive environment that stifled and repressed difference. Hannah wrote, "the judgment and hate in our community originate inside of all of us. Until we face it inside ourselves we cannot get rid of the pain" (Hannah's essay, February 7, 2013). Victoria worried, "we do not see ourselves in others, we see ourselves in our ourselves. That is our problem" (Victoria's essay, February 7, 2013). Both girls shared their essays with the group at our next meeting. Their conclusions influenced our playbuilding. The student authors imagined a community that was creating harm. The play's final monologue, shared below, illustrates this realization.

The Play Art provided the most concise expression of the collective's realization that whiteness was a problem. Students used their performances of fictional characters to embody violence. They portrayed emotions such as rage, melancholy, and fear. Adam played Bedford, a white supremacist who rose to power in their fictional community. Victoria characterized a little girl who was ostracized by the community because she was different. There were countless embodied performances of the ideas discussed earlier in this chapter.

Ultimately, the students conceptualized whiteness as a virus in the play. The play finished with the mayor of their fictional town realizing that using this virus as justification to protect privilege and property was damaging everyone in the community. The mayor shared this in her final speech to the town after a little girl died due to violence instigated by oppression. Barone (2001) argues that sometimes a story should be presented without theorization in research. I'll let the mayor's monologue stand alone as the students' theorization of how to disrupt the reproduction of our drama program as white property.

Mayor: Citizens, all of this horror in our town was due to us. These people (*gestures to family*) came here for a new beginning. We have made this place an appealing spot to raise a family. Can we hate them for wanting what we all want? To keep their family safe, to work a steady job, safety, and to know that they aren't being eyed as some sort of alien? This is what we thought we had created. We were wrong. We turned against them. We clung to what was ours. We raved and spewed nonsense out of fear, because we thought that our lifestyle was in jeopardy. Was that really so? Do they seek happiness to destroy us? If we think this, what does that say about us as people? Citizens, I have told you to hide

behind this virus. We cannot see. Our fear is so potent that it has blinded us. Look at what we are doing. We are the villains. We have sought sanctuary in our victimization. It is an us versus them world we have made. We broke ourselves. We are the virus. The virus is part of us. It always has been and always will be. It hides in the back of our thoughts. All it takes is one family like this (*refers to Sam, Uma, Hurston*) and it all comes to the surface. We can't allow ourselves to follow this path anymore. (Looks at Amara, Hurston, Roman, town, audience) I am sorry.

DISCUSSION

Interpreting the vignettes, I now consider how *The Whiteness Project* might be instructive in designing a second wave of critical whiteness pedagogy. First, Megan's work illustrates how Thandeka's (1999) concept of white rage impedes the consideration of whiteness by White students. I am reminded of the critique of white privilege pedagogy that was mentioned at the outset. If teachers design simple anti-racist pedagogy that is meant to make White students consider how racist they are, they can expect a defensive—Thandeka (1999) called it rage—response. To my mind, educators need to be ready to help White students process the rage that comes from exposing White students to what Thandeka likened to the nuclear explosion that is the by-product of being made White in the United States.

Thandeka's (1999) theory is also helpful in thinking through both Tony and Adam, and Veronica. Tony and Adam's use of humor shows how they deflected an analysis of whiteness (and, perhaps, the potential to disturb whiteness as property) through humor. Humor functioned as a protective mechanism for them, in that it allowed them to joke about something, all the while ensuring that their whiteness was not allowed to be interrogated. Perhaps they were unknowingly fearful of the rage that would come with making whiteness visible to themselves in *The Whiteness Project*. Perhaps, rather than assuming racial humor from White students is overtly racist, we should consider how humor is a defense mechanism employed as a deflection from sensitive content that a student might not be willing to discuss in an overly simplified lesson or classroom.

Veronica's well-intentioned plan to invite students of color into our theater program may have failed because she assumed that making blackness more visible in our theater program would make it a more inclusive organization. In a way, Veronica's move to schedule *A Raisin in the Sun* became a way to deflect against considerations of her own whiteness. For her, race was about the Black students, and this allowed her to blame them when the project failed, rather than herself. The rage that Thandeka (1999) theorized, as existing in all people who have been made White in the United States, was disguised because issues of race were about Black students, not about the White teacher (or White students). Whiteness as property is not questioned in such a relationship, and this contributes to the ongoing reification of white supremacy.

Finally, both Hannah and Victoria's work points to the potential of pedagogies that enable students to make more complex moves. I never created any simple sessions during *The White Project* where there were articulated answers. Students could not admit that they have privilege, and be right. Instead, they had to continue to consider what White identity and white supremacy were, and how those things influenced their lives. The very real product that was expected of them—reports of research and a school play—added rigor to their investigations. Thus, when they brought essays to me in the winter, Hannah and Victoria seemed to have begun moving past white rage. They were already conceiving ways to transform the racial problems they were identifying in our theater program. Furthermore, Hannah and Victoria played major roles in our production and channeled emotions such as rage, alienation, and melancholy.

CONCLUSION

White people have an important role to play in working to dismantle white supremacy. This extends to dismantling whiteness as property as well. Perhaps educators need to create pedagogical spaces that account for the complexity of whiteness in order to engage students in this work. Toni Morrison's response to journalist Charlie Rose in a 1998 interview illustrates the important stake White people have in better understanding whiteness:

[I]t's [white supremacy] like it is a profound neurosis that nobody examines for what it is. It feels crazy, it is crazy ... it has just as much of a deleterious effect on White people, and possibly equal, as it does Black people.... And my feeling is that White people have a very serious problem.

As Morrison says, the continued reproduction of white supremacy is damaging to all of its participants. Educators interested in undermining the arts as white property in schools need to account for the subtle and explicit ways that whiteness manifests and defends itself. I do not suggest that *The Whiteness Project* should serve as an ideal model for such pedagogy. Certainly, the teaching and learning was messy. I was frustrated, overwhelmed, and often out of my element during the project. Still, I think the stories and subsequent interpretations I share here are useful to teachers who want to engage White students in anti-racist learning.

Thandeka's (1999) theorization of whiteness is worth considering once more. Her work suggests that we need more nuanced pedagogies about whiteness—pedagogies that welcome emotion and subsequent processing of emotion. Certainly, arts-based teaching and learning can provide spaces where emotion is welcome. This was true in the production of our play. Students created dramatic monologues that expressed alienation, rage, and even sadness, as was the case in the Mayor's monologue I shared above, through the delivery of content to a large audience each night of the performance (our audiences averaged 300 people per night and received negative attention from local

media outlets, as well as from a national blog that is associated with media pundit Glenn Beck, *The Blaze*).

Lensmire (2010) argued that there are costs associated with White people's need to reassert their own superiority, especially because White people know they are not actually superior. He wrote, "the exhaustion and emotional costs of playing the role of White American are openings to critical work on race with White people" (p. 27). YPAR and playbuilding created openings for my White students to work on race. Certainly, there is a need for educators to design multidimensional teaching and learning to disrupt whiteness as property in schools and society in the United States.

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Navigating “Crooked Rooms”: Intersections of Race and Arts Participation

Gloria J. Wilson

A trend of declines in arts participation among Black Americans¹ over the last 30 years hints at the problematics of a system that has organized itself along the register of racial lines (Gooding-Williams, 1996; Welch & Kim, 2010). These declines in participation have been documented in two ways: *consumption of* and *personal creation of* works of art (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011). Problematizing these declines, Black Americans who have chosen participation through personal creation of artworks have endured the challenges of systemic racism by employing strategic movements as a means to participate within the world of art (Harris, 2003; Powell, 2002). Influenced by personal (inner) cues and institutional (outer) factors, these strategies subsist in a constant state of flux.

In this chapter, I offer vignettes of three Black American artists who have used specific artmaking strategies as a means of managing their participation within a Western art world. My aim is to expand on recent scholarship on arts participation (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011), by shifting the lens to uncover how an *arts participation identity* has been interpreted in such a way that it has

¹The terminology used to characterize individuals in my dissertation study included African American, Black, and Black American. I acknowledge the variance in terminology as well as the fact that members of each of these groups may prefer to be called by another designation (for commentary, see Nieto, 1992). Certainly, the use of varying terms and the lack of consistency in the use of terms among publications make the process of writing about and discussing race more arduous. I have also chosen to give equal importance and consistency to racial designation of *Black* (American), signified by the use of uppercase lettering; according to the APA Publication Manual, 6th edition, racial and ethnic groups are designated by proper nouns and are capitalized.

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channeled the movements of Black Americans who aspire to acquire such an identity (Harris, 1993, 2003).

Drawing inspiration from research in cognitive psychology, I found the concepts of field dependence/independence (Witkin, Moore, Goodenough, & Cox, 1977) useful in order to suggest a *crooked room* analogy (Harris-Perry, 2011). I argue that Black artists, attempting to locate and define their participation within a hegemonic art world, must mediate their movements within a visual culture that has advanced harmful representations of their humanity (Gooding-Williams, 1996; Harris, 2003; Jones, 2012). In other words, these artists have employed varied artmaking strategies in response to the mythical representations of the Black body (Dyer, 2006; Harris, 2003; Pieterse, 1990). Bombarded with warped portrayals, I wondered how Black artists who have found success in this culture might make accommodations in order to challenge the distortions. As such, the life story vignettes I offer act as an alternative lens, providing insight into historical ideologies of Black inferiority and a look at how Black American artists have maneuvered around these mythic ideologies in order to participate as art makers.

BLACK AMERICANS AND ARTS PARTICIPATION

Important in scope, surveys funded by the National Endowment for the Arts (NEA) (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011) narrowly focus on declining arts offerings in low-resource environments, yet they pay less regard to the role of an embedded White supremacist value system (hooks, 1995) and the arc of impact on participation among Black American youth and adults. Expanding the conversation to include Black Americans who *have* adopted arts participation identities (art producers, presenters, and educators) has proven a wieldy undertaking for me. Far from exhaustive, this chapter offers one of many viable and significant perspectives on factors that contribute to the development of an arts participation identity.

I am interested in advancing an examination of the strategies used by Black Americans in the world of arts education and how these individuals navigate the pathologies of racism. Studies addressing the experiences of Black artists and artists in education are emerging (Bey, 2011; Jenoure, 2000; Kraehe, 2015; Rolling & Bey, 2016). At the core, addressing intersections of racial identity negotiation and professional aspirations in art provides insight into the challenges associated with the mediation of these identities and a broader understanding of how members of this community navigate paths into and through a sometimes “unwelcoming, uncomprehending, and unsympathetic environment” (Jenoure, 2000, p. ix). These studies contribute to a deeper understanding of the aspirations of art participators who identify as Black and how oppressive constructs of race and racism influence the possibility of identity foreclosure (Kraehe, 2015; Rolling & Bey, 2016).

More recent surveys addressing barriers impacting arts participation examine the relative importance of the variables of race and ethnicity (Blume-Kohout & Leonard, 2015). These surveys do not offer an exploration of the significance

and complex realities of a Black American experience. They lack nuanced disclosure of how the art world has been organized along the register of racial lines. Critical examination of this system—including, but not limited to, people involved in the production, presentation, promotion, and chronicling of art—can expose the varied dimensions of power embedded within it (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; hooks, 1995).

In thinking about the dynamics of arts participation, I have considered these questions: “Who has been given the right to participate in the art world, as a system?”, “Who has been given the right to exclude others from participating?”, and “What methods of inclusion/exclusion (both subtle and obvious) have been enacted?”

Questioning systems of privilege lifts the veil of “ordinary-ness” shrouding institutionalized racism. Scholars who examine the art world as a system—where its participants (specifically Black art producers) have responded to racist imagery as a means of developing an aesthetic “emanating from the intensity of a [Black] experience” (Harris, 2003, p. ix)—have investigated the impact of racial ideology on such artmaking practices (Harris, 2003; Powell, 2002). What becomes clear, is that set against a racialized system, the persistence of identity negotiation is related to a historical pattern of unearned privilege that has given this means of participation a type of normalized logic.

ART AS PURSUIT AND IDENTITY: FINDING THE “UPRIGHT” IN CROOKED ROOMS

Black artists have managed acceptance into the mainstream art world through varied strategies of artmaking, indicating that these artists have necessarily deployed these strategies as a means for attaining recognition and membership into this cultural system (Harris, 2003; Powell, 2002). For the purposes of this chapter, I focus on the following three distinct artmaking strategies that have been employed by three Black American artists as a means to navigate an arts participation identity:

1. *assimilation* as a means to resist caricatures and stereotypes through imagery,
2. *self-determination* for the advancement of a heterogeneous Black identity, and
3. *resistance* as a method of reappropriation and reawakening to injustices of the past.

Thinking about arts participation in these ways is central for a critical arts education reflection.

Despite the construction and institutionalization of harmful stereotypical representation, which characterizes racism in itself (Omi & Winant, 2015), Black artists across time have asserted a sense of agency through the use of these varied strategies, thereby managing an arts participation identity (Bandura,

2001; Harris, 2003). I utilize the concepts of *field dependence/independence* as a means to describe a constant reorientation and negotiation of Black identity through artmaking practice in response to the external negative visual cues provided by the art world, as documented since the mid-nineteenth century (Harris, 2003). I include a brief discussion of race as a social construct, as necessary for grounding these claims.

Field (In)Dependence

Conducted in the 1940s, field dependence studies (Witkin et al., 1977) were used to examine the extent to which people are influenced by inner (field-independent) or environmental (field-dependent) factors. In these studies, participants were asked to examine themselves in relation to their surroundings. With participants seated in a chair within a darkened movable room, researchers would then make adjustments to the room and chair, tilting each various degrees, and participants were then asked to orient themselves vertically, based on the newly adjusted surrounding environment. Some perceived themselves as straight only in relation to their surroundings. To the researchers' surprise, some people could be tilted as much as 35 degrees and report that they were perfectly vertical, simply because they were aligned with surroundings that were equally tilted. Few managed to get themselves more or less upright regardless of how tilted the surroundings were (Witkin et al., 1977), suggesting an *independence* from the surrounding environment. In what follows, I look at the world of fine art and visual culture as an informal learning environment—a pedagogical site of knowledge transmission—that provides the foundation for a normativity, or upright/vertical orientation, skewed to benefit White artists while simultaneously skewing the field (environment) against Black artists, leaving them to adjust to the tilt by creating metaphorical crooked rooms through the use of imagery.

Visual Culture as Pedagogy: Misrepresentations and Crooked Images Over the last two decades, scholars have provided insight into the historical experiences of Black Americans within the world of art and visual culture, revealing at least two things: (1) the problematic representation of the Black body since the mid-nineteenth century and (2) that throughout American art and visual culture, Black artists' experiences and relationships with and in the visual arts have necessitated both an embracing and a resisting of these ways of representation (Golden, 1994; Harris, 2003; Harris-Perry, 2011; Powell, 2002; Wallace, 2004). For example, Gooding-Williams (1996) notes, "Black bodies have been supersaturated with meaning, as they have been relentlessly subjected to [pathologic] characterization by [visual culture]" (p. 531). The normalization of these characterizations sustains embedded hierarchies of racialization.

Harris (2003) points out that during the nineteenth century virtually every image of a Black American pivoted around the concept of race in some way, beginning with advertisements and slowly migrating to the traditional canon of

fine art. Additionally, he suggests that racial ideology was a necessary construction devised to institutionalize whiteness as the embodiment of privilege and superior to blackness (Harris, 1993). Historically, racial inscriptions were devised to designate and denigrate peoples of African descent (i.e. Negro, nigger, colored, etc.) and became signifiers of discredited characteristics and objectified individuals, under the guise of essentialism.

Though motives behind some of these images may not have been intentionally sinister, visual culture imagery served to both reflect and establish racist ideas and reiterate the social order. These images continue to be com/modified and perpetuated in the interests of monetary gain (for instance, Aunt Jemima and Uncle Ben). Questioning racial representation and its historical contexts and ideologies within the art world, Golden (1994) argues that these representations “remain [invisible] of their full impact of racism within the socially and culturally sanctioned art traditions” (p. 87).

Cataloguing the Social World: A Racial Project In the US, the social hierarchy historically placed those who perceived themselves as White at the top, and those who were identified as Black were at the bottom (Miller, 2010). These hierarchical models were used by those with vested interests (Whites) and were built on such ideas to support and justify unequal treatment (Harris, 1993). In line with a critical race perspective, Holtzman (2000) points out that race is constructed socially, politically, and economically, and various racial categories have been created or changed to meet the emerging economic and social needs of a White US culture. These categories have also served as an effective boundary for delineating benefactors and non-benefactors of freedom, property, jobs, education, and other societal resources.

Omi and Winant (2015) have traced moments wherein legally sanctioned forms of classification and segregation denied Black Americans a voice in most spheres of social and political life. The impulse to understand how these considerable realities become coiled up in the art world and in art education has intrigued scholars for at least the last quarter century (Acuff, 2015; Golden, 1994; Harris, 2003; Hatt, 2002; hooks, 1995; Kraehe, 2015; Lee, 2013; Rolling, & Bey, 2016; Wallace, 2004). These scholars have given thoughtful attention to the centrality of race in the social, educational, and political economy of an American consciousness.

METHODS

A general examination of the survey on arts participation among adults in the US was simply a starting point (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011). Making race central in the analysis, I sought to answer this research question: *How does a Black American art teacher conceptualize and maintain an arts participation identity?* When I began this project, I was interested in what I might find through in-depth life history case studies of veteran K-12 teaching

artists who self-identified as Black or African American and who were also actively practicing artists. Full examination of their teaching identity is beyond the scope of this chapter, and as such, my primary focus is on their identities as art makers. The individuals chosen were recognized in the mainstream visual art world with varying degrees of success at the regional, national, and international levels.

I engaged in life story interviews with three art teachers who self-identified as Black or African American and whose participation in the art world revolved around two dimensions: (1) production and (2) presentation of art. Using snowball sampling procedures (Patton, 2002), the names of three secondary art teachers emerged: Kevin Cole, Eleanor Neal, and Ronald Young.² Each of these individuals demonstrated what I considered to be “full participation” in the art world (art production, art presentation, art teaching) over the last quarter century in the US. I consider their narratives as pivotal in understanding the centrality of race in their artistic decision-making processes and how they managed to navigate an arts system still dominated by a Eurocentric lens.

Designed as a series of three case studies (Stake, 1995), the research participants for this study were selected using a criterion sampling strategy (Patton, 2002). They exhibited the following qualities:

1. self-identified as Black or African American
2. currently teaching art in a K-12 environment
3. teaching for at least 10 years
4. currently making and exhibiting their artwork

For a period of one year, I conducted three 90-minute interviews with each participant, with the aim of answering my research question. Since identity was the primary focus of my study, I located paradigms/theories I felt most closely aligned with my research question. I chose to use Afrocentrism (Asante, 1998) as a means to look at questions of location, control of the hegemonic global economy, marginalization, and power positions. Additionally, this paradigm uses both a language of victory and critique. Taking this stance, Afrocentrism provided keys to understand the development of African American people in the US. Beyond the scope of this chapter, and further informing my perspective in this study, I explored social cognitive theory (see Bandura, 2001) and social identity theory (see Tajfel, 1982; Wilson, 2014).

²The participants in my study consisted of two high school art teachers and one middle school art teacher. Each taught in a public school setting for more than 20 years and maintained an active artmaking/presenting schedule.

STRATEGIES OF NEGOTIATION: ASSIMILATION, SELF-DETERMINATION, AND RESISTANCE

Black artists have, across time, strategized their artmaking practice as a response to and for participation in the art world. In what follows, I outline the three artmaking strategies—assimilation, self-determination, and resistance—as used by participants in my study and have included notable artist exemplars whose artwork demonstrates these approaches (Harris, 2003). I highlight three distinct quotes, one from each participant, pulled directly from the life story interviews as a way to describe what I call “crooked room strategies.” These strategies were activated in order to negotiate participation in the art world. What is revealed is how these Black American artists necessarily calibrated their movements in response to experiences associated with a racialized identity. I explore these strategies of negotiation and reconsider embedded constructions of identity, all the while understanding that White artists are protected from these expectations.

Assimilation

...you are NOT to promote yourself as a Black artist. (Eleanor Neal, personal communication, January 17, 2014)

Eleanor Historically, many Black artists have labored to remove race as the defining factor of their artistic output, and thus have used assimilationist approaches toward artmaking. Yet rarely do they lose sight of their racial identity (Golden, 1994; Harris, 2003; Powell, 2002; Wallace, 2004; Woods, 2011). Critical race theorist Cheryl Harris (1993) has thoroughly documented “whiteness” as a social construct, within the world of de jure segregation, giving insight for how this racial inscription has been given value, and continues to hold value. At its core, the fundamental value in whiteness is privilege awarded to those who perceive themselves to be White and maintain a dominant voice in the Western art world.

As such, the above quote, relayed by my first participant, Eleanor, implies that in order to succeed in the art world, a shedding of a “Black” identity must take place. Desiring to share the recognition and privilege secured and enjoyed by White artists, she accepted this advice from a close family member, who felt that imposing a strict racial identity marker might limit the possibilities of success in the mainstream art world. To this end, she has acknowledged these nuances in ways that have both embraced and rejected an Afrocentric perspective (Asante, 1998).

Historically, assimilation approaches used by some Black artists were adopted as a means of solidifying a position within the artistic elite (Harris, 2003). A notable Black American artist in the Western art establishment, Henry Ossawa

Tanner, mostly distanced himself from painting Black subject matter and spent a great deal of time in his adopted home of Paris, where race mattered little (Harris, 2003). Harris (2003) notes, “[Tanner] sought to find himself as an artist in the history of art, and racial practices were impediments to this ambition” (p. 78). Shedding racial markers when creating artworks by eliminating any obvious trace of “Black” subject matter when it suits dominant interests is but one method used as a means toward an arts participation identity.

Eleanor’s decision to make art that does not strictly reflect a Black aesthetic (see Fig. 23.1) reveals a childhood upbringing of memories that take her back



Fig. 23.1 Eleanor Neal, *Untitled*, 2017, wax monotype, 30" X 24"

to frequent visits to the Museum of Science and Industry and the Art Institute, both located in Chicago. She also remembers vacations on Lake Michigan with her family, where she discovered her love of nature, revealing her desire to capture that in her own artmaking.

In this way, her artmaking may reveal a distancing from or rejection of a perceived Afrocentric perspective. Yet, on the contrary, embracing an aesthetic aside from making images of Black figures may also be considered liberating. This problematizes the perceived need of a distancing of oneself in order to solidify a position in the art world. Her work has mass appeal nationally and exists in the collections of prominent public figures and institutions. I would argue that some Black artists today continue to contend with this dilemma, fearing being pigeonholed as a result of being categorized as a “Black artist” versus simply being referred to as an artist who happens also to be Black. Stigma can be attached to this type of categorization, namely the work might only be viewed within a Black context (hooks, 1995).

Self-Determination

I care about representing a voice for the Black community, using images that are uniquely Black; it’s about being able to show things that Black people can look at and say: “Those are Black faces. Those are Black images.” It’s kind of a two-edged sword because it can close some doors. I stopped submitting my work to exclusive [White] galleries... (Ronald Young, personal communication, August 4, 2013)

Ronald Ron, the second participant in my study, gives an explicit description of the type of work he creates (see Fig. 23.2) and the reasons for creating artwork that depicts Black subjects, noting that he must reconcile the dilemma of either using *assimilation* approaches or creating artwork expressing *self-determinism*. Growing up attending all-Black schools, it comes as little surprise that he would adopt a fondness for racial pride and uplift (Wilson, 2017). Like Ron, artists who depict scenes of Black life as an affectionate acknowledgement of a Black consciousness adopt a self-deterministic Afrocentric perspective.

Aligning with the period of pride existing during the Black Arts Movement, self-determination practices allowed artists to imbue their Black subjects with what Powell (2002) describes as a more “truthful humanity” (p. 26). Many artists were producing work depicting a more sophisticated representation of Black life at the turn of the twentieth century in the United States. Artists began to depict scenes of Black life as affectionate acknowledgment of a new Black consciousness and pride. Inspired by the *progressive race rhetoric*, artists relocated old sociopolitical connotations to an aesthetic of progress and racial redefinition (Powell, 2002).

Fig. 23.2 Ronald Young, *Say What*, 2010, acrylic on canvas, 18" X 24"



The Afrocentrist looks to the questions of marginalization, understanding that when Black people view themselves as centered and central in their own history, they see themselves as agents, actors, and as participants rather than as peripheral to political or social experience. Adopting a self-deterministic means of artmaking, Ron rejects the adoption of and assimilation toward a Western worldview and asserts his own agency (Bandura, 2001). Embracing this paradigm has caused challenges as he attempts to market himself as a serious artist, as his work has not been of great interest to more exclusive White-owned galleries (personal communication, January, 2013). Of the three participants, his level of success has not yet reached beyond regional scope.

The legacy of underrepresentation of Black artists within museum and gallery spaces (Golden, 1994; Jung, 2015) provides yet another sobering example of the ordinariness of racism. A recognition of the legacy of institutional neglect must occur, and though recent efforts have been made to rectify this neglect (Kennedy, 2015), one might problematize how the growing number of Black art/artists being represented in galleries and museums is simply more than a numbers game and that perhaps substantive recognition of these works is still largely ignored.

Resistance

The necktie images have always appeared in my work. My grandfather told me that African Americans, on their way to vote, had been lynched using their neckties. Transformed from a symbol of powerlessness to a symbol of strength, it represents my beliefs in change. (Kevin Cole, personal communication, November 30, 2013)

Kevin In the late twentieth and early twenty-first century, a series of strategies by artists attempted to neutralize and undermine the harmful representations of Blacks through resistance, inversion, appropriation, and reinvention (Harris, 2003). The work of my third and final participant reflects such a reinvention and resistance (see Fig. 23.3). A self-proclaimed student of social history, Gilliam’s art reveals a personal knowledge of the oppression Black Americans faced in their relationship with America. His work is an ongoing investigation into the legacies of trauma and catastrophe beginning with pre-Civil Rights. Using the necktie and other “ordinary adornments” as a motif for his work, his style fits within a modernist tradition of painters and sculptors. In doing so, audiences connect, not to images of a Black subject but to colorful sculptural works. Audiences are connected to a Black experience as Kevin uses the symbol of the necktie and reappropriates its use to exemplify a dogged strength while simultaneously solidifying his position within the artistic elite of his generation.



Fig. 23.3 Kevin Cole, *Do Lord Remember Me, I, II, III*, 2010, mixed media on wood

The powerful social commentary found in his work comes from years of (artistic) cultivation. Growing up, a child of the Deep South has branded his memory with troubling epithets, and his artmaking speaks to those memories, yet he does so in subtle ways. Describing his family as working class, the depiction he paints of his upbringing was one of abundance; a set of parents who took pride in their work—and also the work of their children. Retelling various incidents of mistreatment, growing up in a Black American family in the 1960s, conjures the reality of the times.

In spite of these experiences, Kevin resists stereotypic (Black) subject matter often imposed by or on other Black artists, though unlike Eleanor, his themes speak loudly about a history laden with racism. Encountering those who expected him to “paint images of his culture” (personal communication, November 30, 2013), he has escaped a narrow “labeling” of *what* and *how* a Black artist should create. Kevin has found the highest level of social and economic success among my participants, with a recent commission to complete a sculpture for a major US metropolitan airport.

NAVIGATING THE UPRIGHT: VISUAL CULTURE PEDAGOGY, INSTITUTIONAL BOUNDARIES, AND BIAS

With the original goal of uncovering how Black Americans come to situate and understand themselves as participators in the art world, this research has examined the experiences of three persistent individuals whose participation in the art world has been influenced by a multitude of factors. Their movements remain in flux as they aim to continually locate “the vertical,” a place of field independence, perhaps. What cannot be denied is the resiliency found in their efforts: a means of agency to be a participator, finding the openings along the way, and locating their upright despite the crooked rooms. In this study, these crooked rooms presented significantly in the form of an institutionalized visual culture—one that has been supersaturated with meaning (Gooding-Williams, 1996).

Visual culture, as a pedagogical tool and informal curriculum, has provided significant statements and insights about our social world, empowering visions of gender, race, and class and complex aesthetic structures and practices (Holtzman & Sharpe, 2015). Scholars suggest that we have, by and large, been underinformed, and sometimes misinformed, about the visual impact of racial constructs and thus, racism in our history (Holtzman & Sharpe, 2015). Holtzman (2000) argues, “misinformation is the foundation of oppression” (p. 159). Subsequently, this misinformation turned into public and private, collective and individual laws, policies, attitudes, and behaviors that have excluded and discriminated against those considered non-White and protected those considered White (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

Situating these exclusionist behaviors within a critical framework helps to trouble the question: *Why are there no Black artists included in the canon of what is commonly considered masterworks?* Wallace (2004), in response to an essay written by art historian Linda Nochlin (1996) titled “Why Are There No Great Women Artists?”, highlights Nochlin’s acknowledgment of problems of the institutionalization of rock-solid social, cultural, and economic boundaries around Western conceptions of genius, individual talent, art, creativity, the artist, the master, and culture. Additionally, she suggests that what Nochlin writes about—the inaccessibility of the institutionalization and construction of greatness—is also true for Black artists: that Black artists in the US have been subject to an even more absolute and devastating restriction upon their right to genius and individual talent.

Social analysts agree that most individual Whites no longer subscribe to the overt tenets of Jim Crow racial structures (Bonilla-Silva, 2013). Yet because of the “slipperiness” of new forms of racism and discrimination, which take the form of color blindness (Desai, 2010), those who have been central in the reinforcement and production of the status quo often do not see themselves as complicit in racist practices (Bonilla-Silva, 2013).

However, a solution to these historical and problematic practices of exclusion may lie in what sociologist Nancy DiTomaso (2013) highlights as an issue of unconscious favoritism. Harvard social psychologists, Mahzarin Banaji and Anthony Greenwald (2013) refer to this phenomenon as *hidden-bias blind spot*—or a “bias capable of guiding our behavior without our being aware of its goal” (Banaji & Greenwald, 2013, Preface, para. 5). The economic, political, social, and educational implications of these biases are far reaching. DiTomaso (2013) provides a comprehensive examination of the persistence of racial inequality in a post-Civil Rights era and how it plays out in a political and economic context. How these hidden biases have impacted the potential advancement of people of color within art education contexts, and thereby impacting future successes in professional art environments, is of concern to critical scholars in the field of art and education.

SPECULATIONS ON (ART) EDUCATION AND SCHOLARSHIFTS

The same hopes for progress that attracted scholars to push for the advancement of equal rights for Black citizens (Bell, 1995) propelled each of the individuals involved in the making of this study. They were anchored by a commitment to a legacy of arts participation while aiming to solidify their position within a hegemonic system. Through our conversations I discovered individuals negotiating their participation, while carrying the mantle of “Black artist” or “artist who happens to be Black.”

In light of the NEA results (Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011), a critical view of arts participation through the lens of visual culture *as pedagogy* is central to the whole of contemporary educational and social reflection. I view visual culture as a pedagogical site and social force imparting a curriculum of sorts. This

informal site of knowledge transmission acts as “teacher” and is worthy of consideration as a factor giving direction to the masses.

Today, every aspect of this reality presents dynamic conflicts and puzzles, and those who are directly involved in the arts and education can no longer imagine that it is possible to proceed naïvely. With continued changing ethnic, racial, and cultural demographics in the nation’s schools, research suggests the need of using critical teaching strategies in order to address un/conscious biases that arise out of these visualizations (Acuff, 2015; Delpit, 1995; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2009; Nieto, 2003; Sleeter, 2001; Sleeter & Cornbleth, 2011).

Kraehe and Acuff (2013) point out, “critical race scholarship has exposed education as a site where race is constructed and becomes a central discriminating and organizing force” (p. 303). Those researchers and practitioners who are directly involved in K-16 institutions must, at the very least, come to possess an awareness of institutionalized systems of privilege and how these systems of education reproduce and, ultimately, maintain a status quo and ordinary-ness.

Whiteness as the embodiment of privilege (Harris, 1993) must be perceived not only as a racial identity but also as an epistemological framework that undergirds and influences how we construct, perceive, and understand the construction of aspirational (social and professional, for instance) identities. This knowledge system also influences how we assemble and teach material about diverse histories, cultures, and peoples. We must not only interrogate how curricula is formed but also unpack the knowledge framework that informs those practices (Acuff, 2015). Thus, we must “shift” our scholarly musings from myopic solutions of pluralism toward far-seeing and wide-reaching approaches of unpacking the normative underpinnings of systems of privilege. Though difficult, we must sit *with* and *in* the tensions—the crooked rooms, perhaps. The lives of the participants in this study give us direction for doing so.

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Children's Westernized Beauty Ideals in China: Notions of Feminine Beauty

Tingting Windy Wang

During the late 1990s, I worked as an elementary art teacher in the city where I was born and raised. Human figure drawing was a required subject that art teachers taught and a subject that interested children. As a matter of fact, children would voluntarily draw human figures on papers as a hobby in their spare time. Girls, especially, loved to draw beautiful female figures in fine-looking dresses. Conversations about who was the most beautiful person became a hot topic among girls. It seemed that children's interests and notions of feminine beauty had changed dramatically since the time I was a child in the 1980s. I realized there was a huge gap between my students' and my own generation's interests, habits, and styles of dressing. I was curious about how and to what extent our perceptions of and interests in beauty, particularly feminine beauty, had changed. This awareness inspired me to conduct the following empirical study, exploring the topic of beautiful women as depicted in children's human figure drawings from different cultures in East and West, and discuss how White supremacy affects art education in an urban city in China.

There is a growing literature that documents White supremacy in non-Western cultures and countries as a result of the global prevalence of an Anglo-European beauty ideal based on an idealized fair complexion (e.g., Ashikari, 2005; Charles, 2003; England, 2004).¹ This White supremacy was also strengthened through the aggressive marketing of skin lightening products and

¹White in this chapter refers to characteristics belonging to a group of human beings marked by slight pigmentation of the skin, especially of European descent.

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cosmetic surgeries (Baumann, 2008). Glenn (2008) suggests that the rise of skin whitening around the globe can be attributed to the constant, current mass marketing of contemporary images of White beauty. Saraswati (2010) comments that images of White beauty sell an entire lifestyle imbued with racial meaning, and this White lifestyle is built upon the long-standing European ideologies that valorize White beauty, European culture, and White aesthetics (Mire, 2001). Set in the city Changsha, China, this empirical study examines children's figurative drawings in order to understand their ideas of beauty and how White supremacy affects their art education practices as evidenced in their drawings.

Beauty can be a broad term and includes complex ideas. In this chapter, it simply refers to the facial and body features that make a person appear attractive and delight others' senses. Myths and beliefs about beauty are deeply embedded in popular culture today and are transmitted to audiences as young as early childhood (Blair & Shalmon, 2005). Studies show that judgments of physical attractiveness and ideas of beauty begin to appear very early in children's lives and function as significant personal characteristics in a child's life (Dion, 1973; Dion & Berscheid, 1974). This claim is supported by a large body of research that reveals that young children's physical attractiveness is related to both popularity in their peer group and to peers' perceptions of their social behaviors (Langlois & Downs, 1979; Langlois & Stephan, 1977).

NOTIONS OF FEMININE BEAUTY UNDER THE INFLUENCE OF CHINESE TRADITIONAL CULTURE

Although genetic factors may play a role in people's notions of ideal beauty, social scientists argue that standards of beauty are arbitrary cultural conventions (Berry, 2000; Etcoff, 1999). Beauty is not perceived in the same way, and one preference does not fit all (Layton, 1991). Ackerman (1990) and Wolf (1991) suggest that ethnic groups have different standards for judging attractiveness.

A popular text, *Manual of Beautiful Women*, written by Xu Zhen around the mid-seventeenth century often is used as a reference by art historians and critics when discussing traditional Chinese female beauty. Xu (2000) composes a story of an archetypally beautiful and talented woman based on lifestyles of courtesans and concubines of his time. He illustrates an ideal woman of that era as exhibiting a cicada forehead; apricot lips; rhinoceros-horn teeth; creamy breasts; eyebrows like faraway mountains; glances like waves of autumn water; lotus-petal face; cloud-like hairdo; feet like bamboo shoots carved in jade; fingers like white shoots of grass; willow waist; delicate steps as though walking on lotus blossoms; and appropriate height (Man, 2000).

In the long history of China, however, norms of beauty have constantly changed in response to changes in the social and economic environments. Today, when Chinese people discuss beauty standards, they often relate them

to beauty norms represented by female singers and actresses in the media. Features mentioned in the above text may not match these modern-day notions of female beauty.

WHITE-DOMINATED MAINSTREAM BEAUTY STANDARDS

How and why may White-dominated beauty standards affect people, especially children in this research site? According to Cohen (2006), mass media plays a pervasive role in communicating societal ideas of beauty. The rise of mass media in the twentieth century has imposed more uniform standards and White supremacy of both beauty and fashion around the world (Baumann, 2008). Wealthy countries like the United States and many European nations create and disseminate many of the global images of White beauty (Burke, 1996). Traditional Western heroes who are women are portrayed as young, White, and beautiful in fairy tales, cartoons, advertisements, graffiti, photography, and movies made for children (Van Evra, 2004).

The wide range of research on different aspects of human development and media experiences has led to the creation of various theoretical interpretations and explanations regarding media process and effects. For example, according to cultivation theory, exposure to media “cultivates” beliefs and attitudes that match the world depicted by media (Gerbner, Gross, Morgan, & Signorielli, 1994). If individuals are repeatedly exposed to idealized notions of bodily beauty in the media, one may misinterpret such portrayals as being representative of the “real world” rather than those of the “media world” (Harrison, 2003). Also, because children’s experiences are limited, in the absence of competing information, media may have a particularly potent effect on them (Singer & Singer, 2001). This explains why some teenage girls internalize the ideal image and strive to attain it even to the point of engaging in unhealthy dietary practices or developing symptoms of bulimia or other eating disorders (Cohen, 2006; Stice, Spagler, & Agras, 2001).

According to social comparison theory (Festinger, 1975), people have a tendency to rate and evaluate themselves through comparisons with others. Such comparison-based evaluations increase with perceptions of similarity. For example, Thompson and Heinberg’s study (1999) finds that women who are exposed to slender body images have a tendency to internalize and idealize such body types, thereby igniting feelings of body dissatisfaction. Thus, through an inventory of images of Western beauty created and grounded on White beauty standards that children are exposed to on a daily basis, mainstream White perceptions of feminine beauty are very likely to be transmitted to Chinese children unconsciously and may therefore influence the stereotypes and cultural norms of beauty they embrace when they become adults

In addition to media, the art education children receive in China may impact their notions of beauty. Charles (2009) suggests that hegemonic representations of White beauty are thoroughly rooted in multiple social institutions,

including education, religion, mass media, and popular culture. Contemporary Chinese art education has inherited academic realism from the West. It is also heavily influenced by the art education system of the Soviet Union and socialist realism after 1949, the year when the People's Republic of China was established (Yue, 2009). Socialist realism is a style of realistic art that was developed in the Soviet Union and became a dominant style in various other socialist countries. Since then, Chinese art education has abandoned the traditional Chinese art education model that developed art talents through a more humanistic approach and instead it has focused on technical training in a realistic style (Yue, 2009).

Visual art (in China it is called fine art) is a discipline required by the National Education Bureau for the elementary- and middle-school curriculum. The content for fine art classes includes painting, arts and crafts, and appreciation of fine arts. In elementary schools, students have two class hours per week for fine arts and middle-school students have one class hour of fine art. Art teachers are required to teach based on the same art textbook adopted by the provincial Bureau of Education, which focuses on arts and crafts. Therefore, within the province, the art projects and lessons are the same. The lessons covering techniques of drawing human figures are scarcely based on textbooks.

AFTER-SCHOOL ART PROGRAMS AND COMMUNITY ART EDUCATION

Based on my observations, in Changsha and many other cities in China, after-school education or community education programs are extremely popular. The majority of children attended such schools during after-school hours (mostly evenings and weekends). These programs teach a variety of disciplines, and art is a very important component. After-school art programs are the most popular places children can take art lessons in China. These programs are all private, and registered students take art lessons in rented classrooms or studios. It is difficult to generalize the curriculum of art education for each after-school art programs because such schools are too many. The content that is taught varies, as the teacher makes decisions in terms of what content and experiences should be built into art curricula. These art teachers, both working for public and private schools, are trained in fine art schools, colleges, or universities. When they pursue degrees or certificates, their main focus is on learning the technical skills of the Western realistic style of art in chiaroscuro drawing and painting.² As a student who graduated from normal middle school and normal university in this area, I find that the art teaching methods, especially those that are culturally specific, are somewhat missing in the art teacher preparation curriculum.

²Chiaroscuro refers to the use of light and shade in depicting variation and gradation in pictures.

*Instrumentation: Children's Drawings
of a Beautiful Woman*

The human figure is one of the earliest topics drawn by the young child and remains popular throughout childhood and into adolescence (Cox & McGurk, 1993). Analysis of drawings of "a beautiful woman" made by children may have the potential to illuminate origins, purposes, and features of the drawn beautiful women.

Drawings have been used for decades as markers and mirrors of personal identity. Goodenough (1926) used a "Draw-a-man" test to measure children's intelligence. Dennis (1966) adapted the "Draw-a-Man" test to collect drawings from 27 cultural groups in order to detect group value. Dennis focused on the content of the drawings. He was interested in the kind of person drawn. He believed that children generally draw people they admire and who are thought of favorably by their societies. For him, children's drawings could reveal the values of their respective groups.

Recent methods for collecting drawings have become more specific. For example, Wilson and Wilson (1983) used "Drawing a six-panel-narrative-story" to collect children's drawings for comparing thematic and structural differences across cultures. Weber and Mitchell (1996) argued that "drawings offer a different glimpse into human sense making than written or spoken texts do because they can express that which is not easily put into words" (p. 304). According to Weber and Mitchell, drawings have unique advantages over written and spoken data source, especially when children are inarticulate and have limited vocabularies for expressing themselves. Then, children's drawings are powerful tools to explore children's thoughts and ideas.

EVIDENCE OF WHITE INFLUENCE ON CHILDREN'S DRAWINGS

In this empirical study, children's figurative drawings were collected from a total of 45 children between the ages of 6 and 12 from two elementary schools in Changsha, Hunan, China. These drawings were all pictures of what they believed to be a beautiful woman/girl. Based on Dennis (1966), as well as Klepsch and Logie's (1982) methods, elements of drawings were arranged into visual categories. Incidents of particular elements were counted and calculations of frequency of elements were translated into percentages. This content analysis examined the graphic representations of human figures in these drawings, including stereotypical representational drawings of facial features belonging to Chinese Han people as well as Whites, the predominant racial type in Western media.

The results indicate that these children preferred to draw human figures with physical features that belonged to White people and were drastically different from their own. In addition, notes from an informal semi-structured, five-minute face-to-face interview with five randomly selected children after they finished drawing were also included as the data.

Eye Depictions

Twenty-one (47%) children added eyelashes to the enlarged eyes of the “beautiful woman” they drew (Figs. 24.1 and 24.2), which may suggest the White influence on their drawings. Children in rural China did not seem to understand what the term *eyelash* referred to, although they understood *eyebrows* (Wang, 2012). The concept of eyelash was seldom acknowledged in their daily experiences. It could be because the eyelashes of Asian women tend to be short and cannot be noticed easily when looking at a person from a normal distance. Also, the use of makeup, such as mascara, to accentuate or enhance facial features, is not popular in rural areas. People in Changsha rarely talked about mascara or eyelashes, which may provide another explanation for why Chinese children in rural areas did not include eyelashes in their drawings of beautiful women (Wang, 2012).

The pictorial representation of Chinese people’s (mostly Han) eyes in the classical and traditional Chinese paintings was either a thin line or an elongated, small, and narrow shape. This elongated boat-shaped graphic representation appeared often in traditional Chinese beauty pictures, such as in ancient paintings of palace maidens, Chinese textbooks, and New Year calendars. For example, in a painting of a maiden Yu Yuanji, who was famous for her beauty and talent in the literature of 850 A.D., small and elongated eyes were perceived to be a standard of beauty during those times.



Fig. 24.1 Child's drawing example



Fig. 24.2 Child's drawing example

Compared to children in rural areas, participants in this study who were living in cities had much more exposure to media such as advertising posters, street-screen advertising, movies, and images and videos found on the Internet. For example, if walking on the street, children could easily see advertising for makeup such as mascara. The majority of models in the advertising were White females who carried the features of Western mainstream beauty standards. Women with large-sized eyes with long eyelashes, which are not racial features belonging to Eastern Asian women, were prevalent and persuasive as an ideal standard.

On the other hand, popular Disney cartoons such as *Snow White* and *Sleeping Beauty* also provided schemas for drawing beautiful eyes. During the interviews with the children, when asked what female characters they liked from the media, children mentioned Chinese movie stars such as Yifei Liu, Shaohan Zhang, as well as cartoon characters from *Snow White*, *The Little Mermaid*, and *Sleeping Beauty*. If the eye features in these cartoon characters were examined closely, characteristics such as long eyelashes, big eyes, and round shapes were shown in children's drawings as schema in this research.

Mouth Depictions

White influence was suggested through a large heart-shaped mouth type, which was depicted by five (11%) children. Traditionally, Chinese people did not consider large-sized lips beautiful. In Chinese tradition, large lips may symbolically suggest an evil person or personality. Especially among Chinese people in rural and isolated areas, the small-sized and cherry-shaped lips were still appreciated and preferred as beautiful (Wang, 2014).

In Western countries, large mouths and thick lips are considered beautiful. Celebrities such as Angelina Jolie are much lauded for their large lips. Western literature about facial features and beauty support a historic notion of the lips as an indication of feminine sensuality: the fuller the lips, the more sexually attractive the female is (Rhodes, 2006). The cosmetic industry has made a fortune out of accentuating eyes, nails, hair, and especially lips (Ekowa, 2009).

In Western cartoons, attractive females are shown with heart-shaped lips. The female Jennifer Rabbit in the movie *Roger Rabbit* and the female character Stanley in *Stanley* from Disney Channel are typical examples. This new lip style is also affecting Chinese females' aesthetic standards of physical attractiveness. For example, the famous Chinese movie star Shu Qi is widely known and praised for her full and luscious lips, which is a break from traditional Chinese beauty standards (Koshoibekova, 2015).

Hair Depictions

Representations of hair may provide strong visual evidence of preferences for White hairstyles and hair color. Three children's drawings of hair demonstrated curliness. The majority of Chinese people's hair is black and straight, which is a unique characteristic for the Han ethnicity. Children's own hair in this research site, and the hair of others in their community, is almost exclusively straight. The curly and blond hair characterized in Western imagery, however, has gradually become a fashion for women in China since the 1920s.

Today, colorful hair other than black and curly styles is extremely popular and welcomed by adult Chinese women. More and more Chinese women who live in urban areas are using chemical products to perm their hair into curly styles as well as dye their hair to yellow or red. This fashion trend also affects children's understanding of a beautiful hairstyle. Figure 24.3 shows a child's observation of a popular hairstyle that was advertised in hair salons, one apparently influenced by whiteness. Figure 24.4 shows a child's favorite hair colors other than her own.

On the other hand, 13 (29%) children represented beautiful hair as long, straight, and naturally falling behind the shoulder. Today, more and more American women, of all racial groups, use commercial products to pull their hair straight. Thus, long and straight hair without pigtails was more likely a favorite hairstyle belonging to White or Western people. Children may imitate the hairstyle from movie stars, singers, and characters from popular culture and especially cartoons.

Nevertheless, students in the Chinese elementary schools are subject to strict hairstyle and uniform requirements. In elementary schools, both teachers and parents are conservative about the hair and clothing styles. Also based on my observations and experiences as an elementary teacher, children are not allowed to have their long hair wrapping around the head or falling on the shoulder. Long hair has to be tied into ponytails for sanitary purposes. Also, girls with two pigtails are considered cute and juvenile. Youth and cuteness, that is being "juvenile," is generally a characteristic associated with beauty.



Fig. 24.3 An 11-year-old girl's drawing



Fig. 24.4 An eight-year-old girl's drawing example

This notion might explain why 20 children drew hair bound in two ponytails in their representations of beautiful women.

Body-Shape Depictions

The use of skirt or dress shapes to indicate bodies appeared to be the most popular motif of drawing the body of a beautiful woman. This, however, did not suggest any Western or White influences. It seemed that Western plump and curvaceous body shapes did not affect these children's aesthetic preferences. Chin Evans and McConnell (2003) indicate that Asian women resembled White women in their desire to strive for mainstream beauty ideals. The specifics of the ideals were more on facial features rather than body shapes.

Noticeably, ten children added wings to the body of the figure; 18 children drew a crown to the head (Fig. 24.5). As told by these children, wings suggested angels, and crowns suggested princesses. The ideas of angels and princess were from cartoons and animation they watched that were produced in Western countries.

ART EDUCATION PRACTICES RELATED TO WESTERN NORMS

Children often attended after-school art programs in this research area. The following examples are from two children who reported that they attended after-school art programs based on the interview results. Both children were in the first grade (6–7 years old).

Based on conversations with children, in Fig. 24.6, the boy's mother was sitting in a chair with legs crossed. For Fig. 24.7, the girl's best friend was walking. The girl looked as though she was walking forward but was distracted by the flower behind her, and so she turned her head and winked at the flower. The eyes were carefully depicted. One eye was closed and the other open wide.



Fig. 24.5 A child's drawing example

Other objects in the picture were also anthropomorphized by adding facial features to suggest smiling, such as the sun, snail, and bird.

In terms of children's artistic development stage theory (Lowenfeld & Brittain, 1987), these children made some substantial leaps. For example,



Fig. 24.6 A child's drawing example

instead of stiff standing positions, Fig. 24.6 shows a sitting position, and Fig. 24.7 shows the girl's movements. Numerous details were added such as the interior depiction of the room, decorations on the mother's top, and the smiling snail, bird, and sun.



Fig. 24.7 A child's drawing example

These details on the drawings suggested that the teachers in after-school art programs taught schemas for drawing human figures that were strongly influenced by White or Western people such as eyes with eyelashes, heart-shaped lips, crossing legs, and high-heel shoes. For example, the sitting position with crossed legs was considered rude or indecent especially for females in traditional Chinese ideology. Students at schools are trained to keep legs firm and even, without putting one on the other or crossing them when sitting down. With China's openness to the Western world, the crosslegged position has been adopted by more and more Chinese women as fashion and freedom. This position signifies a Western influence.

Art teachers from after-school art programs were trained to draw human figures by observing and drawing plaster casts of classical White characters such as Michelangelo's *David* and Botticelli's *The Birth of Venus*. These teachers may have already adopted the mainstream White beauty standards unconsciously without realizing the differences of facial and body features between two races. Moreover, when teaching children, they easily adopted stereotypical facial feature schemas from Disney cartoon characters that were mostly White when they taught and tutored their students simply because elementary-level children cannot achieve the techniques and skills required for drawing human figures in a realistic way. Their use of schemas of facial features taken from examples in textbooks (e.g., Duan, 2005; Unknown, 2010) also reinforced this Western influence. Art teachers, unconsciously, imparted these Western ideas and drawing techniques to their students.

CONCLUSION

Quite opposite to the research result that children who lived in rural and comparatively insular areas in China showed that their beauty ideals were different from White beauty standards (Wang, 2014), children's drawings and their perceptions of beauty in this urban research site were strongly affected by White ideals permeating media. Numerous schematic visual symbols can be traced back to Disney cartoons and picture books that were produced and published by Hollywood industry such as *Snow White* and *Cinderella*. These preferences for White mainstream beauty standards were also evidenced by my observation of environments surrounding the school districts and children's drawing procedures, as well as follow-up interview responses collected from children who made these drawings. For the children in this research site, people in Western countries are directly associated with or even equal to Whites. During the research procedure, as I introduced myself as coming from the United States, a six-year-old child immediately tried to correct me by saying: "No you are not, [because] you don't look like an American, [and] you are not White." Art teachers' curricula in the after-school art programs reinforced this White influence.

Research results of this study bring pedagogical implications for art education in China, Europe, and North America. As people across national and international borders communicate and engage with one another in an increasingly globalized world, children of today will very likely encounter a variety of aesthetic ideals and many differing opinions about beauty throughout their lifetime. Media convey images and ideas that tacitly promote a singular mainstream beauty standard. The implication is that all viewers should emulate or judge themselves in comparison to this standard.

As advocated by multicultural education (Stuhr, 1994), it is vital to understand how each culture carries unique aesthetic values, and we need to respect and value what belongs to us. For children's art education in China, however, little respect or appreciation is afforded to Chinese social and cultural perspectives when Chinese art forms are denied a place in their own context. Ancient traditional aesthetic ideals do not seem to play an important role in contemporary art education. If children can recognize and value their own unique beauty, then they can learn to respect one another regardless of race, class, gender, or exceptionality.

For Chinese and other Asian immigrants living in Europe and the United States, ongoing exposure to unrealistic media-portrayed ideals of beauty is generally thought to play a role in a high level of body dissatisfaction and eating disorders found among youth living in these Western societies (Tiggemann, 2003). It may be especially psychologically damaging for Asian female children, particularly when they strive for mainstream beauty ideals that are difficult or even impossible to attain in terms of racial possibilities. This reality is

reflected by Asian women reporting the greatest mismatch between their actual and ideal selves (Chin Evans & McConnell, 2003). An art education that encourages uniqueness should be advocated to promote group identity and pride for students of color, reduce stereotypes, and work to eliminate prejudice and biases.

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SECTION IV

Un-disciplined Racial Subjects in the Arts
in Education: Cultural Institutions,
Personal Experiences, and Reflexive
Interventions



Un-disciplined Racial Subjects in the Arts in Education: Cultural Institutions, Personal Experiences, and Reflexive Interventions

Christy Guthrie and Amelia M. Kraehe

Among the many characteristics attributed to the arts, as “things” and as fields of practice, is their capacity as vehicles for storytelling. While artistic practices are often praised as tools for sharing stories, the truism can gloss over investments in whiteness that restrict which stories can be told—or heard—in arts institutions, as well as whether the telling will be accepted as “artistic.” Arts education produces and reproduces restrictions on what counts as art, how works of art are interpreted, and who is seen as a legitimate artist, and these inclusions and exclusions are raced (Bradley, 2007; Chalmers, 1992; Koza, 2008; Kraehe, 2015). This final section of the Handbook focuses on stories that, we suggest, reflect a sense of being “un-disciplined” in the arts: questioning or rejecting subjectivities that are formed through these restrictive majoritarian discourses. This group of chapters highlights the role of experiential narratives in Critical Race Theory, with many of the authors positioning themselves as producers of counterstories and critical accounts against White supremacy. Counterstory-telling by people of color and White allies is a vital method of resistance to misrepresentation, exploitation, violence, and exclusion (Delgado, 1989; Huber, 2008; Williams, 2000).

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In this section, authors craft experience-based personal accounts, creative “composite narratives” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002), and more traditional scholarly discussions that nonetheless call upon first-person sources and voices. In general, there is an interest in rejecting stories of cultural or group deficit, revealing not only the whiteness of arts institutions (a question of representation) but the role of the arts in maintaining structural White supremacy. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) describe counterstory-telling as a critical race methodology focused on experiences of educational systems and contexts. Through a range of narrative modes, these chapters help to reveal systemic racism in the norms and expectations of arts institutions. We note that “institutions include not only buildings and organizations, but also systematic and specific social values and practices” (Willis, 1990, p. 2). By revealing the impacts of these values and practices, these chapters help us to understand how subjectivities are formed through the white property of the arts. In some cases, authors unpack how they themselves are constituted as particular kinds of racial subjects through the arts; in others, authors analyze how arts institutions and contexts divide normative and non-normative subjecthood along the color line. This focus on institutional critique speaks to rich traditions of race-conscious cultural criticism that “identify the workings as well as the work” of what has come to be known as the arts (Morrison, 1988, p. 162).

For arts education researchers, applying critical race storytelling continues to represent “a position of consistently swimming against the current,” against liberal and positivist forms of evidence and argumentation (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 22). At the same time, creative expression has long been valued as a form of knowledge production within Black and Latinx feminist epistemologies (Lorde, 1993; Moraga & Anzaldúa, 2015). When taking whitestream arts as its subject, these feminist of color critiques remind us that “[c]anon building is empire building. Canon defense is national defense” (Morrison, 1988, p. 132). In this introduction, we trace how the authors in this section narrate their interactions with institutions of arts education, to identify these defenses at work in the production of particular subjectivities, norms, and valuations. Though some accounts are more clearly person centered, while others turn our gaze more directly to the institution, we suggest that in these chapters the relationship between institution and subject is deeply entangled and never resolved. In these entanglements, we find manifestations of how the arts are constituted as white property.

In the opening chapter, Marit Dewhurst and Keonna Hendrick (Chap. 26) provide a close study of institutional norms in art museum education. Dewhurst and Hendrick interrogate the accepted wisdom of museum culture to reveal these institutions as sites of pervasive racism and White supremacist thinking. They do this by drawing attention to presumptions about race embedded within everyday practices and casual remarks in US art museum settings. Referring to their own experiences as museum educators, Dewhurst and Hendrick critique processes that reinscribe White supremacy through interactions with artworks, audiences, and institutions. They comment on a range of typical encounters in

the art museum, such as those between museum staff and visitors, and between staff and management. Throughout, the authors propose a series of interventions troubling several pervasive ideas, including: the whiteness of canon artists and White ownership of art objects as unmarked or unremarkable, assumptions made about museum visitors' preferences and interests based on race, and exclusionary norms in staffing practices and institutional cultures. Through Critical Race Theory, particularly the work of Zeus Leonardo (2013), Dewhurst and Hendrick explain how these commonplace encounters reveal the role of art museums in maintaining a vision of US culture in which whiteness is invisible and discussions of race are often best avoided (or avoidable). The authors examine microaggressions as well as counternarratives to consider how art museums might function differently to support critical dialogues on race.

Processes of differential legitimization, gatekeeping, and coded language mask White privilege and possession within arts institutions. In the next chapter, Nyama McCarthy-Brown (Chap. 27) examines how popular dance forms practiced in Black and Latinx communities are appropriated to profit White institutions and cultural figures in the United States. Taking an expansive view of dance education within and beyond classrooms and studios, McCarthy-Brown questions a range of norms and popular myths about learning and performing dance. She asks how White ownership and commodification are normalized through "whitening" (Desmond, 1997), whitewashing, and decontextualization: ways in which movement traditions are processed into forms palatable to White markets and subjects. McCarthy-Brown begins by analyzing how salsa and hip-hop become disembodied and abstracted into whiteness, away from Latinx and Black contexts and traditions. She then examines "love and theft" (Lott, 1995) perpetuated through the popularization of "fad" dances, naming long and ongoing histories of uncompensated borrowing and minstrelsy. Finally, the chapter details racial narratives of technique and aesthetic value that undergird higher education programs in dance and, specifically, their investments in ballet's Western tradition. McCarthy-Brown punctuates these historical examinations with moments from her personal history, helping readers to connect with story and counterstory as lived experiences. She details how White appropriation and ownership are deeply naturalized in dance, such that dominant institutional practices are well protected and challenging to interrupt.

Counterstory-telling is also a method of healing and regeneration. It legitimizes personal experiences and histories that are excluded from or misrepresented within dominant discourses (Ladson-Billings, 2013). Natasha S. Reid, John Derby, and Tracy Cheng (Chap. 28) present three arts-based counterstories in which they revisit the visual cultures of their childhoods in order to unwrap the subtle operations and hidden wounds of White supremacy in their own upbringing. These unwrappings offer nuanced depictions of the contradictory and contingent nature of race that is elided in liberal versions of multiculturalism. However well intended this approach to inclusion may be, Reid, Derby, and Cheng argue that multicultural art education is often prescriptive

in its containment of the Other, casting artistic exemplars in terms of discrete and immutable racial categories. Using the concept of “interest convergence” (Bell, 1980), they argue that White supremacist thought and multiculturalism find common ground in maintaining a racial taxonomy of White, Black, Latinx, and Asian. Such tidy descriptors of identity reinforce the illusion that racial distinctions are objective, natural phenomena rather than the effects of power and domination. Reid, Derby, and Cheng suggest that narrativizing multiracial identity can be a race-conscious strategy for disrupting the habit of racial ascription that lies at the heart of supremacist logic.

The mass media provides many of the racial storylines that are told and retold among White and non-White communities. Cynthia Peyson Wahl (Chap. 29) takes this up in her autobiographical narrative. She traces her own musical development, beginning during her childhood in Canada with her musician parents. Their wide-ranging musical sensibilities—from Calypso to jazz to European classical—became her developmental inheritance, and over time she gained mastery of these divergent sounds, integrating each one into her musical identity. Yet upon entering the professional world of music as a choral director, Wahl finds that her extensive training and individual accomplishments are misrecognized in her professional life as a musician, music adjudicator, and music educator. Instead, she is constructed and emplotted as a magical Negro, a well-worn literary, film, and televisual trope of the unintelligent but intuitive Black supernatural who gladly supports and saves the White protagonist (Hughey, 2009; Reddick, 1944). Wahl draws from firsthand experiences to demonstrate how consistently this reductive image of blackness and caricaturization of Black people is a meta-language that mediates her encounters with colleagues and the relationship she has with music. Just as counterstories can “unmoor people from received truths so that they might consider alternatives” (Ladson-Billings, 2013, p. 42), Wahl looks to the creation of new images that not only escape but break the chains that bind us all to a White racial imaginary.

The call for new images and narratives of race is easier to proclaim than it is to achieve. In reaction to race-conscious civil rights achievements of the 1950s and 1960s in the United States, a broad movement resisted the desegregation of schools and places of public accommodation (Orfield & Eaton, 1996). In the 1980s, this movement endured in efforts to decontextualize and “deracialize” (Gillborn, 1995) school curriculum and education policy. This continues today with sustained efforts to eliminate bilingual education and ethnic studies in elementary and secondary schools and to challenge affirmative action policies in college and university admissions. Joni Boyd Acuff (Chap. 30) offers an analysis of contemporary racism through deracialization. She centers her discussion on the fictional story of a Black woman working with White peers to rewrite the diversity position statement for a major arts organization. In each scene, the narrative spotlights coded language and discursive maneuvers employed by individuals in the group to evade rather than confront racism. Wordplay is a tactical form of White resistance to racial justice

(Bonilla-Silva, 2014; Frankenberg, 1993; McIntyre, 1997). Despite valiant attempts to help shape the organization's public position on equity and inclusion, ultimately the central character's words and experiences are erased as White people preserve the right to direct and thus benefit from the institutional narrative. Acuff's chapter exemplifies the flexible permanence of racism (Bell, 1991) that makes mounting new narratives inside arts institutions so difficult and yet utterly necessary.

As critical race theorist Derrick Bell (1991) argues, "the struggle for freedom is, at bottom, a manifestation of our humanity that survives and grows stronger through resistance to oppression even if that oppression is never overcome" (p. 93). In academic writing, such resistance can take form through both inward reflexive activity and outward looks at curriculum, policy, and contextual data. Moving between these argumentative modes, Elizabeth Mackinlay (Chap. 31) uses a series of "unsoundings" to reveal the possessive logics of whiteness (Moreton-Robinson, 2011) articulated within Australia's music education curriculum. While Cheryl Harris' (1993) analysis of whiteness as property identifies Indigenous dispossession as central to White dominance, white property in education has often been theorized without direct analytic engagement with colonialism (Dumas & ross, 2016). Here, Mackinlay turns our attention to representations of Indigenous Australian peoples within music education, detailing how the "White noise" of coloniality distorts engagement with Indigenous content. She argues that the study of music remains mired in a romanticizing "Aboriginalist" discourse (Watson, 2015) that presents Indigenous Australian musical cultures as consumable within logics of multicultural inclusion. Mackinlay sets up her intervention by revisiting her reflective writing across time, outlining how she comes to know herself in relationship to Indigenous peoples and the colonial state. Against the logics of whiteness, Mackinlay also offers thoughts on decoloniality in music education: proposing ideas toward an ongoing praxis oriented toward Indigenous musical sovereignty.

Taking a unique approach among the chapters in this section, Sunny Spillane (Chap. 32) delves into the desires and challenges that surface when seeking to interrupt majoritarian stories of arts education from within the university. Guiding the reader through her own arts-based educational research project, Spillane's brightly hued paintings plot regional demographics and school data onto maps of several southern-US cities. Throughout the chapter, Spillane reflects on gaps between the privileged schooling and training experiences of White preservice art teachers and the schooling contexts where they are likely to be hired—predominantly non-White and underresourced. Her visual displays are intended to reveal these patterns of systemic educational inequalities linked to race and wealth. She argues that teacher education programs in the arts should do more to concentrate their resources in schools serving low-income students and students of color. Meanwhile, audience interactions in an educator workshop and a gallery talk cause Spillane to reflect on arts-based research as itself a relic of white property, noting that audiences in higher education (and the artist-researcher herself) can choose not to

engage with social justice aims and instead to repeat deficit narratives about schooling or maintain a narrow focus on aesthetics. Arts-based research helps Spillane to engage in critical reflection, but she finds that her efforts toward an aesthetic and gallery-based intervention for educators remains entwined with the white property of the arts. While creative work can be understood as a “diagnostic of power,” it is not inherently, nor always, a form of resistance: instead, “cultural forms matter because of the way people make meaning of them” (Kelley, Tuck, & Yang, 2014, p. 86).

In the final chapter, Crystal U. Davis and Jesse Phillips-Fein (Chap. 33) capture the diffuse quality of racism in their non-linear analysis of dance as white property. In a carefully choreographed demonstration, they zigzag from curriculum and pedagogy, to the corporeal sensations of aesthetic assessment, to administrative decision-making. This movement between encounters reveals how dance education is home to unconscious racial bias, rampant stereotypes, and real exclusions. Building on Harris (1993), they develop *home* as a metaphor to suggest the unequal rights and relationship between Black dancer-renters, whose occupancy of the stage is tentative and conditional, and White dancer-landlords, whose right to define the “fundamentals” and “standards” of any given dance form is taken for granted. The authors at once open up the world of dance for institutional critique and also illuminate the ways in which their professional careers and personal identities as dancers and dance educators are ineluctably shaped by hierarchies of racial privilege and positioning. Informed by their identifications and experiences, Davis and Phillips-Fein argue that dismantling these “ownership interests” means decentering White bodies and pedagogies of whiteness in dance education.

Storytelling is always strategic, and like all stories, those articulated through “the arts” are not innocent. They are positional (and oppositional) devices by which we orient and invest ourselves in particular realities and identities yet to be formed. Whether particular stories are considered artistic or not, they carry with them dispositions, desires, and relations culled from past and present social conditions. They carry within them intentions—be they curricular, pedagogical, aesthetic, ethical, or political. As a critical race methodology, storytelling can help us to understand the lives of artists, arts students, and arts educators in ways that privilege context, intuition, voice, and multiple sources of knowledge. Perhaps when used to un-discipline subjects from internalized cultural scripts, storytelling takes on emancipatory, humanizing potential as suggested by Bell (1991). The narrative interventions featured in this section document the experiential, human dimensions of living under conditions of White supremacy. They expose how the arts often normalize racial hierarchies. But the end of the story is not contained here. Equity-minded artists, arts educators, and students who desire expanded notions of creative development and cultural participation must find the courage to tell their own disruptive stories, delegitimize the ways in which the arts preserve racist ideologies, and in so doing, forge anti-racist communities of recognition and solidarity.

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Decentering Whiteness and Undoing Racism in Art Museum Education

Marit Dewhurst and Keonna Hendrick

INTRODUCTION

At a moment in the trajectory of the United States in which racial justice activism, inequality, and segregation are often highlighted in the news, museums are challenged to be sites for social change (Munley & Roberts, 2006). Discussing the role of the museum in social transformation, Lonnie Bunch, Director of Smithsonian National Museum of African American History and Culture, states, “our job is to be an educational institution that uses history and culture not only to look back, not only to help us understand today, but to point us towards what we can become” (Wecker, 2015, para 9). And yet, despite increased interest in addressing racial and cultural justice, museums are hardly exempt from the legacies of racism in our country (Teslow, 2007). On the contrary, racism thrives in all corners of museums—from curatorial decisions that often exclude artists of color and information about the racial context of objects to workplace cultures that prioritize White¹ cultural modes of communication. Given their connections to both the past and future of the US, museums offer unique opportunities for interrogating the ways in which the lasting vestiges of racism shape US institutions and for re-envisioning

¹We have chosen to capitalize racial terms (i.e. Black, White, etc.) in alignment with APA standards in recognition of these terms as proper nouns, as well as our efforts to complicate understandings of the intersection of color and identity while moving away from reductive descriptions of people based on color.

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racially just possibilities for the future. As educational institutions, art museums are poised to help communities unravel White supremacist values in order to create more just and equal societies.

Nowhere are the opportunities for unraveling racism in museums as great as in the realm of museum education. Tasked with serving as the bridge between the museum and its public, museum educators are responsible for connecting visitors with their institution. While a heartfelt desire to engage visitors of all races may be common among many educators, racism continues to permeate this very public domain of museum work (Acuff & Evans, 2014; Washington & Hindley, 2017). Be it through the overt use of racist language or in subconscious assumptions about the preferences, interests, and expectations of specific racial identity groups, museum education is a site of significant racism. With extensive experience teaching in, working with, and providing professional development workshops on anti-racist education for museum education departments in a range of museums, we have encountered countless examples of racism. As a Black woman and a White woman living in the United States, we have experienced these scenarios differently, and yet, both of us recognize them as indicative of the persistent and pervasive nature of racism in our field. We argue that art museum educators have a responsibility to interrogate the ways White supremacy manifests in their interactions with art, audiences, and colleagues if they wish to create inclusive spaces where multiple identities are valued equitably. Doing so requires an in-depth understanding of the subtle and overt ways in which White hegemonic values pervade the field.

This chapter mobilizes Critical Race Theory (CRT) as a useful analytic tool for examining and dismantling racism in art museum education. CRT supports our hopeful approach to this kind of critical analysis, as Leonardo reminds us that “CRT in education is precisely the intervention that aims to halt racism by highlighting its pedagogical dimensions and affirming an equally pedagogical solution rooted in anti-racism” (Leonardo, 2013, p. 12). We turn this tool inward to look at our own field of museum education beginning with an overview of the history of racism in art museums and the role of museum education within this fraught context. Shifting our analysis to contemporary museum education, we name and explain common examples of White dominant thinking that perpetuate racial hierarchies and systems of oppression. Through a critical analysis of these lived stories, we offer suggestions for educators to disrupt the White supremacist² values in our field.

²Since the White racial hierarchy is central to the formation and maintenance of racism, we use the terms “racism,” “White dominance,” and “White supremacy” interchangeably throughout this chapter. We draw our understanding of these terms from Professors Keith Lawrence and Terry Keleher’s description of racism as the intersection of race and power toward “the normalization and legitimization of an array of dynamics—historical, cultural, institutional and interpersonal—that routinely advantage whites while producing cumulative and chronic adverse outcomes for people of color. It is a system of hierarchy and inequity, primarily characterized by white supremacy—the preferential treatment, privilege and power for white people at the expense of Black,

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND WHITE SUPREMACY

Since the first step of dismantling racism is naming it clearly, we employ CRT as an analytic tool to describe how racism manifests in museum education. Born out of the work of legal and education scholars, CRT is a way of analyzing social systems, interactions, attitudes, and behaviors through the lens of race (Delgado & Stefancic, 2000; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). It is a tool to help us “demystify” a world that is steeped in racialized categories, practices, institutions, interactions, and relationships (Leonardo, 2013). CRT begins with the understanding that race plays a fundamental and foundational role in our society—one that perpetuates White supremacy (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Every aspect of our daily lives is shaped by long-held beliefs (both conscious and not) and institutionalized codes (both intentionally created and not) that presume that White people deserve greater power and privilege than other racial identity groups. CRT can be used to help us see how racist thinking impacts our lives in micro- and macro-ways. As such, it is both a microscope to examine the seemingly small aggressions that shape our daily interactions and also a telescope to show us the larger universe in which institutions, relationships, and systemic factors perpetuate White supremacy.

As researchers and practitioners devoted to helping our museum education colleagues create empowering, anti-racist learning experiences for all learners, we believe that CRT can provide a useful entry point to identify and discuss the nature of White supremacy in museums. In addition, we hope that by describing the ways in which racist thinking manifests itself within museum education practices, our readers will better understand how racism in art museum education reflects and perpetuates White supremacy beyond the museum’s walls. As Gillborn (2005) asserts, “This process of radical critique should not be confused with a prophecy of doom. To identify the complex and deep-rooted nature of racism is not to assume that it is inevitable or insurmountable” (p. 497). We believe that CRT can be both a powerful analytic tool and a space for transformation.

In the analysis that follows, we rely heavily on two key elements of CRT. First, we rely on CRT’s focus on the importance of counternarratives as tools to help us re-center the conversation about race by starting with the experiences of those most negatively affected by racism (Matsuda, 1995; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). As Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) write in their oft-quoted text on CRT in education, “The ‘voice’ component of critical race theory provides a way to communicate the experience and realities of the oppressed, a first step on the road to justice,” (p. 58). In museum education—a field that relies heavily on the telling of stories about art—CRT’s focus on the stories of those who experience racism offers museum educators with a familiar platform for learning about the complexity of racism. Second, at its heart, a CRT-based analysis

Latino, Asian, Pacific Islander, Native American, Arab and other racially oppressed people” (Lawrence & Keleher, 2004).

“integrates the two levels of racism: the individual and institutional” (Leonardo, 2013, p. 25) to help us unpack the multifaceted ways in which racist beliefs and practices seep into our personal and professional lives. In other words, we must attend to both the ways in which racism affects our daily interactions (individual) as well as the political, economic, and social systems that shape those interactions (institutional). This is particularly important in museum education, as museums themselves are deeply complicated cultural institutions with complex historical roots and contemporary aspirations that call for thoughtful interrogation. In using CRT’s focus on naming, critiquing, and honoring the stories that have long been silenced by White supremacist thinking, we have found that museum educators engaged in critical introspection on their pedagogical and daily practices may be integral to the process of transforming spaces of oppression into sites of critical consciousness where racist practices are replaced by inclusive ideologies and experiences.

HISTORY OF RACISM IN ART MUSEUM EDUCATION

Often viewed by those in positions of power and within dominant narratives as spaces that both preserve and promote social values and aesthetic innovation, museums are uniquely positioned as authoritative bodies in the arts (Berger, 2005; Cameron, 1972; Roberts, 1997). However, this venerated position is problematic to both those whose vested interests are represented in museums and to those whose stories are excluded, for as Sandell (2002) continues, museums “are undeniably implicated in the dynamics of (in)equality and the power relations between different groups through their role in constructing and disseminating dominant social narratives” (p. 8). Like their European predecessors, US museums (as well as most throughout the world) have evolved from the spoils of colonization to serve the interests of White societies and the denigration of global communities of people of color. Critiquing these early beginnings, Kratz and Karp (2006) remind us that “many of the earliest national museums developed from princely or private collections and cabinets of curiosity, with collections expanded through colonial expansion, imperial plunder, scientific exchange, and aristocratic, elite, industrial, and state patronage” (p. 3). Early US art museums often displayed casts of European sculptures as well as cultural objects from colonized nations within the United States and around the world, exemplifying what museum educators Ng and Ware (2014) describe as the museological practice of “exhibiting the *stolen* heritage of humanity, historically obtained through violence and oppression” (p. 41). Thus, US museums have long promoted a view of US culture that supports and promotes the subordination of non-White populations (Karp & Lavine, 1991).

Today, while progressive ideologies and international policies introduce more ethical considerations for acquiring and presenting artworks, many museums continue to organize artworks by geography and ethnicity, mirroring nineteenth century colonialist practices that centralize US and European art and urge visitors to view, interpret, and critique works of art through a Western art historical framework. These frameworks and narratives do not reflect the

growing racial and cultural diversity of the United States, where both changing audience demographic patterns and expanding visions of racial inclusion point to the need for stories and perspectives from people of multiple racial identities. As such, the stories told and values perpetuated by most museums in the United States remain rooted in White supremacist visions of history, which negate the existence, relevance, and humanity of people of color from across the globe (Brown, 2015; Sandell & Nightingale, 2012). Given their special role as national treasures in society, preserving and reflecting the social values of the dominant culture, museums carry a certain social weight that validates the content of their exhibits and programs. However, it is important to remember that this role is built upon a deeply troubled foundation.

Yet, because of their role as social and educational sites, there is hope for change. As museum scholar Steven Weil (1999) writes “Museums are quintessentially places that have the potency to change what people may know or think or feel, to affect what attitudes they may adopt or display, to influence what values they form” (p. 242). The emergence of museum education—as demonstrated primarily through gallery teaching—at the turn of the twentieth century echoed earlier interests in art museums as sites of cultural authority as well as social cultivation and assimilation (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2011). However, over time, museum educators have acted as change agents ushering institutions toward more inclusive practices and values.

Alongside the sociopolitical movements for the rights of oppressed peoples of the 1960s and 1970s, such as the Civil Rights Movement and the Chicano Movement, museums also experienced social transformation. During this time, several museums dedicated to celebrating the histories, culture, and artistic traditions of specific ethnic and diasporic communities were born, including the Studio Museum in Harlem (1968), DuSable Museum of African American History in Chicago (1961), El Museo del Barrio in New York City (1969), and The Mexican Museum, in San Francisco (1975). At the same time, art museum educators developed programs that catered specifically to Black, Latinx, and Asian youth in urban areas. These approaches considered the individual needs of learners as well as the cultural relevance of their museum-going experience within a broader societal context (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2011). Museum educators invited visitors, namely school children, to take an active role in their museum experience through close looking, group discussion, art making, and questioning, directly addressing learners’ cultural and racial heritage and experiences.

While some museum education programs in the United States moved toward more accessible and culturally inclusive pedagogies, the field of museum education has been slow to address the intersections of institutional racism and its impact on visitors, exhibitions, and ways of learning (American Association of Museums Task Force on Museum Education, 1992; Karp, Kratz, Szwaja, & Ybarra-Frausto, 2006; Tortolero, 2000). In recent years, mainstream media attention to the ongoing police brutality experienced by Black men and women has sparked national and local discussions about the social responsibility of museums to respond to racism and social injustices (Adams & Koke, 2014; Brown, 2015; Washington & Hindley, 2017). With this shift, museum educa-

tors have continued to expand their understanding of the role of museums in society, resulting in a growing interest in the potential of museums to promote or facilitate social change (Karp, Kreamer, & Lavine, 1992; Roberts, 1997; Weil, 1999).

In the 1990s, some museum scholars, such as Eilean Hooper-Greenhill (1994), started to more vocally advocate for museum experiences that “address long-established relations of advantage and disadvantage, to enable new voices to be heard, and critically to review existing historical (and other) narratives” (p. 4). Echoing this, museum scholar Richard Sandell (2002) argues that people in the museum field are “beginning to explore the museum’s impact on the lives of individuals and communities and the role that cultural organizations are playing in tackling specific manifestations of inequality—such as racism and other forms of discrimination, poor health, crime and unemployment” (p. 3). That said, there is much work to be done to start unraveling the long-established racist values that are interwoven in museums. These values shape both our individual experiences of museums (e.g. when we see, or don’t see ourselves reflected in the artworks included in a tour or audio guide) and our interactions with institutional policies (e.g. who is hired to teach, who is invited into decision-making). A close analysis of the multiple layers of racism at play within museum education reveals much work has yet to be done.

Because art museums were built as monuments to White supremacy and to promote a national cultural identity that normalized Whiteness and structural racism (Kratz & Karp, 2006), we argue that twenty-first century museums that wish to serve as inclusive and culturally relevant institutions have the responsibility to understand how they play a role in either perpetuating or upending racism. Given their historical legacies and current moves toward inclusivity, museum education practices offer ripe settings to analyze how the dominant embodiment of Whiteness shapes how we view, discuss, create, and engage multiple audiences in the arts—and how we can transform this. On the so-called frontlines of the intersection between museums and the public, museum educators are uniquely situated to marshal in much needed change.

As researchers Ng and Ware (2014) assert, “though museum educators have largely led the task of diversification through educational and public programming, the role of museum educators is limited; however, there are possibilities for this role to create real change within and across the institution” (p. 36). These windows of possibility give us much hope and fuel our belief that museum education is a prime space from which we can alter how museums can contribute to more racially just societies. According to Sandell (2002), “Museums and galleries of all kinds have both the potential to contribute towards the combating of social inequality and a responsibility to do so” (p. 3). Tasked with connecting learners to the arts, museum educators can play a pivotal role in dismantling the systems of oppression that operate within art education as we highlight in the next section.

IDENTIFYING AND DISMANTLING RACIST PRACTICES

While museums have shifted from a focus on assimilation toward more progressive and supposedly inclusive practices (Hein, 2012), White cultural practices and supremacist thinking still dictates how museum educators interact with artworks, audiences, and colleagues. In this section, we offer examples from our experiences in an effort to name and explain common manifestations of White dominant thinking that perpetuate racial hierarchies and systems of oppression. From questionable artwork selection, the denial of culturally relevant curriculum, silenced stories of racial violence, and unspoken hiring codes, it is clear that the impact of cultural colonization and White supremacist values thrives. Undoing racism will require active resistance: “because the racialized social system is embedded in all decisions that educators make, nothing short of a concerted, self-conscious intervention would alter the state of affairs” (Leonardo, 2013, p. 17). To support museum educators as agents of racial justice requires a deeper understanding of the subtle and overt ways in which White hegemonic values pervade the field.

We turn to CRT’s focus on analyzing stories as “interpretive structures by which we impose order on experience and it on us” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 57). In doing so, we offer six common examples of White supremacist values that we have encountered in our interactions with *works of art*, with *audiences*, and with *institutions* within the field of museum education. In telling and analyzing the racial dimensions of these stories, we articulate both how and why each experience serves White power. This analysis also follows the CRT practice of examining the microaggressions—those “subtle, stunning, often automatic, and ‘non-verbal’ exchanges which are ‘put downs’ of Blacks by offenders” (Pierce, Carew, Pierce-Gonzalez, & Wills, 1978, p. 66)—that perpetuate racism in society. We hope that in naming clearly why each story exemplifies racism in our line of work, our readers will gain tools to look critically at their own daily practices. In dissecting instances that preserve existing racial hierarchies, we offer alternatives that disrupt those hierarchies, opening opportunities for a vision of museum education that is rooted in critical, anti-racist pedagogies and possibilities.

Interactions with Works of Art

The ways in which museum educators choose artworks, contextualize them, and connect them to viewers’ experiences are fundamental to the practice of museum education. While works of art are often discussed as inanimate objects, as museum educators we know that they are infused with the lived experiences of real people, places, and moments in time. As such, it is certain that they are also sites for critical analysis of the ways in which race shapes our interpretations and descriptions of art.

Object Selection

While many museum educators may describe the joy of hearing multiple interpretations of a work of art from visitors engaged in inquiry-based discussions, there is often an assumption by many museum educators and audiences that the artworks on view preclude any discussion of race, racism, or even identity. For example, we have both heard many White museum educators claim that because the museum's collection doesn't have artwork by artists of color, or artwork that deals explicitly with race, it's not possible to teach about racial identity. Leaving aside the conversation about museum acquisition practices, this comment reflects two common misconceptions: (1) that only people of color are "raced" people, leaving Whiteness as unrelated to the concept of race; and (2) that only artists of color can create artwork about racial identity and conversely, that artists of color only make work about race. CRT theorists remind us that while "race is a social construction," it is equally important to note that "its consequences are as real as gravity" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 14). Certainly, every person, regardless of his or her racial identity, is shaped by a legacy of racial labels and hierarchies. When museum educators claim that only artworks by artists of color deal with race, they are perpetuating the idea that White people need not be involved with, should not be concerned about, and are not even affected by racism. As such, it limits any discussion of race as only for those identified as non-White, perpetuating the "otherness" of those who identify as non-White (Thompson, 1999). This further exacerbates the silence that White people all too often hide behind as a way of avoiding discussions about racial injustice (DiAngelo, 2012). In doing so, it also puts the onus for any conversations or activism about racial justice solely upon the shoulders of people of color.

In applying the CRT tenet that we are all affected by the legacy of racial inequality in our country (Gillborn, 2005), we argue that *any* artwork can serve as an entry point for talking about race, identity, and racism. By using artworks to tell inclusive and multifaceted stories, museum educators can potentially subvert the belief that only certain objects can pertain to certain people or topics. Relying on well-crafted inquiry questions, museum educators can encourage audiences to talk directly about how racial identities are shaped by power, privilege, history, and context. For example, they might urge audiences to consider how their own racial identity shapes their interpretation of a work of art or what stories are missing from the ones they identify in the work of art and why. In doing so, educators can normalize race talk while also using the discussion as a way of critically reflecting on how our racial identities and racialized experiences shape how we each see and make sense of works of art. Through such concerted efforts to speak critically about the intersections between power and race when teaching about any artwork, educators can open up opportunities for museums to tell more nuanced and multifaceted stories of the objects in their collections.

Contextual Information

When teaching from artworks, museum educators make countless split-second decisions about what questions to ask, when to introduce an activity, who to encourage to share, and what information they will tell their audience about the artwork and artist (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2011). Oftentimes, we have witnessed how museum educators rely heavily on the interpretive art historical information provided by curators and artists. However, typically this text, and therefore the information educators share, does not include information about the racial identity of the artist unless he or she is *not* White and rarely addresses the role of race in the story of an object. Therefore, the racism contained in the history and context of some objects (e.g. perhaps an object was acquired by colonial theft or was selected for exhibition to tell a limited version of history) remains invisible and uninterrogated. Without contextual information that discusses the racial landscape of an object, we lose opportunities to talk about how racism shapes how we see and experience the world. For example, without contextual information about how objects are categorized or described, we lose the chance to examine how objects can reveal truths about racism in our nation's history and present. Even the seemingly simple sleight of not naming an artist's racial identity except when he or she is not White, perpetuates White supremacist thinking and further supports the idea of art as white property. This reveals a power structure in which the idea of Whiteness is normalized and not accessible for discussion, analysis, or interrogation (DeCuir & Dixon, 2004; hooks, 1992; Shome, 2000).

Contextual information is a critical component of providing audiences with the tools to access the layered stories and meanings in works of art. When we fail to provide information about the racialized context, we reinforce the belief that it does not matter; or worse, that it only matters when the artwork is by an artist of color. We encourage educators to strive for consistency and intentionality in talking about the racial identities of each artist they teach about. In addition, we suggest that educators incorporate research about the racial context of a work of art into their regular teaching preparation. In doing so, they could tell about the provenance of the artwork, its connections to histories of racism, or the ways in which it might be analyzed through a critical race lens. As they strive to tell the stories that are regularly missing from the conventional museum contextual information, museum educators should prioritize the often untold stories of race, racism, and identity that surround works of art and the artists who created them.

Interactions with Audiences

Many museum educators come to their work with a strong belief in the importance of creating accessible opportunities for all audiences to engage with art (Burnham & Kai-Kee, 2011). Despite their enthusiasm for connecting viewers to artworks, these educators stumble when it comes to navigating racial

hierarchies, assumptions, and biases in their teaching. The following examples describe these common microaggressions—the small and subtle, everyday racist actions, sleights, negligences, or comments—that perpetuate racism and White supremacy in our interactions with the public (Solorzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000).

Assumptions About Audiences

A central component of museum education is the responsibility to know one's audience in order to create experiences that are relevant and meaningful to visitors. In a world where racism prevents many people from developing sustained cross-cultural relationships, museum educators—many of whom are part-time, contractual, or even unpaid educators, and most of whom are White—too often rely on assumptions about racial groups including their own when creating their programs and lesson plans. These biases, steeped in racial stereotypes, undermine the aim of empowering visitors—particularly visitors of color. Examples of such assumptions are evident in the comments educators make to visitors and among colleagues when preparing for or debriefing programs. We have heard well-meaning colleagues suggest to young Black learners that they will definitely love Kehinde Wiley's portraits simply because he's a Black artist. This kind of microaggression perpetuates a limited view of what learners of color are capable of or interested in, thereby cutting off opportunities for learning.

Conversely, we've heard museum educators describe their decisions not to take predominantly White audiences to see works by artists such as Mickalene Thomas or Kara Walker because they believe they will not be interested or that the work is too focused on Black culture. Making assumptions about what audiences want to see or will feel comfortable with grossly undermines the educational potential of museums as spaces for social transformation. Despite the fact that such decisions are often made in an attempt to connect with visitors, we are reminded of Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) statement that "most oppression does not seem like oppression to the perpetrator" (p. 57). In selecting artworks by artists of color only for tours about identity and/or audiences composed of people of color, or presuming White audiences won't be interested in artwork about racial identity, museum educators unwittingly undermine opportunities for learning by predetermining what has meaning for each visitor based on their perception of the visitor's racial identity. Designing programs in response to false assumptions limits the learning possibilities for all visitors.

We urge museum educators to speak with the visitors of color they serve in order to learn about visitors' expectations and intentions for the museum visit. While we do not wish to burden visitors of color with the responsibility of doing anti-racist work of teaching museum practitioners about race and racism, we believe that if museum staff are to be accountable for dismantling racism in their work, then listening to the needs, interests, and ideas of people of color is

essential. We stress that these conversations should provide opportunities to talk with, not to, audiences about how the museum can support learning.

In coming to such conversations with an openness to learn from audience members, educators gain an opportunity to build relationships with people of multiple racial identities that can play a key role in challenging racial biases. Educators should use these discussions to bring up racial justice as one of the key priorities of the museum engagement, thereby normalizing the potential for talking about race from the beginning. To miss this opportunity is to fall into patterns of White silence (Tatum, 1997) and White fragility (DiAngelo, 2012) that serve to perpetuate the status quo of White supremacist thinking by denying even the acknowledgment of the existence of race as a social construction that affects us all. To initiate these conversations, we encourage museum educators to regularly reflect on their initial assumptions by asking themselves what those assumptions were, why they exist, and what they might do to counter them. Finally, museum educators can support colleagues by constantly reflecting on and discussing the biases that undergird the programs they design in an effort to create programs that are not built on race-based assumptions (Crum & Hendrick, 2014).

Neutrality and Silence

Despite an emphasis on interactive discussion, perhaps one of the most frustrating examples of racism is the silence around race and related topics. And yet, as practitioners in museums ourselves who regularly facilitate workshops on racism in museums, we have heard countless excuses for these silences, from the logistical to the philosophical. Because of the fleeting nature of many museum education programs, many excuses center on time limits, based on the perception that it is too hard to address a complex issue like race in a one-hour visit. Other museum educators emphasize the audience's objectives, for instance, when the teacher gives them a list of the artworks and topics they want to discuss. Some educators describe a desire to stick to their ideas about artists' intentions when talking about works of art, believing for instance that if the artist doesn't mention race or identity in their work, then it is not their responsibility to do so. Similarly, we have heard educators rely on learner-centered education as a false explanation for their avoidance of race talk, questioning why they should introduce the idea of race if their audience doesn't first initiate it.

A number of educators we've encountered—particularly White educators—are interested in trying to talk about race but express a fear that they don't know how to talk about race in relation to works of art; or as White people, they don't think it's their place to talk about race. In addition, many museum educators express a desire to remain neutral so as not to push an agenda with their audiences. Leaning heavily on constructivist approaches to museum education, such educators claim that they are tasked with creating open spaces for visitors to bring up what they see in a work of art, not to dictate what visitors

should see. These ideas that we have heard from colleagues in museum education point to several problematic assumptions about talking about race: (1) conversations about race are always heavy and all-encompassing; (2) audiences don't want to talk about race; (3) race is only relevant in specific instances; (4) race can only be talked about by people of color and/or trained White people; and (5) race is attached to a political agenda that has no place in a museum. These false assumptions trap too many educators in a dangerous paralysis of choosing neutrality since avoidance is actually a decision to maintain a status quo that supports White supremacy.

Undoing racism takes work: "doing nothing affirmative against racism is a default action contributing to its survival, just as a moving object in space moves in the same direction without a deliberate force to counter it" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 17). We urge museum educators to commit to talking about race with honesty, compassion, and openness. Because silence is a form of complicity, it is imperative that educators find ways to talk about race. That said, we also caution that educators should pair their commitment to talking about race with focused research and professional development about effective strategies for facilitating reflective anti-racist pedagogy.

As author Hendrick and fellow museum educator Crum (2014) write, "when educators lack cultural consciousness," particularly around how our racial identities intersect with cultural practices "they risk perpetuating superficial cultural narratives, limiting opportunities for critical thinking, and preventing self-actualizing experiences for learners," (p. 271). In other words, without a critical analysis of how racism affects our daily lives, educators may perpetuate racist expectations of learners and remain stuck at surface level analyses of identity. To develop their skills and confidence in talking about race, we encourage museum educators to seek out research, professional development opportunities, and collegial relationships that are intentionally dedicated to racial justice education (i.e. anti-racist reading or discussion groups, professional development workshops). If we make critical racial awareness central to our daily practice as researching artist information or fine-tuning inquiry questions, we will move from neutrality to agency in our efforts to dismantle racism in museum education.

Interactions with Institutions

As CRT reminds us, "institutions are racialized because they are embedded in a racial predicament, which they reinforce and help reproduce" (Leonardo, 2013, p. 21); and museums are no exception. Moving from the daily interactions with artworks and audiences, an analysis of our interactions with the larger institutions within which we work highlights the pervasive nature of racism in our field.

Current reports indicate that museum staff are typically 80 percent White, despite people of color comprising more than 30 percent of the US population (Farrell et al., 2012). We often hear predominantly White colleagues from

diverse art museums comment on the difficulty they face in trying to find qualified candidates of color when hiring museum education staff. When standards of quality are defined by the largely White managing bodies in museums, those standards typically reflect White values, modes of success, codes of communication, and cultural forms of knowledge (Hendrick & Harper, 2017; Ng & Ware, 2014; Valladares, 2017). Furthermore, this sentiment harkens to the disturbing stereotype that people of color are inherently less intelligent and less capable of fulfilling academic leadership roles, communicated by implying that the candidates of color are not “qualified.” This dismissal of the qualifications of applicants of color causes us to question the standards by which applicants of color are being measured. An obvious example of this is in museums’ reliance on academic degrees in fields that have long struggled to support students of color. As Ng and Ware (2014) assert,

traditional academic disciplines related to museum careers include art history, history, sciences, anthropology, and various humanities. The problem of recruiting staff from these traditional academic disciplines begins to get complicated when...a lack of diversity within university settings means that these disciplines continue to struggle to attract racialized and indigenous people (p. 52).

Such narrow recruiting strategies lead us to question hiring managers’ commitment in creating racial diversity on staff and their approaches to doing so.

Hiring Practices

We recommend that hiring managers consider why and how they seek applicants of color for museum education positions, prior to the recruitment process. Our experiences mentoring and advising emerging educators has revealed that just as some Black, Latinx, and Asian community members choose not to visit museums because they do not feel welcomed or see their cultural experiences reflected in the museums, some educators choose not to apply to positions at institutions where they believe they will encounter racism more frequently. Given this, educators may consider how the language of the position description and reputation of the institution may hinder potential candidates from applying.

We advise hiring managers to be intentional about staff diversity by seeking out applicants from traditional and nontraditional spaces including public universities, historically Black colleges and universities, and community and youth development centers. Thinking beyond traditional academic qualifications and considering lived experiences that translate to the art museum may offer art museum education leaders an opportunity to develop a diverse staff whose interests and experiences allow equally diverse visitors to connect with artworks in a number of ways. Finally, when it comes to advertising positions, art museum educators of color have organized various networks to garner professional and social support for their work in the field. These in-person and social media-based networks (i.e. LinkedIn, Twitter, and Facebook) can be useful avenues for job recruiting.

Professional Development

Hiring managers must also understand that hiring a person of color is only the first step in creating racial inclusion within the art museum. When presenting at conferences and professional development sessions, we are often asked how to ensure that Black, Asian, and Latinx educators are comfortable at the museum. We are also often asked how best to deal with colleagues when they don't realize that what they do is racist. These questions reflect a need for racial diversity training as professional development in art museums. With the understanding that neither art museums nor educators are neutral in their practice and decision-making, the lack of professional development about race and racism for museum educators shows that dismantling racism in the museum education is not yet a priority.

Providing ongoing professional development to educators is essential to maintaining an environment where educators and learners are affirmed and can thrive. If museums seek to be relevant to an increasingly racially diverse society, then they must provide educators and other staff with tools to critically discuss and interrogate race in and through artwork. Without these tools and ongoing training, art museum educators run the risk of perpetuating White supremacy through racist and marginalizing actions. We recommend that museum leaders establish action plans for building racial equity, both personally and institutionally that may be implemented over time for art museum educators at various career levels. A number of resources—trainings, publications, syllabi, and videos—focusing on diversity and racial justice education are available to educators at no or low cost. Educators might start monthly reading groups within their institutions to read, watch, and discuss how to apply racial justice practices in their own work. Such engagement enables art museum educators to consider other narratives and perspectives in an attempt to challenge their existing values (Crum & Hendrick, 2014). As Ng and Ware (2014) remind us,

Anti-oppression training, cultural competency workshops, and diversity and inclusion policies aim to increase internal awareness of both the history of marginalization implicit in museums and demonstrate how museum personnel can affect change in their work with visitors, collections and each other. (p. 51)

CONCLUSION

In the past two years, in professional conferences, workshops, and social media platforms, we have witnessed a new wave of interest in talking about the role of museums in addressing our country's deep-seated racism (Brown, 2015; see also www.incluseum.org, #museumsresponsetoferguson, www.museumsandrace.org). Certainly, this highlights a hopeful desire and explicit need for these conversations; however, the legacy of racism in art museums—and across the country—continues to permeate interpersonal exchanges and institutional policies, influencing museum educators' interactions with visitors, objects, and colleagues.

Dismantling this is not simple work; it will take a concerted and sustained effort to critically analyze how we perpetuate White supremacist thinking in all areas of museum education. And yet, as our own experiences in the field have proven, a growing number of museum educators we have spoken with recently are eager to rise to the challenge and hungry for the tools with which to do so. It is our hope that through a commitment to ongoing critical reflection and action about how racism infiltrates our interactions with art, audiences, and institutions, our readers will be able to lead efforts for racial justice in museums. Just as scholars of CRT argue for “a theory of a new society” through “the total emancipation of society as the liberation from racism and other forms of oppression” (Leonardo, 2013, p. 26), we argue here that museum education is poised for a liberated anti-racist approach to teaching audiences of diverse backgrounds. Such a transformation could finally start to move museums to be sites for social change and democratic practices.

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Owners of Dance: How Dance Is Controlled and Whitewashed in the Teaching of Dance Forms

Nyama McCarthy-Brown

My body was colonized through my Dance Education.¹ I was taught that pointed feet and powdered swans reign supreme in the world of dance. Calls for extended legs and pointed feet stood in direct opposition to the words of my father, who told my sisters and me to “get down” on the dance floor we created in our living room, as we watched and danced to *Soul Train*. These stretched legs also opposed the honored Kongo proverb (and many dances of the African diaspora), “Dance with bended knees, lest you be taken for a corpse” (Malone, 1996, p. 9). I realize that, through my years of dance training, I was indoctrinated into an ideology of privilege that preserves and protects whiteness, while it devalues the cultural heritages of others. I have come to understand that this system in Dance Education was used to lay claim not only to how I learned to move my body but also informed how I view dancing bodies, now looking for “technique” as indication of legitimacy in other dancers.

While dance is often thought of as nothing more than a cultural form that is entertaining, a growing number of scholars are beginning to examine how issues of power and privilege are ascribed to dancing bodies and the stories they tell (Albright, 2010; Gottschild, 2003; Kerr-Berry, 2010; McCarthy-Brown,

¹Dance Education is an established field of study in Higher Education. When referring to this field, I capitalize the term. When referring to the ways in which people learn to dance outside the academy (and thus are educated in dance) I do not capitalize the term.

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2017). This chapter uses research on Critical Race Theory (CRT) and whiteness as well as my own experiences as an African American² female dancer to argue that whiteness repackages and claims the dances of other cultural heritages as white property under the guise of multiculturalism. Angelina Castagno (2014) describes whiteness as an operating system of racial dominance. CRT helps make visible power dynamics, as it seeks to illuminate the intertwined nature of race and property. In this chapter, “claiming” and “ownership” in Dance Education are examined. More specifically, this chapter analyzes how claiming the dances of African Americans and Latinxs, without legitimizing them in the same way as European dance forms are legitimized, suggests a false equivalence. While one might argue that ownership is intricate and messy, an examination of how, what, and where art forms are valued begins to illuminate functions of power and privilege. In this chapter, theoretical underpinnings are utilized to confront my own mis-education and also to suggest that there is a great need for more critical thinking in Dance Education.

Dance as the property of Whites is explored in four segments. I examine the ownership of four dance forms and ask: who dances these dances?, whose culture is affirmed through these dances?, and who profits from them? Through a CRT lens, I tell counter-stories to uncloak the power and privilege evoked to maintain whiteness in the master narrative (Delgado & Stefancic, 2013). The chapter leads with an examination of the Eurocentric ideology that has positioned ballet as the foundation of dance. Although this paradigm is losing traction in the twenty-first century, its ethos is still embraced within Western training and performance centers throughout the United States. This can be seen in dance curricula in higher education, as ballet and modern dance remain the almost exclusive means to obtain a dance degree (McCarthy-Brown, 2014). I then question the cultural reframing of salsa dance as it is practiced in the United States. I present a counter-narrative, maintaining that this dance has been stolen, reshaped, and sold to the whitestream³ as exotic and ethnic. Next, I challenge the stories of some of the US best-selling pop stars in relation to hip-hop, as I reclaim and retell the narratives of the Black cultural appropriation that preceded each star’s success. Finally, I recall the story of the Lindy, the dance from Harlem, New York, that was revived in the late 1990s only to be repackaged as an “American” dance with an almost exclusive following of White dancers.

Through the counter-narratives I present in this chapter, readers are asked to reconsider myths like: “ballet is the foundation of dance” and “hip-hop dancers need technique.” I argue that these myths have served to disseminate a false narrative of dance and the Black dancing body. Within each of these

²The terms African American and Black are used interchangeably in this text.

³Whitestream refers to widely accepted ideas, attitudes, and activities regarded as conventional, dominated by white people for the preservation of whiteness. Whitestream, as used in this chapter, delineates from the term whitestream feminism, coined by Sandy Grande (2003).

stories, the embodiment of whiteness is essential to the whitestream success of the dance form, as it is considered necessary to substitute White bodies in place of bodies of color for wider commodification. In the case of ballet, bodies of color are widely marginalized and/or excluded from training institutions and professional employment within the genre. I enter this discussion in contemporary times with the widely accepted understanding that dance is presented through a binary lens of race—White or non-White. This lens buffers dance against whiteness. If deemed White, it can be acquisitioned by the whitestream. If not deemed White, there are two possibilities: it is marginalized and delegitimized through exclusion; or, it can be “Whitened,” repackaged, and redistributed for the profit of Whites and promotion of whiteness. The status quo, which is taught through the Dance Education structures and widely funded in the United States, is White, reflecting White culture, White bodies, and profiting White people. The examples in this chapter demonstrate some of the ways Whites have come to own dance.

AUTHOR’S POSITIONALITY

I come to this work as an African American woman who has spent over 30 years relating to dance as a student, teacher, observer, researcher, performer, dance maker, and scholar. I see dance as a racialized experience. Race cannot be extracted from the seeing or doing of dance. As a self-actualized adult, I can see how I used dance throughout my life to align myself with my White mother. I saw whiteness and legitimacy in Western dance forms very early in life and positioned myself in hope of attaining some of that privilege by proxy. My mother put me in ballet and creative movement when I was six. When I was a teenager, I was one of the Black girls who needed “more technique,” which is dance teachers’ code for “more ballet.” Because I was identified as a Black girl, it was wrongly assumed by peers and adults in my life, that I was a skilled hip-hop dancer, much to their disappointment.

As a dance educator in higher education, I see race in my classroom space constantly. I recognize that as I stand before the class I also enact whiteness upon my students. I am a gatekeeper on their path to a post-secondary degree in dance. I face students toward the mirror in linear formation, require students to take off their shoes, and lead exercises at the barre—connecting my pedagogy to mirrors, barres, and marley floor,⁴ all to enact the privileging of Western dance forms. As I focus attention on the value of these fixtures and symbols, I reify whiteness in the space.

I do not write this to exonerate myself from my transgressions as an educator. To be sure, I work against all of these practices, but, at times, I implement them as well. I too regurgitate what was poured into me over a span of 34 years in Dance Education. I would be remiss if not to acknowledge my participation in the structures of whiteness I seek to dismantle.

⁴Marley is a popular type of vinyl dance floor cover designed for Western-based dance forms.

THEORETICAL BODY

Herein, I examine Dance Education through a CRT lens, “integrating lived experience with racial realism” (Ladson-Billings, 2006, p. vii). This theoretical framework builds on the work of existing scholarship related to CRT and Dance Education. I focus on the binary of the master narrative versus the counter-narrative. For every master narrative my students share, recite, and regurgitate, I work to offer a counter-narrative in the tradition of CRT. Fittingly, dance as an art form is often about storytelling. The European ballet classics are filled with stories, as are those of classical Indian, Polynesian, and West African dance. But it is important to examine these stories critically. Part of the master narrative maintaining whiteness in dance is, in fact: whose stories are told? where are they told, on the proscenium stage—high art or in the subway—street art? whose cultural heritage is reified in these stories? This approach to the stories within the world of dance is informed by the use of a CRT framework, using counter-narratives to uncloak White ownership of dance. These examinations lead with questions of power. Who holds the power in dance? And how is that power used to maintain whiteness?

In the 1988 seminal text, “Property Rights in Whiteness: Their Legal Legacy, Their Economic Costs,” CRT scholar Derrick Bell explores whiteness within the context of the legal system and economics. I compare his argument with issues in the field of dance. Choreographic copyright compares to intellectual property under the law. Similarly, access to performance spaces, training opportunities, and financial benefits can also be examined within a legal framework in regard to equitable legal protection. In these ways, art forms such as dance have become the property of Whites. Within this structural arrangement, whiteness is activated to maintain racial dominance. Herein, I present counter-narratives to re-envision previously told, “master narratives.” In these counter-narratives, I examine the ways in which dance has been co-opted by whiteness—White people, White bodies, and/or White “Eurocentric” dance aesthetics. Angelina Castagno (2014) writes, *whiteness* refers to structural arrangements ...whiteness maintains power and privilege by perpetuating and legitimating the status quo while simultaneously maintaining a veneer of neutrality, equality, and compassion. (p. 5)

I apply this definition to my use of the term whiteness and its systematic use within Dance Education as a field. This structural arrangement of whiteness commands ownership of dance. It also recognizes the ability of those trained in white structures to enact and uphold whiteness. It is most successful in realms historically controlled by whiteness: educational and financial systems. However, alternative arrangements of ownership do exist outside the white-stream, as historically exploited communities resist acts of cultural appropriation in their work to subvert whiteness (DeFrantz, 2012).

Blackness, as I use the term in this chapter, speaks to an aesthetic steeped in African diasporic cultures, an embodiment of the Black lived experience and the Black dancing body. Richard Long described the aesthetic as, “Black dance, Black Stance and Black gesture are non-verbal patterns of body gestures and expressions which are distinctively Black African or originate from their descendants elsewhere” (Long, 1989, p. 8). Dance scholars Brenda Dixon Gottschild, Kariamu Welsh, Barbara Glass, and Robert Farris Thompson have identified numerous African-derived dance characteristics. Among those characteristics are orientation to the earth, syncopation, polyrhythmic, polycentric, *the aesthetic of cool*, and improvisation (Glass, 2007; Gottschild, 2003; Thompson, 2011; Welsh, 1994). Unlike whiteness, it does not describe a system but an embodied aesthetic that carries movement traditions and creative innovations culturally informed by the experiences of Black people throughout the African diaspora.

WHITENESS IN POST-SECONDARY DANCE EDUCATION

We learn to value the Western literary canon and the Eurocentric curriculum as superior to the traditions developed by oppressed groups. (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011, p. 3)

CRT scholar Richard Delgado (1989) asserts that the dominant ingroup validates its power through the use of stories. This is demonstrated in the positioning of ballet. The first premise of Dance Education, as taught in the United States, is that ballet is the foundation of all dance. This story is suspect in more ways than one can count. Ballet is not the foundation of dance. It was invented in the fifteenth century (Mitchell, 2004). Such a claim would suggest that people did not dance before then. If ballet is the foundation of all dance, how is it I have seen virtuosic dancers of other genres that did not possess ballet training? This erroneous ideal supports whiteness and white supremacy and is implicitly reinforced throughout the curriculum and culture of dance in the United States.

Today, dance departments widely accept ballet as a staple within most programs. One cannot watch the popular culture television phenomenon, *So You Think You Can Dance*, without hearing the hip-hop and tap dancers told how wonderful they are but for their deficiencies in the all-legitimizing “technique” (referring to ballet-informed, Western-based dance training). The training and technique these dancers have embodied is often disregarded. The failure of dance educators to identify, assess, and value dance forms outside the Western canon marginalizes dance forms produced by people of color and privileges White dance forms. Using the term “technique” to signify a Eurocentric codified dance form also fails to recognize the many dance techniques that are not Western-based, such as African dance techniques, classical Indian dance techniques, and so forth. The dance lexicon, using terms like “technique” for Western-based dance forms, and the dichotomous structural arrangement

expressed in “Western” and “non-Western,” which one could interpret as standard and other, are examples of how language operates to perpetuate whiteness. As a result, those attached to these privileged forms, who are typically White middle to upper class, control the dance hierarchy.

I delimited my focus to dance in higher education because it is an institution through which most dance educators travel. Most K-12 educators and dance educators who work in higher education earn a degree or teaching certificate in a higher education institution. Thus, the curriculum learned by dance educators during their college or university experience becomes what is valued as standard in the field of dance. In addition, if college is the goal for students, then K-12 dance educators who wish to prepare students for college will instill these educational values in students. Most of the faculty in higher education are White, and therefore so are the owners of Dance Education, and they decide what forms get performed in what spaces, who gets to dance, and, how to evaluate dance.

In 2011, I conducted a study on how cultural diversity was valued in dance departments. Course offerings of several hundred programs were examined as well as the mission statements of close to 100 programs (McCarthy-Brown, 2011). Today, most departments of dance in higher education maintain a Eurocentric focus, even when they claim to value cultural diversity. These departments also offer a small number of courses that focus on culturally diverse dance forms such as: hip-hop, Flamenco, classical Indian, West African, Dunham, Umfundalai, capoeira, or salsa. However, there are less than ten higher education dance programs in the US where one could study a dance form other than ballet or contemporary, throughout a sequential four-year curriculum, including advanced levels of study.⁵ In total, there are well over 600 dance programs in higher education in the United States (Dance Magazine College Guide, 2015). For most of these programs, Western-based dance forms remain the standard of legitimacy and the sole path to attain an accredited degree. Because so few degree-granting dance programs offer an established curriculum outside of modern or contemporary dance study, teaching practices remain firmly embedded in Western-based dance (McCarthy-Brown, 2014). As a result, the population of future K-12 and post-secondary teachers prepared by these dance programs will maintain the status quo. A Western-based Dance Education does not only have implications for students’ creative aesthetic; it also influences the way they interact with dance, value dance from other cultures, assess dance, and develop their ideas around pedagogy.

In “Browning the Curriculum,” Rubén Gaztambide-Fernández (2015) illuminates the power of rehistoricizing a curriculum. He argues for women and men of color to be positioned in the curriculum in a manner that reflects inclusivity but also to include the “foundational” work of curriculum pioneers that

⁵ Among these few programs are The University of New Mexico (Flamenco); Denison University (African-based dance); Columbia College (West African-based dance); Arizona State University (urban movement practices); and Davis & Elkins College (American Vernacular Dance).

served to shape the racially tinged curriculum in question. Dance Education is considered by most in the field to be an established discipline of study. The history of Dance Education as a field of study begins in the time of H'Doubler. Margaret H'Doubler developed the first dance major within a department of physical education in 1927, at the University of Wisconsin, Madison. She established the major around ideas of dance being a creative and holistic approach to engaging the body. Margaret H'Doubler informed the direction for dance in the academy for decades. Fundamentally dance in the academy was framed as a creative art, and flourished in tandem with the development of modern dance. Modern dance was grounded in creative expression but also maintained influences of ballet and was considered a Western dance technique.

The foundation H'Doubler laid included the social constructs around race at the time. While dance scholar Janice Ross (2000) highlights the pioneering work of H'Doubler in her text, *Moving Lessons: Margaret H'Doubler and the Beginning of Dance in American Education*, Ross also notes that H'Doubler had little respect for African American vernacular dances and jazz. H'Doubler (1940) herself wrote, "especially since the introduction of jazz, there has been no popular form of dance that is in any sense artistic" (p. 31) in her monograph, *Dance: A Creative Art Experience*. Racist underpinnings, which were part and parcel of US society before the Civil Rights movement began, were entrenched in the foundation of Dance Education as a field of study. This Eurocentric curriculum, still evident in program structures today, excludes "other" dance forms as genres of merit or focused study, a practice that inherently supports a hegemonic system. Even when the curriculum of Dance Education integrates other non-Westerns dance styles, this incorporation requires a process of appropriation that transforms them to be consumed by White audiences. In the rest of the chapter, I examine what this process looks like for different dance styles.

THEY CALL IT "SALSA"

Salsa dance in the United States has been reshaped and processed, ethnic roots extracted in exchange for a White veneer. While it maintains an "exotic" feel, and is considered by some Whites as diverse or "other," salsa is now a part of the whitestream, widely available in all major cities. For those with direct ties to Latin America, the whitening of the dance form has been stark. The carriage of the upper body is different, the footwork is different, and the communal, multigenerational purpose has been decentered. Once the form was processed, it proliferated in dance clubs in the United States. In many of these clubs, "patterns" are taught that hold more resemblance to ballroom dance forms than Latinx dance culture. Today, it is also offered in many dance departments in higher education as an elective that denotes a dance department's value of cultural diversity.

I have been dancing in the salsa community for the past ten years, in a number of cities across the country. I love salsa dancing, yet I will be the first to admit, it has been decontextualized, processed, rebranded, and sold to the US whitestream. I was entrenched in the salsa community before I came to understand how complications of appropriation lingered through the dance form. I began to understand this when I went salsa dancing with a classmate from Colombia who talked about how much she loved salsa and danced all the time at home. Upon entering the salsa club, I could see her confusion and discomfort. She was a fish out of water. As a foreign student, she was excited to experience familiar rhythms and dances. But the patterns that were being danced were nothing like the “salsa” dance from her home country. This experience reminded me of a Puerto Rican student whom I recalled denouncing the “salsa girls” he would encounter at salsa clubs. I asked, “what’s a salsa girl?” He explained that these were the dancers who came in with their dance shoes in a bag and all they wanted was to be led through “patterns.” I did not ask any more questions because I knew exactly who he was talking about—me. Prior to his comment, I had never noticed these divisions within the space. Of course, those with privilege rarely notice such nuances. I had the salsa shoes, I took salsa classes, and I learned the “patterns.” I felt comfortable in these spaces, but, of course, I did; the dance was commoditized and sold to me—as a non-Latinx, and I bought it.

Salsa dance as it is done in dance clubs, ballroom studios, and higher education in the United States, is taught through counting beats and with foot-step patterns. The basic step has remnants of some of the salsa rhythm and movement one can find in Latin America. The popular dance has less emphasis on improvisation, also identified as a retention of African-derived dance characteristics seen in cultures heavily influenced by the African diaspora (Glass, 2007). However, the upper body lifted frame and sequencing patterns seen in salsa clubs throughout the United States come from Western ballroom dance aesthetics. The salsa dance practiced in the United States has moved far from its origins, while it capitalizes on the fiery hot stereotypes of Latinx cultural aesthetics. One must ask: who owns the dance, who profits from the dance, and who can see their ancestors in the dance?

To be sure, salsa is different in different places. There is L.A. Style, Mambo or “On-2” as it is often called and widely practiced in New York, and “rueda de casino,” which developed in Cuba in the 1970s and is practiced in many places throughout the United States.⁶ There is a strong Puerto Rican presence in New York salsa, which no doubt impacts the character and style of salsa in that locale. I was initially trained “On-1,” starting the step pattern on the downbeat, and often struggle in New York, home to a large “On-2” community that starts the pattern on the upbeat. Both “On-1” and “On-2” are Western constructs that are part of the packaging components of whiteness.

⁶For more information on the origins of salsa dance in the United States see, Juliet McMains, *Spinning Mambo Into Salsa*.

Often, when I am approached to dance with someone and agree, as they take my hand, they also hold up one and then two fingers, hand signals for the question, “are you ‘On-1’ or ‘On-2’?” This structured custom takes salsa further away from the Afro-Latinx informed dance form that features an embodied relationship to music and improvisation, where partners explore the music and physical connection together.

New York City is an interesting place for salsa dance. Dancers are often well versed in numerous dance forms and incorporate them into their dancing. It is common for me to see hip-hop, a ballet move, or other dance forms performed during the *shines* or solos when partners break away briefly to “shine.” As it is identified with Latinx and Afro-Latinx cultures (McMains, 2015), whitestream audiences see it as “other,” “exotic,” and “ethnic.” New York City is arguably the most ethnically diverse place to dance salsa, and yet I see signs of whitening in the space. The prevalence and elevation of patterns, defined as a sequence of movements, is present. In *rueda de casino* salsa, practiced in a circle, patterns of movements are used as a means to unify the community of dancers with the same sequence. However, the dominance of patterns outside of this communal context can lead to a regimented movement that focuses on the achievement of complicated maneuvers as opposed to community and cultural embodiment. Hyper focus on patterns tends to eliminate the opportunity and diminishes the value of improvisation, a tenet of the dance form’s origins. In this context, dancers with the most advanced patterns and/or possessing the biggest variety of patterns are given the most attention and praise.

An upright dance frame is best to execute advanced patterns as seen in both Mambo and L.A. Style, particularly those with multiple turns. This upright orientation is connected to European dance characteristics (Glass, 2007). Conversely, a slight orientation to the ground is often seen in the Cuban style, salsa casino. Casino style also features a “tap,” a small quick tap between counts 3 and 4 and 7 and 8 that syncopate the rhythm. I identify the tap and the slight orientation to the ground as African retentions (Glass, 2007) that were incorporated into the dance form as it developed in countries widely influenced by African rhythms and dances by way of the triangular trade of the Middle Passage of the Atlantic slave diaspora.

Early on in my training, I recall taking salsa class from a Colombian man in a whitestream dance studio in Atlanta. Although I was the most skilled in the class, I was admonished for my “Cuban” style aesthetics. He instructed me to lift-up and straighten my back and eliminate the taps. It was something I paid no attention to beforehand. Today, I see it as one way in which the embodied culture of a people (Latinx) is diminished in favor of a Western homogenized aesthetic for easy consumption. This is an example of how whiteness can be required even by indoctrinated non-Whites.

In all my studies as an avid *salsera* (one who loves salsa dancing), I cannot recall being explicitly taught about the cultural origins of the dance practiced with varying difference in Puerto Rico, Cuba, or other parts of the Latinx diaspora. Nor can I recall learning of the African influences that contributed to the

rhythmic development of the music likely acquired through the triangular trade of the Middle Passage of the Atlantic slave market. I did not know that the dance form, although practiced for decades as “mambo,” received the name, “salsa” in New York as its popularity soared in the 1970s (McMains, 2015). This stands in stark contrast to my Western dance training in ballet and modern dance where I was explicitly told of the European roots of ballet that reach back to France, Italy, and Russia. Modern dance teachers are, to this day, deliberate about their historical lineage of modern and call out Isadora Duncan, Loie Fuller, Martha Graham, Lester Horton, and Doris Humphrey, among others. Are we to believe that there were no salsa dance pioneers? Or is it simply an issue of class—high art versus low art? Thus, are only art forms that grace the Western proscenium stage worthy to be recognized, documented, and preserved?

HIP-HOP DECONTEXTUALIZED

In an effort to stay relevant and appeal to college-aged students, dance departments began offering hip-hop classes in the last decade. These classes emerged and have established a position among electives, often a one-credit class, rarely a required course or a course offered for sequential study. As taught in higher education, hip-hop is often decontextualized and presented as a monolithic dance form. It often neglects its origins in New York and growth with sister mediums: rap, graffiti, dj-ing, and fashion that sit under an umbrella of hip-hop culture (Glass, 2007; Price, 2006; Romero, 2012). The African American vernacular dance in its early days featured break dance—a dance form that thrived in a street context and physical relationship to the hard concrete environment to which its practitioners related. Orientation to the ground is a signature African-derived dance characteristic (Glass, 2007, p. 16). Many departments thus claim a value for cultural diversity in offering this course, without disrupting the Eurocentric focus of the curriculum as a whole, or teaching the historical underpinnings of the dance form.

While hip-hop dance has widespread popularity among whitestream society, dance scholars would argue that such popularity has not shifted the power dynamic (Hill & Ramsaran, 2009; Osumare, 2009). Urban youth and cultural groups who are often at the forefront of engaging and creating such art forms continue to be marginalized while hip-hop dance is appropriated and commodified to make money. In this “whitewashing” of hip-hop style we can see several factors at work. Members of the hegemonic group reap economic success built on the exhibition of a black-derived movement and song style. They do so by transposing the sexuality of the original into a more acceptable form. (Delgado & Munoz, 1997, p. 45). It is important to examine these power relations in the development of tools to dismantle these structures of racial subordination.

Many dance cultures learn dance within a communal space. For example, in many parts of Africa and Latin America, dances are learned among family and friends at community events and gatherings. The communal setting does not take from the embodied knowledge and dance prowess acquired in these spaces. I would offer the acquisition of hip-hop as an example. Many experts in this dance form obtained their dance training outside the whitestream structure of dance training. Stark contrasts can be drawn from the African American communal approach to the learning of dance, to how whitestream culture thinks of learning to dance. African American dance is often learned in an informal setting, where one commonly finds no mirrors, and no hierarchical “front” in which to orient the room, or orchestrate a leveling of students.

Conversely, many traditional Western-based dance classes maintain the front line as a space for the more advanced students. This premiere positioning supports self-study and individualism. The hierarchy demonstrated through lines also reinforces individualism, as students seek the status of being in the front. Within an African American vernacular dance context, there are multiple teachers. All bodies in the space act as a text⁷ from which everyone in the space can learn. Within such spaces, the structure of the class is communal and yet individuals can still seek outcomes for self-improvement and growth. Individual improvisation is often encouraged and an embodiment of musicality is privileged over the replication of the teacher’s movement. In this way, these dance-learning spaces are student-centered by nature. They are also, often, informal. Communal dance training can take place outside one’s home on a city block, on a playground after school, or at a community recreation center. This is not to say that African American vernacular dances are never taught with structure or time parameters, especially within the context of the United States where whitestream culture is more familiar with the more formal format. This is only to say that dance is not inherently constrained by such parameters and learning does take place outside of them.

The ways of learning dance described above (connected to the African American community) are often dismissed as lacking rigor and technical merit. Yet when examining the work of a hip-hop artist, I argue that there is a great deal of technique, and every move is executed with acute virtuosity. I recall the words of a colleague in the field, dance scholar Takiyah Amin, “Can *you* do a ‘death drop’ without technique?” For decades, hip-hop has been dismissed as low art (Osumare, 2009), but its popularity cannot be denied and as with many art forms cultivated outside the dominant culture, there are constant attempts to co-opt, appropriate, and commodify the dance (Hill & Ramsaran, 2009; Pough, 2004).

⁷I am using the word “text,” to describe a source of information. In the field of dance, the body is often used and regarded as text. Moreover, the body is a text for a dance class.

The master narrative of promoting cultural diversity while simultaneously maintaining economic and aesthetic control is explained by the words of CRT scholar Cheryl Harris, who states, “the legal legitimization of expectations of power and control that enshrine the status quo as a neutral baseline, while masking the maintenance of White privilege and domination” (1993, p. 1715). Hip-hop is and has been controlled within structures of whiteness. It is an established dance form of study in the academy and in the whitestream at large. Within these confines, hip-hop is owned by whiteness. Within the Black community, hip-hop is ever-changing, it is not a monolithic dance form. It has birthed countless strands, such as b-boying, tutting, strutting, popping, krumping, Memphis jookin, jerkin, and the list continues. However, within White-owned spaces, movement vocabularies are truncated and stagnate; the constantly changing and evolving styles are left outside these structures, often because the commodified version of the dance form requires stagnation for easy consumption.

However, there are interesting ways in which other, arguably more authentic “owners” of this dance are revealed. Here, I illuminate the community and cultural origin of this dance, from which it cannot be separated, once outside structures of whiteness. The genre of hip-hop has many styles with more emerging all the time. The various styles develop as all cultural arts do, informed by the people and the region. Yet, there is an urgency within practitioners to push the edge and create something new. This is how the dance form evolves and stays current. The constant changing, morphing, and developing is also discussed within the African American community as an act to subvert that which seeks to control it. The community understands the difference between authentic and culturally contextual hip-hop and commercial, White-owned hip-hop. In general, the hip-hop taught in studios, accompanied by counted music (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8), is commercialized. It has been watered down and processed and simplified for mass distribution. It has no “soul.” Further, it represents a history of stolen creative arts from a community whose exploitation has become part of the operational traditions of the United States.

The use of counts as a marker of musicality is interesting. Often, you will find dance teachers using counts to guide students through movement sequences. How students are taught to engage music is culturally informed. Part of the whiteness packaging of hip-hop is to impose an artificial counting structure for accessible whitestream consumption (this process can also be seen in the teaching of salsa, as described above). By processing, I mean whitewashing: extracting creative embodied movement that cannot be codified and easily packaged and replacing it with disembodied accessible movement, set to counts that can be replicated and ultimately become a commodity.

These adapted counts, however, are insufficient in communicating the complex polyrhythmic and syncopated structures of African-derived music and dance. In my experience, hip-hop teachers who teach the form closest to its roots in the African American community teach the dance by using sounds or syllables: “Uh chick-a uh chick-a dee da bam.” Counts are insufficient to

express the accents and syncopation of movement, as expressed in the syllables above. I myself teach in counts and acknowledge it is a marker of my Western-informed embodied dance history. The understanding of the multifaceted styles of hip-hop, its history rooted in African-based dance aesthetics, as well as the unconventional interpretation of embodiment (without counts) can give clear indication of who in fact is the owner of the dance. Ownership is complex because the aesthetic owner of the hip-hop art form (the community from which the form originates) is different from its financial owners (the community who profits from studio classes, promoting whitestream commercial products and music artists).

One way to own is to control, and one way to control is to remove the object from its origin. The physical shape and formation of the dance space is deliberate. Hip-hop was developed and performed in a cypher: a circle where the audience, in line with African-derived dance characteristics, is part of the performance (Glass, 2007). Dancers are “charged” and given impetus through the energy and proximity of the encircling audience. This performance structure also inspires and encourages creative improvisation. When dislocated from this context, placed in a studio or on a proscenium stage, much of the motivational stimulus of the dance form, including its traditions of improvisation, are also taken.

Using a CRT frame, I argue that decontextualizing a dance form is another way in which structures that maintain whiteness own and control dance. What happens when hip-hop is plucked from its context of origin—usually for the purpose of offering the genre in suburban dance studios and in higher education? Hip-hop is decontextualized. Who profits? Studio owners, institutions of higher education, and individuals are among beneficiaries. All of these parties can profit by using Blackness, capitalizing upon its status in popular culture, and then removing it at will. Once taken out of its context of origin, the form is reshaped for mass consumption and profit. Ownership becomes apparent when one examines who economically profits. To be sure, Whites have gained economic capital from wearing Blackness dating back to minstrelsy, the Cake Walk, and Elvis Presley.

When examining the financial owners from a CRT perspective, not only does it become clear how this art form is co-opted and commodified, it also makes visible a type of minstrelsy. This twenty-first-century minstrelsy is not about blackface; it has been reformed. Yet, it has the same structural arrangement: an exploitation of Black arts culture for the financial profit of Whites and maintains Black arts as less respected and esteemed than Eurocentric arts. Scholars Eric Lott and Brenda Dixon Gottschild explore these tensions in minstrelsy as they examine Black aesthetics and commodified relationships. Lott (1995) illuminates White male borrowing from the Black dancing body and movement aesthetic as sourced from a fascination and disdain of the Black male body for the purpose of “commercial production” (p. 117). Gottschild (1996) argues, “white minstrelsy robbed blacks of their visibility and substituted a blackface silhouette for the real thing” (p. 96). While whiteness seeks to control and own

hip-hop, those within the African American dance community know exactly who the owners, progenitors, and experts are. There is still work to be done to give credit where it is due. It is of significance that social structures of whiteness relegate hip-hop to a lower aesthetic but still claim its popularity in order to propagate certain ideas about the people who use it, while at the same time, make financial gain from it.

Minstrelsy remains a vivid example of Black culture being co-opted by Whites for the economic gain of Whites. Social historian Eric Lott (1995) contributed a seminal work on US history with his examination of minstrelsy. More significantly, minstrelsy was “organized around the explicit ‘borrowing’ of Black cultural materials for White dissemination, a borrowing that ultimately depended on the material relations of slavery” (Lott, 1995, p. 3). Lott argues that a dubious process of “love and theft” was then and continues to be in operation. It is a system whereby the creative artistry of African Americans is loved and then stolen, commoditized, and embraced as popular culture. This can be seen as far back as the Cake Walk. The Cake Walk is a plantation dance that was created by enslaved people in the Southern region of the United States. The dance mocks the mannerisms of the White slave owners and their families (Gottschild, 1996). White slave owners saw enslaved people performing these dances on the plantation and began dancing them at their own social gatherings. The Cake Walk was the first American fad dance (*I’ll Make Me A World*, 1999). Similar examples of love and theft can be seen throughout our history. This practice can also be seen in the Big Apple, swing, the twist, and hip-hop. Throughout the next section, various dances are highlighted as they illuminate stories of minstrelsy and love and theft.

THE LINDY HOP AND OTHER POPULAR DANCE FORMS

Popular culture in the United States is rooted in minstrelsy. Today, online editorials and social media have documented a continuum of minstrelsy in the United States, most recently reenacted by entertainers such as Miley Cyrus, Robin Thicke, and Justin Timberlake (King, 2013; Rosen, 2013). These entertainers borrow, alter, and exploit aspects of Black culture to advance their popularity and financial status. They wear blackness when profitable and remove it when it is inconvenient. Of course, White artists are not marginalized by the same social constructs as their African American contemporaries and thus achieve financial and popular success that far exceeds African American performers. More to the heart of racism, their African American contemporaries are unable to remove Black aesthetic markers at will for more lucrative opportunities—for African Americans people, these cultural identity markers are not simply a trend or performance aesthetic.

Historically, African Americans have called out for the preservation and right to their creative property. One can harken back to the 1940 Langston Hughes poem, “Note on Commercial Theater,” to see evidence of an awareness within the African American community of arts appropriation for whitestream capital commodification, as well as an act of counter-storytelling. Hughes (1940) writes:

You've taken my blues and gone—...
 And you fixed 'em
 So they don't sound like me

Hughes goes on to detail the numerous venues, genres, and ways in which African American art culture has been appropriated. The words of Hughes illuminate the struggle of Black people to hold onto one's creative artistry. He declares the need to sing his own song without it being altered or distorted for entertainment or financial benefit of others. He calls out an experience of eradication—to be eliminated from what you created. He calls out his desire to see himself in his own story and to speak for himself. Herein, the storytelling of blues is called out and reclaimed by its owner. Hughes utilized the counter-narrative before it was an established tool to subvert the reality of the whitemainstream. Through a CRT frame, this creative artistic expression, in the form of a poem, stands not only as a counter-narrative but as evidence that this practice of co-opting Black dance has become part of the fabric of the culture in the United States.

The Big Apple is a dance that was born in Columbia, South Carolina, in the 1930s. The dance was a response to the Great Depression and tapped into the people's need to move and find happiness within the body. It is a companion dance to the Lindy Hop and thrived during that era. The dance features a number of African-derived dance characteristics as described by Barbara Glass (2007) in her book, *African American Dance*. The dance uses a circle formation, which is an African-derived dance characteristic. The counter-clockwise directional movement of the circle harkens back to the Ring Shout (a sacred plantation dance). The dance also features a call and response structure, a grounded orientation to the earth, and a focus on a community dance experience—all African-derived dance characteristics (Glass, 2007, p. 19). In the late 1930s, this dance was exported out of the African American community and taught at Arthur Murray Dance Studios. Glass (2007) notes that dance drawings of many of the movements can be found in *Arthur Murray's Dance Book* published in 1938. This is a key example of how a work of creative artistry comes out of the African American community and monetary profit goes into the hands of Whites.

The use of the Big Apple in *Arthur Murray's Dance Book* is significant. One can identify the reduction of the Black dancing body, which serves as a text in the dance education process within the African American dance community, to two-dimensional drawings of White dancers. The communal context in which African Americans learn social dance forms as well as the color of their skin and embodiment of Blackness are eradicated through this medium for the benefit of whitemainstream consumption. In addition, Arthur Murray holds the economic capital to repackaging the dance for profit. Not surprisingly, this format also excludes much of the nuanced movement that embodies African-derived dance characteristics and culture. Murray followed a long tradition of cultural appropriation from subordinate groups within American culture, and these actions

went unchallenged. Beyond the act of appropriation, the ability to proliferate the story of the Big Apple as being a whitestream dance occurred rapidly throughout the country. Scholars of CRT in education Adrienne Dixon and Celia Rousseau (2006) write, “One of these privileges and benefits of property is the absolute right to exclude” (p. 32). This is demonstrated in the exclusion of Black dancing bodies from the drawings in the book. The power of publication is utilized to whitewash, homogenize, control, and own the dance.

Love and theft is also seen in an examination of the swing revival of the 1990s. Swing dance developed during the swing era of jazz—the music and dance bloomed together. Sometimes called the jitterbug (considered a derogatory name by some denoting the bug eyes of African Americans after getting a caffeine rush from coffee that gave “jitters”), or Lindy Hop, swing is a partner dance that was birthed in Harlem, New York, in the 1930s (Sorensen, 1988). It displays African-derived dance characteristics of orientation to the earth, syncopation, competitiveness, and improvisation. It also displays the European dance characteristics of a partner dance, embodying the blending of cultures in the United States (Glass, 2007). Although it was cultivated and developed in an African American community, it was the first integrated dance in the United States. White people in New York City would go uptown to take part in swing dancing at the Savoy Ballroom (Sorensen, 1988). Swing also became a dance form offered at Arthur Murray Dance Studios (Glass, 2007).

Swing died down in the late 1950s but was revived in the late 1990s. Divisions of swing also developed like East Coast Swing and West Coast Swing. The swing revival swept the country with young White dancers at the forefront. As a teacher of African American dances, I often teach swing. I always begin these classes by asking students, “where does swing come from?” Often, a small number of students know that it is a dance birthed in the United States. Yet, fewer students know that the dance is from Harlem and rooted in the African American community and dance traditions. I employ a CRT lens to make sense of the dominant story that has been communicated to many students. I note the bewilderment on their faces as they recall and reference swing dance in Gap and Coca-Cola commercials during their (the millennials’) youth. Indeed, when I began studying swing in 2011, I went to many swing socials across the country and experienced a dance activity with a predominantly White population. Within our race-based society, it is often the case that if a dance is consistently seen being performed by White people, it is presumed to be a White dance; Black bodies performing a particular dance often creates a link to inscribing it a Black dance, and so forth. It is understandable how one might conclude the Lindy to be a White dance.

Sociologist Black Hawk Hancock has contributed research on the appropriation of the Lindy Hop. He notes ways in which blackness has been expunged from the dance, and the need of many practitioners to separate race from the dance. He shares an interview with a veteran in a swing community. The veteran stated that they do not invite people like Norma Miller, a member of Whitey’s Lindy Hoppers and one of the first nationally recognized pioneers, to

events because she talks about race; it puts people off, “They don’t want to hear that stuff at dance events. They’re just there to dance” (Hancock, 2013, p. 148). In essence, swing dance was separated from the dance pioneers of the dance form, at a time when they were accessible to those practicing the dance.

When White people revived the Lindy Hop in the 1990s, it was also processed and commodified. The dance was used to sell whitestream products. Black bodies were pushed to the margins, and origins linking the dance to Harlem and Africanist aesthetics were diminished. Black bodies were taken out of the story in order to make the dance profitable to the whitestream. In terms of the social dance scene, Hancock argues that many practitioners held the misguided belief that to contextualize the racial history tied to the Lindy Hop would somehow make the dance less fun. Ultimately for the Lindy Hop, similar to the treatment of the Cake Walk, the Big Apple, and hip-hop today, the exploitive process of commodification—making the dance form the property of Whites—brought whitestream legitimacy and global acceptance to the dance form.

CONCLUSION

The United States boasts of a diverse multicultural society. Indeed, the people of the United States have gained a great deal from the cross-cultural experiences of living within this diverse nation. Yet, I offer a counter-narrative, needed in order to see where whiteness has been a structural barrier to cultural diversity within Dance Education. Many dance educators are implicitly taught how to maintain whiteness instead of creating a learning space that genuinely embraces inclusive diversity. Whiteness is maintained in the co-opting of dances created outside the whitestream, decontextualizing the ways in which dances are taught and performed, and reinforcing the dance hierarchy that elevates Eurocentric dance aesthetics. Western-based dance forms are further legitimized in the United States through post-secondary dance curriculum and degree programs, and the support of whitestream media. Whites maintain the property of these arts in higher education by dominating tenured faculty position, as well as administration—that controls curriculum designs. These property holders stand as gatekeepers to all who enter higher education, preserving Western ethos and aesthetics at all points of entry. They have the agency to prevent entry to those they choose—and their arts; or, to appropriate and reshape the art form to their pleasing.

Throughout my dance training, it was implicitly suggested to me that if the dance was not learned in a dance studio, at a specific time, with uniform dance attire, and for a fee, then it was not legitimate dance training. I can recall times before I came to understand these structures of racism in Dance Education, when I perpetuated this lie and communicated such falsehoods to my students. Through a CRT analysis, it is evident that arts education is not excluded from the permeable racism that seeps into all aspects of society. This makes racism insidious and hard to dismantle, as it is not simply an issue of racist people, but rather

racist structures of society that ensure its perpetuation. However, we can begin to dismantle the structure with a counter-narrative that may sound like this: once upon a time, there was a little girl dancing in her community, learning the embodied dances of her community, family, and friends. She entered dance class in school and there her embodied knowledge was validated, affirmed, and incorporated into the curriculum. She was included in the culture of knowledge as one who already possessed valuable knowledge. It was from that point that she opened her heart and sought to discover the embodied knowledge of others, in addition to her own. It was with bended knees she first learned to point her feet.

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Investigating Multiracial Identities Through Visual Culture: Counternarratives to Traditional Race Discourses in Art Education

Natasha S. Reid, John Derby, and Tracy Cheng

Stories can be powerful and empowering. Listening to, studying, and sharing the narratives of those whose voices are often insufficiently heard within traditional race discourses can affect change. Bathmaker (2010) asserted: “A significant and important feature of narrative and life history research is that they provide a means of getting closer to the experience of those whose lives and histories go unheard, unseen, undocumented” (p. 3). This work, according to Bathmaker, “moves to restore individual agency” (p. 3). Within Critical Race Theory (CRT), narrative plays a primary role in efforts to disrupt traditional discourses pertaining to race. Stories of people of color are featured and investigated within CRT in order to highlight the under-heard experiences of individuals through their own voices and to suggest and enact necessary changes within institutions and society (Zamudio, Russell, Rio, & Bridgeman, 2011).¹ A primary goal of critical race theorists is to ensure that these stories become powerful counternarratives to problematic race discourses and lead to the advancement of theory and practice in various fields (Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Zamudio et al., 2011).

¹In current North American English, the term “people of color” appropriately refers to people who are not white. We use similar terminology throughout the chapter.

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Within the field of art education, there has been a long tradition of attempting to maintain the art classroom as an apolitical haven, one in which critical discussions of race and racism are left out of students' experiences (Desai & Chalmers, 2007). The construction of an apolitical art classroom is, of course, impossible and overtly maintains the supremacy of the most prominent people and ideas within the art world. As Kraehe (2015) notes, the "aversion to talking about race" (p. 199) normalizes "the realities, knowledges, and moral underpinnings of the dominant racial group" (p. 200). This has left a continued emphasis on white artists and experiences within the art classroom.²

In order to disrupt this supremacy, many art teachers have attempted to infuse the work and narratives of artists of color in their classrooms. Unfortunately, critical discussions pertaining to race, including the complex intersections of race with other identity markers, such as gender, ethnicity, sexuality, social class, age, and ability (Desai, 2003; Gall, 2006; Kraehe, 2015; Kraehe & Acuff, 2013; Kraehe & Brown, 2014), are often missing from these attempts at multicultural art education. Instead, well-meaning art teachers often take their students on uncritical "journeys" around the world where they explore token artists of color (Desai, 2005). These artists are presented as having singular racial backgrounds, thereby emphasizing fixed borders. This "embeddedness or 'fixedness'" (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 9) of biological racial boundaries is a projection of the white supremacy imaginary. White artists are still regarded as most important within art classrooms, and token examples of "authentic" non-whites are interspersed throughout many curricula. This is a product of *interest convergence* (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Zamudio et al., 2011), in which safe, non-white examples bolster white supremacist conceptions of distinct racial boundaries and false notions of diversity, egalitarianism, and white benevolence, by portraying white visual culture as normal and non-white visual culture as that of exotic Others.

Multiracial identities challenge such traditional, binary conceptions of race. The study of these identities has "pushed scholars to new understandings with regard to race, racial identity, and intergroup relationships" (Shih & Sanchez, 2009, p. 8). The exploration of multiracial experiences "changes the landscape of race, opening to question the too-often invisible and seemingly static boundaries surrounding racial categories" (Dutro, Kazemi, & Balf, 2005, p. 97). The existence of biracial and multiracial experiences beckons us to question the seemingly invisible boundaries associated with racial categories. Although a number of scholars in various fields, including "psychology, sociology, education, culture studies, and public policy" (Shih & Sanchez, 2009, p. 1), have examined multiracial identities, these identities have received little attention within art education. The inattention to multiracial identities is an exercise of the white's "absolute right to exclude" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006, p. 23), which protects whiteness

²Like most of the scholars we cite, we choose not to capitalize races because races are socially constructed and because capitalization of races bolsters the idea that races are one dimensional and fixed.

by dismissing the threat of fluid, complex, and diminishing racial boundaries. This lack of consideration constitutes racial discrimination and perpetuates confusion about race among art learners. This is especially true for those living with multiracial identities, which is increasingly common (Dutro et al., 2005). The promotion of distinct racial categories suggests that students should claim membership to singular categories, even if such categories are not representative of their heritage and perpetuate a lingering taboo of interracial relationships.

COUNTERNARRATIVES OF MULTIRACIAL IDENTITY

The stories of artists and art educators who identify as “coming from more than one racial group” (Shih & Sanchez, 2009, p. 2) or living within multiracial homes can offer counternarratives to these strict categories that perpetuate exclusion. Examining these stories in relation to institutional racism can assist art educators and their students in pushing against the white supremacist norm in art education (Acuff, 2013). In what follows, we present three such narratives as art educators who have each lived within multiracial homes. In the following sections, we remember key visual culture artifacts that were crucial in our identity formation and which symbolize elements of our racialized experiences associated with our childhood homes. In examining narratives associated with these items, we begin to answer the primary question, “*How was visual culture intertwined in your evolving understanding of racial identity as a child?*”

Our stories illustrate the disconnect between the white supremacist, normalized racial boundaries imbued in visual culture and our own experiences regarding multiracial identity.³ By examining such childhood visual culture, we push against colorblind ideologies, which have become prevalent in the educational system. The analysis of these stories hints toward how complex and messy issues surrounding race can be and how acknowledging and studying multiracial realities can challenge the white supremacist norm in art education. Our goal is to demonstrate how visual culture can be used to help children “confront and examine fixed racial categories” (Dutro et al., 2005, p. 98), which can assist them in becoming “more apt to see and question the ways that those categories operate in society to the benefit or detriment of groups of people” (p. 98). Emergent themes from our stories form a collage of experience that illuminates ways in which children can resist white supremacy, with implications for art education spaces.

All Dolled Up

One Christmas morning in the early 1980s, I unwrapped a medium-sized box and, to my surprise, found a Cabbage Patch Kid® doll named Tabitha. I was elated. These soft-bodied dolls, with their unmistakable large, hard, cherubic

³“All Dolled Up” is authored by Reid, “Black is Beautiful” by Derby, and “The Outsider” by Cheng.

heads and yarn hair, were ubiquitous in the town where I lived, just outside of Toronto. I recall my great excitement in opening up the faux birth certificate that came with each doll and noticing the tattooed mark on her bottom that meant she was an authentic Cabbage Patch Kid®. I immediately identified with her. She was a miniature me—lots of thick dark brown hair, pulled into a puffy ponytail, hazel eyes, and light brown skin. My parents had even purchased matching pajamas for this doll and me. They clearly wanted me to feel a connection with her.

She was different from the blond Barbie® dolls that my white friends loved so much. I had a few. Although I was interested in the stories that my friends and I developed with these classic plastic tanned dolls, my Barbie® dolls largely remained in my closet, waiting for my friends to arrive. It was different with Tabitha. This doll and I went everywhere together. I believe my affinity toward her was directly related to her seemingly biracial background. She was like me.

During a recent conversation with my parents, it became apparent to me that they went to great lengths to find a doll with a darker complexion—it was not easy. My father is a black Jamaican who moved to Canada when he was 23. My mother, a white woman, was born in Canada, though her parents were originally from the Ukraine. Thus, my brother and I identify as biracial. When growing up in a small town outside of Toronto, we understood from an early age that our family was seen as different in the eyes of many within our town. There were very few persons of color in our neighborhood. I even ran toward a black man once, thinking he was my father, since my father was one of a very small handful of dark-skinned men I encountered in the vicinity where I lived.

What further complicated my understanding of race and ethnicity was the fact that I was a very light-skinned, half-black individual. I identified as being black but was, and still am, constantly told by strangers, friends, and even family members that I am not black. Some even laugh when they hear about my black Jamaican heritage—in fact, this happened to me just a couple of months ago. As a child, I could not understand why my skin color was considered to be laughable to them. I learned over time that I was not as dark as I “should” be for a half-black person—I am not black enough in the eyes of many. Throughout my life, I have been sensitive to certain white individuals’ remarks about how beautiful “mixed” skin color is and how I do not exhibit this color. Over time, this left me with a desire to become darker. I wanted people to know about my cultural background from my appearance. I was proud of my family’s cultural history—my parents made sure of it.

At the same time, my brother and I received racist remarks from other children, which complicated my hidden desire to be darker. One of the earliest incidents I recall occurred when I was about eight years old and my brother was six. We were at a child’s birthday party. In front of a large group, one of the children from the household asked my brother and me, “Why is your skin dirty?” Although she referred to both of us, she pointed directly at my brother’s skin, as it was significantly darker than mine. I remember trying to stand up for my younger brother and myself by explaining our biracial background.

But the young girl was persistent. She continued to exclaim that we were dirty and that she far preferred her pale skin tone. I stopped trying to change her mind, as this seemed futile. The other children participated by either snickering or silently observing and not offering any assistance.

Incidents such as these are not viewed as violent and may not seem impactful in relation to the brutal racist events in our history. But subtle forms of racism are not to be ignored, especially since those enacting these forms of racism take such actions lightly, and it is common for bystanders to not attempt to effect change in such situations. These muted forms of racism, or “racial microaggressions,” are common experiences for many multiracial and monoracial individuals today (Johnston & Nadal, 2010).

Thus, as a young child, I experienced a clear tension between wanting to be darker to celebrate my biracial background and being aware that with darker skin tones came greater racism in the town where I lived. In holding Tabitha close by my side, I had a biracial companion to accompany me through awkward and painful racist remarks and jeers. This is exactly what my parents had hoped (Fig. 28.1).

I recently found a photo of me with Tabitha in our matching one-piece, pink pajamas. In order to revisit this piece of visual culture, I decided to develop an adult-sized costume of Tabitha and to dress up as this doll. This involved the creation of a wig made of lots of dark yarn, finding a pink onesie, carefully applying the appropriate makeup, and photographing myself being Tabitha. During the process of becoming this doll, it became increasingly apparent to me that she symbolizes my feelings of being in between as a biracial individual—in between wanting to be darker and lighter; in between the comfort of a multiracial home and the ignorance of many outside of that home; and in between the reality of being white and being black. Since I played with Tabitha both within and outside of my childhood home, she acted as a bridge—between my biracial home, where all members celebrated our varied cultural heritages, and the exterior world where I did not quite fit in. This visual culture artifact provided me with a sense of belonging because the doll did not fit into traditional categories. In dressing up as and performing this doll as an adult, I reflected upon the possibilities for playing with the fluidity of race and culture in the art classroom, which were not realized in my K-12 art experiences. In particular, I saw the value in studying visual culture artifacts from one’s youth through a critical race theoretical lens.

Black Is Beautiful

Like many families growing up in small-town Ohio in the 1970s, Sunday afternoons were reserved for watching Cleveland Browns football games at Grandma’s. My grandparents lived in a ranch home on the good side of town, not the side with the rich people but the old ones. It was a peculiar place. The living room was covered in dark wood paneling, bedecked with rifles. Grandma smoked cigarettes and listened to elevator music, Uncle Jim drank straight



Fig. 28.1 All Dolled Up, 2015. Top left to right: Photograph of Reid with Tabitha the Cabbage Patch Kid as a child; Reid performing Tabitha the Cabbage Patch Kid as an adult. By Natasha S. Reid

from the lemonade jug, and the otherwise tidy home always had dog poop somewhere on the carpet. “The wrong side of the tracks,” Mom would say they were from. “Gotta protect the family name: the Derby name.”

The unfinished basement was our sanctuary. Kids weren’t allowed in the far room, the one with the washer and dryer whose drain was right in the middle of the floor. There were jars filled with odds and ends, cobwebs, and a shooting range, for testing all the guns I guessed. My grandfather was the municipal court judge—*Judge* Derby, as everyone knew him—and before that he had been a lawyer and before that a tree surgeon. He liked guns a lot. Sometimes he would accept them as payment from clients who didn’t have any money. The main room had a pool table, and that’s why we liked it, plus adults never came down. Other than the pool table and Tiffany-style bar lamp, my favorite thing in the basement was Uncle Bob’s light-blue ten-speed bicycle. It was

huge! I always wanted a bike with gears, and even though the tires were flat, I imagined my uncle, ungainly as he was, racing around town. The pale-yellow block walls were decorated with random objects, from rusty farm tools reminiscent of my grandfather's working class roots and love for nature to the landscape oil paintings he made for a while. In the center of the wall that you faced when it was your turn to break was the object that puzzled me most: a black toilet seat with a crudely fashioned sign that read "BLACK IS BEAUTIFUL" (Fig. 28.2).

I often pondered its meaning. I got that the toilet seat was black, so it must be sarcastic. "Pocky," as we called my grandfather, prided himself in his sarcasm. I knew he hated blacks. Everyone did. And I suspected it must be an allusion to that, but why a toilet? And why would anyone hang a toilet seat on a wall as if it were art? Even before I was old enough to reject family values, I recognized that there was something disturbing about this wall hanging and not just its crassness. Frankly, though, I didn't like 'em either, those black—*that word!* You know the one. My brain would shout it inside my head every time I encountered a black person, well into my 30s. Perhaps it was the crassness of the toilet seat that bothered me after all. That and everything else in the house except for the bike and the paintings. The dog poop. Cigarette smoke. Fist fights. Table manners. Knickknacks. Ribbon candy. Elevator music. Cobwebs. And the general creepiness of it all, the looming spirit of unspeakable things that happened there: family business. That was all before the cancer.



Fig. 28.2 Black Is Beautiful 2, 2015. Recreation of grandfather's wall art; alternative view with narrative. By John Derby

Before Pocky died and the guns were liquidated. Before the family dissolved. Before I learned that he had been the only attorney in town who would take hispanic and black clients, even if they were broke.

After my parents divorced, we moved around a lot, and Mom had boy-friends. There was Randy, the trucker. Jack, the affable mathematician who was probably gay. Others. Mom waitressed to make ends meet, and that's how she met Bruce, a tall, literally dark, and handsome partyer. Then came Gilbert, whom Mom married after a couple of months. He was the real deal, a long-haired, badass. He was everything my dad wasn't: young, cool, tough, lawless, and loving. He was also, unfortunately, jobless and abusive. Sometimes we had to flee the house in the middle of the night and bathe in fast-food restrooms before school. Once on a drinking binge, he smashed our piggy banks and spent our silver dollars on beer, the ones Pocky had given us. He wrecked my car, wrecked lots of cars. Some of the best times were visiting him in jail, and I know it would be easy to stereotype him, but we never gave much thought to him being hispanic or us being a multiracial family. Unless cops were involved, but I just figured they didn't like us hoods.⁴

Early on, before the marriage, Gilbert got drunk and cut himself badly in a fistfight, so my mom took him to the emergency room. The medics called the cops. On the way home, they pulled them over and accused my mom of drinking. While harassing her and giving her sobriety tests, they lured Gilbert out of the car and began beating him. Four of them, kicking him, stomping on him. My mom asked what was going on and they said he was resisting arrest. When they got to the station, they chained him to the wall, maced him, and beat him with their clubs. Mom could hear him screaming in the detaining room. Later on, we all went to court, and wouldn't you know it, Pocky was the judge. He didn't seem to recognize me, my brother or sister, or even his former daughter-in-law. Here we were, Derbys, on both sides of this family, both sides of the law. And here was he, the man whose idea of humor was representing racial minorities with a toilet seat, not recognizing us and holding our fate in his hand.

I probably didn't think about the toilet seat that day, or my racist upbringing, or belonging to a multiracial family. But clearly things had changed. I have continued to reflect upon the toilet seat as my thinking about race evolves, as one who never has to experience racism personally, and as one who may never reconcile the ugly, white teachings of my youth.

The Outsider

Growing up as a biracial individual in a middle-class suburb of Kansas required some agility on my part, especially if I was to navigate the two very different cultures I inhabited in and outside my home. Inside my home you would find

⁴The anachronistic term "hoods" differentiated deviant, working class youth from wealthy, status quo "preps." Presumably hoods was an abbreviation of hoodlum, and preps referenced elite college preparatory schools.

my very strict, first-generation, Chinese, historian father. He covered our house with his prized, curated works of Chinese paintings, calligraphy, and antiques. He loved wandering over to each item so he could discuss the traditions and stories from the Han, Ming, and Qing dynasties—a few of his favorite eras of Chinese history. My father also sent my sisters and me to Chinese school and enforced domestic responsibilities like cooking. In his eyes, who would marry me if I couldn't cook? Meanwhile, my white mother had her ancestry somewhere in England and Germany. She struggled to master traditional Chinese dishes but also tried to have “American” food packed in school lunches so my sisters and I wouldn't be made fun of in our predominantly white school.

I could say their struggle to balance their interracial and intercultural marriage began when I was born and it was time to choose a name. My father, of course, consulted his entire family, history, and the ever-poetic Chinese language in an effort to pick a name he felt would best fit his first-born daughter. He decided “Ailin” was the most virtuous: a name that exhibits the utmost femininity. My mother chose “Tracy” after her grandfather and because she liked it, but most importantly because people wouldn't have a difficult time pronouncing it and I would fit in better. My mother got her way, and my Chinese name became my middle name.

As I grew up, I started to notice my biracial background. At school, I had lots of friends and fit in enough that I really didn't think about being Chinese until we discussed China in social studies. My teachers, well intentioned, were excited to have me confirm or explain the stereotypical facts laid out in our lessons. Classmates and teachers alike would ask questions such as, “Do you eat rice every day?” or “Maybe your dad can come to our class and demonstrate Chinese calligraphy!” My father, being who he was, was happy to do so. But what if he couldn't? Despite what our textbooks seemed to suggest, not every Chinese person is trained in classical Chinese art forms. It was at these times my “otherness” was called out and I felt my classmates began to understand that I was different from them. Unfortunately, our world cultures curriculum did little more than parade some stereotypes about my culture and enforce a fixed idea of the cultures discussed.

At least my looks were forgiving. Apart from my Asian surname and the spotlight on me during the lessons on China, I didn't exhibit the typical features of someone of East Asian descent. I had large round eyes and untamed, thick, curly brown hair, which was quite the difference from my Chinese relatives. Around my Chinese family, it was a different story. During trips to China, strangers would often stop in their tracks when I walked by to stare and sometimes even get out their cameras to take photos of me. It was in these moments that my “otherness” was called out in the opposite way. In China, I was often referred to as a “*wai guo ren*,” meaning “outsider,” even after explaining that I was indeed half Chinese. I didn't visit China often enough to be inundated by these kinds of unintentionally harsh remarks on my appearance, but I still noticed it. I also noticed how Chinese women looked physically. I saw representations of them on everything from classical Chinese paintings to the food packaging that would show up in our home during Chinese holidays.



Fig. 28.3 Beautifully Chinese, 2015. Mixed media collage contrasting beauty ideals. By Tracy Cheng

The Chinese paintings I was exposed to most often growing up were from the Qing Dynasty. These women were thin and delicately drawn, their straight black hair always tucked neatly into an elaborate up do, and with eyes small and soft as if it took the calligraphy brush just one swift stroke to create. They were usually posed next to flowers, as if to emphasize their refinement. No matter how often I tried to straighten my hair or wing out my eyeliner, I knew that others could see my natural features, which stood in my way of becoming what I thought a beautiful Chinese woman was. This was especially apparent when I look back to the little drawings of one of my younger sisters. She loved to draw stick figures of us next to each other, capturing the features that stood out most to her. Since she had more Asian features, she drew herself thin, with small eyes and straight hair, while she drew little corkscrews for my hair that stood straight out of my head and large circles for my eyes (Fig. 28.3).

I probably struggled the most with my physical appearance, which was heavily influenced by both my impression of the Chinese standard of beauty and by Western stereotypes of the Chinese people. Ironically, while I was so Chinese in the eyes of my teachers and Western friends, I was not accepted by the Chinese as Chinese at all. In school, my teachers and classmates saw a girl who had a Chinese surname, ate Chinese food, and lived in a house that had more Chinese décor than Western. But without the stereotypical Chinese face to match, most people were often as confused as I was. I often thought that if only I looked more Chinese, then I could have just picked one label to categorize myself and end the confusion. The most common question I am asked today is, “What are you?” When I attempt to explain, I can see my listener searching my response for something they can use to immediately categorize me, either Chinese or white but never both.

IMPLICATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS REGARDING THE COMPLEXITY OF RACE

The primary thread linking these narratives is that they illustrate the complexity of race. They are not neat stories. Instead, these stories demonstrate that racial categories are “socially constructed and ... not fixed, immutable categories” (Shih & Sanchez, 2009, p. 3). Yet, in the United States, these categories are regularly presented as strict and inflexible. This is particularly apparent in many individuals’ frequent “suspended disbelief” (Pauker & Ambady, 2009, p. 69) when required to confront biracial or multiracial experiences and appearances, including denial, laughter, and visible discomfort. The stories presented in this chapter push forcefully against such essentialized conceptions of race, which are still prevalent within North American society. They compel us to look beyond strict categories pertaining to race, which can frighten and confuse many, as the dissolution of neat racial categories challenges white supremacist tendencies and privileges. As Shih and Sanchez (2009) noted, “The presence of multiracial individuals highlights the mutability of racial categories because multiracial individuals can claim many racial identities simultaneously” (p. 4). In other words, multiracial identities can disrupt the “us versus them” rhetoric

that is required for white supremacy to thrive. In order for white power to remain strong and clear, the Other must neatly fit within categories, which is not possible with biracial and multiracial identities.

Each of these narratives features complex and challenging experiences with race—ones that threaten white supremacy. Such stories can “catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconscious racism” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 24), which is a primary goal of CRT. The value of whiteness is challenged when reading such narratives. They present more questions than answers and challenge readers to embrace the fluid nature of race and, subsequently, other identity markers. By highlighting challenging stories in this chapter, we follow critical race theorists’ aims to “interject minority cultural viewpoints” in our efforts to “reconstruct a society crumbling under the burden of racial hegemony” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 23).

These are not stories that would typically be explored within the K-12 setting. We believe that such narratives are left out of discourses in school settings because they emphasize ambiguity and complexity. They are difficult for teachers to examine with students. By leaving the experiences of multiracial individuals out of the K-12 setting, students who identify as multiracial are marginalized and all students’ understandings of race discourses are limited. We suggest that the processes we engaged in while developing these written and visual narratives could be incorporated into K-12 classrooms.

Gloria Ladson-Billings (1998) asserted: “Stories provide the necessary context for understanding, feeling, and interpreting” (p. 23). In reflecting on and analyzing these experiences, and then constructing these narratives and accompanying artworks, we each went through this process of “understanding, feeling, and interpreting.” We described experiences with race that we had difficulty working through as young children. Through writing about these experiences, we came to a greater understanding of our identities. We relived and thus felt the emotions associated with these experiences. Finally, we interpreted these experiences through artistic forms. We did not merely recreate the stories and these pieces of visual culture in mimetic ways. Rather, we analyzed and interpreted these experiences and contemporized the associated pieces of visual culture. In other words, we made these experiences meaningful to us today and also attempted to make these potentially meaningful to others.

Students in K-12 art and post-secondary art education settings can also engage in the analysis of their experiences with racialized visual culture and create artworks that alter said visual culture in order to render it meaningful to their current lives. Although our experience with this process suggests that such an activity would likely resonate very well with individuals living with multiracial identities, it would also be highly beneficial to individuals who identify as monoracial to better understand how race is a complex and important, yet often underacknowledged, component of their experiences with visual culture. When incorporated into the art classroom, this arts-based research process can help students from all racial, ethnic, and cultural backgrounds analyze race through their own experiences with visual culture in complex and critically engaged ways.

The processes we engaged in could be useful to art educators interested in incorporating multiracial experiences, identities, and discourses in their classrooms through examinations of visual culture and art making. At the beginning of our project, we explored the work of artists who directly deal with their own biracial or multiracial identities, including Erica Lord, James Luna, and Kent Monkman. These artists, who are not traditionally incorporated into K-12 art classrooms, provided complex readings of culture, which eventually informed our own artistic endeavors. We also engaged with CRT literature (e.g., Delgado & Stefancic, 2012; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1998; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006; Solórzano & Yosso, 2009; Zamudio et al., 2011) and readings that directly deal with biracial and multiracial identities (e.g., Dutro et al., 2005; Pauker & Ambady, 2009; Shih & Sanchez, 2009; Zolfagharian & Jordan, 2007). Following this, we reflected on vernacular visual culture that could be analyzed through a CRT lens. Through creating narratives based on this visual culture, along with contemporized artistic productions, we engaged in a process of meaning making related to our own multiracial experiences. Such processes can be effectively modified for the art classroom and paired with studio activities in order to help students engage with complex understandings of race.

In analyzing specific multiracial experiences, developing written and visual narratives about these experiences, and presenting these in this chapter, we “counteract the stories of the dominant group” (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005, p. 11). These written and visual productions provide counternarratives to dominant discourses about race and employ “storytelling and narrative to examine race and racism” (p. 11). The stories are not merely direct accounts of experiences. Rather, we incorporated analysis and interpretation of these experiences directly into our narratives and visual productions. This analysis is what renders the experiences powerful (Dixson & Rousseau, 2005).

By employing similar processes, educators and students can be compelled to confront the complexity of race in our society and push against the unfortunate tendency of tokenistic readings of race in the art classroom. This process was particularly meaningful and even cathartic for us. We strongly believe, when modified for K-12 classrooms, that this process can be impactful for both students and teachers. Thus, we implore teachers to incorporate written and visual counternarrative work that highlights multiracial experiences and identities into their classrooms. Through this, teachers and students can work together to challenge binary thinking that underpins white supremacist norms.

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A Choral “Magical Negro”: A Lived Experience of Conducting Choirs in Canada

Cynthia Peyson Wahl

The telling of stories reveals much about a community, its beliefs, and how it sees its members. Storytelling is an important part of Critical Race Theory as well. “Stories can not only challenge the status quo, but they can help build consensus and create a shared, communal understanding. They can, at once, describe what is and what ought to be” (Taylor, p. 122). I am a Black choral conductor in Canada, and a Black choral conductor in a primarily White field.¹ When I look around me at conferences, there are not many Black conductors and even fewer Black female conductors, despite seeing many Black singers in choirs across the country. What follows is my story and an examination of what being Black in a primarily White art form has meant for me.

In this chapter, I use my own narrative to highlight the ways in which being Black has been one of the defining factors of my career as a choral conductor in Canada, how the very fact of my Blackness has impacted or limited my inclusion in the dominant choral culture. I use Critical Race Theory (CRT) and film criticism as lenses to examine my experiences and to show how the dominant and primarily White structures of power in the choral community have adjudicated my presence among them.

Overly simplistic and false narratives about racial groups are prevalent in popular films and television. Often such narratives and representations are constructed

¹In accordance with the APA Publication Manual, I am capitalizing racial groups, except where I am quoting directly from another author.

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through the use of tropes. *Trope* is a concept found in literary and film criticism. It refers to rhetorical devices that are so common that they become cliché or caricatures. By focusing on tropes, film critics are able to reveal hidden dimensions of the social context of situations, characters, and storylines in films. They require little overt explanation because the stock characters appear so often that, over time, they become familiar to the viewer, evoking contexts and meanings for the viewer that may not actually be visible on screen. Tropes function as a kind of cognitive shortcut to communicate information to an audience.²

When representing people, particularly women of African heritage in films, there are a number of stock characters that are often used. There is the *Mammy*, a usually large and sexually unattractive motherly character who often cares for or raises the children of others, particularly middle- and upper-class White children, while abandoning her own family; the *Jezebel*, a hyper-sexualized young woman who leads men (White and Black) into trouble and degradation with her feminine wiles; and the *Sapphire*, a shrewish, sharp-tongued harridan who emasculates and derides the men with whom she is in romantic relationship (Glenn & Cunningham, 2009). These stereotypical characters are mostly negative portrayals of Black women designed to affirm prejudices that already exist in North American society. A characterization that aims to put Black people in a positive light, however, also exists in film and television. That film trope is the *Magical Negro*. Throughout my life as a musician, I have often been viewed as a choral Magical Negro, possessing folksy, non-intellectual skills in “lesser” art forms, like jazz and gospel.

In their 2009 article, “The Power of Black Magic: The Magical Negro and White Salvation in Film,” communications scholars Cerise Glenn and Landra Cunningham examine the Magical Negro trope and identify commonalities among the portrayals of “Magical Negroes” in several films. Those commonalities were collected into five themes. The “Magical Negro” uses “magical and spiritual gifts for the [benefit of the] White character”; assumes “primarily service roles”; exhibits “folk wisdom as opposed to intellectual cognition”; possesses a “limited role outside of magical/spiritual guide”; and displays “an inability to use his or her powers to help himself or herself” (Glenn & Cunningham, 2009, p. 142). Jazz is an improvisatory art form and one that, in its earliest days, was often learned by rote and imitation. Like folk wisdom, jazz was perhaps viewed as using less intellectual cognition than classical music and, therefore, an acceptable genre for Black musicians to thrive. Jazz’s struggle for mainstream acceptance in arts organizations, institutions of higher learning, and classical institutions is evidenced by its relatively recent inclusion in national funding models and postsecondary institutions (Farley, 2010).

Telling the story of my experiences in and with the dominant choral order delineates the boundaries of what constitutes the mainstream in music. In other words, telling what I am not defines both the boundaries of the out-group to which I am assigned and the dominant in-group. These boundaries regulate

² See <http://tvtropes.org/pmwiki/pmwiki.php/Main/Trope>

the dominant choral order. In CRT, the “stories of outgroups aim to subvert” the stories of the in-group. These in-group stories serve to “remind it [the ingroup] of its identity in relation to outgroups, and provide it with a form of shared reality in which its own superior position is seen as natural” (Delgado, 1989, p. 2412). This story—my story—aims to challenge the in-group mindset by describing my experiences as a member of the out-group.

MY MUSICAL AUTOBIOGRAPHY: AS A CHILD

My musical autobiography is an unusual one. I am the child of immigrants—both of my parents came from Trinidad in the West Indies to Canada in the 1950s. They moved to Weyburn, Saskatchewan, and then eventually to Regina, Saskatchewan, where I was born. I am much younger than my siblings—I was born 17, 15, and 12 years after my two brothers and sister. I was the only child left in the house after I was about seven or eight, and it was my parents, rather than my siblings, whose musical interests influenced my tastes.

My mother listened to classical music and sang in the philharmonic choir (a local mixed amateur and professional choir that performed often with the professional orchestra) in Regina.³ My father, who was educated in Montreal and went to high school with legendary jazz musician Oscar Peterson, listened to jazz.⁴ My father had been quite interested in music as a young man and had been an accomplished steel pan player. In 1940s Trinidad, being in a steel band was a competitive and sometimes risky proposition. Excellent players were regularly injured or killed by rival bands to take them out of competition. The stakes were high. Winners of the annual “King of the Road March” at Carnival were fêted like royalty, and the title came with a large cash prize. Steel bands would do just about anything to earn the prize. His uncle, who raised my father, recognized great intellectual ability in my father. My father’s family lived in Belmont, a rough part of Trinidad, and his uncle thought it might be possible for my father to make a better life for himself elsewhere. He sent my father to Montreal to board with a Caribbean family, be educated, and escape the risks of the steel pan circuit. The plan worked. My father became a professor of human justice and had a successful career as a psychologist.

My mother, in contrast, was raised in an upper-class family in Trinidad, where all eight daughters attended private school and had piano lessons at their home. Her interests seemed tamer than my father’s. She appreciated classical music and performed with classical choirs when she was a student, young wife, and mother in Regina in the 1960s. She admired singers like Paul Robeson and Marian Anderson, and my early education in classical music came with stories of the obstacles these performers faced trying to be accepted in the classical world as Black musicians.

³Classical music refers to serious or conventional music written in the European tradition.

⁴Jazz music is an art form developed from the collision of African and European musical traditions in the United States.

The traditional music of Trinidad is Calypso. In the heyday of Calypso (1940–1960), the songs addressed the social, economic, and political circumstances on this small and volatile island.⁵ Many pieces speak of the negative repercussions of the US “occupation” during World War II, where soldiers guarded the shores of the then English colony and left behind a legacy of Coca-Cola, prostitution, and biracial children. The songs speak of the growing racial tensions between the descendants of enslaved Africans, Carib-Indians who were killed and displaced by the English colonists, the Indians from India who were brought over to manage slave populations, and the Chinese who were brought as additional labor for near-slave wages in the 1800s. They speak of radical leaders and thinkers, and the possibility of a different future. The songs speak of corrupt leaders and crimes against their own people. The songs speak of a hope for an end to violence and issue a call to arms to all intelligent people to address the social injustices that affect every aspect of life in Trinidad. One can trace the social and political history of this island in its music (Boxill, 1994). It was in Calypso that my parents’ divergent musical tastes came together, less because of the music and more because of the social justice element. I was raised to be aware of what was happening politically in my country, their adopted country of Canada, and to make my voice heard about what I saw. I was raised to believe that music is a viable and valuable way to make my voice heard on subjects I was passionate about, like social justice.

My mother’s stories of her favorite singers’ accomplishments, despite the established world of classical music attempting to derail their careers, were designed to teach me that there was more perceived legitimacy to their struggle than there was with jazz musicians of the same time. For example, jazz musicians operated within their expected sphere of influence, making music that grew directly out of the combination of their African history and Western experiences in North America. The accomplishments of Black people in the world of traditional classical music required that they overcome great resistance. Black classical musicians fought against predeterminations of their skill and ability (Wright, 1984). Many succeeded despite being barred from the traditional performance venues of that genre, not only in the Jim Crow South but also in more “liberal” places like Constitution Hall in Washington, D.C., as was the case with Marian Anderson (Black, 1990).⁶ While I understood from these stories that there might be more obstacles on the classical path, I also understood that somehow achievement in that arena meant real acceptance from a society that still might have deemed me intellectually incapable because of the color of my skin.

⁵ Calypso music is a type of folk song primarily from Trinidad, though sung elsewhere in the southern and eastern Caribbean islands. The subjects of calypso text, usually witty and satiric, are local and topical events of political and social import (see www.britannica.com/art/calypso-music).

⁶ Jim Crow refers to the laws and norms that enforced racial segregation and hierarchy in the southern region of the United States.

My early exposure to jazz came in long car rides and Saturday errand running with my father. On these Saturdays, we would go to my piano lesson—I took classical piano and flute lessons—and stop at the library as a reward before continuing on with my father’s tasks. I spent hours sitting in the car with the heat running in the winter or the air-conditioning in the summer, listening to cassette tapes of Count Basie or Duke Ellington while reading dozens, maybe hundreds of library books. My dad loved Count Basie and Duke Ellington, and we spent many hours listening to their renditions of jazz standards. Although I enjoyed formal music study and felt accomplished when mastering the music of Wolfgang Amadeus Mozart and Muzio Clementi, listening to music in the car with my dad was purely for pleasure.

I first performed jazz as a member of my high school jazz choir. My high school jazz choir director was an aspiring opera singer and married to the department head of classical music at the local university. His training was entirely classical, and he had very little, if any, experience with jazz. The program he inherited at my high school had a long history of successful jazz choirs under the leadership of a previous educator. He treated the jazz choir like a traditional chamber choir, and by the time I was in grade 12, we sang more madrigals than jazz standards. In my grade 9 year, when faced with an upcoming jazz festival appearance, he hastily handed out solos for “Moonglow,” one of the few jazz standards in our repertoire. There was a section for improvised solo after the head, and, with desperation in his eyes, he scanned the group. His eyes locked on me, and he said, “Cynthia. You listen to jazz, right? You do the scat solo.” I was no more prepared to improvise a solo than anyone else in the group, but I was tasked with learning to scat in the week before a major jazz festival appearance. I’m sure his intent was not to harm me in any way, but the “expected, race-based practices in ... education makes the racism that fuels it look ordinary and natural, to such a degree that oppression no longer seems like oppression to the perpetrators” (Taylor, p. 123). I had no more information or inherent ability at improvising than my White peers. I had no more experience in the ensemble than my White peers. My only qualification was being Black. It was expected that I could perform an improvised solo with little or no preparation. It was perceived to be part of my nature.

There were many assumptions made about my abilities because of my race, and they continue to this day. Taking my traditional choirs to the local fall music festival, an adjudicator from the local university wrote on our adjudication sheet, “Wow, nice job. I didn’t even know you could teach real choirs!” This diminishment of my accomplishments is one of the ways that the dominant order “distorts the realities of the Other in an effort to maintain power relations that continue to disadvantage those who are excluded from that order” (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 281). When my jazz choirs are successful, there is an assumption that I know more about jazz than my White colleagues do, an imposition of “essentialized concepts of ‘black-ness’” (Ladson-Billings & Donner, p. 282). The ways in which I am allowed to be Black is put upon me by the dominant White order of choral music. Like the North American society

in which it exists, the classical choral community “has been constructed as a nation of white people whose public policy, politics, and culture are designed to serve the interests of whites” (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 286). The order of choral music, I am told indirectly, does not belong to me. But the truth is, I was not born with some magical, genetic predisposition for understanding jazz. I took every opportunity that came my way to learn more about jazz, and improvisation in particular, because that day in grade 9 when I took on the dangerous challenge of singing a scat solo with no preparation, I loved it. I loved the fine edge that I felt I was riding when I took a solo. I cried bitter tears over every clunker but rejoiced when what came out of my mouth felt even a little bit like what I heard on those Saturday afternoon listening sessions with my dad. I had been given an opportunity based on an assumption about my nature that was not true (that I inherently understood jazz), but I could still use the opportunity presented to me to say something that felt musically and artistically true. I could turn that assumption on its head by confronting it head on.

AS A BURGEONING PROFESSIONAL

After graduating with a Bachelor of Music Education degree, I completed a two-year jazz/contemporary music diploma program to better equip myself for the realities of teaching in Canada, where, as either an instrumental or choral specialist, there was an expectation (demanded of almost all educators in Western Canada) that I would teach jazz ensembles. My primary instrument as an undergraduate was flute and I was not a competent saxophone player, so I auditioned on voice. I had always sung and had intermittent private instruction but had never seriously studied voice. I thought this diploma would further prepare me to teach in two ways: I would receive concentrated vocal pedagogy and learn practical jazz applications. My future students would not have to guess how to solo as I did in grade 9. I would be armed with information and experience to lead them on their way.

Soon after graduating from this two-year program, I found myself in my first full-time, permanent teaching job. I taught at an inner-city secondary school where my responsibilities included classroom piano, musical theater, traditional choir, and a jazz choir. I loved it. I loved everything about teaching vocal music to young people. My students were engaged and excited, and I felt like I had something to offer. We worked together over the years to build a relatively small program into a thriving and successful choral program involving four choirs, two bands, and many other options like piano, guitar, and jazz improvisation. Moreover, teaching a culturally diverse population allowed me to use music to explore social justice issues with the students. We explored the music of the cultures represented by the students in the choirs, talked about issues we saw in our community, shared food, and built bridges between our personal experiences and those of the group. We built a close-knit but welcoming community of learners with a genuine interest both in improving our personal musicianship and in using music to improve our community. My parents would have been proud.

A few years into my tenure at this school, we were invited to perform at the retirement dinner of the chief superintendent of the school division. This was a very fancy affair at a local country club, and the students and I were very excited to perform. We gathered at the venue early, set up our equipment, warmed up, and sound checked, then retired to the green room, where we were provided with snacks, drinks, and water while we waited. For most of the kids, this felt a little like being a rock star. Serving staff came in at intervals to ensure we had all we needed. We departed from our usual uniforms and were dressed up in formal gear, with some of the girls wearing gowns, and the boys in suits. I even broke out my pearls for the occasion! At some point, I sneaked out of our little space to see how close we were getting to performance time. As I emerged from the back room, the retiring chief superintendent was just entering the lobby. I had met her previously on a couple of occasions, and she had apparently requested my choir to perform at her retirement after seeing us perform at division activities and learning of our growing reputation for excellence. I was so honored to have received the recognition of the invitation that I walked across the lobby to shake her hand and offer her my thanks and congratulations. She saw me coming, hand outstretched, and handed me her coat.

Education scholar Gloria Ladson-Billings recounts having experienced a similar situation:

[She] describes her experience of being invited to a major university to be a speaker in the distinguished scholars lecture series. After the speech, she returned to her hotel and decided to unwind in the hotel's concierge floor lounge. Dressed in business attire and reading the newspaper, she noticed a white man who popped his head in the door. "What time are y'all serving?" he asked. Because she was the only person in the lounge, it was clear that he was addressing Ladson-Billings. She politely but firmly replied, "I don't know what time *they* are serving. I'm here as a guest." Red-faced and clearly embarrassed, the man quietly left. One might argue that he made a simple mistake. Perhaps he would have asked the same question of anyone who was sitting in the lounge. (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 279)

Perhaps the chief superintendent of schools would have handed her coat to anyone who approached, despite clearly being decked out in formal finery. But whatever the intentions of the people in these encounters, the moment served to remind both Ladson-Billings and me that "no matter what [our] ... reputation, at any time [I] could be snapped back into the constraining racial paradigm, complete with all the limitations such designations carry" (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 279).

As the program grew at my school, so did our successes. We added ensembles, and more and more students were interested in joining the performing groups. I had some early successes with my jazz choir, and we were invited to perform at national conferences and give showcase concerts. My traditional choirs garnered awards, too. Classical music was, after all, my first and longest

area of study. My concert and chamber choirs were thriving. The language of classical music was my mother tongue. It is where I learned to read and write. Success in this sphere is how I would know whether I had really achieved anything as a musician. That was the hard-fought struggle, right?

One year, about ten years into my career, my traditional choirs sang at our local spring festival. We sang Anton Bruckner and Johann Sebastian Bach and Felix Mendelssohn, and yes, we sang a song “in the style of” an African piece, although written by an Ukrainian-American composer. The choirs were singing quite well, and I had a dedicated group of young singers, many of whom were beginning to imagine what a life in music might look like for themselves. Many long weekends had been spent in retreat, learning music, refining diction, and preparing to make meaning of the music we were presenting. As we stood on stage preparing to be adjudicated, our clinician, a woman I had served on committees with and whom I had known professionally for almost a decade, approached me and the choir and said: “Now this African piece. Is this from your home country? This genre is where you really shine, isn’t it? You really understand *this* kind of music!”

I tell this story because it “underscore[s] an important point within the critical race theoretical paradigm, i.e. race [still] matters” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 8). The story highlights that, despite demonstrated skill in a setting, the very fact of my race still matters in the world of traditional choir. A major concept in CRT is whiteness as property: “Due to the embedded racism in [North] American society, Whiteness can be considered a property interest ... These include the right of possession, the right of use and enjoyment, the right to disposition and the right of exclusion” (Hirald, 2010, p. 54). The adjudicator demonstrated an inherent White ownership of classical music, a deliberate right to exclude me from the traditional, White classical music we had performed. Her emphasis on “*this* kind of music” was meant as an indicator of the choral lane in which I belonged. There was attached to my race a “powerful *social* construct and signifier” (Ladson-Billings, 1998, p. 8), that I was from elsewhere, that I was somehow the other, that my “racial identity [would] always serve[s] as a mitigating factor in determining [my] authority and legitimacy” (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 281). And there was something in that interaction that was intended to teach me my place, if I let it.

Why, after all these years, successes, and awards, was it still assumed that I was some kind of expert on music of the African diaspora? People in the choir community still express surprise when my traditional choirs sing classical music of any kind, with any kind of skill. People in the classical music community are still surprised when I perform classical music myself, rather than gospel or jazz. Not all, but certain members of the choral community dismiss my accomplishments because it makes sense to them that a Black woman should produce successful jazz choirs. Also, because the genre is devalued and viewed as less sophisticated or challenging than classical music, it does not challenge the status quo if my jazz choirs are more accomplished than those of other conductors. What does

not compute for many people in the choral community is how I could possibly have gained the skills needed to compete in the classical music realm. It seems this mindset holds that I should be able to do only the art forms that my White colleagues can't, because those forms are of inherently lesser value and require lesser intellectual capacity than “real” choral music. I believe there exists a characterization of choral educators and musicians of color, and, in particular, Black people involved in classical choral music, that helps people in the dominant culture make sense of “othered” races and groups and their contribution to the world of choral music.

ENTER THE MAGICAL NEGRO

In a book of essays titled *Black Looks*, cultural critic and theorist bell hooks (1992) argues that there is a fundamental link between the picture that both Whites and Blacks form of people of African descent and the images of Black people portrayed in mass media. Many of her essays focus on film because “it, more than any other media experience, determines how blackness and black people are seen and how other groups will respond to us based on their relation to these constructed and consumed images” (p. 5). Film has a powerful ability to teach us about ourselves and to reinforce racist stereotypes where they exist, in the minds of both White and Black people. In the United States, 86 percent of suburban Whites live in communities that are 99 percent White, making them the most segregated population in North America (Hughey, 2009). “As a result, popular films about race and racism offer people, especially Whites, narratives for experiences they may not have in real life. In fact, in the absence of lived experience, films are often understood as ‘authentic’ reflections of ‘real life’” (Hughey, 2009, p. 547). Many viewers internalize film depictions of a particular race as real and accurate representations of that race.

The depiction of the Magical Negro as one who somehow possesses mystical or earthy knowledge, though not necessarily intellectual knowledge, appears in realms other than cinema. I have observed many instances of this in the Canadian choral community. When I am asked to adjudicate, I am immediately viewed as an expert on all gospel, jazz, and African styles, despite not having significant additional training in those styles. My interpretations of gospel and African selections are almost never questioned in adjudicated performances, and many times clinicians will fail to address those pieces with me and my choirs in clinics. Still, clinicians do not seem to have an issue offering input when my White colleagues program African and gospel selections. This unwillingness to approach music of the African diaspora in an equally rigorous way is perhaps meant as a sign of respect for me, or an acknowledgment of their own lack of understanding of this music, but in fact, it ignores the structures of power that create inequities and exclusions in the first place (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 290).

CONCLUSION

When I do an informal search of professional Black choral musicians in Canada, there are only two people that I can find linked to either professional chamber choirs or university programs. One of them teaches exclusively gospel and jazz choir in a university setting, and the other teaches a professional choir dedicated to the music of Nathaniel Dett, a Black Canadian composer. In choral music in Canada, race still determines the choral order's perception of the potential of its members. When limiting assumptions are made about the skill and accomplishments of Black choral conductors, there are few of us out there to represent a counter-image to challenge these assumptions. bell hooks writes:

There is a direct and abiding connection between the maintenance of white supremacist patriarchy in this society and the institutionalization via mass media of specific images, representations of race, of blackness that support and maintain the oppression, exploitation, and overall domination of all black people. Long before white supremacists ever reached the shores of what we now call the United States, they constructed images of blackness and black people to uphold and affirm their notions of racial superiority, their political imperialism, their will to dominate and enslave. From slavery on, white supremacists have recognized that control over images is central to the maintenance of any system of racial domination. (hooks, 1992, p. 2)

Why is it important for Black people involved in choral and classical music to challenge White supremacist control over images of Blackness? To what extent am I complicit in my own characterization? I do love and did study jazz. I do make efforts to understand deeply the gospel and African pieces I present to my choir because I think this music is worthy of study. If I didn't find the music worthy of the same level of study as George Frideric Handel and Orlando di Lasso, why would I program it for my students? They deserve to encounter great music, and it is my job to understand that music as fully as possible before I present it to them. Although the conventions and practices of some of these forms were new to me, I took the time to delve deeper into performance practice before I taught them. Do I view jazz, African, and gospel music as more valuable *because* I am Black? The cultural appropriations of those choral directors who do not take the time to do the same rankles me deeply. Would I even notice the lack of rigor from my peers in preparing these styles if I were White? The choral community may view my participation in their "property," classical music, as a kind of theft. As a part of the overarching order that minimizes the capacity of people of color to participate fully in intellectual activities, I wonder if I truly believe in my own right to take part in classical music.

Much of my own effort with "world" music, jazz, and other music of the African diaspora comes back to those early messages I learned from my mother about the struggle for acceptance that I would always face. I have espoused the aphorism that as a Black woman I would have to "work twice as hard to achieve half the recognition." hooks (1992) writes of people's own struggle

to define themselves outside of the societal norms: “Socialized within white supremacist educational systems and by a racist mass media, many black people are convinced that our lives are not complex, and are therefore unworthy of sophisticated critical analysis and reflection” (p. 2). As a people, we struggle to examine our own part in the ongoing stereotypes present in the society of which we are a part. We are raised with the same colonial two-dimensional images impressed on us that are a fundamental part of the construction of racism in society. I can still at times see in myself a Mammy, a Jezebel, a Sapphire, and most often a Magical Negro. This is because we are also the product of the colonizing gaze, and we see ourselves often in much the same light that racist culture imposes on us. Moving forward, though, it is the job of the Black community to free ourselves from these perceptions, and by viewing ourselves outside of the dominant structures of race, create new images through which our race can be viewed, using the double consciousness gifted to us as a result of operating both inside and outside of the dominant society. In the words of bell hooks (1992):

Indeed, a fundamental task of black critical thinkers has been the struggle to break with the hegemonic modes of seeing, thinking, and being that block our capacity to see ourselves oppositionally, to imagine, describe, and invent ourselves in ways that are liberatory. Without this, how can we challenge and invite non-black allies and friends to dare to look at us differently, to dare to break their colonizing gaze? (p. 2)

It is clear to me that I “must know the intellectual antecedents of [my] cultural, ethnic, or racial group. This is important for combating the persistent ideology of White supremacy that denigrates the intellectual contributions of others” (Ladson-Billings & Donnor, 2005, p. 292). To dare to look at myself like a classical musician, to dare to look at myself like a jazz musician, and to insist that both are possible—in equal parts.

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Smog in the Air: Passive Positions, Deracialization, and Erasure in Arts Education

Joni Boyd Acuff

...Messages that affirm the assumed superiority of Whites and the assumed inferiority of people of color—[are] like smog in the air. Sometimes it is so thick it is visible, other times it is less apparent, but always, day in and day out, we are breathing it in
(Tatum, 1997, p. 6).

This chapter identifies the *smog* of white supremacy, specifically, that which is “less apparent” (Tatum, 1997, p. 6) and nestled quietly in the seams of discourses and notions of tradition in art education. As a Black woman, I align my understanding of white supremacy with critical race theorist David Gillborn’s (2006), for whom “[White] supremacy is seen to relate to the operation of forces that saturate the everyday, mundane actions and policies that shape the world in the interests of White people” (p. 174). White supremacy in the United States is a racist structure that awards systemic privileges to White people over non-White people (Ansley, 1997; Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). Legal scholar Cheryl Harris (1993) explains how slavery “linked the privilege of Whites to the subordination of Blacks through a legal regime that attempted the conversion of Blacks into objects of property” (p. 1721). Additionally, the seizure of Indigenous land and the conquest of Indigenous people also supported the development of White privilege through a system of property rights. The victimization of people of color birthed the notion of whiteness as valuable and as property (Harris, 1993; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). This is how rights in property have become “contingent on, intertwined with and conflated with race” (Harris, 1993, p. 1714).

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White supremacy allowed capitalist Europeans to seek exclusive ownership of both tangible and intangible things. For example, ownership was established over Black and Brown bodies, land, economic resources, social and cultural practices, behaviors, speech patterns, and even knowledge and intellect (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Forerunners in Critical Race Theory (CRT) Gloria Ladson-Billings and William F. Tate, IV (1995) write, “The ability to define, possess, and own property has been a central feature to power in America” (p. 53). White property rights secure the ability to use, enjoy, and forthrightly exclude based on white ownership (Ladson-Billings, 1998). The desire to maintain property and material benefits from the current racial order results in the defense and rationalization of certain ideological positions (Billig, 1988; Bonilla-Silva, 2010).

The institutionalization of white supremacy produces and secures specific messages (Gillborn, 2002). Privileges and collective interests embedded in white supremacy are maintained through seemingly neutral, intellectual conceptions of arts education. With this in mind, it is critical to continually “interrogate discourses for their racialized [or deracialized] content and/or consequences” (Gillborn, 2002, p. 84). Entrenched within these discourses is the smog (Tatum, 1997), lying close to the ground, almost invisible and obscure, yet unwieldy and abundant. Therefore, this chapter aims to release a bit of this smog to the air and unearth some of the collective practices that reinforce the contemporary racial order. The first section introduces CRT as a tool for the analysis of how arts education is positioned and secured as white property. This particular analysis is anchored in my interpretation and understanding of the way people of color work to diversify certain discourses and disciplines. In particular, the story I share calls out the ways white supremacist thinking on the micro- and macro-level is maintained in the arts education discourse. Considering the tenets of CRT, I use storytelling to illustrate the ways whiteness is rooted in norms situated around arts education. The chapter ends with suggestions about future initiatives to destabilize White power and insert anti-racism into the discourse of arts education.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Critical race theory demands that race and racism never be relegated to the sidelines nor imagined to be a complexifying element in a situation that is really about class or really about gender. (Gillborn, 2006, p. 175)

A CRT perspective provides a framework to examine the operation and function of white supremacy in arts education. CRT is a theoretical framework conceived by legal studies scholars, such as Derrick Bell (1992), Kimberlé Crenshaw (1988), Alan Freeman, and others, in the mid-1970s. CRT was birthed out of concern over the lengthy and sluggish pace of racial reform in the United States (Delgado, 1995; Ladson-Billings, 1999). CRT asserts that racism is a norm in the United States and, because of its developed normativity,

is seen as natural and permanently fixed. Those who work within a CRT framework have the goal of “unmasking and exposing racism in its various permutations” (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 213).

According to Crenshaw et al. (1995), there is no canonical set of doctrines or methodologies to which CRT scholars subscribe. However, there are two common interests that unite CRT scholars: understanding how a “regime of white supremacy and its subordination of people of color have been created and maintained in America” (p. xiii) and “changing the bond that exists between law and racial power” (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 214). Years after the development of CRT, education scholars Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) utilize the CRT framework to inform educational research and its community of scholars. Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) argue, “race continues to be salient in American society, that the nation was premised on property rights rather than human rights, and that the intersection of race and property could serve as a powerful analytical tool for explaining social and educational inequities” (Ladson-Billings, 1999, p. 215).

In this chapter I use a CRT framework, with race at the crux, to analyze a professional experience that highlights the methods and modes of sustaining white supremacy in arts education. Mirza (2006) writes, “In the academic world we use Critical Race Theory which is based on situational and reflexive knowledge to illuminate hidden or marginal realities. Stories are a powerful way to talk” (p. 138). Furthermore, I use storytelling to “catalyze the necessary cognitive conflict to jar dysconscious racism” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 58).

Each of the following sections of this chapter opens with a vignette from a fictional story about a Black woman’s experience working with peer arts education professionals from different races in an effort to write a diversity-focused position statement for an arts education organization. Although the narrative is fictional, it is inspired by my true lived experiences working in collaboration with White peers on different occasions. This particular story is critical because it identifies multiple instances of deracialization (Gillborn, 1995; Gilroy, 2000), as well as instances of white privilege, white supremacist thinking, and erasure. Delgado and Stefancic (2001) write, “The hope is that well-told stories describing the reality of black and brown lives can help readers bridge the gap between their worlds and those of others. Engaging stories can help us understand what life is like for others, and invite the reader into a new and unfamiliar world” (p. 41). In particular, the story that I narrate demonstrates the struggle and desperation for White participants to maintain power, privilege, and their assumed property, in this case, arts education. The narrative explicitly establishes the ways in which “property investments” are made. Property investments facilitate the job of establishing, maintaining, and supporting white supremacy, which in turn upholds ownership of and builds equity in white property. After each opening vignette, I complete a critical analysis of the experience, pointing out specific instances of investments in white supremacy. These investments are “smog,” specifically because they can be seen as unsuspecting

circumstances characterized as compromise, cooperative working, an accident, or an oversight. This is what makes smog so threatening; it fills the atmosphere without alarm and is buffered in the concept of normal.

PASSIVE POSITIONS

One fall evening, Dr. Jamie King, a Black, female associate professor of art education, receives an e-mail from a fellow member of a prominent arts education organization in which she has been active for multiple years. The e-mail, sent by Megan, a White female, is an invitation asking Jamie to join a writing group that is charged with revising a five-year-old position statement around diversity. Megan explains that the writing team will write a position statement that will be sent to the organization and the organization's voting body will vote on adopting the statement for the next five years. Jamie is enthusiastic and accepts Megan's invitation to join the writing group, especially since Jamie's research is focused on diversity, specifically using critical multiculturalism in arts education. Jamie responds to Megan's e-mail by accepting the invitation. Megan follows up to tell Jamie that there would be a conference call in the near future. Jamie is excited and eagerly prepares for the upcoming collaboration.

About two weeks later, Jamie participates in the first conference call with the other members of the diversity statement writing team. The team is comprised of four White women, four women of color (three Black and one Latina), and one Black man. At the onset of the conversation, Jamie enthusiastically asks a string of questions without taking a breath, "So, what is the purpose of this particular position statement? Does the statement aim to incite intentional action within the organization? Will it serve as a framework with goals and objectives for the organization to use in actively recruiting diverse groups of people to the field?" There is a long pause over the phone line. "Hello...?" Jamie says, wondering if the call has dropped. "Hi, yes, so this is Megan, and the short answer to that is, no." Megan goes on, "The arts education organization's position statements are used simply as talking points. When someone or other organizational entities approach our organization to gain their perspective on certain issues, the organization offers them the position statement as a response." Although disappointed, Jamie is not surprised by Megan's answer because Jamie understands the multiple functions of position statements. However, Jamie takes a mental note that Megan's response is absent of the complete potential of position statements. "Okay, thank you Megan," Jamie says. In that moment, Jamie feels confused as to why she is putting her effort toward something that essentially means nothing as far as increasing diversity in the arts education field.

Dr. Jamie King's initial inquiry about the active components of the diversity position statement resulted in a property investment, which I call "passive positions." Position statements should be reflective of a national issue or topic of interest to the profession and/or field and should advance the mission of the particular association for which it is written. Additionally, position statements should demonstrate in depth knowledge of the research that frames the dis-

course. Position statements should advance the mission of an organization,¹ which means there is potential for action should the organization choose to move, or in Jamie's case, not move. The latter idea, the choice of immobility by the arts education organization, is at the heart of my critique and analysis.

Research in arts education (Charland, 2010; Kraehe, Acuff, & Travis, 2016; Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011) provides overwhelming justification for the need to focus on the intentional recruitment of people of color into the arts; it is difficult to comprehend the decision to develop a position statement around diversity that is passive and without intent for pointed action. For example, students of color are significantly less likely to enter the field of arts than their White counterparts (Charland, 2010; Kraehe et al., 2016; Rabkin & Hedberg, 2011). Rabkin and Hedberg (2011) cite the decline of childhood arts education in communities of color as one reason behind such a small presence of arts educators of color. Offering empirical data, Rabkin and Hedberg (2011) suggest, "The decline of childhood arts education among white children is relatively insignificant, while the declines for African American and Hispanic children are quite substantial—49 percent for African American and 40 percent for Hispanic children" (p. 15). The 23-year longitudinal study claims there is a direct correlation between childhood arts involvement and access and participation in the arts in adulthood. As a consequence, arts education teachers of color are scarce.

In another research study, Charland (2010) identified the relationship between the low number of African Americans in the arts and African American adolescents' attitudes and behaviors toward visual art as a valued area of study and professional aspiration. Charland (2010) interviewed and surveyed 29 African American males and 29 African American females at four Midwestern high schools. The high schools were in a school district that served predominantly children of color. His research found that the children and youth of color in his study did not consider the arts as a profession because they fear disapproval from their family and friends, as they understand that artists do not make a sufficient or respectable income. They claimed that they perceive creating art as a leisure activity or something for pleasure. Furthermore, Charland's (2010) research participants communicated that they see the arts as white property. For example, the African American youth asserted that they identify artists as White males, not Black males or females. Charland's (2010) work reveals that "there are racialized differences regarding student identification and disidentification with the discipline of visual art and that these differences correlate with the visibility of Black art and artists in the learning environment" (Kraehe et al., 2016, p. 14). Charland's research beckons a call to action for

¹My understanding of position statements and their function is based on various definitions of position statements from multiple educational organizations, including the National Education Association, the National Association for the Education of Young Children, the National Council of Teachers of English, and the National Art Education Association. Additionally, position statements are characterized by the American Nurses Association (2017) as "a justification or a recommendation for a course of action that reflects the organizations stance regarding the term" (para. 1).

those truly invested in diversifying arts education to mobilize and make action-oriented goals, instead of statements that are organizational talking pieces.

Systemic racial disparities as they relate to access and participation in arts education need to be addressed much sooner than adulthood if the goal is to actualize a more diverse art education field (Kraehe et al., 2016). Arts education opportunities and resources need to be increased for communities of color. There are two critical considerations that can inform a more relevant and effective position statement. Primarily, in what ways do people of color assume ownership of the arts during childhood, through young adulthood, and beyond? In what narrative do students of color learn that there is no place for them in the arts? Secondly, in contemplating diversity recruitment, one must be critical of the institutional barriers, such as educational tracking systems like Advanced Placement (AP)² classes in high school. Scholars argue that tracking is a “tool for reproducing social inequality, a condition rooted in the maldistribution of wealth, bolstered by racists and classist conceptions of intelligence and achievements, and maintained by society’s powerful so that they may continue their domination of the powerless” (Loveless, 1999, p. 154). Even if students of color have had access to arts education, educational tracking systems continuously weed them out (Fine, 2004; Loveless, 1999) and push them into other fields of study. Even more, if students of color stay the course and continue with arts education through college, they are disproportionately impacted by teacher certification tests.³ After schools systematically and disproportionately force students of color out of the arts as early as middle school, how might national organizations and community entities intervene to support reentry? Without such critical questioning and deeper analyses of the systemic causes for the marginalization and/or absence of participation by certain groups, the arts will continue to maintain a white identity that circulates narrow, specific perspectives and understandings of what the arts are, what they can be, and to whom they belong. The result is that Whites preserve the arts as white property. Whether intentionally or unintentionally, the lack of action implicates Whites in the perpetuation of white supremacy and white privilege in the arts.

The lack of direct, intentional action by an arts education organization that has an influential national platform communicates that the organization is comfortable in its white privilege. A position statement can either be passive or active in effecting change. I characterize this organization’s passivity and immobility as a property investment that maintains arts education as white property.

²Advanced placement (AP) is a program supervised by the College Board that allows high school students to take accelerated courses during high school that can earn them college credit or even set them up to take advanced courses when they enter college (College Board, 2017).

³Standardized teacher certification tests, such as Praxis Performance Assessments for Teachers and edTPA, have a disproportionately negative impact on students’ of color ability to obtain teaching licenses. Both the cost and the content of the tests are sited as roadblocks to diversifying the teaching profession (Barmore, 2016; Nettles, Scatton, Steinberg, & Tyler, 2011).

DERACIALIZATION

After zoning out for a moment following Megan's lackluster response to her question about the function of the position statement, Jamie reenters the conversation and listens intently to the next topic of discussion. The group is talking about the definition of diversity. Jamie hears someone say, "It is important to recognize how we are defining diversity before we try to build a diversity statement." Another voice steps in, "Let's look at the definition that was included in the previous version of the position statement." Megan responds, "The first version of the diversity position statement, from three years prior, explicitly named identity categories. It reads, 'gender, race, age, socioeconomic status, disability, religion, sexual orientation, gender identity, and national and ethnic origin.' Do we want to keep that in there, change, or add anything?" Jamie remains silent while she listens to her colleagues talk over each other, trying to come up with the "right" answer. After about five minutes, the group concludes that listing identity categories is exclusive. A group member asserts, "We want to make the position statement as inclusive as possible. Diversity cannot be defined by a fixed list of qualifiers." Jamie feels ambivalent. Yes, she wants the statement to be inclusive, but she knows that deleting specific language potentially dismisses central issues that can easily be lost, specifically race. Jamie doesn't like the idea of NOT defining diversity. As Jamie struggles whether or not to contest the decision the group has seemingly already made, the conversation moves on quickly and Jamie's opportunity to address the issue passes. Jamie doesn't know how to articulate her trepidation of the decision over the phone anyway. As a result, she doesn't bother to interrupt the group's progress. Jamie thinks to herself, "This is one hell of a first call..." If this call was any indication of how the remaining interactions would be while writing the position statement, Jamie isn't sure she wants to be a part of the rest of the process. At any rate, Jamie remains on the call as the team wraps up their thoughts and schedules their next moves. Jamie agrees to participate in the next call, which is scheduled for one week later. After Jamie leaves the call, she reflects on the implications of the actions of the writing group.

In Jamie's story, the writing team removed a previously constructed definition of diversity, which explicitly named identity labels (e.g. race, gender, and sexual orientation), from the position statement. As a consequence, the term "race" was completely absent from the position statement. The removal of race opened the door for it to be situated at the periphery of diversity issues instead of maintaining a central role. In that instance, the organization's diversity position statement became an ideological mechanism that could potentially reproduce racial privilege in arts education. This deracialization of the discourse is a property investment.

According to Hall (1992),

A discourse is a group of statements which provide a language for talking about—i.e. a way of representing—a particular kind of knowledge about a topic. When statements about a topic are made within a particular discourse, the discourse makes it possible to construct the topic in a certain way. It also limits the other ways in which the topic can be constructed. (p. 291)

Hall's (1992) definition suggests the language used within a discourse creates parameters around how that discourse can perform, and ultimately, the power it holds. Language is a part of the exercise of power (Gillborn, 1995). Language that does not explicitly address race consents to the potential for racism to be allowed into the conversation. From a CRT conceptualization, the acknowledgment of race is imperative, as it plays the principal role in establishing social, economic, political, and societal structures (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001).

The concept of diversity requires the consideration of specific, critical issues that build its foundation and establish its core—race is one of those critical issues. Refusing to explicitly name race is indicative of a belief that all forms of oppression are equivalent. As a consequence, the specificity of racism is ignored. Central to maintaining arts education as white property is the desire to control the discourse around the ways in which arts education and race can and cannot interact. van Dijk (2000) confirms,

Discourse plays a prominent role in the reproduction of racism. It expresses, persuasively conveys, and legitimates ethnic or racial stereotypes and prejudices among white group members, and may thus form or confirm the social cognitions of other whites. This is particularly true for various forms of elite discourse, since the elites control or have preferential access to the major means of public communication, e.g., through political, media, educational, scholarly, or corporate discourse. (p. 307)

A deracialized discourse, where race is not deployed explicitly, is damaging, especially if the discourse addresses issues where race and ethnicity are indisputably implicated. When the conversation implicates race, yet it overtly omits the term race in the discourse, this is called spurious deracialization (Gillborn, 1995). In Jamie's story, the writing team performed spurious deracialization, as race is indeed implicated in issues of diversity, yet the word was removed from the statement. Gillborn (1995) suggests that a deracialized discourse is by definition no better or worse than a racialized one. The concern, however, lies in the "significance of race and ethnicity in relation to the particular issue or group(s) addressed by and positioned within the discourse" (p. 20). Essentially, arts educators must recognize when the issues at stake in the discourse have clear implications for racial and ethnic equality.

The elimination of race from the position statement provides great insight regarding deracialization on the macro-level. For example, deracialization is seen in policy developments, where race and ethnicity are essentially removed from the lexicon of policy makers and replaced with coded or proxy concepts such as nation, heritage, and culture (Gillborn, 1995). The substitution, and even conflation of race with other terms, is problematic because historically race has had specific power classifying tendencies that other terms do not hold. Ladson-Billings (1999) asserts, "whiteness is constructed in this society as the absence of the 'contaminating' influence of blackness" (p. 60). The overarching issue here is the attempt to normalize whiteness in the discourse by removing references to race as a categorizing force.

Essentially, deracialization denies the role of race in oppression. The consequences of this redirection are the erasure of issues of power and subordination; thus, there is no questioning of the status quo or racialized inequities. For example, the experiences and opportunities available to minority students can be easily disregarded, or if recognized, blamed on economics alone, without an acknowledgment of the way economics intersects with race. Deracialization of arts education discourses silences the fact that race and racism impact art teacher identity (Kraehe, 2015). Deracialization allows arts educators to ignore power-sustaining tools like myopic, culturally negligent standardized tests and national standards (Kraehe, 2010), hegemonic art curriculum (Acuff, 2014), conceptions of “the art canon,”⁴ and textbooks by capitalist corporations that help secure white privilege and secure knowledge as white property (Loewen, 1995; McAfee, 2015). Discourse is the system through which power circulates (Hall, 1992). Therefore, deracializing arts education discourses, which are invested in whiteness, is an attempt to protect arts education, and thus the arts as white property.

Not only was the word “race” eliminated from the position statement but also any attempt to use concepts associated with race or power hierarchies was challenged. Consider the continuation of Dr. Jamie King’s story:

After the first conference call, Megan e-mails the writing team to request that they edit the position statement, via Google document, before the next call. Jamie follows Megan’s request and works on the position statement for a few hours during the week. As a critical scholar who looks at power from a systemic level, Jamie adds language to the statement that speaks to the more institutional issues that are at the foundation of needing diversity. Some of the concepts Jamie inserts in the statement include power, dominance, cultural subjugation, and hegemony. After working on the document for a considerable amount of time, Jamie logs off of the Google document satisfied with her contribution.

The day of the next conference call, Jamie opens the Google document to refresh her memory of its progress. She notices that another writing team member, a White woman named Kim, has put a strike-through through the word hegemony. “Interesting,” Jamie thought. “Can’t wait for our conversation to discuss this.” A few hours later, Jamie dials in to the call with an intentional focus to speak on Kim’s removal of the word hegemony from the position statement. As the group moves through their discussion, they come to Jamie’s contribution. Megan asked, “So are there any issues with this next portion?” Jamie responds, “I am curious about why hegemony is marked out. The term is fitting for the context and really places some strength behind our assertions and support for diversity. Kim?”

Kim, seemingly expecting Jamie’s interrogation, replies, “Well, as I was reading through the revisions and came upon this clunky word that I could not even pronounce, I just thought, surely we can find something better to use. He-ge-mo...”

⁴The art canon is a socially constructed institution that communicates whose art is noteworthy and whose art is not. “The canon” is the epitome of cultural subordination, as it reinforces superiority of Western art and the marginalization of non-Western art (Emery, 2002).

gem-ony...I mean, I am a university professor and I don't even know how to say it or what it means. Can you define it for me?" Without missing a beat, Jamie concisely responds, "Hegemony is a system of power that maintains the racial, social, cultural and economic hierarchies and supports the oppression of certain groups of people. It is done through the concept of 'normal,' but really normal is defined by a dominant voice, to be specific, the White, heterosexual, able-bodied, Christian male voice. As a consequence, one group sustains power over another group." Megan types Jamie's response on the Google document for everyone to see. Kim responds, "So as I think about our audience of majority classroom teachers, I think this will be a barrier that they may not be able to get past. Like I said, I have a PhD and I have never heard of this word before. Think about the classroom teachers and their reading of this word. No one will know what we are talking about." Another writing team member, a Latina woman, immediately interrupts, "Well, I have never had a problem telling people to pick up a book, or better yet, a dictionary and read should they not know words or concepts. Are we saying we have low expectations of our membership?" Jamie is relieved that she has support from another writing team member. The phone line is silent. Jamie re-opens the conversation, "So, there is the potential to sugar coat very important issues that undergird the need for diversity. One very important issue is power and the systems that support power of some and the oppression of others. I used hegemony specifically to emphasize arts education professionals' role in destabilizing systemic power structures that cause people in 'othered' positions—mostly people of color—to become literally and mentally removed from arts education. There is ABSOLUTELY no other term to get to this premise other than hegemony." Just as soon as Jamie completes her last word, Megan abruptly suggests, "Okay. Let's continue to work on the document. We will finish up next week. Have a good night you all." Everyone says goodbye and exits the call. Within an hour, Jamie receives an e-mail from Megan that reads, "I agree that hegemony should be in the statement. Please go back into the document and reinsert the original passage. Thanks for your contributions Jamie." Jamie is stunned and angry. Jamie thinks to herself, "I wonder why she didn't articulate this support over the phone, yet e-mails a private message." Hesitantly, Jamie thanks Megan for her support and follows through with revising the position statement to include her initial passage that included the word hegemony.

The next conference call was scheduled for a week later. The agenda for the call was to finalize and agree on the position statement so that it could be sent to the organization. As Jamie dials in, she nervously anticipates Kim bringing up the reinsertion of the word hegemony. Sure enough, once all members are on the call, Kim opens the conversation stating, "So, I am still stuck on this word, hegemony. I think we should reconsider. I looked it up and it sounds like it is really about the status quo. So why don't we just say we want to 'disrupt the status quo' instead of using hegemony." Jamie responds, "Well because 'disrupting the status quo' is really cliché at this point—that language has become so mundane. It is idle and no longer has power; it doesn't get a reaction or the attention that it needs to get. We have to address institutional power and dominant voices and present it in a way where people pay attention." Another writing team member enters the dialogue,

“Okay, so instead of hegemony let’s just write that we need to destabilize dominant voices and institutional power. How does that sound?” Out of energy and mentally exhausted from the struggle, Jamie concedes, “Okay, that’s fine.” Megan takes a minute to construct a sentence on the Google document that reflects the group’s decision to use a fleshed out version of hegemony instead of the actual word. The sentence reads, “Arts education must be at the forefront of questioning and destabilizing dominant voices and institutions of power.” After a few moments of silence, Kim says, “Well...that is a very assertive statement. I think we may be pushing it a bit. I’m not too comfortable with it.” Jamie lets out a noticeable sigh. Megan interrupts, “Well let’s go with this and if it is a problem we will hear back from the organization after the annual meeting. Thanks team, I will send the organization what we have completed and they will vote on it in the upcoming annual meeting. Does that sound okay?” Most of the group agrees with Megan’s push forward, however, Kim’s voice is noticeably absent from the group’s consent. Megan ends the call after confirming that she would cc everyone on the e-mail that is sent to the organization. Jamie is relieved.

Kim continuously challenged the term hegemony, asking for definitions, quibbling over the pronunciation, suggesting the term was foreign, and suggesting other alternatives. Kim’s implicit and explicit rejection of the term hegemony in the position statement is another example of the investment to deracialize the discourse and counter attempts to destabilize normalized power structures.

Hegemony, coined by Antonio Gramsci (1930), refers to a structural power system that maintains dominance with ease and without being noticed. It is coercive and can be maintained unconsciously and without consent. It perpetuates control of one group over another. Bell (1997) adds, hegemony is the way “a dominant group can project its particular way of seeing social reality so successfully that its view is accepted as common sense, as part of the natural order, even by those who are in fact disempowered by it” (p. 11). Hegemony is about structural and institutional inequities (M’Baye, 2011), which in the United States is a result of slavery, a system of racialized social control conceived for the economic advancement of the Western world. European colonization of Africa and the enslavement of African peoples conceived a racial contract that perpetually subordinates people of color (Mills, 1997). It is upon the racial caste system that superiority and domination of one group over another was constructed in the United States. Gillborn (1995) argues, “‘race’ operates as a system of socially constructed and enforced categories, constantly recreated and modified through human interaction” (p. 3). Fundamentally, race is not about skin color, anatomy, or phenotype, it is a matter of the domination of one group of people by another. This racial classification explicitly impacts social and economic class systems, on which hierarchies are built and established. Considering these relationships of power construction and embedded structures of dominance, race and hegemony are inextricably intertwined.

Kim’s persistence to delete the word “hegemony” from the position statement language unequivocally encouraged deracialization. Kim’s actions are the

smog. To be more specific, without much consideration of the groups' dialogue, one would think that Kim's arguments were addressing the accessibility of the word hegemony. However, during the group's latter conversation regarding the removal of the word hegemony, Kim even contested the sentence that included words like power and dominance. She called the words "assertive" and stated that she was uncomfortable using that language.

Kim's actions support what Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Gilroy (2000) deem as "New Racism," in which coded language and wordplay are used to counter anti-racist goals. Bonilla-Silva (2010) writes, "Whites use apparent denials ('I don't believe that, but...'), claims of ignorance ('I don't know'), or other moves in the process of stating their racial views" (p. 57). Supporting Bonilla-Silva's (2010) assertions, Jamie's desire to address dominant power structures by inserting the word hegemony in the position statement was met with similar "claims of ignorance." Kim's actions are a significant investment in her white property, as she made it clear that arts education must not be contaminated with such implications of racism. Damaging the reputation of arts education would damage an aspect of her personal property (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). In addition, her blatant rejection of the word hegemony exhibits "white avoidance of direct racial language to expressing their racial views" and illustrates the "'semantic moves' whites use as verbal parachutes to avoid dangerous discussions or to save face" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010, p. 54). Many White people talk about race very carefully, indirectly, and with hesitation (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). Gilroy (2000) agrees, "The frequent absence of any overt reference to 'race' or hierarchy is an important characteristic of the new types of racism with which we have to deal. This kind of coded language has created further strategic problems for antiracism" (p. 254). The tools Bonilla-Silva (2010) and Gilroy (2000) describe support deracialization, specifically discursive deracialization, which means that "instead of presenting opposition in a prejudicial way, a speaker presents alternative explanations that draw upon reasonableness to explain their opposition" (Goodman & Burke, 2010, p. 112). Overall, Kim's actions were very telling of her desire to maintain arts education as white property. Furthermore, on multiple occasions, Jamie's voice was erased by white privilege. Kim, a White woman who had no knowledge about the diversity discourse, by her own admission, was assigned to help write a diversity-focused position statement. Such white privilege nepotism is often how White voices control institutional narratives, especially those about race and racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). Also, illustrative in Jamie's case, the comfort of Whites often supersedes voices of color, especially if they are projecting messages about race and equity (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). Such dismissal leaves people of color wondering if they were invited to participate to actually contribute to meaningful dialogue or to meet a quota, serving as the token person of color.

Myers and Williamson (2001) write, "Racism is hegemonic so that it often appears invisible. Participating in racist practices—knowingly or unknowingly—reinforces the hierarchies of racism by taking the rules for granted" (p. 4). With this in mind, addressing hegemony in a diversity-focused position

statement is necessary. The lack of diversity in a workplace, a school classroom, or any public and/or private sphere where heterogeneous representation should exist is a result of racial inequity and racist, social, cultural, and economic structures and practices. These structures and practices are called racialized social systems, a term which refers “to societies in which economic, political, social, and ideological levels are partially structured by the placement of actors in racial categories or races” (Bonilla-Silva, 1997, p. 469). Kim’s rejection of the word hegemony demonstrated a clear rejection of an anti-racist ideology that would support the arts education organization’s claim that diversity is needed in the field.

ERASURE

The organization’s annual meeting is held four months after the writing team completes its edits. Jamie is eager to hear the results of the vote. Jamie calls her friend, a Black woman named Vera, who she knows is a member of the voting body. Vera answers quickly, “Hi, Jamie.” Jamie responds, “Hi Vera, how are you? I hope you had a great conference. I was wondering if you could tell me what happened in the voting assembly. What was the response to the position statement about diversity?” Vera lets Jamie know that everyone was pleased with the statement and it was approved without revisions. At the end of the 20-minute conversation, Jamie requests, “Vera, will you send me the meeting documents that listed all of the position statements. I would just like to preview them.” “Yes, sure, no problem. I will send it now. Talk to you later,” Vera replies.

A few minutes later, Jamie receives Vera’s e-mail with the annual meeting documents attached. Jamie excitedly opens the file to find the diversity position statement. As she reads it silently to herself, Jamie immediately realizes that the position statement that she has just read is remarkably different from the statement the writing team finalized to go forward. Jamie thinks to herself, “I remember the words power and the phrase dominant voices being in there. I think something is missing here.” Jamie hurriedly searches for the Google document to find the last version of the statement that the group agreed upon. Confirming her suspicion, Jamie identifies that the sentence that replaced the word hegemony is deleted. In disbelief, Jamie reaches out to Megan via e-mail to gain insight about the deletion of the sentence. Megan expeditiously responds, “Hi Jamie, I am not sure what happened to final version of the position statement, but I will most definitely follow up with the organization for answers.” About three days later, Jamie receives an e-mail from a White man named Brent, his title is “Chair of position statement committee.” In his e-mail, Brent provides a thorough description of the position statement writing procedure. Brent explains, “Hi, Jamie. Ultimately, the position statement committee has the right to change the statement based on its appropriateness for organization members across all regions and divisions. The edits done by the committee are completed in an effort to make sure the position statement has a good chance at being approved by the voting members. However, statements are not supposed to be moved forward until both the writing team and

position statement committee have approved and agreed upon revisions. Apparently the last step was overlooked. In five years, once the statement is up for review again, we will be able to revise.” After reading Brent’s e-mail, Jamie decides to refrain from replying to him because she can’t think of acceptable words that can articulate her frustration and disgust of the sequence of events. Jamie closes the door to this experience by realizing how it taught her what equality looks like when it is situated in white privilege both on the ground and at the organizational level.

The complete erasure of the sentence that replaced “hegemony” is indicative of the power and domination sustained through policy, protocol, and procedures. Bonilla-Silva (2010) claims,

Contemporary racial inequality is reproduced through ‘New Racism’ practices that are subtle, institutional, and apparently nonracial. In contrast to the Jim Crow era, where racial inequality was enforced through overt means (e.g., signs saying ‘No Niggers Welcomed Here’ or shotgun diplomacy at the voting booth), today racial practices operate in ‘now you see it, now you don’t’ fashion. (p. 3)

The literal erasure of the sentence removed the potential for arts education to be implicated in white supremacy through the position statement. Such erasure, or evasion, has “fostered another substitute language in which the issues are encoded, foreclosing open debate” (Morrison, 2000, p. 269).

When people galvanize around efforts of “diversity,” yet the system in which they must thrive is founded in white supremacist constructions, real change cannot occur.

van Dijk (2000) writes,

Racism, defined as a system of racial and ethnic inequality, can survive only when it is daily reproduced through multiple acts of exclusion, inferiorization, or marginalization. Such acts need to be sustained by an ideological system and by a set of attitudes that legitimate difference and dominance. Discourse is the principal means for the construction and reproduction of this sociocognitive framework. (p. 323)

The erasure of race-specific language is covert racial behavior that illustrates how macro-level (procedural) decisions impact micro-level activities. These established procedures, developed at the institutional level, are indeed smog. Situated tidily in the foundation of organizational development, white supremacy is normalized, promoting assimilationist policies that maintain white superiority (Gillborn, 2005), and, in this instance, securing arts education as white property.

Erasure, specifically the removal of the word hegemony, as well as the sentences that eventually replaced the term, can be characterized as a microaggression. Microaggressions “are acts of disregard that stem from unconscious attitudes of white superiority and constitute a verification of black inferiority” (Davis, 1989, p. 1576). Microaggressions, unconscious and subtle forms of

racism, are so pervasive and automatic that they are often dismissed as being innocuous (Solórzano, Ceja, & Yosso, 2000). Microaggressions are smog-like. They usually happen in small, intimate situations, thus the name “micro.” However, the impact of these behaviors is substantial and quite dangerous. As evidenced at the conclusion of Jamie’s story, microaggressions often result in people of color feeling defeated, inferior, and silenced (Solórzano et al., 2000).

Interestingly, when White people show microaggressions toward people of color, they may not even realize that they are exhibiting white supremacist behavior. Because Kim agreed to serve on a team to write about diversity, it can be assumed that she believes she is fair, empathetic, and without intent to subordinate knowledge. However, Sue (2010) claims that superiority can be so embedded in White psyche that microaggressions can happen unconsciously and without explicit intent of malice. Bonilla-Silva (1997) suggests, “Racially motivated behavior, whether or not the actors are conscious of it, is regarded as ‘rational’—that is, as based on races’ different interests” (p. 475). Intention is irrelevant, as it does not lighten the blow of the subordination of Black and Brown voices. Additionally, considering the intention of the offender decenters and deprioritizes Black and Brown people’s feelings of oppression. Bonilla-Silva (2010) writes, “The intentions of individual actors are largely irrelevant to the explanation of social outcomes... Racial analysis [is] ‘beyond good or evil.’ The analysis of people’s racial accounts is not akin to an analysis of people’s character or morality” (p. 54). Whiteness allows those who bare and embody it to benefit from varying institutional and social arrangements. However, Whites sometimes cannot make the connection that these benefits are linked to race (Bush, 2004). Whether intentional or unintentional, acts of erasure secure white power and white property.

CONCLUSION

[Whites] set up a system that benefits the group, mystify the system, remove the agents of actions from discourse, and when interrogated about it, stifle the discussion with inane comments about the “reality” of the charges being made. (Leonardo, 2004, p. 148)

White supremacy is a problem of power. The relationship between power and property is palpable (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Jamie’s experience is about how a system of domination fosters white ownership of arts education. Overt and covert racial behaviors such as rhetorical maneuvers, deracialization, microaggressions, and erasure leave wider structures and assumptions unchallenged, and thus white supremacy thrives (Gillborn, 1995). The abovementioned smog-like behaviors are investments that correspond to the need to maintain property and thus power. These property investments must not go unopposed. The implications of inadequately critiquing and calling out white supremacy are significant. Such irresponsible disregard can result in arts education research frameworks, discourses, policies, and practices functioning as

methods of hegemony and domination (Kraehe, 2015). Instead of arts education countering hegemonic tools and white supremacy, arts education can be a culprit in reinforcing and furthering these structures. Additionally, acts like deracialization and erasure allow the dominant group to evade the topic of race. Such avoidance belittles the experiences of people of color, who cannot ever evade race issues because they must perpetually function within whiteness, and thus as a racialized “other” (Picower, 2009).

The arts education organization in Jamie’s story desired to address diversity. Unfortunately, white supremacy was entwined with the “diversity” initiative of the arts education organization. White supremacy was also packaged with the organization’s claim of democracy—suggesting that all voices be heard equally was essential in the process of establishing a rhetoric of diversity for the organization, while simultaneously justifying a white supremacist framework with *procedures*. The most injurious type of racism is that which is masked in the claim of “equity.” White supremacy always results in control over another group’s reality. Thus, the ways people of color can navigate a field are restricted, regardless of efforts toward equity or diversity. This is how the smog impacts not only people of color but also well-intentioned White allies who recognize the need for energies to be put toward equity and diversity in art education. Bonilla-Silva (2010) writes,

Being an antiracist begins with understanding the institutional nature of racial matters and accepting that all actors in a racialized society are affected *materially* (receive benefits or disadvantages) and *ideologically* by the racial structure. This stand implies taking responsibility for your unwilling participation in these practices and beginning a new life committed to the goal of achieving real racial equality. (pp. 15–16)

All arts educators, but specifically those who are White, have a responsibility to develop a critical consciousness, identify the smog, and counter it with rigorous efforts to destabilize the neutrality and universality of whiteness. Efforts of destabilization primarily require a reflective and reflexive investigation of self (Acuff, 2015). White arts educators must consider how they have internalized the smog. Smog can enter through curriculum development, conceptions of art, conceptions of education in general, and philosophies of teaching. White arts educators need to check their level of investment in property ownership as it relates to arts education. They should consider if their property investments are explicit attempts to actively protect white supremacy. This means identifying one’s comfort level with examining aspects of race, racism, and racialized structures, as well as recognizing which procedures or policies are based on a construction of knowledge normalized by whiteness. This localized self-investigation can drive destabilization on a larger level, like being better able to identify and call out color-blind discourses that camouflage racial inequity (Kraehe, 2015).

Acknowledging the sites and mechanisms for white supremacy must be a priority if arts education is intended to truly serve everyone and belong to everyone. Arts education cannot continue business as usual, addressing social justice issues and developing initiatives to advance diversity and equity, without recognizing white supremacy as an ideological construct as well as an objective condition that reinforces hegemony. Arts educators must construct a consciousness regarding the way power functions and the reality of how that power can impede or advance what can be accomplished.

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The White Noise of Music Education: Unsounding the Possessive Logic of Patriarchal White Sovereignty in the Australian Curriculum

Elizabeth Mackinlay

INTRODUCTION

Definition: White Noise

1. Also called *white sound*
2. A sound containing a blend of all the audible frequencies distributed equally over the range of the frequency band
3. A steady, unvarying, unobtrusive sound used to mask or obliterate unwanted sounds
4. A constant background noise; *especially*: one that drowns out other sounds
5. Meaningless or distracting commotion, hubbub, or chatter
6. A form of torture using sound to create sensory deprivation, hallucinations and to weaken resistance¹

I ask my 8-year-old Yanyuwa² Aboriginal son what he heard in his music class today, knowing that they are learning about music from “Other” cultures. He replies, “we listened to a didjeridu player on the CD, and the teacher told us to

¹This definition was retrieved from the Merriam Webster dictionary online, 18 January 2017, <https://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/white%20noise>

²Yanyuwa refers to the group of Aboriginal people who are the sovereign Indigenous owners of country associated with Burrulula in the southwest Gulf of Carpentaria and the Sir Edward Pellew Islands in the Northern Territory of Australia.

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open our ears up wide because this was *real* Aboriginal music.” I ask him what he thought made the Aboriginal music “real.” He replies, “Well, the white teacher said there aren’t too many real Aboriginal people left anymore and that we were lucky to be able to listen to it.”

I listen to white parents waiting to pick up their children outside the classroom at the end of the school day. “I’m not happy about my child learning that song about the Aboriginal flag,” they say. “The lyrics talk about the color red and the blood that’s been shed and that’s just not appropriate for children of this age,” they say. There is a pause. They continue, “The school play they are doing next week about the history and experiences of Australian soldiers [ANZACs] at Gallipoli in World War One should be brilliant!”

I sit down with my Indigenous colleagues and a group of white music teachers in a professional development session on how to embed Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander³ perspectives into their music curriculum. It might be okay for primary school children, they say, but “their” music is not sophisticated enough for the level of musical analysis we expect and want from our students. “There’s nothing wrong with using the music of White composers who include Aboriginal sound instruments and chants,” they say.

I turn on the radio as I drive home from work. The voice of White singer/songwriter Missy Higgins is playing on the airwaves. “And if I listen to the sound of white, sometimes I hear your smile, and breathe your light,” she sings. I turn to look at the White person in the car next to me who mirrors the pleasure of the song as they sing along.

I lay down to sleep that night and the following quote from a man who is not white plays like a soundtrack in my head, “As a collection of everyday strategies, whiteness is characterized by an unwillingness to name the contours of racism, the avoidance of identifying with a racial experience or group, the minimization of racist legacy, and other similar evasions.” (Leonardo, 2004, p. 32)

In this chapter, I seek to “unsound” these and other occurrences of white noise in the music education curriculum in Australia. In this chapter, the term “white noise” is used to explicitly refer to the dominance of coloniality in relation to the ways in which Indigenous Australian peoples are captured and framed within music education discourse. Following Geonpul woman of the Quandamooka First nation and Indigenous Australian Critical Race Theorist Aileen Moreton-Robinson’s call for a critical analysis of the role of disciplines in “reinforcing the prerogatives of white possession” (2006, p. 391), I position music education within a historical and contemporary colonial matrix to consider the ways in which the “possessive logic” that Moreton-Robinson describes continues to privilege and sustain the white noise of “patriarchal white sovereignty” (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, 2011). She suggests such possessive logic operates ideologically and socio-discursively to form, mobilize, and regulate

³There are two groups of Indigenous peoples in Australia. The term “Aboriginal” refers to those Indigenous groups whose country is the mainland of Australia and “Torres Strait Islander” refers to the sovereign owners of the Torres Straits Islands, which sit between Australia and Papua New Guinea.

whiteness as a regime of power invested in “reproducing and reaffirming the state’s ownership, control and domination” (Moreton-Robinson, 2011, p. 647) of property rights. I extend Moreton-Robinson’s thinking to the realm of music education in Australia to suggest that patriarchal white sovereignty is also deployed in curriculum to “deny and refuse” the sounds of Indigenous Australian sovereignties (2011, p. 647).

My discussion does not follow easy lines and traverses three messy parts of inquiry. In the first of four unsoundings, I ground my work in my intersubjective experiences as a white-settler-colonial female music educator and ethnomusicologist working with Yanyuwa people, married to a Yanyuwa man and mother to two Yanyuwa children. In the second unsounding, I turn towards the ways in which music has been theorized through the lens of race by Radano and Bohlman (2000) and link their discussion of whiteness with colonial processes, specifically through Moreton-Robinson’s (2004, 2009, 2011) work on the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty, Maldonado-Torres’ (2007) thinking around the coloniality of being, and *Aboriginalist discourses* (i.e., Orientalism in the context of Aboriginal Australia) that continue to impose, mandate, and assume for white colonials “the power to create and the power to take [Indigenous] identity” (Watson, 2015, p. 73). In the third unsounding, I look specifically at the Foundation to Year 10 music education curriculum in Australia to consider the ways in which colonialist processes, the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty and Aboriginalist discourses continue to be deployed as white noise. In the fourth and final unsounding, I finish by questioning ways in which a “decoloniality of being” might begin to enter the realm of music education curriculum, contest outdated colonial, racial, and thereby musical categories of control, and enact a form of “epistemic disobedience” (Mignolo, 2009, p. 15) within/against the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty.

THE FIRST UNSOUNDING: MY POSITIONING AS WHITE MUSIC EDUCATOR

White-settler-colonial, ethnomusicologist, ethnographer, and music educator, cis-gendered and able-bodied, Buddhist and card-carrying Green, feminist, woman and wife, and mother and daughter. These are but a selection of the descriptors I might use to describe myself, and yet I am not certain they say very much about who I am and why it is that I come to be writing this chapter. They are certainly not discrete and neatly packaged identities but rather an entanglement of material, discursive and embodied experiences that shift and shape my positioning in, across, and through temporal spaces, marked as it is by varying shades and shadows of whiteness (after Vass, 2013).

Whitening my own story is crucial in this discussion of race and coloniality in Australian music education because as an ethnomusicologist-ethnographer-educator, the words I have shared with others have contributed to the white

noise, particularly in relation to the ways that Indigenous Australian musics as sovereign entities are sounded and heard. Like stories and truths in and of themselves, these descriptors I might give to myself, and those that are given to Indigenous Australian musics refuse to stand still. What follows is a poetic reading of this movement as a white-settler-colonial always already in relation with Indigenous Australian peoples (Denzin, 2006, p. 334). Fragments of paragraphs in papers that attempt positioning—as a young and naïve academic ignored completely, later written in justification, in other places as apology, sometimes in frustration and anger, yet now often and most frequently writing/righting/riting as ethical respect and relationship—are brought together here to give a sense of myself as white-settler-colonial, who, as critical pedagogy and arts education scholar Maxine Greene would insist, is “forever on the way” (1995, p. 1).

My Yanyuwa family and I sit and paint our bodies with white ochre [in preparation] to dance. Forty pairs of student eyes are upon us...What do they see in the actions of these four moving and animated bodies, three black and one white? (Mackinlay, 2003, p. 1)

Outside the walls of Western classrooms, Aboriginal women at Borroloola [*sic*] have the freedom to undertake a music education which enacts embodied Indigenous pedagogies on country...The question for me is, how do I as a non-Indigenous person with white power and privilege, make space in my music classroom for Indigenous ways of being, doing and knowing about music to take centre stage? (Mackinlay, 2008, pp. 2–3)

What kind of race-making are we engaging in when we use the terms ‘Indigenous Australian’, ‘Aboriginal’, ‘black’ and /or ‘native’? Do we perpetuate or resist colonised classrooms when we link music with Indigenous Australian students, peoples, cultures and knowledges? (Mackinlay, 2011, p. 19)

And this brings me to where I am right now, searching for that something else that my writing, research, teaching, and learning need to become because I am not there yet. Questions about the roles, responsibilities, rights/rites/writes, and relationships I hold as a white-settler-colonial woman hover in the air above my head, blowing a breeze with their resistant wings down into my heart that refuses rest. My writing and thinking has a distinctly “southern sentiment,” and here I am referring broadly to Connell’s (2007) term “southern theory.” By and large, the centre, metropole, Global North and “majority world does produce *theory*” writes Connell, while Australia is said to sit in the Global South—on the periphery, at the “ends of the earth,” far away in a colony (Connell, 2007, p. ix) and accordingly, far away from “producing theory.”

Our location in the Global South offers an alternative perspective on the ways that white-settler-colonial histories, discourses, subjectivities, and epistemologies take on paradoxical relationships with the knowledge systems of

Indigenous peoples in Australia. Indigenous Australian histories, discourses, subjectivities, and epistemologies contest and converse white-settler-colonial positions. These relationships sit precariously on the edge between eradication and ethical engagement, exploitation and self-determination, racism and reconciliation, justice and “just us”; never comfortable, never at rest. Perhaps, as I have suggested elsewhere, this is as it should be, for there is danger of complicity and complacency when contentment becomes the status quo for white-settler-colonials like me (Mackinlay, 2012). Bringing a Global South perspective into Global North discourses then, presents itself as an open moment for unsounding white noise and myself as a music educator and makes possible alternative ethico-onto-epistemological curricular, classroom, and pedagogical positions and performativities in Australian music education.

THE SECOND UNSOUNDING: THEORIZING WHITE NOISE AS POSSESSIVE LOGIC AND A COLONIALITY OF BEING

Unsounding white noise theoretically in Australian music education requires a series of interpretive turns across and around several ways of thinking about the entanglements of race, whiteness, and coloniality with music and education. The complexities in constructing this choreography of theoretical moves lies partly in the slippage and conflation between terms such as race, black, white, non-Indigenous, Indigenous, and the multitude of meanings they take on, as well as their significations as they shift and travel across Global North and Global South locations. It is difficult to know which way to enact each and if/when whose turn it is to take a turn; knowing that Critical Race Theory plus whiteness studies plus decolonial studies in and of themselves are not monolithic but complex discourses that have something significant to offer this critique; knowing too that my speaking position as white-settler-colonial woman may or may not have a discursive place, lest it too becomes indistinguishable as white noise. I wonder, which kind of white noise these words might become for you as a reader—for some, it may be the kind that allows you to sleep soundly in your position of white race power and privilege. For others, it may be one that continues the torture against racialized ethico-epistemo-onto-sensibilities, and I wonder about myself and others who do not sit in this binary but perhaps see ourselves sitting on the raw edge, swaying dangerously between both.

With that precariousness in mind, let me begin with Radano and Bohlman’s (2000) text *Music and the racial imagination*, which arguably broke the silence around critical discussion of race in relation to music. “A specter lurks in the house of music, and it goes by the name of race. For most observers, it hovers and haunts, barely noticed, so well hidden is it beneath the rigors of the scholarly apparatus” (Radano & Bohlman, 2000, p. 1). The collection of essays enters into dialogue around the performance of whiteness as inherently part of

the engagement and embodiment of race. Radano and Bohlman's work invited musicologists and music researchers more broadly to consider the ways in which music is racially heard and urged reflection upon the ways in which race itself enabled access across temporal and social distances to the musics of others. Such relational encounters, they suggested, worked paradoxically to at once construct and imagine the sounds of others, while situating the sounds of the West at the "centre" (2000, p. 16). Significantly, they asserted racial frames of whiteness were key to defining "civilized" musics, peoples and cultures, and by extension, ignoring, silencing, and/or eradicating the musical knowledges and practices of others who were not white (2000, p. 19).

Radano and Bohlman's work encouraged music scholars to engage theoretically, discursively, and practically with the challenges put forward by Critical Race Theory and whiteness studies (e.g., Frankenberg, 1993; Harris, 1993; McIntosh, 1992) in order to think differently about the white powers, privileges, perspectives, and performativities our research work held and enacted as particular kinds of colonizing listeners, fieldworkers, analysts, and writers. I use the plural deliberately here to suggest the multiple ways in which whiteness operates and utilizes inscriptions of social, cultural, and historical meaning to continually "stamp its claims to superiority, both morally and aesthetically speaking" over those it defines as its Others (Leonardo, 2004, p. 34).

While Radano and Bohlman's work makes visible the convergences of race, whiteness, and musical cultures, discussions are firmly centred on colonizing and colonizer relationships in the Global North. In relation to the *house* of Australian music education, I extend Radano and Bohlman's thinking to suggest not one but two ghosts walk hand in hand through the hallowed spaces of curriculum and classrooms, which go by the names of "white possessive logic" and the "coloniality of being." In her critiques of whiteness, Moreton-Robinson asserts race has shaped the development of institutions, such as law in Australia, in accordance with the "possessive logic of white patriarchal sovereignty" (2004, p. 2). Extending Hill-Collins' (1990) theorizing of "Eurocentric masculinist validation processes" and hooks' (2004, p. 17) framing of "imperialist white supremacist capitalist patriarchy" to sit explicitly within the racialized dimensions of the Australian colonial context. Moreton-Robinson explains that patriarchal white sovereignty is a "regime of power that derives from the illegal act of possession" of Australia in 1788 by the English Crown under the false authority of the legal doctrine of *terra nullius*, that is, land belonging to no one (2004, p. 2). From her standpoint as an Indigenous woman, legal scholar Irene Watson (2002, p. 253) describes *terra nullius* as a "tale" with a capacity to bury Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples alive through its own white-settler-colonial desire to survive via the physical, social, political, ontological, and epistemological possession of Indigenous others, and in doing so, keep on burying them. From this point on, the Crown held exclusive possession of the place now called Australia and "confer[red] patriarchal white

sovereignty on its citizens” according to a mode of rationalization which Moreton-Robinson (2004) describes as “possessive logic.”

Possessive logic operates ideologically, epistemologically, and discursively to “naturalise the nation as a white possession” and is “underpinned by an excessive desire to invest in reproducing and reaffirming the nation-state’s ownership, control and domination” (Moreton-Robinson, 2004, p. 2). The possessive logic of white patriarchal sovereignty, Moreton-Robinson suggests, is based on exclusion and deployed by defining who was/is white, and, who was/is *not* white, and thereby denying privilege to those it cannot and does not own—“the sovereignty of the Indigenous other” (2004, p. 2). While Moreton-Robinson’s discussion relates explicitly to the context of law, as an institution owned, controlled, and dominated by a colonial state, education in Australia also falls under the same white patriarchal regime. Responding to Moreton-Robinson’s earlier call to deconstruct and racialize whiteness (1999), Vass (2014) suggests that education is positioned and operated as a function of white property in Australia. Bodies of space (schools and classrooms), bodies of knowledge (curriculum), regulatory bodies (policy), and regulated bodies (teachers, students, parents, policymakers), all fall within the realm of white property and are subjected to and made subject by the colonialist processes which seek to define and control them.

If I pause for a moment and turn to the current Australian national curriculum as a particular kind of white noise aimed at masking, silencing, and erasing the unwanted sounds of Others, I can see such colonialist processes playing out quite distinctly. The precursor to the national curriculum, the *Melbourne declaration on educational goals for young Australians* (Ministerial Council on Education, 2008), stated that in enabling young people to live “fulfilling, productive, and responsible” lives, two goals must be met through education: in relation to promoting equity and excellence, Indigenous student learners and their communities must be valued, supported, and expected to achieve (2008, p. 7). Second, in terms of becoming active and informed citizens, all students must “understand and acknowledge the value of Indigenous cultures, and possess the knowledge skills and understanding to contribute to, and benefit from reconciliation between Indigenous and non-Indigenous Australians” (2008, p. 9). These two explicit goals paved the way for what is now called the “Indigenous cross-curriculum priority” in the current Australian national curriculum, developed by the Australian Curriculum, Assessment and Reporting Authority (ACARA). ACARA provides opportunities for “all young Australians to gain a deeper understanding and appreciation of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander histories and cultures, deep knowledge traditions and holistic world views” (ACARA, 2015a, n.p.).

Three key concepts inform this inclusion: Country/Place (connection to and belief systems), Cultures (language, ways of life, experiences), and Peoples (societies, kinship structure, and contributions nationally and globally). Lowe and Yunkaporta’s (2013) analysis of the Indigenous cross-curriculum priority reveals the original commitment by ACARA to embed Aboriginal and Torres

Strait Islander perspectives as core content across all learning areas has been watered down to “content elaborations” and therefore is not mandated or compulsory content. Lowe and Yunkaporta assert, “this sends the message to teachers that they are not required to teach Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of being, knowing and thinking” (2013, p. 4). This is clear evidence of a lack of “will, ability, or intention” to engage fully with the potential and possibilities of the Indigenous cross-curriculum priority for a new and self-determined Australian Indigeneity to be taught and learned (Lowe & Yunkaporta, 2013, p. 3). Their analysis shows the content elaborations are more often than not a factual accounting of content that requires very little higher-order thinking and largely pitched at middle primary students.

Significantly, the content elaborations are devoid of words such as *terra nullius*, colonialism, land rights, self-determination, and Indigenous autonomy that privilege Indigenous sovereignty (Lowe & Yunkaporta, 2013, p. 9). Instead, the content elaborations include other concepts, such as Aboriginal identity, colonization, assimilation, social justice, and reconciliation, all of which work to enact, as Tuck and Yang describe it, “settler moves to innocence [and an] attempt to reconcile settler guilt and complicity, and rescue settler futurity” (2012, p. 1). This is the white noise in the Australian curriculum that seeks to drown out and deny Indigenous Australian sovereignties, and thereby ensures that the possessive logic of white patriarchal sovereignty maintains its control on what is said, what is heard, and what becomes the authorized narrative.

The emphasis I have placed on colonialist processes is deliberate and I would like to make explicit the link between the enactment of possessive logic and white patriarchal sovereignty and a “coloniality of being” (Maldonado-Torres, 2007). Maldonado-Torres asserts that coloniality refers to “long-standing patterns of power that emerged as a result of colonialism, but that define culture, labor, intersubjective relations, and knowledge production well beyond the limits of colonial administration” (2007, p. 243). An expression of imperialism, conquest, and genocide, coloniality, according to Maldonado-Torres, is an “order of things” (2007, p. 247) framed by global capitalism and domination structured around the idea of race. Maldonado-Torres (2007, p. 244) describes this order as a vertical classification whereby some “identities depict superiority over others”.

Such superiority is premised on the degree of humanity attributed to the identities in question. The “lighter” one’s skin is, the closer to full humanity one is and vice versa (Maldonado-Torres, 2007, p. 244). Grosfoguel (2011) suggests what transpired from such “coloniality of power” is not only a “global racial/ethnic hierarchy that privileges European people over non-European people” but “an epistemic hierarchy that privileges Western knowledge and cosmology over non-Western knowledge and cosmologies, and institutionalized in the global university system,” and “an aesthetic hierarchy of high art vs. naïve or primitive art where the West is considered superior high art and the non-West is considered as producers of inferior expressions of art” (p. 10). Building on the work of Quijano (1992), Mignolo (2011) states that coloniality

of power and coloniality of being exist and are deployed through “the colonial matrix.” The matrix has four “heads” of management and control—the economy, authority, gender and sexuality, and knowledge and subjectivity (Mignolo, 2011, p. 8). According to Alcoff (2007), this matrix “produces, evaluates and manages the colonial difference” (p. 87), or in other words, the way in which colonial power produces a hierarchical framing of “us and them.”

Watson (2015) notes the ways in which a coloniality of being and a coloniality of power continue to operate through Aboriginalist and colonially complicit disciplines such as anthropology, ethnomusicology, and education. These operations construct Indigenous Australian identities through master texts that impose, mandate, and assume power *of* and power *over* (2015, p. 73). Described by McConaghy (2000) as Orientalism in the Australian context, Aboriginalism produces authoritative and essentialist “truths” about who, what, why, and how Indigenous Australian peoples were, might, and can “be.” Aboriginalism exists as a romantic and nostalgic celebration of a homogenized Indigenous Australian people: the “noble savage,” fixed and locked as “primitive” in a distant pre-colonial past, untainted by progress and development. The solitary figure of a dark-skinned Aboriginal man, positioned in a remote location, standing on one leg, dressed in a *lap-lap* while holding a spear, is an enduring and recurring image of a “real” Aboriginal person. Other images depict two Aboriginal men sitting cross-legged on the ground, wearing red woollen headbands and with bodies painted white, one playing didjeridu and the other accompanying him on clapsticks.

Such images can be seen on the cover of several historical and current anthropological and music texts about Australian Indigenous peoples—the works of A.P. Elkin (1964), Les Hiatt (1986), and Ronald Berndt and Catherine Berndt (1986) come to mind. Aboriginalism thus operates as a strand of colonial discourse that “generally represents Aboriginality as having a pure and authentic quality untouched by historical and cultural change” (Bradford, 2001, p. 15). It is a convenient colonial narrative that reproduces the white fantasy of peaceful settlement and exercises a public pedagogy of forgetting (Mackinlay & Chalmers, 2014) in relation to the historical and ongoing effects of colonization on Indigenous Australian peoples.

Through Aboriginalism, then, Indigenous Australian peoples are made into an object of knowledge over which non-Indigenous Australians, as dispensers of truth about their needs and requirements, exercise colonial control and power (Attwood, 1992, p. ii). There is a double movement inherent within Aboriginalism, played out on the one hand as a fascination with and desire for the “exoticness” of the culture of the colonized, coupled. On the other hand, it plays out as an equally strong desire to suppress Indigenous Australian peoples’ capacity to speak, perform, and enact agency or authority in relation to truths about themselves. Aboriginalism is an expression of the power of the colonizer over the colonized and is complicit with the European invasion and the dispossession of Indigenous Australian sovereignties—it is the biggest and loudest producer behind the sound of white noise.

THE THIRD UNSOUNDING: THE PERFORMATIVITIES OF WHITE NOISE IN AUSTRALIAN MUSIC EDUCATION CURRICULUM

In relation to the ways Indigenous Australian musical sovereignties are sounded by Aboriginalist discourse, Barney (2009) notes “images of Aboriginal men with painted bodies, didgeridus and clapsticks” reinforces the Aboriginalist expectation that the music of Indigenous Australian performers will be linked to a particular kind of sound that in and of itself is representative of “real Aboriginal culture” (p. 11). Traditional “tribal” singing in Aboriginal language, performance of didgeridu, and music accompanied by clapsticks have all become representative of a “real” Aboriginal sound in the contemporary Australian imagination. The early anthropological and ethnomusicological recordings of and writings about Indigenous Australian music in the remote regions of Central Australia and Arnhem Land by researchers such as Trevor Jones (1968), T. G. H. Strehlow (1971), Catherine Ellis (1966), Alice Moyle (1974), Richard Moyle (1979), Jill Stubington (1978), and Stephen Wild (Ross & Wild, 1984) created a canon of accepted knowledge about what constitutes the “real” practice and performance of Aboriginal sound.

These understandings were shared with the Australian music education community via such forms as the *Australian Journal of Music Education* and the Australian Society for Music Education (Mackinlay & Dunbar-Hall, 2003). These publications gave authoritative advice on how best to teach, analyse, and understand the musical cultures of Aboriginal peoples. An example that stands out as oscillating between a colonialist and anti-colonial perspective in music education is the work of Catherine Ellis. From the mid-1970s onwards, Ellis (1969, 1974, 1979) was vocal in her insistence that Aboriginal musics should be taught to both Indigenous and non-Indigenous students. But she warned of the dangers of teaching Aboriginal music through a Western lens. A key question for Ellis related to whether or not the inclusion of Aboriginal musics in the curriculum contributed to the “frightening responsibility for preservation or destruction of a great musical tradition” (1969, p. 24). She expressed concern for the disjuncture between the ways musical cultures are sounded in Aboriginal communities and the ways in which they are subsequently heard in classrooms. She suggested that in order to keep the purity of Aboriginal musics intact, music educators should not introduce European music to Indigenous children, and they should not allow Indigenous children to listen to music with instruments. Here, we see the white noise of Aboriginalism at play, one that refused to acknowledge and own up to the ways in which colonizer and colonized were already implicated in a complex and entangled relationship.

Ellis also urged music educators not to dismiss the sounds of “contemporary” Aboriginal musics as “inauthentic” and encouraged consideration of the significant social, historical, political, and cultural role that such musics have to play within Indigenous Australian communities. Ellis’ work is indeed an example of a colonialist paradox, for, on the one hand, she shows awareness of the ways in which Aboriginalist discourse and the possessive logic of patriarchal white sover-

eignty seeks to illegitimately determine what “sounds” as authentic Indigenous music, while, on the other hand, she plays into the white noise of Aboriginalist binary oppositions that work to construct real and authentic Indigenous musical identities as those “untouched” by the sounds of coloniality.

In relation to the arts as a learning area in the national Australian curriculum, the appearance and inclusion of Indigenous Australian musics appears to take a similar paradoxical colonialist approach. In the description of the Indigenous cross-curricular priority in the scope and sequencing document of the national curriculum for the arts, emphasis is placed on the value of learning about “living communities” while asserting the validity of oral traditions in Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander cultures that find “cultural expression in story, moment, song and visual traditions” (ACARA, 2015a, p. 23). Contemporary Indigenous musical realities as dynamic cultures are juxtaposed in this descriptor with a pre-colonial authenticity that is further cemented through understanding of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musics as the “first and most sustained Arts heritages in Australia and the world” (p. 9). The tension between asserting the survival of Indigenous musical cultures within/against colonial processes as an act of Indigenous agency and self-determination is alluded to and comes alongside an implicit assumption that if the “original” sound of Indigenous musical cultures remain in place, then the White fantasy of peaceful settlement can be sustained.

As a point of explanation within the Foundation to Year 10 music curriculum, the Indigenous cross-curriculum content elaborations are elusive. For each year and band level, the opening directive for the inclusion of Indigenous Australian perspectives reads: “Respond to music and consider where and why people make music, starting with Australian music, including music of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Peoples” (ACARA, 2015b, p. 4). Here the option for buying in or buying out of engaging meaningfully with Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander ways of being, doing, and thinking is offered to music teachers, and Indigenous musical cultures become subsumed under the umbrella of “Australian” music. In this way, Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander musics become subject to the possessive logic of patriarchal white sovereignty, which determines when and on what grounds the musical sovereignties of Indigenous peoples might be recognized. In this case, only when Indigenous Australian musics can be seen to be “inclusive” of and within mainstream white culture can they be legitimated.

The internet sounds some of the largest volumes of white noise available to music educators. At one level, this is perhaps the reason why ample weblinks and online resources associated with contemporary Indigenous performers are supplied to teachers in the content elaborations across all year levels—hip-hop artists, rappers, and dance performers. On another level, there is recognition that publicly available recordings by contemporary artists are more easily “possessed” (i.e., purchased, bought, and sold as commodity) by non-Indigenous listeners, and following the protocols associated with songs and performance more closely associated with the enactment of Indigenous Law is therefore considered not necessary. The sounds of Indigenous Law are smothered and

silenced in a desire for “easy” access, even though protocols for the inclusion of traditional and contemporary Aboriginal musics are offered as a resource. For example, nowhere in the curriculum are music teachers required to consider whose Indigenous lands they stand upon when they teach, learn, hear, and perform music education. The only noise they hear is white noise, the sound of patriarchal white sovereignty. Similarly, they are not required to consider the ways in which Indigenous musical sovereignties have sounded and continue to sound on country and place before, through, and in the current reality of coloniality. The kind of ethico-onto-epistemological work required by music educators to include Indigenous perspectives in their curriculum and classrooms through interrogation of the coloniality of power and being is immense, and while this manner of inclusion remains an “optional extra,” the default position will continue to be to acquiesce to the sounds of white noise.

THE FOURTH AND FINAL UNSOUNDING: DECOLONIAL INTERFERENCES IN THE SOUNDS OF WHITE NOISE

When I think about white noise through the lens of race, I hear the frequencies of the coloniality of being, the coloniality of power, and the possessive logic of white patriarchal sovereignty in the Australian music curriculum. When I think about the kind of interference patterns required to alter the “order of things” and make space for Indigenous Australian musical sovereignties in curriculum and classrooms, I hear the words of decolonial scholars such as Mignolo asking for “epistemic disobedience” (2011, p. 9) and Lugones (2010) urging us to resist the “fractured [the] locus of the colonial difference”(p. 748) in order to delink from the colonial matrix.

When I think about my own practice as a music educator, I see myself standing in the academy teaching future teachers and occasionally entering into primary classrooms to work with young children as a specialist teacher. Sometimes, I even have the privilege and possibility to silence the white noise of the Australian curriculum and make space for Indigenous musical sovereignties to be heard. When I think about where to begin, I cannot be certain of which way to go, but I sense here in the Global South a place to start lies in understanding that the “knowledge we choose to produce has everything to do with who we are and how we choose to act in the world” (Sium, Desai, & Ritskes, 2012, p. viii). Am I content as a white-settler-colonial woman to sit firmly within Aboriginalist discourses that deny Indigenous agency, self-determination, and sovereignty in my music education praxis? Am I content to choose the “buy out” option and resist doing the hard ethico-onto-epistemological work in relation to the ways I understand, engage with, and represent Indigenous Australian musics in my music education curriculum and classroom as a colonizing listener? Is the inclusion of Indigenous Australian musics in education really about justice or is it about “just us,” and how can it be otherwise? Why might a decolonial option be worth engaging with and what kind of sound would it make in music education?

When I feel I am close to answering these questions, another appears; it relates specifically to the kind of dialogue and conversation I have with Indigenous Australian peoples—how open is my heart and mind to letting go of my white race power and privilege as a music educator to unsound coloniality? Who is really being empowered if I do not ask difficult questions about the ways in which the coloniality of power and being in these spaces is produced, reproduced, or interrupted? For Lugones (2010, p. 746), any move towards decoloniality is a praxical one, performed in social and material relationality with bodies of resistance—indeed, while “colonialism may actively shape the world...it can also be made malleable, forced to show the cracks in its walls, and forced to retreat through struggle against it” (Sium et al., 2012, p. ix). Here, in the interference patterns of decoloniality, there is hope for an ethico-onto-epistemological praxis. Such praxis may remain a tangible unknown, but it is now up to us, as teachers-as-learners-as-researchers, to fight and reach for it beyond the sounds of white noise.

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What's Wrong with this Picture? Interrogating Landscapes of Inequity in Art Education

Sunny Spillane

This chapter discusses an ongoing arts-based research project that maps relationships between race, socioeconomic status, and measures of school quality in order to visualize systemic educational inequities and interrogate art education's role in perpetuating them. The project was initially conceptualized as a way of challenging deficit-based characterizations of urban students, particularly low-income students of color, and highlighting the ways these characterizations (mis)inform perceptions of school quality. Building on a pilot project completed in 2013, I exhibited a series of ten map-based paintings and accompanying legends in October 2015 at the Curtis R. Harley Art Gallery at the University of South Carolina Upstate (USCU) in Spartanburg in a solo show entitled *Critical Cartographies: Visualizing the Landscape of Public Education in the Carolinas*.¹ The show was open for a month and included a workshop with art education students and faculty as well as a public artist lecture at the exhibition opening.

This project integrates two lines of inquiry that have been important anchors of my research and pedagogy: (1) advancing educational equity, including access to and participation in arts education, for marginalized and underserved students and (2) exploring intersections of creative practice with critical research methodologies and diversity pedagogy. The project's conceptual framework, which explored relationships between socioeconomic stratification, school segregation, and arts education, is informed by Critical Race Theory's (CRT)

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theorization of Whiteness as property (Bell, 2000a, 2000b; Harris, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Conceptualized as an activist intervention, the project used the public forum of a painting exhibition in a university art gallery to make connections with visual art education stakeholders, in this case, visual art and art education students and faculty at USCU. The exhibition explored ways to use the language and public presence of painting to instigate dialogue about the regional landscape of public education and engage critical reflection on the ways art education intervenes in that landscape. I came to visual art education from a studio background that includes a Masters in Fine Arts in Painting, and began my career in 2003 as an elementary art teacher in a low-income African American community in Tallahassee, Florida. My studio practice is grounded in abstract painting and has a particular kinship with American hard-edged abstraction and color field painting (see e.g. Ad Reinhardt, Mark Rothko, Joseph Albers, Odili Donald Odita). Although my work has a strong formal relationship with that tradition, I reject the historic dogma of abstraction as a purely visual or phenomenological expression without personal, emotional, narrative, or critical content. I came to abstraction through landscape painting, and much of my studio work is still connected visually and conceptually to landscape forms and spaces. This connection is reflected in my current interest in mapping and data visualization, as exemplified in this project.

As a White art educator doing critical race research, I recognize that systemic racial inequities in art education are perpetuated in the unexamined practices of individual art educators, including myself. This recognition is grounded in my experience interrogating my own failures of Whiteness over the course of my art education career (Spillane, 2015). Many of these failures are related to the invisibility of Whiteness as a racial category to White people, which is one reason I choose to capitalize “White” in this manuscript.² Because of the many ways in which Whiteness has hijacked my efforts to dismantle its power in my own art education practice, this project also entails a frank examination of my investment in white property as an artist and university art educator. The self-study aspect of this project was largely undertaken through this writing. The following questions, which emerged through the process of creating, exhibiting, and writing about this project, guide this inquiry:

- How do university art education programs prepare pre-service teachers to engage the landscapes of inequity visualized in these paintings?
- In what ways are public schools and communities privileged or marginalized in art education practices such as practicum placements and student teaching?
- In what ways is this project effective in achieving its aims of connecting with art education stakeholders, opening up public dialogue, and instigating critical reflection?

²In this chapter I capitalize Black and White as proper nouns referring to groups of people. When quoting other authors’ work, particularly that of critical race scholars of color, I honor their choices regarding capitalization of racial terms, leaving their original language as is.

LITERATURE REVIEW

This project was informed by CRT's theorization of Whiteness as property (Bell, 2000a, 2000b; Harris, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). Critical race legal scholar Cheryl I. Harris (1995) explained how Whiteness became a kind of property during the period of slavery—although not all Black people in the United States were slaves, no Whites were slaves. When slavery became encoded in law, Whiteness became a definitive protection against enslavement. Harris (1995) stated:

Because whites could not be enslaved or held as slaves, the racial line between white and black was extremely critical; it became a line of protection and demarcation from the potential threat of commodification, and it determined the allocation of the benefits and burdens of this form of property. White identity and whiteness were sources of privilege and protection; their absence meant being the object of property. (p. 279)

Bell (2000a, 2000b) also wrote about the property value of Whiteness, arguing that the United States Constitution was primarily intended to protect the property rights of White elites, rather than their inalienable human rights. To support this assertion, he pointed out the wide economic disparities engendered through exploitation of African American labor. Wealthy white property owners benefitted economically from Black enslavement, while poor Whites maintained a property in Whiteness that masked the economic injustice they suffered and persuaded them to support policies that harmed them materially.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) drew on Harris' (1995) work by connecting her conception of the property functions of Whiteness more specifically to the field of education. Among the functions they discussed are two notions that were particularly relevant to this work: Whiteness as reputation and status property and the absolute right to exclude (from Whiteness). Ladson-Billings and Tate asserted that “to identify a school or program as non-white in any way is to diminish its reputation or status” (1995, p. 60). As an example, they argued that bilingual education programs designed to help immigrant children of color acquire English as a second language have a much lower status than foreign language immersion programs for elite White students. Additionally, they described the differences between the reputations of urban and suburban schools and how suburban schools that see large influxes of urban students (particularly students of color) find their reputations suffering. Ladson-Billings and Tate also described Whiteness as “the absence of the ‘contaminating’ influence of blackness” (1995, p. 60). In the context of education, African American children historically were denied access to schooling and then were sent to legally segregated schools. In contemporary US society, the right to exclude is illustrated by such phenomena as “White flight,” the large-scale migration of Whites from racially integrated urban areas to predominantly White suburban areas and the *de facto* segregation of public schools through magnet programs, school choice, charter schools, ability grouping or tracking, gifted programs, and Advanced Placement classes (Daniel, 2004; Duncan-Andrade & Morrell, 2008).

Scholarship on school choice, desegregation, and accountability supports Ladson-Billings and Tate's (1995) characterization of Whiteness as a form of educational reputation and status property, with one of its functions being the absolute right to exclude. Daniel (2004) described how accountability and school choice in the form of vouchers and charter schools perpetuate school segregation by privileging achievement over racial equity. Private and charter schools are largely free to carry on discriminatory enrollment practices that are illegal in public schools, resulting in White flight to these schools and entrenched racial inequity in public schooling. Dougherty et al. examined "one of the nation's oldest and largest choice systems: the willingness to pay for better public schools through the private real estate markets of suburbia" (Dougherty et al., 2009, p. 523). Their study quantified how much more homebuyers were willing to pay to live within preferred school boundary lines in West Hartford, Connecticut, based on student test scores and school racial demographics. The study analyzed data over a ten-year period from 1996 to 2005. In reporting their findings, Dougherty et al. compared data from years prior to 2001 and years after 2001, when school accountability and demographic data became more widely accessible to prospective homebuyers through the Internet. While test scores and race were both found to have impacted homebuyers' choices pre- and post-2001, race had a far greater impact on suburban homebuyers' choices after 2001. Prior to 2001, homebuyers were willing to pay \$2641 more for a 12% (1 standard deviation) increase in test scores and \$435 more for a 13.8% (1 standard deviation) decrease in students of color enrolled. After 2001, homebuyers were only willing to pay \$1054 more for a 12% increase in test scores, while they were willing to pay \$7468 more for a 13.8% reduction in students of color enrolled.

Scholarship on teacher retention and school accountability also supports the characterization of education as white property. Clotfelter et al. (2004) found that North Carolina's school accountability system made it more difficult for low-performing schools to attract and retain high-quality teachers. In North Carolina and across the United States, federal education law requires each state to demonstrate high levels of achievement in reading and mathematics for every student through their performance on standardized tests. Schools and teachers are held accountable for student achievement, receiving bonus pay and additional funding for high achievement and facing threats of job loss and school closure or restructuring for persistent low student achievement. This study found that North Carolina's accountability system increased teacher turnover in low-performing schools, creating an unstable educational environment for students and families. In the authors' view, the increase in teacher turnover undermined these schools' ability to raise student achievement, further marginalizing low-performing students who were already at risk of academic failure.

Students in low-performing schools are also marginalized in terms of their access to arts education. The President's Committee on the Arts and the Humanities (2011) reported that low-performing schools serving high-need students often provide the fewest opportunities for arts learning. Similarly, a

United States Government Accountability Office (2009) study showed that schools serving the highest numbers of low-income students and students of color reported decreased arts instructional time between the 2004–2005 and 2006–2007 academic years. My own teaching experience anecdotally supports these findings. Responding to pressures of the No Child Left Behind Act (2001), which held schools and teachers accountable for student performance on standardized tests of reading and math, the administration at the school where I taught reduced instructional time in art and music classes from 50 to 30 minutes per week in order to increase instructional time in reading and math. Additionally, arts education budgets for instructional materials and supplies were reduced and those funds redirected to the general education curriculum, while our lowest performing students were routinely pulled out of arts classes for tutoring in reading and math. These conditions made it difficult to develop and sustain robust arts education programs, and the students most at risk of academic failure had the least access to these programs.

In their meta-analysis of arts equity research in urban education Kraehe, Acuff, and Travis (2016) reviewed 32 studies published between 2008 and 2013, a time period during which No Child Left Behind (2001) had been fully implemented. Their review was exploratory and examined the following questions: “What is known about equity in arts education in the United States? And what role does arts education play in maintaining and challenging educational disparities?” (Kraehe et al., 2016, p. 220). Their analysis used a framework for understanding educational equity in the arts that encompassed the following interrelated dimensions: *distribution* of material resources (such as funding and instructional staff); *access* to arts education; *participation* in arts education by members of minoritized communities; *recognition* and inclusion of diverse perspectives, aesthetics, and forms of expression; *effects* of educational structures, policies, and practices; and personal and social *transformation* resulting from empowering arts education experiences and actions. Although they acknowledge the limited number of empirical studies focused on arts equity in urban education, their review found disparities in all these dimensions of (in)equity that are predictable by race and socioeconomic status.

Other art education scholars have noted the predominance of Whiteness in the teaching force and in art education curriculum and pedagogy as indicators of educational inequity (Acuff, Hiram, & Nangah, 2012; Cosier & Nemeth, 2010; Desai, 2010a, 2010b; Knight, 2006a, 2006b, 2013; Kraehe & Acuff, 2013; Spillane, 2015; Whitehead, 2012;). While the public school student population is growing increasingly diverse, this diversity is not equally reflected in the teaching force (Davis, 2009; Kozol, 1991; National Education Association, 2003; Zumwalt & Craig, 2008). Pre-service art teachers, like most pre-service teachers, are predominantly White, middle-class women from suburban backgrounds (Cosier & Nemeth, 2010; Desai, 2010a; Galbraith & Grauer, 2004). These future art teachers may be underprepared to work with diverse students for reasons ranging from lack of experience with diversity to internalized deficit-based attitudes toward students and communities of color.

Additionally, because White privilege is often invisible to White people, it is easy for White teachers to perpetuate curricular choices and pedagogical approaches that centralize and normalize Whiteness by default, as in the visual art education many of us likely experienced. Kraehe et al. (2016) discussed this in relation to *recognition* as a dimension of equity in arts instruction (Bequette, 2009; Campana, 2011; Li, 2012). Their synthesis of these studies emphasized

how re-presentations of artists and works of art matter a great deal insofar as arts instruction will either reinforce micro-inequities through the normalization of discourses derived from a monolithic art canon, or support the deconstruction and reconstruction of hegemonic art curriculum by centering irreducible differences in artistic practices, values, and meanings. (Kraehe et al., 2016, p. 232)

The scholarly literature cited above indicates that art education is invested in white property along multiple dimensions of (in)equity. This project maps aspects of the educational landscape in the Carolinas and the Southeastern United States in order to understand the ways art education intervenes in these landscapes, asking the following questions: How do university art education programs prepare pre-service teachers to engage the landscapes of inequity visualized in these paintings? In what ways are public schools and communities privileged or marginalized in art education practices such as practicum placements and student teaching? In what ways is this project effective in achieving its aims of connecting with art education stakeholders, opening up public dialogue, and instigating critical reflection? The next section details the project's methods of investigation and analysis.

METHODS

This project was conceptualized as a form of critical-activist arts-based research (Rolling, 2013). This approach to arts-based research views art as “a system of critical reflection, a relativist and liberatory activity rendering invisible assumptions, values, and norms newly visible in order to alter the status quo, as well as transform and critique unjust social relations” (Rolling, 2013, p. 10). This project maps relationships among measures of school quality, socioeconomic data, and racial demographics in public elementary schools. While these data are publicly accessible, they are not commonly presented to the public in ways that clearly visualize systemic racialized educational inequity. Rather than claiming to newly reveal these relationships, this project uses the public forum of a painting exhibition in a university art gallery to engage art education stakeholders in dialogue and instigate critical reflection. This is undertaken through social engagement with art education students and faculty at USCU during a workshop and gallery talk and through analysis and critical self-reflection on the project's effectiveness. This section describes the project's methods including data collection and analysis, the painting process, and the role of public engagement.

Data Collection and Synthesis

For the *Critical Cartographies* exhibition, I created ten paintings and accompanying legends, each of which visualized educational and socioeconomic data for a different city in the Carolinas and the South. To create these paintings, I purchased commercially available street maps of each city that indicated zip code boundaries and locations of public elementary schools. The cities represented in the exhibition were Charlotte, Greensboro, Winston-Salem, Raleigh, and Durham in North Carolina; Charleston, Columbia, and Spartanburg in South Carolina; Richmond, Virginia; and Atlanta, Georgia. The street maps were then collaged onto wood panels to facilitate the painting process and to prepare the works for public display.

I began the paintings of cities in North and South Carolina by obtaining school accountability data from each state's department of the education website. For North Carolina I used data from the 2014 to 2015 school year (<http://www.ncpublicschools.org/accountability/reporting/>) and for South Carolina I used data from 2014 (<http://ed.sc.gov/data/report-cards/state-report-cards/2014/>). Both North and South Carolina synthesized and reported this data using letter grades from A through F, a system for coding academic performance that is commonly used in individual student report cards in the United States (referred to hereafter as "school accountability grades"). In the paintings of Richmond and Atlanta, I used racial demographic data from the 2013 to 2014 school year for each school instead of school accountability data, which I obtained from the National Center for Education Statistics (<http://nces.ed.gov/ccd/schoolsearch/>). While these two data points (race and school accountability grades) are not interchangeable, education researchers have noted strong and persistent correlations between race, socioeconomic status, and access to quality education (Daniel, 2004; Darling-Hammond, 2010; Clotfelter et al., 2004; Kraehe & Acuff, 2013). In each painting, I plotted either school accountability grades or racial demographic data for each public elementary school in the city. Each school's assigned data value was represented by a color-coded dot on the map. The color codes and data intervals for school accountability grades and student racial demographics were used consistently in each painting. This approach allowed viewers to see patterns in the data and make connections across communities, emphasizing the systemic nature of racialized educational inequity.

For the next step, I obtained socioeconomic data on median family income and median residential property values for every zip code in each city from the 2014 American Community Surveys of Selected Economic Characteristics and Selected Housing Characteristics from the United States Census Bureau website (factfinder.census.gov). Using this data, I divided each painting's background into color-coded sections that reflected either family income values or residential property values. Contiguous zip codes with similar values were combined into larger areas for visual clarity. Unlike the color-coded dots representing school accountability grades and student racial demographics, I developed

unique color schemes for each city. This decision reflected both aesthetic and rhetorical considerations related to creating, exhibiting, and engaging viewers with the works. As an abstract painter who works in series, I often develop conceptual frameworks that connect multiple artworks in meaningful ways, while also leaving room for creative improvisation within each piece. In this project, I worked with a highly structured visual and conceptual framework with a strong sense of where the process might lead. The creative freedom to play with color in each painting helped sustain my engagement through the more tedious aspects of creating the works. This also helped me conceptualize the exhibition design, both aesthetically and rhetorically. I wanted viewers to encounter a room full of clearly related but visually distinct artworks, prompting them to look for patterns within, between, and across multiple paintings. I also wanted to sustain their aesthetic interest in spending time looking closely at the paintings, rather than simply presenting charts and graphs that might be less engaging visually and conceptually.

Painting as a Medium and Process

In making these works, the relatively slow, laborious process of painting (as opposed to faster digital methods of data visualization, for example) created conditions for me as the artist-researcher that invited slow thinking about the data relationships that informed them. The painting process allowed me to become intimate with each city as I outlined clusters of neighborhoods and plotted individual schools within them, moving back and forth between looking closely at a section of a painting/city and looking at the landscape as a whole. This slow process involved moving between creative and analytic thinking—choosing color schemes for each city, deciding on data intervals for differentiating ranges of household income or residential property values, assigning color scales to school data values, and making sense of these visually in each painting's composition. In the context of the exhibition, these images are in dialogue with one another, allowing viewers to construct coherent narratives within and between them.

Activating the Gallery Space as a Site of Public Dialogue

This project may be characterized as a form of public, community-engaged scholarship with a critical/activist orientation (Whiteford & Strom, 2013). It has an explicit goal of challenging deficit-based notions of school quality that inform day-to-day practices in art education. This relates to CRT's emphasis on praxis, which is "understood as critically informed action in the service of social justice" (Zamudio, Russell, Rios, & Bridgeman, 2011, p. 7). As such, it was important that the paintings take on a life beyond the gallery wall, catalyzing critical reflection and constructive dialogue about the landscape of arts education. To facilitate this, I conducted a one-day workshop with art education students and faculty and a gallery talk during the exhibition opening. The art

education workshop began with an artist lecture about the paintings and their conceptual framework and methodology, which was followed by a lengthy question-answer session. During this portion of the workshop, I outlined the project's intentions of challenging deficit-based understandings of school quality and student achievement, using maps to visualize racialized educational inequity as a systemic problem, rather than a problem of individual school or student failure. In so doing, I hoped to prompt students to reconceptualize education as white property and begin to identify ways in which arts education is invested in white property. After this, I worked with art education students to help them begin conceptualizing their own arts-based research projects to explore an aspect of their practicum or student teaching experience. These small-scale reflective artworks were then exhibited in an adjacent gallery on campus for the duration of my exhibition. The gallery talk took place during the exhibition opening and consisted of a shorter version of the workshop talk and a question-answer session in the gallery.

DATA ANALYSIS

This section analyzes a selection of paintings from the *Critical Cartographies* exhibition through the lens of Whiteness as property (Bell, 2000a, 2000b; Harris, 1995; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995). I begin with an analysis of Greensboro and Raleigh because my own program at the University of North Carolina at Greensboro (UNCG) has a presence in these communities. I also include an analysis of Spartanburg since it was the site of the exhibition. Finally, I include an analysis of Atlanta, which adds another layer to the discussion with its use of racial demographic data instead of school accountability grades. I end the section with a discussion of salient conversations during the gallery talk at the exhibition opening. Discussions of the USCU workshop are included primarily in the Spartanburg section.

Greensboro

Greensboro is a small, racially diverse city with a rich civil rights history. It is also the poorest city with the lowest performing schools of all the North Carolina cities visualized in this project, with five "F" schools and no "A" schools. In 2015, Guilford County Schools, which includes Greensboro and High Point, was selected to receive Say Yes to Education funding (<http://sayyesguilford.org>). Say Yes to Education provides full college tuition scholarships to all graduating seniors from local public schools with a particular emphasis on traditionally underserved students. The selection of Guilford County Schools for this funding underscores the widespread level of educational need among public school students here.

This painting (see Fig. 32.1) plots school accountability grades of local elementary schools against a landscape fragmented along socioeconomic lines reflecting median family income. Because of my program's location in



Fig. 32.1 *Greensboro*, acrylic on street map collaged onto wood panel, 20 × 36 inches (By Sunny Spillane, 2015)

Greensboro, I was motivated to spend time getting to know this city through the painting process, which I expected to reveal patterns in my program’s reach and presence across this landscape. As I worked, I noted expected patterns in the locations of the highest and lowest performing schools, which were largely located in the highest- and lowest-income neighborhoods, respectively. I also noted the locations of the schools where my institution’s art education program has the strongest and weakest presence. Out of the 42 elementary schools included on this map, my program placed practicum students and student teachers in only 5 of these schools during the 2015–2016 academic year. Out of these five schools, three earned school accountability grades of “B” and two earned grades of “C.” All of the “C” schools are “Title I” schools³ that enroll 40–50% White students. The “B” schools, one of which is a Title I School located in a rural, predominantly White area, enroll 60–70% White students. As in most university art education programs, my students are predominantly White women who attended predominantly White suburban schools (Galbraith & Grauer, 2004). While my program provides my students with more exposure to racial diversity than they likely experienced in their own schooling, the schools we work with do not adequately represent the larger community of Greensboro. Our practicum and student teacher placement practices ignore large sections of this landscape, including many of the schools where our graduates often find their first teaching jobs. These are frequently the “D” and “F”

³This designation refers to Title I—Improving the Academic Achievement of the Disadvantaged—of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act (1965), which provides supplemental funding for schools with high concentrations of students living in poverty, along with fairly strict accountability measures designed to promote the academic achievement of every child.

schools, serving predominantly low-income students and students of color, which have the highest rates of teacher turnover (hence the availability of jobs to new graduates). Several things are wrong with this picture.

University art education programs like mine rely on relationships with public schools and their art teachers to prepare our students. In my program, these teachers are almost exclusively White and highly credentialed, with advanced degrees and/or National Board Certification. They also typically teach in the whitest and highest performing schools in the district, which are very much like the schools most pre-service art teachers attended. As a result, many of my students are underprepared for the kinds of teaching positions for which they are most likely to be hired. These practices perpetuate marginalization of lower performing schools, which often serve low-income students and students of color, in several ways. Teacher underpreparedness contributes to teacher turnover, which creates instability in educational programs in underserved schools (Clotfelter et al., 2004) and limits access to arts education for students who are already marginalized (Kraehe et al., 2016). Additionally, these lower performing schools do not receive the kind of ongoing attention and support from my university art education program that comes with practicum students and student teachers, resulting in inequitable distribution of arts education resources (Kraehe et al., 2016). When White pre-service teachers who attended predominantly White schools complete practicums and student teaching with other White teachers in predominantly White schools, Whiteness is galvanized as normative and art education resources are concentrated among a minority of predominantly White schools. In this way, art education is white property.

Raleigh

Raleigh is the state capital of North Carolina. It is also the most affluent city with the highest performing schools out of the cities visualized in this project. In contrast with Greensboro, which has five “F” schools and no “A” schools, Raleigh has no “F” schools and eight “A” schools. Unsurprisingly, these are concentrated in the city’s affluent suburbs. As this painting took shape, I reflected that one of my White students who grew up in the affluent Raleigh suburb of Cary completed nearly all of her practicum experiences in that community (see Fig. 32.2). As in the discussion of Greensboro above, this provoked unsettling questions about distributive equity and my program’s complicity in concentrating art education resources in privileged White communities. It also provoked questions about her preparedness to teach in other types of communities, potentially resulting in inequities in access, recognition, and potential for transformation (Kraehe et al., 2016). Nearly all of this White student’s experiences of art education were concentrated in a single, extraordinarily privileged segment of this landscape in which her limited prior experience with racial diversity was never rigorously challenged. This was a particularly egregious oversight on my part and is exactly the kind of unexamined day-to-day practice that maintains arts education as white property.



Fig. 32.2 *Raleigh*, acrylic painting on street map collaged onto wood panel, 25 ½ × 36 inches (By Sunny Spillane, 2015)

Spartanburg

Spartanburg, the location of the exhibition, is a small city in western South Carolina. I included Spartanburg in the project because I wanted local viewers, particularly USCU’s art education students and faculty, to have an opportunity to connect personally to the data relationships visualized in their community and to reflect on their own practices. Indeed, this painting prompted discussion of Spartanburg’s public schools during my workshop with USCU art education students (see Fig. 32.3). Students noted the stark contrast between the concentration of “D” and “F” schools in the city center and the “A” and “B” schools in the outskirts. However, instead of digging deeper into the kind of critical race reflection I hoped this painting would instigate, such as a discussion of systemic racism and its role in educational inequity, our discussions were hijacked by one White pre-service teacher’s deficit-based venting about student misbehavior and her frustrations with student motivation and classroom management. Even after my discussion of the paintings and their conceptual framework and the systemic inequities visualized in them, she remarked “well, now we know where to look for jobs—in the good schools!” This exchange is an indication of the project’s investment in Whiteness. While the paintings visualize recurring relationships between race, socioeconomic status, and student achievement, they may be just as open to deficit-based, White supremacist interpretations of these relationships as they are to critical race interpretations.

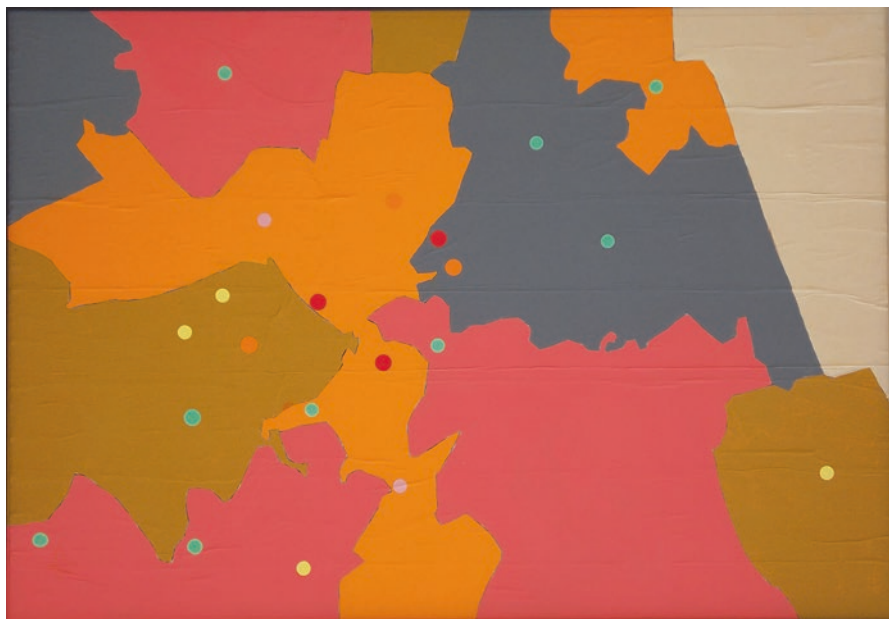


Fig. 32.3 *Spartanburg*, acrylic painting on street map collaged onto wood panel, 28 × 40 inches (By Sunny Spillane, 2015)

On their own, these images may not speak clearly enough about racial inequities in art education. These may be failures of my own Whiteness in the conceptualization and public life of the project. Even though I contextualized these images within a critical race framework for workshop participants, this interchange highlighted the limitations of a “one-and-done” session and suggested the need for more sustained engagement.

Atlanta

Although Atlanta is not located in the Carolinas, it is only a three-hour drive away from Spartanburg, and USCU art education students often travel there for museum exhibitions and other learning opportunities, as well as for leisure. I included it in this project so viewers might have an opportunity to connect personally with the data visualized in an image of a familiar city. For a variety of reasons, I used student racial demographic data associated with the city’s public elementary schools instead of school accountability grades (see Fig. 32.4). The restrictions of the paintings’ conceptual framework only allowed for two data sources to be correlated in a single image. This may indeed be a shortcoming of this project. Working within the project’s limitations, I needed to create different images in order to include a third data source—in this case, racial demographic data. This decision aligned with the

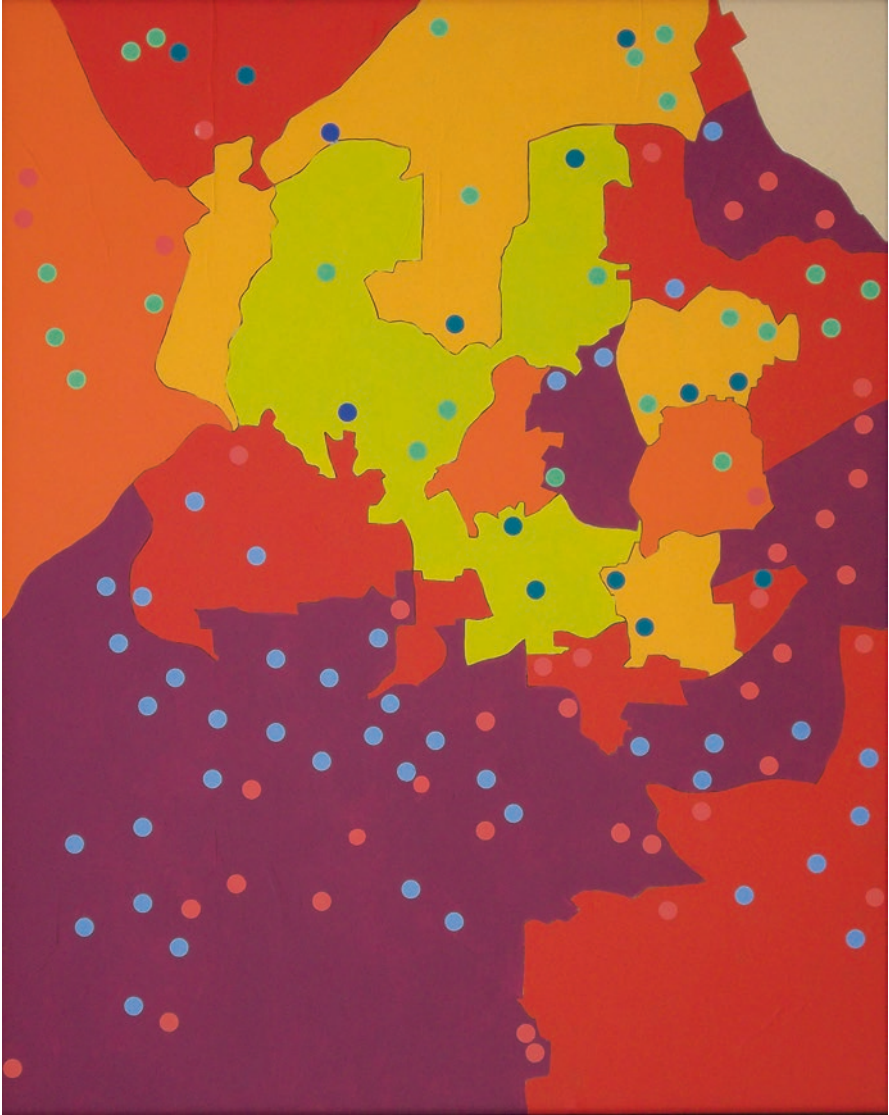


Fig. 32.4 *Atlanta*, acrylic painting on street map collaged onto wood panel, 45 × 36 inches (By Sunny Spillane, 2015)

project's CRT framework, which demands racial hierarchies be explicitly foregrounded and interrogated in order to challenge notions of colorblindness (Desai, 2010a; Gotanda, 2000; Zamudio et al., 2011) and related myths of meritocracy (Zamudio et al., 2011). To begin this painting, I calculated the percentage of White students in each public elementary school and visualized this data using color-coded dots that corresponded to intervals of 20 percentage points. I also included a color code for schools with statistically 0% White students. In this image of Atlanta there are 42 such schools, all of which are concentrated in the two lowest socioeconomic brackets, which together represent median family incomes of less than \$75,000 per year. These constitute approximately one-third of the public elementary schools in Atlanta.

My thinking in switching the school data from accountability grades to racial demographics was that viewers would be able to construct coherent narratives by noting consistencies in data relationships from painting to painting. I imagined viewers would see in some images that wealth was associated with access to high performing schools, and in others that wealth was associated with Whiteness, and that they would triangulate this data. I envisioned that they would conclude these relationships are predictable and systemic and that inequitable distribution of wealth and inequitable access to education resulted from societal racism. Because the association of wealth and Whiteness was particularly striking in Atlanta, I thought this image would especially strengthen the case for a critical race interpretation of these relationships. This proved a lot to hope for.

Gallery Talk

As discussed in the Spartanburg section above, even with supporting interpretive frameworks (artist statement, explicitly coded legends, gallery talk, and workshop) viewers were free to engage—or disengage from—the paintings' intended meanings and their import for art education practice on multiple levels. This was especially evident in the gallery talk. After giving an overview of the project's methods and conceptual framework, I opened the conversation to visitors' questions and comments. These moved between discussions of the "painting" aspects of each piece (the maps, color relationships, paint handling, composition, etc.), the explicitly coded meanings (in the legends), and data relationships between the works. One faculty member described the paintings as having layers of meaning, stating that viewers did not necessarily need the additional information in the legends or from the artist talk to appreciate the images as paintings. She described her own process of engaging with the images as beginning with their visual qualities, then looking to the legends for explicit data values, and then considering some of the repeated patterns in data from painting to painting in light of the artist statement and gallery talk. For viewers disposed to engage with all these layers of meaning, and reflect on their own relationship to these landscapes, this process could be very productive. In relation to this project's aims of connecting with art education stakeholders,

opening up public dialogue, and instigating critical reflection, however, the project could go further. The limitations of the paintings' conceptual framework and visual logic are such that viewers are free to disengage at any point in which they become uncomfortable or distracted. The project's use of status quo forms (abstract painting) and structures (gallery exhibition and artist talk) relies on a framework designed to give viewers space for individual contemplation and freedom to construct the meanings that make most sense to them. The modernist aesthetic conventions of viewing paintings in a gallery are such that unless viewers came to the exhibition prepared to dig deeper and inclined toward critical race interpretations, the project might remain a gallery show of abstract paintings. To an even greater degree than the art education workshop discussed in the Spartanburg section above, this painting exhibition would benefit from the inclusion of sustained public engagement that might support ongoing critical reflection and engender new understandings.

CONCLUSIONS AND CHALLENGES FOR ART EDUCATION PRACTICE

When we send pre-service teachers into the field for practicum experiences and student teaching, university art educators are exercising a form of school choice. Our choices can either reify the status quo, in which a minority of school contexts are privileged as normative, or work toward developing pre-service teachers' critical race consciousness and their capacity to change the landscape of art education. Through this inquiry, I found that my university's program only touches a small section of the landscape of art education in Greensboro, concentrating most pre-service teachers' experiences in schools that are substantially similar to those they themselves attended. These practices serve to bolster White art education students' own experiences and identities as normative, which invites deficit thinking and allows the experiences and identities of people of color to be pathologized. As discussed above, these practices contribute to inequities in access, recognition, and transformation (Kraehe et al., 2016) and galvanize art education as white property. These practices also concentrate art education resources such as highly credentialed art teachers, relationships with university programs, and access to assistance from pre-service art teachers in a small minority of schools that are already highly resourced. This results in distributive inequities (Kraehe et al., 2016) in arts education. This inquiry revealed the need for changes in the structure of my institution's program and practices so that they might be robustly invested in educational equity and not in maintaining art education as white property.

This project did prove effective in connecting with art education stakeholders, opening up public dialogue, and instigating critical reflection. However, its effectiveness was hampered in some ways by its investment in white property. While the paintings revealed art education's investment *in* white property, they

also revealed themselves *as* white property in their acquiescence to status quo forms and practices in the arts and education. Specifically, the project was too invested in modernist painting aesthetics and not invested enough in the kinds of sustained social engagement that might engender critical race understandings and instigate social action. While the paintings' obscurity and comfort with aesthetic distance may be at odds with their activist intentions, the project was still extremely valuable as a critical self-study. It revealed shortcomings in my own art education program, in which my practices were not aligned with my values as a social justice art educator. My own investment in white property as an artist and educator limited this project's ability to meaningfully change the landscape of arts education.

This project explored ways to use the language and public presence of painting to instigate dialogue about the regional landscape of public education and engage critical reflection on the ways art education intervenes in that landscape. It also revealed limitations of painting in the context of this project's social justice aims. The analysis indicated the need for more robust and long-term social engagement, perhaps including a reconceptualization of the project as a social art practice, rather than a studio art practice. While studio-based art practices are primarily focused on creating objects that engage viewers through aesthetic form, social art practices create situations or interventions that engage participants in relationships with one another and with social systems, communities, and institutions (Purves & Selzer, 2014). My investment in painting relegated the social aspects of this project to ancillary status, privileging the exhibition over the workshop and gallery talk. Going forward, these are important considerations for future iterations of this project in other contexts and communities.

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Tendus and Tenancy: Black Dancers and the White Landscape of Dance Education

Crystal U. Davis and Jesse Phillips-Fein

Crystal: “The proportions of her buttocks would make it difficult for her to be accepted into the ballet program,” explained a teacher to my mother on whether to apply to an arts magnet school. “The African influence in your choreography was so amazing to see,” commented an audience member on movement developed by a classically trained South Asian Indian dancer cast in my work. “You moved so well in the [modern dance] workshop today,” a colleague stated with exuberance, even though she knew my primary training is in modern dance. These are a few comments I, as a Black¹ dancer, have heard throughout my career. While one might argue that any dancer may have received such comments, as a Black dancer, my perception of these exchanges is that my skin color and physical body do not belong in concert dance and dance education. My training in ballet and modern dance is perceived to be deficient when performed by my brown, curvy, busty, muscular body type. Furthermore, with race overshadowing my creative endeavors, other aspects that influence my creative process are minimized. While this is a sample of my experience, I am not the only Black dancer with these sorts of stories (Hochoy et al., 2007). They are far too pervasive. Comments like these are microaggressions that invalidate the physicality of Black bodies, technical training of Black modern dancers, and Black creative identities. They speak to a larger issue regarding the

¹In addition to adhering to APA format, we choose to capitalize “Black” and “White” when referring to racial classifications as their meaning is no longer referring to skin color but to a social construct (American Psychological Association, 2010).

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place Black dancers are afforded within the field of concert dance in American dance education. The issue is not one of simple prejudice or ignorance about various dance forms or dance training but rather the effects of Whiteness within the field of dance.

Jesse: I grew up dancing at a studio where creativity and choreography were emphasized over technical skill. While this approach rebelled against the emphasis on the physical virtuosity of ballet within the dance world, it was also an enactment of White privilege in the unspoken assumption that the creativity of White students would be accepted and valued and that White students would not need to meet the standards of technicality in order to succeed. It turned out this second assumption was misguided. I was not able to get into the performing arts high schools because I lacked ballet technique. In college, I did not pursue conservatory programs because I would not be able to meet their requirements. Nevertheless, as a White dance educator, I have White privilege in numerous ways. My potential to teach any dance form is not questioned. Being White has protected me when I have been outspoken about matters of race, shielding me from severe consequences that my Black colleagues face. Thus, while often at odds with the racial hierarchy of the dance world, I benefit from Whiteness' homeownership of the field.

WHITE STUDIOS AND STAGES; BLACK BODIES AND BARRIERS

This chapter asserts that Black dancers are “renters” of Western dance forms, who experience conditional and tenuous access to the profession of dance and within dance education, while Whiteness is the “homeowner” that undergirds and regulates the permanent structures in the dance world. This homeowner status is indicative of Whiteness as an institutional and cultural force, not circumscribed solely to actions of individual White people. Scholars from a range of disciplines define Whiteness in overlapping and interconnected ways, including a presumed “European” heritage signified by light skin and associated phenotypic features, considered a “pure” race and the superior apex of humanity (Painter, 2010); an unmarked racial category operating as a universalized standard against which other racial groups are judged as different and deficient (Frankenberg, 1997); a set of cultural values constructed to be normative and thus experienced by whites as ordinary (Carter, 2007); the political, economic, and social privileges and advantages based on race (Lipsitz, 2006); and the social institutions created through colonialism to maintain power and accumulate resources for White people (Rasmussen et al., 2001).²

² Given the multiplicity of its uses and definitions, as a concept and term, “Whiteness” has been alternatively criticized for being imprecise, or too monolithic and over-generalizing, (Stein, 2001). But Whiteness itself is, as Black studies scholar Jared Sexton astutely describes, “supple, elastic, expansive, ambiguous, continually altered and bringing in new elements” (Sexton, 2008, p. 193).

In these ways, Whiteness maintains the structures of dance and dance education, defining its terminology, shaping its curriculum, and determining its evaluative measures (Harris, 1993). Black dancers are *tenants of exception*, only afforded particular historical moments or genre-related locations to highlight their talents, for example, being the first to perform professionally within a certain dance form or categorizing the work of Black choreographers as “Black dance.”³ We examine this renter-homeowner metaphor in dance education’s centering on ballet, modern, and Laban Movement Analysis;⁴ assessment of student and teacher work; and navigating educator-administrator relationships.

The authors, a Black dance educator with 12 years of teaching pre-K through higher education and a White dance educator with 15 years teaching pre-K-12, present their lived experiences of microaggressions and White privilege that result from Whiteness’ homeowner status in dance education. Microaggressions, Derald Wing Sue explains, are “the brief and commonplace daily verbal, behavioral, and environmental indignities, whether intentional or unintentional, that communicate hostile, derogatory, or negative racial [...] slights and insults to target the person or group” (Sue, 2010, p. 5). While there are a number of groups negatively affected by these microaggressions, we focus only on racial microaggressions in this chapter. Privilege, as defined in Critical Race Theory (CRT), is “systemically conferred dominance and the institutional processes by which the beliefs and values of the dominant group [in this case White people] are ‘made normal’ and universal” (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012, p. 57). In short, White privilege is the social and institutionally systemic benefits that White people receive simply by being White. Drawing from our practices, we offer recommendations for alternative pedagogical approaches and institutional policies that can interrupt the systemic inequity which results in microaggressions and White privilege.

Furthermore, while Whiteness is not a monolithic entity but rather lived through intersectional identities including gender, socioeconomic class, religion, historical circumstance, and geography, Whiteness nevertheless functions as the presumption of commonality, the sharing of a sameness. Erasure of its own mutable history and its conceptual instability functions to generate this sense of connectivity, a key component to White power structures’ reliance on bonds formed between White people. We believe it is worth the risks of simplifying White identity to elaborate how contemporary structures of Whiteness, in their *own* operations of overgeneralization, draw White people together to keep others excluded from networks of resources and power.

³While other marginalized racial groups experience this “renter” status, in this chapter we focus on Black dancers. There may be similarities in the experiences of dancers from other racial and ethnic backgrounds, but it is not fully commensurate with Blackness’ specific relationship to Whiteness (Sexton, 2010).

⁴Laban Movement Analysis is a movement theory developed by Rudolf von Laban. This movement theory system is used to generate, refine, and record movement using his theoretical language and symbol system (Bradley, 2009).

NAMING AND TERMINOLOGY: LAYING THE GROUNDWORK

How dance forms are named, defined, and categorized reflect the property rights of Whiteness in the field. The term *Western dance*, (Koepler, 2010) comprised of ballet and modern dance, separates these two forms from all other dance traditions, which are variously called *ethnic dance*, *multicultural dance*, and *world dance* (Foster, 2009). This terminology establishes the Whiteness of ballet and modern dance by presenting them as universal entities, without specific cultural and historical origins (Kealiinohomoku, 2001). While some Black dance forms, such as hip-hop and Chicago stepping, fall under these *non-Western* categories, they are created in the United States, in the so-called “Western world.” Western dance forms are the foundations of what is called *concert dance*, creating a hierarchical divide from dances known as *vernacular*, *social*, or *popular* dances (Dodds, 2011). Their exclusion from Western dance maintains its Whiteness.

Within concert dance, there is no category termed *White dance* (DeFrantz, 2002). However, the term *Black dance* exists as a subset or variation *within* (White) concert dance, while the labels of *ethnic dance* and *world dance* connote the dance forms of Others at the margins. This naming and categorization illustrates how Whiteness is the homeowner of concert dance, while *Black dance* is the conditional tenant to concert dance. Black dance is afforded a small portion of land measured out only for a specific and limited use of the property, while ethnic dance and world dance are nomads at the edges of concert dance. Western dance operates as the standard by which normalcy and proficiency are defined and against which all forms of dance are judged. If other forms can be sufficiently altered to adhere to Western dance’s aesthetic etiquette, they may be invited as “guests” to the stage but are never granted full access to ownership.

Whiteness’ homeownership of dance is powerfully summoned by defining what *technique* is and what it is not. When dancers, educators, and critics remark on physical skills, *technique* equates with formal dance training in the requirements of ballet and modern dance: vertical alignment, continuous linearity of limbs, flexibility extending from the torso as a singular unit, and pointed, arched feet (Dixon-Gottschild, 2003). For example, in the book *The Art of Teaching Dance Technique*, Carolyn Brown describes the qualities of a dance teacher in teaching technique: “Of course, she wanted our little feet pointed, legs turned out from the hips and tummies in, and all the usual kind of things” (Schlauch & DuPont, 1998, p. 6). As Dance Professor Raquel Monroe notes, her dance students fear losing out on technique when they take African-based classes (Monroe, 2011). By not recognizing that the skills listed above are the specific techniques of particular forms, ballet and modern, these skills become the standard foundation. What is missing from Monroe’s student’s statement is an awareness that *all* forms of dance require a technique of their own. African diaspora dance forms are still often considered simply as naturally acquired or easily absorbed through cultural and familial contexts, thus supposedly lacking the precision, discipline,

intentionality, or rigor of learned training implied in the word *technique*. The polyrhythms and polycentric orientations of African and African diaspora forms, for example, are not understood as complexity of coordination or a specific technical approach in their own right but rather interpreted as flailing and failing (Dixon-Gottschild, 2005).

CURRICULUM AND PEDAGOGY

The privileging of Western dance forms solidifies in their placement at the core curriculum of dance training, defining what professionalism is in the field. For nearly all higher education dance programs in the United States, ballet and/or modern dance technique are required courses, sending the message they are essential for the professional dancer to be self-realized. For example, the prestigious and most selective dance conservatory, the Juilliard School in New York City, lists ballet and modern as its fundamental dance technique courses, while jazz is an elective (Taylor-Smith, 2016). While some dance educators and dance programs acknowledge and include so-called “ethnic” or “world” dance forms in their curricula, with an inclination toward being fair and nondiscriminatory, they are rarely required courses. Within this structure, all other dance forms are subordinate to Western dance forms, demonstrated in their marginalization as elective classes, effectively acting to “spice up” the curriculum (hooks, 1992).

In order to “refine and tame” dance forms of the Other, they are annexed into White dance studios and stages through assimilating how they are taught. The customs of ballet are the pervasive pedagogical approach and design of the traditional dance class, regardless of the dance form being taught. The movement systems that emerge from other cultural contexts—par exemplar are the Black forms of tap, jazz, hip-hop—must conform to this structure in order to be permitted tenancy: the students stand in lines facing the teacher, the teacher demonstrates, and the student copies. Steps are broken down into small chunks and explained, the teacher corrects, and the student emulates and incorporates (Dixon-Gottschild, 2003). This results in a whitewashing of tap, jazz, and hip-hop, removing their Africanist movement principles and the meanings that the dance forms hold in Black communities.

Conversely, ballet is very rarely taught as a European folkloric dance; thus, it functions as a universal movement system against which other forms are defined and measured (Kealiinohomoku, 2001). Furthermore, dance history courses traditionally focus on individual ballet and modern dance choreographers. This mirrors modern dance’s emphasis on individual innovation and unique expression, enforcing the European Enlightenment notion of a rational and transcendental subjectivity and the illusion that an individual can exist and create completely separate from group identities (Kinelchoe & Steinberg, 1998). There is little analysis of the racism that is constitutive of the development of modern dance. For example, early modern dance pioneer Isadora Duncan considered her dancing as “controlled” and “harmonious,” in contrast

to the “chaotic” and “uncivilized” African body (Daly, 2002). Duncan’s idealization of Greek dance as the imagined classical root of White culture promoted a racial hierarchy (Painter, 2010). Ruth St. Denis, Ted Shawn, and Martha Graham appropriated dances and imagery from Indigenous American and East Asian cultures (Hochoy et al., 2007). These racial elements of modern dance history are eviscerated, protecting Whiteness’ homeownership. Whiteness maintains ownership of the landscape when any form is taught, divorced from historical context or cultural significance.

CORPOREALITY AND BODIES

Crystal: There were various messages that signaled my teacher’s distaste with my body. After sharing with all participants not to sit on the rubber therapy balls as they could break, I was the only member of the cohort with which this rule was enforced. There were also comments by teachers about how breasts should defy gravity as long as possible, a rather impossible task for fuller-breasted women like me. Between my body frame and my plus-sized, less than perky breasts, I was not afforded the same use of the props in the space or an equal valuation of my full chest size as the other thinner, smaller-chested members of my cohort.

Jesse: While I did not need to be concerned about my skin tone or hair texture, I had body shame because I had learned that the body was something which needed to be controlled. I struggled to make it adhere to the standards of ballet. I over-rotated my hips to the point of injury, I starved myself to not gain weight. Conforming to the expectations of Western dance was a damaging process even for me as a White dancer.

Dance terminology, technique, curriculum, and pedagogy reflect values ascribed through Whiteness to corporeality and extend to the perception of bodies themselves. Western Cartesian philosophy claims the mind is separate from and superior to the body, while Christian theology devalues corporeality as a site of profane carnality (Dixon-Gottschild, 1996).⁵ These undergird Whiteness as (dis)embodiment, a disavowal of corporeality (Foster, 2003). Accordingly, to be distinguished from “savage” and “uncivilized” bodies of color, the Whiteness of White bodies is related to their cultivation; in the field of dance, this equates with training in ballet technique. Bound up in the concept of dance technique is the implication of Whiteness as orderly and acculturated, while Black bodies are construed as closer to nature. Western dance becomes positioned as the “highest form” of dance *because* it requires mastery over the body, in contrast to the presumed “natural” dancing of Black people.

⁵These also affect the subordination of the entire field of dance, deemed inferior to other art forms because it is considered an act of the body, not the mind.

This composes a hierarchy among dance forms whereby White movement vocabularies signify what is dignified and refined, while the dance forms of Others are judged as uniquely exotic, overly erotic, dangerously wild, and potentially intoxicating (Rasmussen et al., 2001).

The unnamed presumption that Western dance *is* White dance oddly intertwines with the stereotype that “Whites can’t dance,” although these two statements appear to contradict each other. While applied to different spheres of dancing—the formal and the social—they are both based on the premise that White people cannot dance *naturally*, an assertion that reinscribes Whiteness as a distancing from one’s body. Appearing to be tepidly derogatory to Whites, “Whites can’t dance” actually rests on the racist assumption that Black people and others (naturally) can, and reflects the mind/body, White/Other dichotomy that aligns Others with corporeality. It is through the construct of Whiteness that dancing “naturally” is seen as an activity that belongs on Black bodies, while simultaneously relegating these bodies and their dances outside the realm of “acceptable” and “proper” dancing. In this configuration, not only are Others more likely to be overrepresented by their corporeality, their perceived physical skills are seen to be the result of *innate ability*, not acquired skill. This further devalues the expertise of Black dancers, seen not as the result of hard work and training but rather as an expression of “natural embodiment” assigned to Black bodies.

Not only are dances performed by Black bodies stereotyped, marginalized, and deemed “inappropriate,” so are Black bodies themselves. Black bodies of any gender are construed as “excessive” and “hypersexual” (Fleetwood, 2011). These notions developed out of the antiquated pseudo-scientific race theories of the Western world and continue to include Black bodies having a large or prevalent buttocks caused by the arch of the spine, full figures, and the “distraction” of dark skin and kinky or curly hair, all of which interrupt the aesthetic uniformity and Whiteness of ballet (Dixon-Gottschild, 2003). These non-conforming body types are not just excluded but devalued as less viable bodies in the field. Dancers who are not amenable to the aesthetic of fair-skinned, long, vertical lines favored in Western dance forms are often not accepted into dance programs and companies, no matter how talented they are at executing movement. This is both an aesthetic preference for light skin and a stereotype linking physical appearance to ability to perform certain dance forms successfully.

EVALUATION AND ASSESSMENT

Crystal: An assessment I received in a Laban Movement Analysis session included a description of my engagement at the beginning of the process. One instructor paused and held up both hands in front of her, palms down with flexed wrists angling her fingers toward the ground, a gesture often used to depict an animal’s paws. She quickly nodded her head up and down as if to make reference to the excited panting of a puppy. She landed on the word “childlike” to describe my

eagerness to learn. My evaluators continued using the words “lazy” and “unenthusiastic” to describe my initial disposition. They were pleased at my growth through their efforts to mold me into a mover with a more “mature” approach to learning and my improved ability to activate my body in movement. The paradoxical feedback of being essentially childlike and lazy put me in mind of the stereotypes of Black people established in the minstrel shows of the 1800s.

Laban Movement Analysis (LMA) is a prominent method through which dancers and dance educators are trained in observing, assessing, demonstrating, and analyzing movement (Bradley, 2009). This system consists of a lexicon of symbols called labanotation and theoretical language that describes a wide array of movement possibilities from pedestrian movement to dance performance. It serves as a component of many techniques, composition, and dance education courses and as a tool of evaluation and assessment. The assumption that this system could be universally applied in the field of dance centers Whiteness and a Eurocentric perspective on movement. An example of this is the belief that all dance is an expression of internal feelings to the outside world, a fundamental principle in the Laban system of movement (Hackney, 2000). The notion that this is a universal truth obscures how other cultural systems understand and experience movement forms. For example, in Haitian vodou dance, movement expression can be the result of divine possession of the dancer’s body, not the dancer’s outward expression of their internal feeling state (Deren, 1983).

In addition to the theoretical framework of LMA, analysts using a presumed neutral lens can reinforce the tenancy status of Black dancers. While addressing the prejudices of the observer-analyst is an aspect of LMA training programs, this training lacks the depth and specificity of how to apply that information in a way that dismantles deep-seated racial biases (Moore & Yamamoto, 1988). Although one could argue that the symbol lexicon of labanotation alone is the neutral element of the system, the theoretical framework and process of making meaning is laden with the observer’s positionality. This positionality can potentially reinforce racial biases. The presence of these biases in the interpretation of movement then affects the analysis itself. That analysis, when shared out to the mover being observed, can negatively affect the observed dancer’s internal sense of self (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). The lack of attention to Eurocentric assumptions operating as universal truths can thus result in microaggressions during the assessment process for Black dancers when the analysis of their bodies and movement reflect the observer’s biases toward a White and Western dance aesthetic (Sue, 2010). As detailed and comprehensive as the LMA system may be, ultimately the lens of observation will always be subjective, not neutral or color blind.

The norms and cultural expectations of Whiteness remain present in the subjective perceptions of each person involved in training and assessment processes, whether those evaluators are using LMA or not. We might think of dance educators as *property managers* who determine students’ success within the Whiteness terrain. They are gatekeepers who have the capacity to uphold

the categorization and naming aspects of the field, codify pedagogical structures in dance technique, and establish the curricular and physical attributes of an adequate dance education. Whiteness' homeownership is maintained both consciously and unconsciously by dance educators, including educators of color who may have internalized the norms of Whiteness (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012). This coalesces in the assessment process within dance programs. Success is not based on completing a certain amount of training but instead on the subjective evaluation of student performance throughout their training. Therefore, teachers both transfer and structure knowledge and have significant input into the future of each dancer with their assessment and feedback. Rubric systems vary and still leave room for biased feedback, such as informing a Black dancer that her buttocks are too big as a point of evaluation.

This multitude of possibilities in the evaluation of student performance leaves students at the whim of what their teachers envision as the suggested trajectory for their career path and where their perceived strengths are best suited. In this way, the educator in the field of dance has immense potential to establish an authoritative relationship wherein students become "the object of others' domination" (Harris, 1993, p. 1713). While this structure is common in the arts, there is insufficient ongoing examination or critique of assessment criteria and the assessment process itself. Thus, the criteria too often exists in the evaluator's perception, without awareness of and accountability for unconscious and conscious biases. Without critical intervention, assessment remains static in its aesthetic alignment with Whiteness and Western dance.

POSITIONALITY AND PRIVILEGE

Crystal: There are two instances wherein White individuals in leadership roles asserted their power of ownership in the field of dance. In one interaction, I was hired to teach high school hip-hop and African dance with no experience teaching either form. When it came to modern dance, however, my primary dance form of study, my supervisor explained that I would be unqualified to teach such classes due to having no performance experience in any well-known dance companies.

At a different institution, another administrator also determined what I was allowed to teach. I decided to align pedagogy and curriculum to the progressive and social justice interests in the mission of the school. My curriculum entailed facilitating the creative process for students to create dances about topics relating to social justice. After receiving approval from my chair to move forward with this curriculum, a senior administrator shared his personal preference for more perfected, technically challenging classes and performances. As a Black woman, I felt my expertise in progressive education, in feminist pedagogy, and in how to create an inclusive mixed-level classroom where each student felt valued, was invisible through the intersecting lenses of Whiteness and administrative power. The administrator's expectation as a White audience member was more valuable to maintain than the inclusive and equitable classroom I created.

Jesse: My prospective employers were excited by the list of dance forms on my resume. From ballet to Afro-Brazilian, I appeared to be able to offer a diverse dance curriculum. Yet I was not questioned on how I came to know these dance forms well enough to teach them, nor was I asked how I situated myself as a White person to dance traditions that were not of my background. My expertise was presumed; my ability to teach these forms was never doubted; and my Whiteness rendered uncomplicated, despite a long history of White appropriation of Black dance forms.

When my annual student dance concert featured numerous pieces by Black students about topics related to racial injustice and the Black Lives Matter Movement, I recognized that being a White teacher protected me from possible negative reactions to the political nature and serious mood of the show. I would not be seen as imposing my “own views” upon the students or the school community, or operating from “my own agenda.” Ironically, I could actually be praised for raising up the voices of our students and “providing a safe place” for them to express their feelings and experiences. I am conscious that if I were a Black dance teacher, I would likely not receiving these compliments for my work. Instead, I would be viewed with suspicion, possibly even jealousy by White colleagues, who might have felt I could connect with Black students in ways that they cannot. I might have received many complaints about the show, and I could have even lost my job.

In our experiences, administrators determine the value of a dance educator’s work in ways that maintain the normalized systems of Whiteness. The administrators seek to reinforce an elite sense of power and privilege sustained through hierarchy and policing of the body in ballet and modern. Unless educational leaders can understand and name White aesthetics as *White* and not universal, they will reinforce inequity and exclusivity already present in much of dance education, even if they do not intend or aspire to do so.

The experiences relayed above reflect the annexing of Crystal’s expertise and the White privilege of Jesse in the field of dance education. While both are passionate about integrating social justice and identity politics into their classroom, Jesse is granted homeowner status in the field through the assumption of her expertise and perception that she can be a “neutral actor.” She experienced an amount of safety that Crystal was unable to broker. White supervisors and administrators dismissed Crystal’s expertise in Western dance forms. The facade that aesthetic and pedagogical preferences of administrator and teacher were harmless, neutral, and color blind quickly evaporated when both administrators rejected Crystal’s technical ability to teach Western dance forms and applied curricular restrictions to what she was allowed to teach. In contrast, Jesse was able not only to facilitate dances of social justice but also to support student work about Black Lives Matter. Jesse could leverage her Whiteness to protect a platform for her students’ voices.

CONCLUSION: ALTERNATIVES

Jesse: In my 6th grade curriculum, I teach a unit on West African dance. Toward the end of the unit, I ask students if they think I, a White person, should teach a dance form that is not of my background. Immediately, students' hands shoot up as they vigorously argue that "yes, you can teach any dance form you want." Yet they are also fairly quick to temper this by saying, "as long as you know how to do it properly." I follow by asking what a person who is from a certain culture might be able to offer that an outsider could not. They say that person would have a depth of understanding that an outsider never could. I end the discussion by sharing that I think it is important as a White person to be mindful of the traumas of history when learning dances from other cultural backgrounds; that these are never innocent, neutral interactions; rather, they always carry a significance beyond who we are as individuals. What interests me about this dialogue is that the students are usually quick to defend me, to argue for my ability to present any cultural material I want. They seem eager to protect me as a White person and to uphold my right of access to anything and everything (DeFrantz, 2012). It may be too challenging to acknowledge that there may be spaces, places, and sets of knowledges that I (or we, as White people) do not automatically have a right to enter.

To counter the ownership Whiteness perpetrates in dance education, we suggest implementing comprehensive, actively self-critical dance education curricula and administrative structures, from primary school education through higher education.⁶ First, we recommend curricular and pedagogical changes be made to demonstrate that no single dance form is more valued than any other, particularly through considering the dances categorized as *social*, *vernacular*, and *popular* as equally important to concert forms. "What is dance?" must be foregrounded as an open question and ongoing discussion central to curriculum. *All* dance forms, including European ones, should be presented and examined as embedded in cultural and historical contexts. Underrepresented dance forms and pedagogies should have an equal space in the curriculum, both in the permanency within the program and in number of hours required. At the administrative level, structural changes include hiring dance teachers who show strong pedagogical abilities, without mandating technical training in Western dance forms. Not just Black dancers, but dancers of all underrepresented racial identities and ethnic backgrounds must be hired not as guest artists but instead as salaried employees.

Second, we suggest that the Whiteness operating in dance be critically analyzed in the following ways. White teachers can model speaking openly about their own racial identity in relationship to the forms they teach, particularly if they are engaging with dances that are not from their culture. Dance tech-

⁶Columbia College in Chicago is paving the way in this regard. For example, their approach to teaching contemporary dance examines contemporary dance as an intersection of modern, ballet, and West African forms (Dance undergraduate courses, n.d.).

nique, composition, and analysis should not customarily or unquestioningly be arranged around the hierarchal banking method but instead around curiosity, critical analysis, and self-examination of student accomplishments and challenges in the classroom (Freire, 2005).⁷ Guiding students in collaboration, not competition, encourages opportunities for all voices to be heard and valued in class interactions. We suggest offering diverse ways of learning movement, such as standing in lines or in a circle, with or without a mirror, with verbal instruction, silently, with and without music.

The root of change is having honest, critically examined, and mediated discussions that shape policies, whereby the ownership interests of Whiteness are interrupted. This should happen at interpersonal, curricular, and administrative levels. In these ways, how power is structured in the field would no longer align with a domination and subordination orientation but instead with a creative potential among equals (Shapiro, 1998). This would move closer toward the voices of Black people, and all marginalized racial groups, having equal ownership in dictating the terms and content of the dance world's terrain.

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⁷ Paulo Friere describes the “banking method” of education wherein the teacher deposits information into the brains of students in a similar way as one deposits money into a bank. He instead advocates for encouraging curiosity and student agency in discovering knowledge instead of this banking method model of education.

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