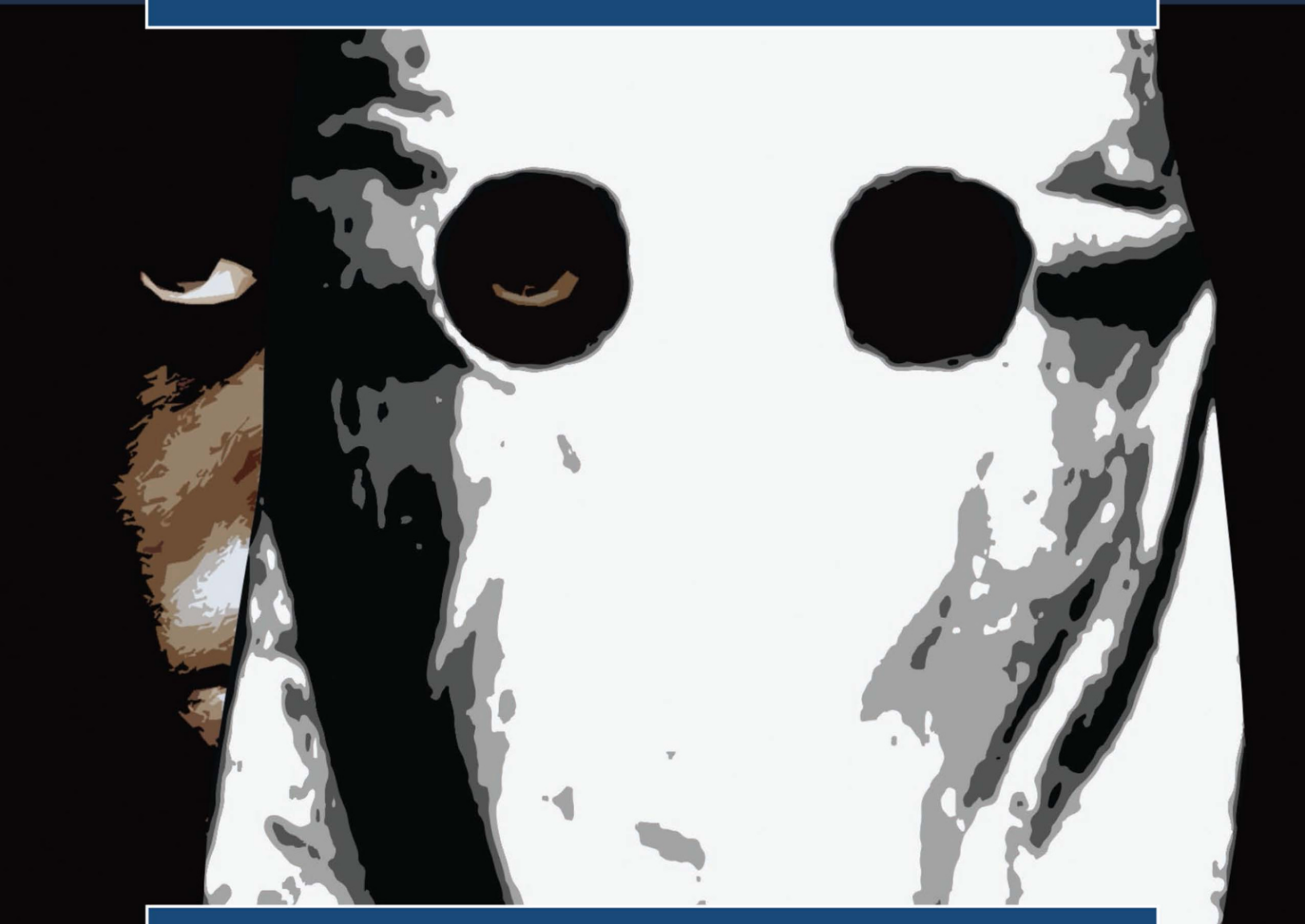
CONSTRUCTING KNOWLEDGE: CURRICULUM STUDIES IN ACTION

Unhooking from Whiteness

Resisting the *Esprit de Corps*

Nicholas D. Hartlep and
Cleveland Hayes (Eds.)



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Unhooking from Whiteness

CONSTRUCTING KNOWLEDGE: CURRICULUM STUDIES IN ACTION

Volume 10

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Scope

"Curriculum" is an expansive term; it encompasses vast aspects of teaching and learning. Curriculum can be defined as broadly as, "The content of schooling in all its forms" (English, p. 4), and as narrowly as a lesson plan. Complicating matters is the fact that curricula are often organized to fit particular time frames. The incompatible and overlapping notions that curriculum involves everything that is taught and learned in a particular setting *and* that this learning occurs in a limited time frame reveal the nuanced complexities of curriculum studies.

"Constructing Knowledge" provides a forum for systematic reflection on the substance (subject matter, courses, programs of study), purposes, and practices used for bringing about learning in educational settings. Of concern are such fundamental issues as: What should be studied? Why? By whom? In what ways? And in what settings? Reflection upon such issues involves an inter-play among the major components of education: subject matter, learning, teaching, and the larger social, political, and economic contexts, as well as the immediate instructional situation. Historical and autobiographical analyses are central in understanding the contemporary realties of schooling and envisioning how to (re)shape schools to meet the intellectual and social needs of all societal members. Curriculum is a social construction that results from a set of decisions; it is written and enacted and both facets undergo constant change as contexts evolve.

This series aims to extend the professional conversation about curriculum in contemporary educational settings. Curriculum is a designed experience intended to promote learning. Because it is socially constructed, curriculum is subject to all the pressures and complications of the diverse communities that comprise schools and other social contexts in which citizens gain self-understanding.

Unhooking from Whiteness

Resisting the Esprit de Corps

Edited by

Nicholas D. Hartlep
Illinois State University, USA

and

Cleveland Hayes
University of La Verne, USA

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ADVANCE PRAISE FOR *UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS*

"*Unhooking from Whiteness: Resisting the Esprit de Corps* is a powerful collection of essays that speaks to the current historical moment that is marked by new and virulent forms of racism and white supremacy. As such, this volume serves as a gloved fist raised on the podium of cultural struggle, a sign that a new day is coming where white supremacy will receive its reckoning in the court of social justice. This is a profound example of scholarship put in the service of the public good, organized to integrate education into activism and movement building. It is a book whose message is clear, concise and urgent, a book that should be read not only by educators but also by all who are interested in building a commons marked by freedom and dignity."
– Peter McLaren, Ph.D., Distinguished Professor in Critical Studies, Chapman University, author of *Pedagogy of Insurrection: From Resurrection to Revolution* (2015)

"I applaud the editors of this collection of chapters centered on issues swirling around whiteness and the everyday impacts of those issues on the lived experiences of the individual authors and others. Although the book focuses on the academic or higher education context, its advocacy of 'disrupting whiteness' will be felt in a broader social context. It is well worth a read by all of us."
– William M. Reynolds, Ed.D., Associate Professor of Curriculum, Foundations, and Reading, Georgia Southern University, co-editor of *Practicing Critical Pedagogy: The Influences of Joe L. Kincheloe* (2016)

"*Unhooking from Whiteness: Resisting the Esprit de Corps* is a must read for anyone interested in critically analyzing and understanding the multilevel and multidimensional nature of racism in America, particularly the role whiteness plays in the everyday lived experiences of people of color and the impact of whiteness on social institutions in ways that limit the ability of communities of color to thrive, while simultaneously insuring continued access to unearned powers and privileges for members of the dominant racial group in America. *Unhooking from Whiteness: Resisting the Esprit de Corps* brings together some of the nation's premier scholars on the study of whiteness, and they are singing in one voice. The contributors to the edited volume call upon scholars and the broader society to narrow the gap between whom and what we say we value and how we engage around issues of race and racism."
– Lori Latrice Martin, Ph.D., Associate Professor of Sociology and African & African American Studies Louisiana State University, author of *White Sports/ Black Sports: Racial Disparities in Athletic Programs* (2015)

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SUZANNE SOOHOO

FOREWORD

Double Consciousness for All

The clarion call from creators Hartlep and Hayes is to "unhook from shackles of whiteness…to assist people of all races, cultures, and backgrounds and educate them about the importance of unhooking oneself from whiteness in order to dismantle racism in the U.S." (preface). This book is for people of color (POC) and people of non-color (whites) to unhook from the normalcy of white dominance; to unhook from the mind numbing influence of hegemonic complacency and to unhook from ideological iron cuffs that prevent us from disabling the white status quo.

This book builds on whiteness work of other scholars in the past two decades. Several scholars in higher education (Chávez Chaávez & O'Donnell, 1998; McLaughlin & Tierney, 1993; Monzó & SooHoo, 2014) have secured courageous first person accounts about racial travesties they or colleagues have experienced or witnessed. In this rich body of literature, one sees how whiteness is framed (Feagin, 2010), scanned (Carr, 2007), manifested, and "called out" of its invisible neutrality. This collection of work and its authors accomplish what Feagin describes as "racist realities that are taken 'out of the closet' so that they can be openly analyzed and, hopefully, redressed or removed" (p. 21). And indeed, is this not the life's work and struggle of what we do as critical educators and as cultural workers? Distinguished Freirean scholar Antonia Darder (2015) reminds us, "The political work of the oppressed has always required the unveiling, naming, and challenging of asymmetrical relations of power and their consequences within schools, communities, and the larger society" (p. 38). The authors in this book zero in with laser sharp acuity on the cancerous racism that invades academic spaces, recognizing that racism makes ill not just red cells but also white cells. Organizations and cultures suffer together when racism goes unchecked and unchallenged. Our call collectively as authors and readers as Freire puts it is "to unveil the contradictions and courageously challenge practices that objectify, dispirit, and dehumanize, preventing our political expression as full cultural citizens" (p. 44).

Some people may be uncomfortable with this challenge. Within white neutrality, there is comfort in white invisibility. To suddenly recognize others are watching you with 3D lenses and examining your behavior as a course of study can be annoying. We all know how being the object of study through colonial research practices most often results in characterizations that are not our truths. It can make one paranoid

not only because of the scrutiny but also in the power of the Other to define. What happens when the Other engages in ethnographic examinations on whiteness? What happens when the Other becomes the researcher and whiteness becomes the researched? Imagine the audacity of being studied, analyzed, and interpreted without one's consent?

Peter McLaren (1995) cites bell hooks (*Black Looks*), who notes that white people are often shocked that black people have the ability to critically assess whiteness. "Their [white people's] amazement that black people match white people with a critical 'ethnographic' gaze is itself an expression of racism" (p. 110). Behind that shaken awareness is apprehension of what is being said. For most of white America who have not had the opportunity or the courage to examine their white privilege, they are not accustomed to being framed/scanned by Others and they have not heard our counter stories to racism and whiteness—counter stories that occupy large spaces in our mental landscapes. Anti-racist counter frames are pragmatic literacies among people of color and other disenfranchised groups that have "called out" racist issues, deconstructed its causes, and re-storied how to move practically within "the contours and realities of everyday life" (Feagin, 2010). Counter framing is not taught in schools or in media but are grounded in communities of interests such as homes, churches, barbershops, and beauty salons. Feagin characterizes black beauty salons as places "where black beauty is routinely defined, honored, and enhanced—in resistance to the conventional white framing of black women" (p. 179).

Counter frames to racism are found in this book, accessible to everyone. For people of color and people from other marginalized groups, they will find these folk stories of our racist experiences in the academy disturbing, affirming, inspiring, and challenging as we continue to seek solidarity among all groups encountering white oppression. We look to these stories for strength and truth to power in recognition of racism's omnipotence throughout organizational structures and everyday micro-aggressions.

Last month I waited for a car to pull out of a space marked *faculty*. A white gentleman was hanging his suit jacket up in the backseat and positioning himself to leave.

I asked, "Are you leaving?"

His response: "These spaces are for faculty."

With irritated disbelief, I exclaimed, "I wonder what faculty looks like?", leaving him quite puzzled. I should have replied, "Where are your credentials?"

While stories like this occur on a daily basis, our white colleagues are often not aware of or have dismissed these incidents as socially without warrant. They perceive these as "paper cut" transgressions that can be ignored because white has the power to define what is important and what is not, by validating some experiences and subjugating others (Sefa Dei, 2007). Disregard and indifference are manifestations of the "arrogance of the powerful" according to Pope Francis (D'Emilio, 2016), who in this New Year's homily emphasized the need to "let

ourselves be reborn, to overcome the indifference which blocks solidarity, and to leave behind the false neutrality which prevents sharing."

White allies have listened and learned to act on our behalf, recognizing that this racist world requires attention, conversation, and action by all of us. Acts of opposition by marginalized groups to address institutional racism are necessary but not sufficient in changing the structures that maintain its immortality (McLaren, 1995). Freire maintains that dialogue between the oppressed and the oppressor is key to developing critical consciousness in which we establish a dialectical relationship and bring our mutual unfinishedness towards a conscious awareness of limit situations. POC must name limit situations. Whites need to question white normativity. Here lies hope and possibility for a more humane existence among all people of the world.

What can this book do towards this end? How can this book along with other great works around similar lines "stimulate conversation and activism in eradicating racism and other forms of oppression and inequity" (Carr, 2007, p. 13)? Can this book evoke conversations and potential action whereupon both whites and people of color develop a double consciousness; a sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others as a means to inform action (Du Bois, 1903)? For African Americans and other minoritized groups, this sense making and folk literacy was taught and sustained through intentional socializing by one's own community to ensure political and social survival within white dominance—a necessary and pragmatic way to deal with racist issues, not a literacy of choice. But what if this burden was shared? What if double consciousness was in fact a desired outcome of dialogical relationships? Self-monitoring and consciousness of white neutrality would mean whiteness can no longer maintain invisibility and racism no longer can live in the shadows of our institutions. This might entail uncomfortable conversations, translations, and negotiations within untested feasibility (Freire, 2002), but it is here that hope and possible transformation lies. Instead of both claiming the other as culturally deprived, we recognize, from a stance of humility and love (SooHoo, 2015), that we must offer our mutual unfinishedness as the foundation for our co-constructed agenda to eradicate racism. Dialogue initializes proximity to action. It is within emancipatory praxis that we formulate pathways for counter-hegemonic action. For after all, our ultimate goal in the academy is to legitimatize colorized ideologies and epistemological pluralism that we believe is central to the mission of universities and democracies.

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NICHOLAS D. HARTLEP

PREFACE

INTRODUCTION

In *Unhooking from Whiteness: The Key to Dismantling Racism in the United States,* professor Hayes and I attempted to petition people of color (and also whites) to unhook themselves from the shackles of whiteness. Our *Unhooking* volume included the auto-ethnographic accounts of African American, Native American, Asian American, European American, and Latinx[1] academics and K–12 educators who have attempted to "unhook" from whiteness.

The present volume is equally committed to such a project. *Unhooking from Whiteness: Resisting the Esprit de Corps* examines the consequences of deciding to unhook from whiteness. In other words, what happens to people when they choose to unhook from the rules and modes of thought whiteness requires and expects of them? From the outset, professor Hayes and I need to make clear that we have not edited *Resisting the Esprit de Corps* for white people exclusively, although Carrie Morris writes that "[r]acism is never subtle to the victim. Only White people say race doesn't matter" (as cited in Smith, 2005, p. 439). In other words, whites can be victims of whiteness too, albeit in different ways. The edited volume that stands before the reader is for all people, of all races, and all cultures, because although racism is a "white" problem, its consequences, invariably, affect us all, especially people of color (e.g., see Hayes & Hartlep, 2013; Lipsitz, 1995; Smith, 2013).

A few more points of clarification need to be made earlier than later. First, European Americans[2] unhooking from whiteness is not merely race traitorship; although traitorship is a facet of it. Noel Ignatiev and John Garvey (1996) identify the principle of race traitorship as "*treason to whiteness*" which, according to them, is "*loyalty to humanity*" (p. 10). Second, this volume builds upon the important work of whiteness and racialization scholars—such as George Lipsitz (1998), Zeus Leonardo (2002, 2013), Noel Ignatiev (Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996), Cheryl Matias (Matias, 2012; Matias, Viesca, Garrison-Wade, Tandon, & Galindo, 2014), and others who are not named here. We hope that the chapters in this book can assist people of all races, cultures, and backgrounds and educate them about the importance of unhooking oneself from whiteness in order to dismantle racism in the United States, especially during this "third wave" (Twine & Gallagher, 2008).

We strongly believe that this edited volume will be an essential read for those who are passionately interested in disrupting whiteness' influence in society, especially within an academic or higher education context. Professor Hayes and I believe that

academics cannot seek societal transformation (such as the elimination of racism), when we ourselves as academicians and theoreticians create the same injustices we critique in our scholarship. In other words, the problems we face inside the academy are related to the problems we create by not unhooking ourselves from institutionalized whiteness.

Professor Hayes and I invited contributors to provide chapters that considered how individuals could push back or disrupt whiteness. Nine auto-ethnographic accounts were published in *Unhooking from Whiteness: The Key to Dismantling Racism in the United States* (Hayes & Hartlep, 2013). We sought to include more voices and alternative forms of expression in *Resisting the Esprit de Corps.* For example, this volume includes poems. In this book Hayes expands what he has termed "academic lynching" (see Juárez & Hayes, 2014), while I share my thoughts about the psychological and physical manifestations of whiteness.

Why This Book? Why Now?

Why not now? Professor Hayes and I believe that the hypercompetitive and neoliberal conditions in higher education do not encourage faculty to cooperate. The "dog-eat-dog" higher education system shows no mercy or humanity; we suspect Ignatiev Garvey (1996) might say it is *unloyal to humanity*. Hayes and I have become embittered by what we label here, for lack of better terms, an *esprit de corps* or a *coterie of whiteness*. The *esprit de corps* refers to the spirit of the academy that is based on whiteness[3], while the *coterie of whiteness* refers to faculty and editors who serve as gatekeepers of knowledge production and dissemination, who curiously perpetuate exclusivity rather than inclusivity or diversity of thought. Peer-reviewed research publications are the medium of exchange in the academy—but few consider how that supposedly "blind" and "meritocratic" system *is* whiteness, reinforced by the supposed proper forms of citing, such as what is required by the American Psychological Association Manual (cf., Thompson, 2004).

We are sure that others reading this book have come across "critical" scholars who write against oppression, inequality, and oppression yet who also maintain inequality and racism by oppressing other junior faculty members and undergraduate and graduate students through various insidious behaviors. Whether that oppression is "academically lynching" those who do not conform or intentionally misadvising pre-tenure faculty members and doctoral students, there is no shortage of this going on in the academy. It's a shame, and it's time to speak up and out about it.

Moreover, why are academics required to publish in journals that make it difficult to access such privileged "cutting-edge" information? Who actually reads what we write as teacher educators and academics, and more importantly, how many practicing K–12 teachers read it? It has been asked, "If a tree falls in a forest and no one is around to hear it, does it make a sound?" Similarly, "If no one reads what we write, have we written anything?" Certainly the *esprit de corps* can refer to critical scholars who write about social justice but don't live it out in their daily (private)

lives. But it also can include those individuals who falsely say they are freedom fighters or antiracists, when in actuality they are not.

Indeed, there's no shortage of scandals in the world that have involved allegedly "progressively-minded" people, "freedom fighters"—be it Greg Mortenson, the man who built schools in Afghanistan and Pakistan for girls, who was later found out to be a con artist who enriched himself at the expense of Afghani and Pakistani girls (cf., Krakauer, 2011), or Jesse Jackson Jr., the son of Civil Rights leader Jesse Jackson, who embezzled campaign funds (Gray, 2013). These two individuals may be rare, but what do we make of the professor who attends conferences and stays at hotels that cruelly underpay their maids and staff, who are homophobic, and who don't tip the *maitre d'*?[4] We certainly are talking about the contradictions between public personae (published life) and private realities (private lifestyle), but we can be talking about other problematic behaviors and uncritical mindsets too.

SPEAKING TRUTH TO POWER

Working to dismantle the racism and whiteness that continue to keep oppressed people powerless and immobilized in academe requires sharing power, opportunity, and access. Removing barriers to the knowledge created in higher education is an essential part of this process. The process of unhooking oneself from institutionalized whiteness certainly requires fighting hegemonic modes of thought and patriarchal views that persistently keep marginalized groups of academics in their station (or at their institution). As editors of this volume, we know full well that its contents will be highly polemical for some; but irrespective of its reception, the book is highly necessary from our perspectives as pre-tenure and tenured faculty members. Because speaking truth to power is never an easy thing to do, we appreciate *Sense* publishing such critical and unpopular work, as "unhooking" from whiteness is perceived by those still hooked into whiteness as heresy and less than scholarly. If writing must adhere to whiteness to be considered "scholarly," then I don't want to aspire to be a scholar.

Similarly, the perception that open-access articles are less scholarly than traditional print journals benefits whiteness. It's possible that academics who benefit from institutional or personal connections are more apt to want to maintain the idea that open-access journals are substandard when compared to print- and pay-walled journals; after all, these individuals thereby maintain material advantages.

Meanwhile, I have a personal experience with the whiteness that publishers benefit from. When I published an article in *Equity & Excellence in Education,* a prestigious peer-reviewed journal, I chose to pay a fee to make my article open-access. I chose to do so because I felt that having a pay wall would make the knowledge exclusive and not open to the public. The fee I had to pay was over $2,000![5] Taylor and Francis and the Copyright Clearinghouse are benefiting from erecting barriers to accessing knowledge. What I find deeply troubling is that the publishing process is a virtuous cycle. The more that you buy into it, the more you benefit from it.

Jealousness, bitterness, and competitiveness are not what professor Hayes and I are talking about *per se,* and we aren't describing a scenario in which it's white professors against all other professors of color. We're addressing an unwillingness to "unhook from whiteness," which strengthens the "possessive investment in whiteness." We're also discussing when people of color choose to remain hooked to whiteness for fear of losing the little power and prestige they may currently enjoy. Some faculty members of color perpetuate the processes illuminated above for reasons that seem logical. But when the logic they use is examined deeply, it becomes obvious that failure to unhook from whiteness is hegemonic. Antonio Gramsci would refer to minoritized and oppressed academics—who continue to be ensnared in the clutches of whiteness—as the "petite bourgeoisie." In relation to intellectuals, Gramsci argues that people who somewhat benefit by the dominant power structure remain complacent in the system they know exploits them, out of fear of losing their marginal position (Gramsci, 1971).

Worth quoting at length, George Lipsitz (1995) writes the following:

> All whites do not benefit from the possessive investment in whiteness in precisely the same way; the experiences of members of minority groups are not interchangeable. But the possessive investment in whiteness always affects individual and group life chances and opportunities. Even in cases where minority groups secure political and economic power through collective mobilization, the terms and conditions of their collectivity and the logic of group solidarity are always influenced and intensified by the absolute value of whiteness in American politics, economics, and culture. (p. 383)

Therefore, knowledge of whiteness is critical for ending it, or at least slowing its spread and the harm it does within both the academic and non-academic worlds. And this is highly consequential because, oddly yet predictably, research has found that whites believe they are victims of racism at rates higher than people of color (cf., Norton & Sommers, 2011). According to Norton and Sommers' (2011) research, whites have now come to view anti-White bias as a bigger societal problem than anti-Black bias! It's clear that speaking truth to power will be met with resistance.

TOWARD A THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL UNDERSTANDING OF WHITENESS

Whiteness promotes a form of hegemonic thinking, which influences not only thought processes but also behavior within the academy. This behavior and mode of thought is normalized through ubiquitous things such as academic conferences, wherein presenters frequently share their research studies via PowerPoint presentations rather than oral story format. For instance, at a Critical Race Theory conference in New York at Columbia University, professor Hayes and I refused to share our presentation via PowerPoint. We stated that we wouldn't behave

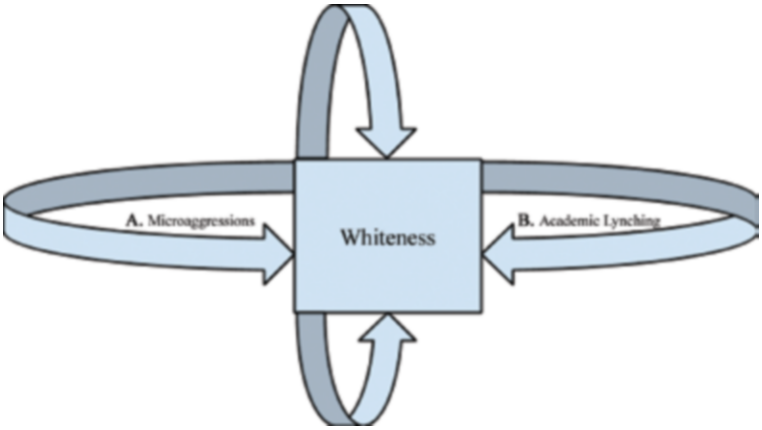

Figure 1. Theoretical and Conceptual Diagram of Unhooking from Whiteness
[A](Sue, 2010a, 2010b) [B](Juárez & Hayes, 2014)

according to social modes of thought in the academy that we didn't participate in creating. Who says we need to use PowerPoint? Who makes the rules for conferences?

We also understand that academic and behavioral modes of thought can be socialized by faculty members and diffused through the advice given to doctoral students as well. For instance, doctoral students are socialized to do what is best for themselves at the expense of classmates who, upon graduation, will be competing for a limited amount of faculty positions. Another example of whiteness is how doctoral students are socialized and trained to believe that working at anything besides an R1 means that you are a failure or something less than a true academic. This is complete insanity: professor Hayes and I both work at R2s.

Microaggressions (and micro-invalidations), seen in arrow "A," serve as daily reminders that faculty members who don't conform or behave in ways that are accepted are not wanted (Sue, 2010a, 2010b). Academic lynching, seen in Arrow "B" and also explicated in professor Hayes' chapter (see chapter 1), serves to terrorize non-conformity (Juárez & Hayes, 2014). While microaggressions and micro-invalidations are subtle and often automatic put-downs and insults directed toward people of color (Sue, 2010a, 2010b), academic lynches are not-so-subtle, and can lead to faculty of color experiencing trauma and racial battle fatigue as the result of macroaggressions (cf., Hartlep, 2014; Hayes, 2014). This can lead scholars to becoming paranoid, something I detail in my chapter (see chapter 3).

Professor Hayes and I would like to thank the many people who read and provided feedback on this project. We would also like to thank by name the following people for their support and contribution to this project: Rene Antrop-González, Paul R. Carr, Paul Chambers, Antonio L. Ellis, Veronica Escoffery-Runnels,

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NOTES

[1] Here I use Latinx instead of Latin@ to be more inclusive since it is gender non-specific. Listen to the story here: http://www.npr.org/2016/01/29/464886588/latinx-the-ungendering-of-the-spanish-language

[2] Here I use the term "European American" intentionally. According to Mukhopadhyay (2008), "European American is a more precise substitute for Caucasian than white—at least as long as we feel the need to classify U.S. residents into a few large groupings" (p. 15).

[3] Consider the formatting and standards of publishing that use the American Psychological (APA) Manual, which Thompson (2004) has critiqued for perpetuating and transmogrifying whiteness.

[4] A note from Nicholas: I teach my students that Christian privilege exists and tell them that articles and studies have examined how Christians tip less compared to non-Christians in restaurants. I was flabbergasted when one student attacked me after a lecture in which I cited this literature (e.g., Smith, Emerson, & Snell, 2008; Schlosser, 2003). I bring this up because chapter contributor René Antrop-González was the one who introduced me to his practice of leaving a generous tip when checking out of conference hotels. He does this because large percentages of hotel staff are underpaid and come from minority/minoritized populations. How many other academics do this?

[5] I had a research budget that covered this expense. I recognize that most scholars would not be able to pay for this.

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Nicholas D. Hartlep
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MICHAEL E. JENNINGS

1. THE SPOOK WHO SAT BY THE DOOR

The Challenge of Unhooking from Whiteness in the African American Faculty Experience

> There seems to be a growing conspiracy of silence surrounding the experiences of faculty of color teaching in predominantly White colleges and universities. For many faculty of color, who reside throughout the academic landscape, their silenced state is a burdensome cycle that is rarely broken.
>
> Stanley, 2006, p. 701

This chapter presents and analyzes important aspects of my experiences as an African American faculty member in a prestigious midsized university in the northeast United States. My experiences at this university are analyzed within the context of contemporary discussions about the experiences of faculty of color in Predominately White Institutions (PWIs) (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Stanley, 2006). Stanley (2006) describes these experiences as hidden from plain sight by a "conspiracy of silence" (p. 701) that makes the recruitment and retention of faculty of color an amazingly difficult endeavor. In exploring this topic, Stanley (2006) asked prominent sociologist and White anti-racist activist Joe Feagin why so many White colleagues silently ignored this injustice. Feagin's response was simple: "because it costs white folks" (p. 702). Stanley (2006) later extends this analysis and postulates that there is an enormous cost associated with African American faculty members speaking up about their experiences at PWIs and that this cost often acts to silence them in the face of deep and pervasive injustices.

In an effort to challenge the injustice that is reflective of this silence, it's important that faculty of color tell their stories and express their truth regarding their experiences in the professoriate. I will undertake this task through an examination of my own experiences as an Assistant Professor in my first tenure track position. These experiences will be written as personal narratives that are intended to convey the "facts" surrounding specific incidents as well as the existence of emotion surrounding these events. The conveyance of emotion in these narratives is especially important because of its centrality in the experiences of faculty, teachers, and students at all levels of education (cf., Boler, 1999; Dirkx, 2008).

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 1–12.

THEORETICAL LENS AND METHODOLOGY

To help analyze these experiences and connect them to the larger world, I utilize Critical Race Theory (CRT) as my primary theoretical lens. The use of CRT as a theoretical lens is appropriate for this type of research because it (a) centers the concept of race in the study of narratives that focus on educational experiences, (b) emphasizes an understanding of socio-cultural contexts in education, and (c) allows for a research stance that challenges dominant discourses and advocates for social justice.

CRT has become an important component of the critical analysis of race in education because of its development and use of critical research methodologies that challenge mainstream ideas about the binary of "subjective vs. objective" knowledge that frequently informs discussions regarding methodology in educational research (Delgado Bernal, 2002; Parker & Lynn, 2002). Specifically, CRT historically has emphasized the use of narrative and storytelling to challenge prevailing ideas and assumptions about race by "telling the stories of those people whose experiences are often not told" (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). These untold stories represent an important "counternarrative" that challenges the racist ideology that is used to create, maintain, and justify the use of "master narratives" that advance hegemonic discourses about race in America (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Given that the concept of race was a central focus of my experiences as an African American faculty member, it's important that an appropriate theoretical lens and a complementary methodology are utilized in the exploration of a personal narrative that examines the complexities of race as manifested in the lived experiences of an individual African American faculty member.

THE ROLE OF THE SPOOK

> *They accepted at face value what he appeared to be, because he became what they wanted him to be.* (Greenlee, 2002, p. 48)

In 1969, a former army officer and Foreign Service officer named Sam Greenlee published a novel entitled *The Spook Who Sat By the Door* (1969/2002). It tells the fictional story of an African American ex-CIA agent and his complex plan to incite urban warfare in American cities during the late 1960s. The book's title is a play on words: "spook" has multiple meanings that hold particular saliency for African Americans. First, it has been used for several decades as a disparaging descriptor of African Americans. Second, the term "spook" is often used to describe spies and undercover agents. This comes from the fact that the word "spook" is frequently used interchangeably with "ghost," and spies (like ghosts) are often described as being invisible to detection (Sheppard, 2013).

The book advances multiple themes related to race, racism, politics, and power as reflected in the African American urban experience of the mid-1960s. The book's protagonist, Dan Freeman, carefully navigates the difficulties of being the

first African-American to work as a CIA agent. He does this largely by utilizing a non-threatening and amiable persona that he hopes will provide him with a sort of "invisibility" from his superiors while training and working in what can be classified as "white space" (Moore, 2008, p. 24). He eventually leaves the CIA and returns to Chicago where he works as a social worker with some of the city's most notorious street gangs. He uses this position to gain the trust of gang members in a way that taps into their disdain of institutional racism and their general distrust of white society. This allows Freeman to effectively politicize and re-organize the gang for the purpose of conducting urban-based guerilla warfare in a manner that rallies the support of the black community while representing a major threat to the existence of the *status quo*.

In a similar way, I felt that as a faculty member I would be able to quietly accrue knowledge, experiences and professional capital in ways that I could then use to train and influence students about the nature of race across American society. More specifically, I wanted to teach my students about the role of race and its connection to constructs of power and the formulation of policy in the field of education. It was my hope that my students (all of whom were future educators and educational leaders) would develop a knowledge base that allowed them to work with students and communities in ways that respected student and community cultural wealth while simultaneously fighting against the hegemony that permeates U.S. society (Yosso, 2005).

Like Dan Freeman, my plan was to lay low while gaining knowledge offered in graduate school. I believed that this knowledge would empower me so that I could later make "bold" and "decisive" moves as part of the professoriate. I hoped that the result would be evident in the knowledge base of my students, who would now understand the importance of challenging hegemony in their classrooms, across their campuses, and throughout their communities. Although this now seems naïve, this is what I hoped for and planned for as I moved into becoming a member of the professoriate.

ON SITTING BY CLOSED DOORS

> *He who listens at doors hears more than he desires.* (French Proverb)
>
> *That was why it was an advantage to be black. There were millions of peoples and races in Europe whose centuries of subservience made them culturally perfect as raw material for spying. The nigger was the only natural agent in the United States, the only person whose life might depend, from childhood, on becoming what whites demanded, yet somehow remaining what he was as an individual human being.* (Greenlee, 2002, pp. 109–110)

My experiences in the professoriate have ranged across several different types of universities situated in several different geographic locations. Each institution has offered unique experiences, and each has played a role in my professional

development as a faculty member. However, like other African American faculty members, I have experienced discriminatory treatment and racial microaggressions at each institution that I have worked (Pittman, 2012). My first job was as a Lecturer at a well-heeled New England college, while my second position involved evaluation work for a large grant at a major research institution in the mid-Atlantic region. Both jobs had their ups and downs, but what I most desired was a tenure-track position.

When I finally acquired a tenure track position, it was at an "R1" university located in a major east coast city. I was ecstatic to say the least. After two university jobs that weren't on the tenure track, I was happy to have found a position where I could focus on the duties inherent in being a faculty member. The department I was in was fairly small and very homogenous. I was the only African American on the faculty and the only person of color as well. Perhaps even more disturbing, I was one of only a handful of African American faculty members on the entire campus. Our numbers were so small that on those rare occasions when we would meet on campus we didn't have enough members to fill a table with eight available seats.

Although my time at this particular institution started out smoothly, it quickly became obvious that I did not truly "fit in" as a faculty member in my department. My recognition of this seemed most obvious in my interactions with my students. One of my duties as a new Assistant Professor was to teach a graduate diversity in education class and an undergraduate introduction to education class. For me, this meant revamping my classes so that they went beyond the idea of multiculturalism and diversity as forms of cultural celebration and instead offered a sustained critique of education through a critical social justice lens (Sensoy & DiAngelo, 2012).

The majority of my undergraduate students were white upper middle-class and cisgender. Many had fairly minimal contact with people of color, and most seemed to know little about the working of race, class, and gender in the U.S. My graduate students were more racially and economically diverse, but largely exhibited many of the same characteristics. I frequently asked my students (both graduate and undergraduate) to step outside of their comfort zones by understanding their own positionality in society (Maher & Tetreault, 1993) and juxtaposing their positionality with that of others in society from different backgrounds. This forced many of my students to confront their own privilege while acknowledging the role of institutional racism and sexism in how opportunities are structured in U.S. schools and communities.

I found that many of the same issues related to power, privilege, and positionality also affected my interaction with faculty members in my own department. Most of the department members were over the age of 60 with only a handful under the age of 50. All of them were white, and most had been at the university for many years. During our faculty meetings, I pushed my colleagues to recognize broader issues of race and class not only in relation to our student body but also in relation to the surrounding community (which was traditionally African American and working class).

One particular example that stands out was in regard to the lack of diversity in our faculty. The department had received criticism for a lack of student and faculty diversity as part of a review by the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE). During a discussion about the implications of the review I was shocked when one of our senior faculty members encouraged the department to respond to the reviewers by telling them that the department "really" was diverse because we had a faculty member who was fluent in several European languages. He explained that the presence of a multi-lingual white female faculty member represented linguistic diversity, something that he felt was just as important (or more important) than racial diversity. I objected vehemently to this idea, but my faculty colleagues met my reaction only with blank stares and silence. For the first time in my professional life, I fully understood how silence could be utilized as a weapon to enforce the hegemony of white supremacy (Ladson-Billings, 1996).

Several weeks later, one of my graduate students arrived at my office and told me that he needed to speak with me immediately. I was busy, but I could tell that he was very upset and angry about something, so I asked him to sit down and tell me what was going on. After taking a seat, he explained that he was furious because one of the department's senior faculty members had asked him to carry his bags from the ground floor of our building up to his third floor office. Without asking, I already knew that he was referring to the same faculty member who had previously insisted that racial diversity was not a real issue for our department. Unfortunately, I was correct. Despite this, I was stunned to think that this individual would ask any student, but particularly an African American student, to carry his bags as if he were a hotel porter. I thought about confronting the faculty member who had made the request, but I realized that—being an Assistant Professor—I would be taking a huge risk by confronting one of the department's Full Professors over his treatment of a graduate student.

Although these faculty interactions were difficult, dealing with my students could also be equally challenging. They complained that I spent too much time talking about race and that I "hated" whites. I was also accused of being "lazy," "unprepared," "unorganized," and "too hard." Comments related to my preparedness, organization, and teaching methods came as a surprise because I put a great deal of time into teaching, and I thought of myself as a good teacher who challenged his students while caring about them as well. When my first teaching evaluations came in, I was surprised to see that some of my students were angered that I had canceled class because of a winter snowstorm. The class was an evening class that I had canceled in the late afternoon. Only two hours after I canceled the class, the university announced that all classes for the evening were canceled due to inclement weather conditions. I couldn't figure out why the students were upset about a class cancelation—something that most students usually applaud—especially when the cancelation was later reinforced by a campus wide closure.

During the spring semester, I received similar complaints from a graduate class because I ended one of our class sessions only a short while after it started. I'm not

sure why this was an issue since I had explained to them that the reason I had to cancel the class and leave quickly was because my wife was in labor and needed to get to the hospital in anticipation of the birth of our second child. I had even forewarned them at the beginning of the semester that this would likely happen since my wife was six months pregnant when the spring semester began. For whatever reason, this didn't seem to matter, and I was (again) labeled as problematic for having a "lackadaisical" attitude towards the class.

The following year my teaching evaluations seemed to be just as bad as those from my first year. One of the major complaints was related to a mandatory school observation that was part of the department's Introduction to Education course. The problem revolved around the fact that I insisted that the students in the class do their observations at a nearby public school. The school had Title I status and served a population made of mostly black and brown students, almost all of whom relied on free and reduced lunch. This was the type of school that I believed our students should spend time at in an effort to understand the realities of urban education and to better reflect on the issues that we discussed in class. The students were highly upset by this requirement because previous iterations of the class had utilized a distinctly different school for the required observations.

Faculty members who had previously taught the course always allowed the students to attend an elite private school that was located near the campus. This allowed the school observations to be done in an environment where the vast majority of students were white and upper middle-class. This gave my future educators a great sense of comfort, but it provided them with a false sense of the realities inherent in urban education. Many of the students were upset by this and reported to the chair and other faculty that I was endangering their safety by sending them to a school in a "dangerous" area far from campus. I pointed out that both schools were nearly equidistant to the campus and that the students needed to spend time in diverse schools with diverse student populations. Despite my admonitions, the students frequently complained about the location of the observations, and each semester I made it mandatory that they visit a similar type of school.

My students' attempts at distancing themselves from black and brown children and their communities were painful. It pained me on a personal level because by rejecting these children and their communities it felt as if they were implicitly rejecting me as well. After all, I was the product of a working-class African American community like the one they tried so hard to avoid. In that sense, I came to represent the "other" in their construction of black and brown children as being both different and unworthy. On a professional level, their attempts concerned me because I felt that if they had this type of attitude as teacher education students, then what type of attitudes would they have as teachers?

All of these issues overshadowed my first years as a tenure track faculty member. Despite this, I thought very little of the faculty review that I would go through during the fall of my second year. Although very few institutions had second year reviews, I was told that it was an old tradition at the university where I taught and

that such reviews were largely perfunctory. I was told, half jokingly, that the second year review at my institution was utilized mainly to make sure that anyone with an undone dissertation had completed it. As the time for the review approached, my chair told me that she didn't expect any issues to come up and that I shouldn't worry. She told me that the review would be conducted at a regular faculty meeting with the entire faculty in attendance (except for myself). This seemed strange to me because this meant that other Assistant Professors would be discussing and voting on my review. She assured me that this was the normal procedure for such a review. She instructed me that on the day of the review the faculty meeting would start a half hour earlier than usual so that the faculty would have adequate time to discuss my review. I was further instructed that if I arrived to the faculty meeting before the discussion was done that the door would be closed and that I was simply to have a seat outside of the meeting room area. When the discussion was over, I would be ushered in so that the regular faculty meeting could resume as scheduled.

The day of the faculty meeting came, and when I arrived at the meeting room I was surprised to see that the door was closed. The door was always open in advance of faculty meetings so that faculty could come and get settled before things got started. Given this fact, I was momentarily confused. Just as I put my hand on the doorknob to open the door, I suddenly remembered that the meeting that day was going to start a half earlier than usual and that I was supposed to sit and wait until I was told that my review was over. A wave of relief washed over me as I realized that I had avoided the major embarrassment that would have occurred had I opened the door and walked into a meeting where a review of my work was being conducted. Having been told that this review was perfunctory, I settled into a comfortable chair outside of the meeting room and sought to pass some time looking over some reading for my class.

I quickly realized that I could clearly hear voices from inside of the room. I stood up to leave because I was sure that being able to hear the discussion around my own review was not something that was supposed to happen. However, as I stood up, the voices from inside became louder, and I could hear my name being mentioned. I felt that I should leave, but a morbid curiosity overtook me. I slowly sat down and decided to listen. After all, the department chair was the one who told me to sit and wait outside until the meeting was over, so I guess that I could stay. In short, I justified my decision to stay by convincing myself that I was only following her instructions.

What I heard can only be described as life changing. I was described as being an angry black man who was overly militant and incapable of accepting the help offered by colleagues. My teaching was characterized as poor because I structured my classes to emphasize student interaction and because I pushed my students to confront and critique the role of race, class, and gender in schooling. Most interesting of all was the charge that I constantly disrespected the university through my critique of its policies around race and its lack of interaction with the local African American community. Nothing was mentioned about my scholarship or service to the

profession or to the university. Instead, the only thing discussed was the belief that I was an angry, race-obsessed individual who terrorized his students, disrespected the sanctity of the university, and refused the help of well meaning colleagues who wanted me to be seen and not heard. It was clear that these colleagues wanted me to teach, conduct research, and carry out service in ways that were deferential to them, non-threatening to the institution, and supportive of the *status quo*.

I was so overwhelmed by what I heard in those moments sitting by the door that my brain could barely function. My mind swirled in the midst of what can only be described as a fight or flight response. I was filled with anger, sadness, and disbelief all at the same time. Should I wait quietly for the meeting to end and then enter and unleash my rage as soon as the door opened? Should I leave campus immediately and head for the comfort and security of home? I did none of those things. Instead, I went to my office and sat in stunned silence. How could I explain this to my wife? What would this mean for my two young children? Would I ever be able to work again as a professor? The fall semester was about half over, so I mulled over having to enter the job market when I wasn't prepared to do so.

As I sat in my office that day reflecting on all of the details of my time at the institution, I began to wonder if it was really my fault. Maybe I didn't work hard enough. Maybe I was too radical, too critical…too black. Having been trained in the Social Foundations of Education (Tozer & Miretzky, 2005), I had a critical perspective on education in the U.S. I recognized the depths of the hegemony that I faced every day and how this hegemony structured and maintained institutional racism in U.S. education. Being an African American faculty member, I frequently connected with colleagues across the country who had similar experiences, so I knew that what I experienced was not at all uncommon for faculty of color teaching at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs) (Bonner et al., 2015; Jackson & Johnson, 2011). Despite these understandings, I was still overwhelmed by what I had heard, and I found myself in a great deal of emotional and psychological distress.

I'm not sure that I ever fully got over the pain. However, I was able to move forward with what had happened because I had no other choice. I didn't protest or appeal the decision even though I thought that it was blatantly unfair. I realized that even if I had successfully appealed the decision, I wouldn't feel right continuing my journey at the institution I was working at under any circumstances. That fall, I went on the market and was blessed to secure a tenure track position at a university for the next year. The university I went to was a very different place from the one that I was leaving. I found that my work and my views were respected and that having supportive colleagues as well as a supportive Chair and Dean can make a huge difference. I flourished at that place and was able to reach my full potential. I even received early tenure and was actually nominated for a teaching award as well. My department and my college advocated for social justice as an explicit part of their mission, so many of the battles that I previously fought were no longer necessary. It's not a perfect place; the specter of whiteness and threat of hegemony still lurk in every corner like a "spook" in the darkness. However, the support of

other faculty of color and a host of white allies have helped me to utilize my previous experiences (both negative and positive) as a means to navigate the difficult terrain that defines faculty life for people of color at predominantly white institutions in the U.S. (Garrison-Wade, Diggs, Estrada, & Galindo, 2012).

UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS THROUGH GUERRILLA INTELLECTUALISM

> *They can forgive a nigger almost anything other than competence.* (Greenlee, 2002, p. 90)

In analyzing my experiences as an African-American faculty member, it became clear to me that race played a major role in how I experienced being a member of the professoriate. Employing the lens of CRT, I view the professoriate and the supporting structures of university life as reflecting the dominance of White supremacy in the operation of U.S. institutions of higher learning (Villalpando & Delgado Bernal, 2002). When I discussed race and white supremacy in my teacher education classes, I was met with a forceful reaction from my students that emphasized anger, denial, and blame. Unfortunately, such a reaction is often typical of white students pursuing teacher education (Fasching-Varner, 2012; Hayes & Hartlep, 2013). The faculty in my department seemed equally resistant to discussions about race and how it affected our department, our university, and the wider local community. In my presence they often exercised their silence as a weapon; however, when discussing me in private they spoke up and utilized their access to institutional power as a means to silence my critique of whiteness both in the classroom and in the department.

It was easy for my colleagues and students to ignore and minimize my critique because of the inherent difficulty in spotting and naming whiteness and its role in education. Berry (2015) addresses this phenomenon by stating that "the difficulty of spotting Whiteness in educational arenas is that it's the invisible epistemological and ontological construct against which all others are compared and marginalized" (p. 15). Given this difficulty, the reaction of my students and faculty colleagues to critiques of whiteness is reflective of an all-consuming and ever present system of privilege and power that works against faculty of color while simultaneously working for the benefit of whites (Taylor, 2009).

My experiences in the professoriate have provided me with access to a career that reflects an ability to play a major role in both the construction and dissemination of knowledge at the highest levels. Furthermore, working at universities that emphasize research and publication at the highest levels has put me in a very privileged position. Despite the privilege generally afforded to faculty at these types of colleges and universities, they remain sites where faculty of color come face to face with White supremacy in unique and intimate ways. Working at these institutions often yields outstanding professional credentials for faculty of color while simultaneously isolating them and attacking their self-esteem and sense of identity (Stanley, 2006). Given this dichotomy, it's difficult to believe that institutions of higher education

will ever truly be able to play a major role in the creation of a just and equitable society. Although this may be considered highly pessimistic, it is a belief rooted in the concept of "racial realism" that is a hallmark of CRT (Bell, 1992). This concept recognizes the fact that these institutions are strongly ingrained in incrementalism and face little serious pressure to make sweeping changes that would benefit people of color. In fact, it can be argued that social justice was never the intent of these institutions and that their primary purpose is to maintain paradigms of oppression such as race, class, gender and sexual orientation by supporting and extending these same existing institutional arrangements (cf., Marx, 2008; Spring, 2010).

With this in mind, this auto-ethnography of my first years as an Assistant Professor represents a counternarrative to the story that colleges and universities tell about the freedom, openness, and equity of the academy. Additionally, this auto-ethnography challenges the master narrative that casts African American males as angry and incompetent individuals who have minimal aptitude for the important faculty activities associated with teaching, research, and service. Specifically, my counternarrative challenges this portrayal by highlighting personal struggles against racism and framing them in a critical race narrative that reflects larger constructs of White supremacy and the various elements of faculty agency. Inclusive of this complexity is the cultivation of subversive teaching in conjunction with radical scholarship that challenges the hegemony of the professoriate by encouraging faculty to unhook from whiteness.

This emphasis on unhooking from whiteness has potential to strongly inform the basis of what Guyanese activist/scholar Walter Rodney (1990) referred to as "guerrilla intellectualism" (p. 111). Rodney (1990) coined this phrase to emphasize the necessity of intellectuals of color challenging the "imbalance of power" (p. 111) that exists within the academy. In the context of my journey, the notion of guerilla intellectualism guided me to recognize existing power relationships in the academy and to then consider what resources and strengths that I could bring to my work in the academy. Recognizing the numerous issues that I faced and understanding the personal and professional resources that I possessed helped me to tackle these issues and move ahead in my journey as a faculty member.

In practicing guerilla intellectualism, I've found it necessary to challenge the *status quo* represented by whiteness in the academy. As a guerilla intellectual, this challenge magnified my position as someone occupying a liminal space that embodied being simultaneously rendered as both invisible and hyper-visible (Moore, 2008) within the confines of the emerging neoliberal research university (Gaffkin & Perry, 2009). I understand the difficult of such a position and do not take it lightly because it means that both my existence and my actions will most certainly be seen as a challenge to the institutional *status quo*.

My past experiences have shown me that challenging the *status quo* is a necessary part of the scholarly activism that I am committed to. However, it must be approached with an understanding that such challenges will likely engender a host of negative reactions from the institution and its adherents. While there is no definitive right

or wrong way to handle these complex reactions, it's important to me as a faculty member of color to seek the support of other faculty members of color as well the support of white allies. Likewise, it's important to draw on resources from outside of the academy (e.g. community, family, faith traditions, etc.) to obtain the necessary support to continue the struggle within a context that recognizes the importance of nurturing one's mental, physical, and emotional well being (Smith, 2004; Vakalahi & Starks, 2011).

Obtaining this broad spectrum of support is an important step in unhooking from whiteness and countering the hegemony of the academy. Doing this helps to establish a counternarrative of active resistance that challenges the "silent state" (p. 701) identified by Stanley (2006) and helps to break the "burdensome cycle" (p. 701) of anger, guilt, and shame that so often challenges faculty of color in the academy (Stanley, 2006). In turn, as these counternarratives continue to be established and communicated, they will help end the silence about the experiences of faculty of color and instead will help illuminate a path that will allow for increased recruitment and retention of faculty of color in American colleges and universities.

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CLEVELAND HAYES

2. UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS AND THE ASSAULT THAT FOLLOWS

Lynching in the Academy

> The most frequent comment in the area of teaching is that Cleveland does not display the college's dispositions of respectfulness and professionalism. Faculty members remarked on Cleveland's frequent comments on his disdain for college committees and for the teacher education faculty. The faculty feels that his unwillingness to display the agreed upon dispositions is very problematic. His problematic relationships have limited his effectiveness in the areas of teaching and advising. I do not recommend him for tenure.
>
> Department Chair Tenure Letter

> Cleveland…I know that you are incredibly angry. Believe me: We *all* know that. It's *always* extremely apparent how *you* feel. I personally perceive you to be an angry Black supremacist, if there is such a thing. And I have to keep asking myself, what would I do if you were a White supremacist instead? And my answer is always the same: anger will not change anything. It never has. It never will.
>
> E-mail correspondence, Fall, 2009 (emphasis original)

WHY I AM AN ANGRY BLACK MAN: THE DEVASTATION OF ACADEMIC LYNCHING

The above epigraphs are excerpts from my tenure letter and e-mail correspondence from a colleague in my college because I walked out of a diversity meeting when a White female professor made some flippant comment comparing her vegan lifestyle with being a phenotypical minority.

These correspondences come from a department and college that are within contexts supportive of multiculturalism and diversity, including diversity of thought. While many may look at this narrative and not see race, racism, or White supremacy, it's important to understand through the lens of Critical Race Theory (CRT) that this is my interpretation of this letter and correspondence, which is based upon my lived experience. Solórzano and Yosso (2002) argue that CRT research recognizes that the experiential knowledge of students of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 13–25.

field of education. Life stories tend to be accurate according to the perceived realities of subjects' lives. They are used to elicit structured stories and detailed lives of the individuals involved (McCray, Sindelar, Kilgore, & Neal, 2002).

To date, it's unnerving to relive this event and the others that I will describe in this chapter. Yet, I also take comfort in the fact that—to paraphrase Malcolm X here—you probably aren't saying much that is important if you aren't bringing down the violence of Whiteness upon your head as a result of disturbing Whiteness to the point that its representatives will literally and figuratively throw you off the premises. Recognizing that our individual efforts are small and insufficient—albeit our best and important to us—I posit that not until there are many more and systemic challenges to Whiteness will the ideals of freedom and democracy be realized (West, 1994).

My work as teacher educator has managed to disrupt the seemingly peaceful normativity of Whiteness in the academy sufficiently and frequently enough to have brought down upon my head retribution in the form of the domestic terrorism described in the above epigraph. One may choose to rise above these frequently considered matters of individual feelings, but the consequences of domestic violence in all its forms—including academic lynching—are real, deeply lived and felt, and destructive (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Pierce, 1974).

Domestic terrorism, in turn, is defined as "the calculated use of violence and the threat of violence, to produce goals that are political and ideological in nature." White racial domination and acts of race-based domestic terrorism occur when individuals and groups apply institutional power to (re)establish and protect, often violently, the historical privileging of Whiteness. Whites, as individuals and as a group, actively participate in (re)creating and maintaining White supremacy through processes of race-based domination and acts of domestic terrorism.

In contrast to times past when the emphasis was on grossly explicit, physical, and bodily assaults, the substance of contemporary White racial violence resides instead in the subtle, cumulative mini-assaults and micro-aggressions that in isolation and in the immediate may seem harmless, *even comical* (especially to those who are not targeted).

DIANE AND CLEVELAND: TWO TEACHER EDUCATORS; ONE WHITE, ONE BLACK

Diane is a White female, with an Ed.D. from a major university in the western part of the United States. She believed the best way to achieve social justice is not to name it. Her discourse is framed by privileging notions of the individual rather than a critique of systemic issues of inequality. She states, "I'd like it if we could view each other as just another good person just trying to make it in this world, each doing our part for social justice, each learning from each other, and each open to the love that lives in all of us, Black or White or Cherokee. You might be very surprised to hear my story" (Hayes & Juárez, 2009).

I (Cleveland) am a Black professor who received my Ph.D. with an emphasis in social justice and educational foundations. I was hired at the University of La Verne to teach the single subject methods course in the teacher education program. According to the hiring committee and administration, I was hired to help the teacher education faculty move toward their goal of realizing teacher preparation for social justice. Part of my job duties was to work closely with Michelle to develop a new single subject credential program.

PURPOSE OF INQUIRY

For the purposes of this chapter, I employ a qualitative methodology of auto-ethnography and illustrate the concept of "unhooking from whiteness" with a focus on the enterprise of antiracism. This chapter argues that McIntosh's (1989) oft-used metaphor of "unpacking the invisible knapsack," while popular, does little to challenge racism or other forms of oppression in the same way "unhooking" might. "Unhooking from Whiteness" is a process of breaking what Lee (1996) calls the "hegemonic device." Lee defines *hegemonic device* as the strategy used by White peoples to maintain the racial hierarchy while also setting the standard for how minorities should behave; and when we are not well-behaved minorities, what is seen is that Whiteness is an identity that is neither problematized nor particularized within discourses on race because it assumes a status of normalcy (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Fasching-Varner, 2009; Harris, 1995; Tate, 2003). Breaking the hegemonic device disrupts the dominance of White peoples in the racial hierarchy by redirecting the "causes" of racial inequities back to their root causes.

Auto-ethnographic methods are effective for this chapter because, according to Leonardo (2009), in order for White-racial knowledge—and in the case of this work, whiteness—to be ameliorated we all must be self-critical on several fronts. Leonardo (2009) argues that we must critically decode much of what comes across as "race free" and analyze the racial underpinnings of White knowledge and, in this case, whiteness. Auto-ethnographic methods, according to Douglas and Carless (2013), are centered on the hidden aspects of our lives and on stories and bodies that have been silenced, marked, and stigmatized and forgotten. While these narratives can serve as models for unhooking, the processes described in the narratives are individual. The stories are used to inform the writers of the narratives in their anti-racist work (Douglas & Carless, 2013; Leonardo, 2009).

The purpose of this chapter is to extend the existing literature on multicultural teacher education by examining the physical, structural, symbolic, psychological, and other forms of violence directed at people of color and others targeted as threats or potential threats to Whiteness in teacher preparation programs, as well as the ways these forms of violence serve to maintain the continuing inadequacy of teacher preparation. What happens when individuals explicitly align themselves and speak out against Whiteness?

In the paragraphs below, I attempt to show how domestic terrorism functions to actively, explicitly, and aggressively support and protect the historical privileging of Whiteness, and to make the case that the racial power of Whiteness must be interrupted and reconfigured. I begin by discussing the term I introduce—academic lynching—as a form of domestic terrorism and a product of White racial domination used to maintain White supremacy. I then briefly review the analytical tools of CRT and introduce my story as a way to track and interrogate the use of domestic terrorism in teacher education (Juárez & Hayes, 2015).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY

Following Dixson and Rousseau (2006), we use the six unifying themes of CRT to frame our exploration of Diane's and my respective narratives. According to the authors, the six unifying themes that define Critical Race Theory are that it (1) recognizes that racism is endemic to American life; (2) expresses skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy; (3) challenges a-historicism and adopts a stance that presumes that racism has contributed to all contemporary manifestations of group advantage and disadvantage; (4) insists on recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color; (5) is interdisciplinary; and (6) works toward eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression.

Pointedly, the legitimacy of CRT in education has already been established (Ladson-Billings, 1998). According to Ladson-Billings (1998), CRT in education names one's own reality as a way to link form and substance in scholarship. CRT in education allows for the use of parables, chronicles, stories, and counterstories to illustrate the false necessity and irony of much of current civil rights doctrine: we really have not gone as far as we think we have. Instead, we have put another coat of paint on society and call it something new. Adopting CRT as a framework for educational equity means that our aim is to expose racism in education and propose radical solutions for addressing it (Ladson-Billing, 1998).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND COUNTERSTORYTELLING: A METHODOLOGY

Centering the experiential knowledge of subordinated people (Delgado, 1994), Critical Race Theory (CRT) is a useful framework for exploring the question of domestic terrorism and the continuing failure of U.S. teacher preparation. "CRT is a race-based form of oppositional scholarship developed in the late 1980's because of the perceived failure of traditional civil rights litigation to produce racial reform that could change the subordinated status of people of color in U.S. society" (Love, 2004, p. 228). Based on commitments to societal transformation, CRT attempts to foster circumstances within education that eliminate the likelihood of race to predict negative schooling and life outcomes.

In this chapter, I draw on the CRT approach of using my professional experiences to create a composite counterstory that examines the violence perpetrated by acts of domestic terrorism within teacher education and how this violence helps to sustain the continuing inadequacy of teacher preparation. As previously noted, counterstories serve as an entry point illustrating how subordinated people fight interlocking race, class, gender, and spiritual oppression (Knight, Norton, Bentley, & Dixon, 2004); they likewise provide a forum for communities of color to call into question White middle class communities as the standard by which all others are judged, and therefore are used as a tool for exposing, analyzing, and challenging the collective racial privilege of Whites (Delgado, 1995; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Yosso, 2006). In this chapter, I share and discuss my experiences as teacher educator, conveyed through a composite story, as a way to critically analyze the domestic terrorism of Whiteness as a form of racial power structuring social justice endeavors in U.S. teacher preparation programs.

CROSSING EPISTEMOLOGICAL BOUNDARIES TO CHALLENGE WHITENESS THROUGH NARRATIVE

Building from this counterstorytelling tradition in CRT, then, I bring a variety of data sources to help construct the composite story I share in the paragraphs below. The sources I draw from to create this composite story include my respective personal and professional experiences, and those of my colleagues and friends who have likewise challenged and thus become targets of Whiteness, along with literary and historical sources from outside of the formal educational research realm, and existing research on teacher education (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002). I also include in my story, as data for my analysis of teacher preparation program, documents (e.g., syllabi, meeting minutes, e-mails, department memos, and other written institutional artifacts) and formal and informal, individual and focus group interviews I've conducted.

JUST DO WHAT WE TELL YOU: ACADEMIC LYNCHING

Historically, this country has relied on violence to maintain White supremacy. This violence has come in many forms including Indian genocide and removal, the enslavement and chattel slavery of Africans and African Americans, the conquest of Mexican lands in the Southwest parts of the United States, Chinese exclusion and Japanese internment (Gaskins, 2006). However, the most publicized examples of this violence are the lynchings of Blacks that occurred as a terrorizing form of social control for 100 years during the Jim Crow era of formal racial apartheid in the U.S.

Today these types of physical violence towards those who attempt to upset Whiteness are not occurring as openly and explicitly. Nonetheless, as Malcolm X observed (as cited in Gaskins, 2006), racism [and therefore lynching], is like a Cadillac—a new model is produced every year. In other words, the lynching of

those who upset Whiteness continues albeit in different (new and improved?) forms; it's the same outcome, the violence is just expressed in a form different from that endured by many during previous eras of struggles for equality.

For those of us in higher education, especially those at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs), lynching has been reconfigured into a new model that I refer to as academic lynching. I draw from several frameworks to develop my working definition of academic lynching. Primarily, I draw from the tenet of Critical Race Theory (CRT) that recognizes the property of Whiteness because, as I see it, there are direct correlations between Whiteness as property and academic lynching.

CRT scholar Harris (1995) describes the "valorization of Whiteness as treasured property in a society structured on racial caste" (p. 277). Harris (1995) also argues that Whiteness conferred tangible and economically valuable benefits, and it was jealously guarded as a valued possession. According to Harris there is a certain absoluteness or inalienability to Whiteness. Fasching-Varner (2009) argues that people vested in the value of Whiteness experience a high sense of value; they have a sense of certainness and absoluteness about their own value and their sense of belonging and entitlement to all that surrounds them. I argue that when people in the academy begin to attack the benefits associated with Whiteness they in turn become victims of academic lynching. Academic lynching can take many forms. The helping committee I received at third-year review is one example in this case: the hostility was so great I asked for a departmental transfer. It should be noted that in order for me to be granted the departmental transfer, the old department demanded a tenure vote (see the above epigraph). The faculty in my old department did not want to talk to me, but they wanted to talk about me. I was given a "helping" committee to help make and mold me into a well-behaved minority (Hayes & Juárez, 2009). An illustration of why I was given a helping committee will be shown later in the chapter.

Yes, I was granted tenure in the end, but I still was—and continue to be—a victim of the White violence. As Fasching-Varner (2009) argues, Whites often attempt to determine what kind of Blackness is acceptable to them, how that Blackness should be expressed, and how one gets disqualified or excluded from Whiteness through one's Blackness—tame versions of Blackness ONLY allowed! My helping committee worked to distance me from my Blackness in order to be included in Whiteness—they wanted a Black body, but NOT one that expressed too much Blackness.

As Fasching-Varner (2009) argues, Whiteness in Colleges of Education attempts to control Blackness as property value for the institution in an attempt to determine and dominate what teacher educators individually and collectively teach, how they think, and how they take up issues of diversity and equity in the classes they teach. In the end, the academic lynching is aimed at preserving Whiteness and the value associated with it by eliminating through violence any challenges or potential challenges to its established superiority.

CLEVELAND'S STORY: I SIMPLY ASKED A QUESTION

"I've been sitting here and I'm sorry, but I've got to ask. Why is there a modification for poverty on the lesson plan form? My fear is that teachers will lower their expectations for students who come from lower socioeconomic groups." When I asked the question, the work of Kozol (1991), Macleod (1997), and Valdes (1996) came to mind, so I knew that the lowering of expectations happens based on social class.

"That will not happen," Michelle replied.

I, however, had already heard teacher candidates in the class make negative comments about children from homes impacted by poverty and about how they would not hold the same high expectations for students who come from lower socioeconomic situations as for students who come from economically privileged backgrounds.

Coming from a doctoral program with an emphasis on Whiteness and the roles of race, class, and gender—and based upon my own teacher education program completed 20 years ago—I thought it would be okay to raise the question. The idea in posing the question was to create a dialogue about race and class. I even had hopes that Diane would give me an opportunity to share with her class some of my research and give the students some feedback on how not to fall into the trap of lowering expectations based on socio-economic class. I was hoping that my ideas and comments would provide a counter-argument to Ruby Payne's (1998) book, *A Framework for Understanding Poverty*, which is the foundational text in the diversity class.

I was shocked by her reaction. She immediately silenced me. This was the first instance of where Diane let her Whiteness show and the lynching began. Coming from a person who expressed a desire to learn CRT, Diane stood straight up and proceeded to tell me why, based on her own personal experiences growing up in poverty and having had experiences similar to those described by Payne (1998), race was not an important factor to consider for teaching, let alone for social justice. It was not about race, she said, it was about class. Validating her experiences as more important and legitimate than mine while discrediting my experiences and the research in the field, Diane came to my office and told me not to come back to her class. I was not welcome to shadow her class any further.

So, the next day, I was in my office with the door closed. I usually keep my office door closed because I had learned early on at this university that when I am working on my research it's important to keep the door closed. My White colleagues were often offended not only by the comments I made about the Whiteness of our program and its content, but also by the materials in my office including books, articles, and more reflecting the experiences, values, and traditions of communities of color. Diane thus could not just "pop" into my office; she had to open the door and physically cross over into my space. The fact that she opened my door without

knocking once again provides an example of White domestic terrorism. She felt that her Whiteness gave her permission to enter my closed space without giving me the courtesy of respecting my Black space. She was playing the victim, and, as I will show later, she was rallying and assembling the lynch mob.

When Diane walked into my office, this is the conversation that took place:

Diane: We need to talk about class and what happened on Monday. What you did in class on Monday was inappropriate.

Cleveland: I thought your response was inappropriate; I was simply asking a question. The students need to hear and be engaged in this kind of dialogue.

Diane: No, they do not.

Cleveland: I also need my CRT and Whiteness Theory literature back; I am going to write about this experience.

I guess Diane was expecting me to apologize at that moment. I did, later, when I realized that apologizing was in my best interests if I was to survive in my job—yet another example of where White people expect Brown people to obey the rules of White people like *well-behaved minorities* (Juárez & Hayes, 2015).

Well, during this time, little did I know that Diane was assembling the lynch mob. To me it felt like something straight out of *Mississippi Burning* when the uppity Negro needs to be put back in his place. She had already gone to the program chair and the department chair, and had also involved another faculty member whom I was helping with regard to graduate student advisement. Other than telling me she thought I was inappropriate, however, Diane had not come to me to discuss the incident.

For me, Diane's use of Whiteness as domestic terrorism was shown when she felt it was not necessary to familiarize her students with the epistemological traditions of people of color or to know their research. Outside of dominant White ways of knowing, there are other interpretations of the world and sources of knowledge; Diane is not the only "sage on the stage." I felt that with all of her talk about how she is not part of the majority and has a non-majoritarian story, Diane's story and actions fit perfectly within the form and content of Whiteness. Michelle showed me her Whiteness when she insisted on controlling the conversation about teacher education for social justice and defining its limits (Camper, 1994).

The weekend after Thanksgiving break, my academic lynching began. I was asked to meet with the department chair. When I went into the department chair's office, I was presented with a letter and was informed that he had already contacted Human Resources. I thought the department chair should have met with me informally to give some guidance and mentorship to me as a new faculty member before this meeting since the situation had happened a month prior. Based on the climate of Whiteness in our department, Michelle's stories were seen as much

more legitimate than mine. The department chair had made up his mind about my performance without giving me what I would consider due process. This lack of due process was similar to the lynchings of the Jim Crow South.

AND YOU WONDER WHY I AM AN ANGRY BLACK MAN

To be considered strange or arrogant by students is one experience, I posit, that has differently weighted consequences depending on who the targeted individual is—more specifically what he or she looks like. Being named as strange and arrogant in the institution does not carry enough weight on its own to silence me. It's only when being named as strange and arrogant in the institution is combined with other institutional practices that the cumulative consequences are likely to result in serious harm for the individual named as deficient. These are the practices that I name as academic lynching.

It's when multiple institutional practices combine to name and reinforce the naming of the individual as deficient that the serious repercussions begin to emerge. A web of social meaning ascribed to and locking in the targeted individual is produced as an outcome of multiple practices enacted by representatives of the institution. For most members of higher education, the institutional practice of annual faculty reviews are made concrete in the form of official letters that articulate the institution's assessment of their performance as defined by representatives of the institution, usually administrators. The convergence of formal and informal institutional practices—for example, student evaluations, faculty reviews, and interactions with administrators and others in both official meetings officially and unofficial hallway conversations—combine to produce a fairly durable, stable, and authoritative definition of us as deficient against the hidden referent of Whiteness.

As the following excerpted documents suggest, the way I present myself and communicate with others is problematic (for the institution and its representatives); I am too Black. *I am too Black* becomes visible when, in response to my Blackness, representatives of the institution organize a committee—a helping committee—to help me learn to communicate more effectively, that is to say, in a way that is more acceptable to Whites. Addressed to senior faculty members, an official letter in my personnel file describes the purpose of the helping committee organized by administrators representing the institution. This letter reads:

> Thank you for volunteering to work with Cleveland through a helping committee. The area of greatest concern that the faculty has perceived his passion for social justice as being too confrontational or impatient with others' development in ability to understand these social justice issues.

Within this letter, I'm officially defined as "too confrontational" and too "impatient" with others—White people. My passion for social justice is officially named as a problem (for the mostly White faculty). Drawing on institutional authority, the practice of organizing a helping committee is an act of power that

formally locates me as being outside of the institution's standards. I've crossed an implied line of what I may speak about and how I may speak.

According to the institution, I am expected to be less confrontational, more patient, and therefore softer and gentler in my approach to social justice with those around me, if I am to remain within the boundaries defined by the institution as acceptable. Interestingly, the greatest concern conveyed through the letter is not about realizing social justice but rather my apparent inability to communicate with others (White people) in a way that they deem acceptable and are willing to listen to.

Despite the efforts of the helping committee to help me speak about social justice in ways more palatable to Whites, I was defined by the institution as falling short and, thus, still crossing boundaries it sets for appropriateness. My failure to conform to the rules of Whiteness in my ways of speaking about social justice are conveyed in a follow-up letter that also remains in my personnel file:

> His colleagues have noted some growth, but there needs to be significantly more growth. His passion about his social justice agenda often presents itself as inflexibility and as a lack of ability to consider others' perspectives. Cleveland comes across as arrogant and as if he always needs to be right.

Once again, my passion for social justice is named by the institution as problematic (for White people). It's an act of power for the institution to define me as having made "some growth" toward speaking in more White-accepted ways, but still falling short of the normative standard. Assigning negative characteristics to my personality and character—that is to say, "arrogant," "uncaring," "inflexible," and "too passionate"—use the evaluation as a control mechanism by the institution to shift attention away from the institution's hidden referent of Whiteness toward me and my apparent inability to get along with others, particularly my colleagues. The Whiteness remains undisturbed, and thus protected, with the focus shifted to me and my perceived personality deficiencies, the solution to which is a committee designated to help me get along better with others.

Hence, the Whiteness of the institution is (re)secured, as representatives of the institution draw on their authority to use formal evaluations practices to name us as not credible and to thus sanction us for our on-going critiques of the Whiteness in teacher education. By naming me as deviant, they imply that the problems are located within me—I am too Black. Official documents defining me as outside of reasonable have been used against me to sanction me by threatening my continued employment and job security. In my mind this is no different than what Southern Whites did to Blacks in the South during Jim Crow.

CONSIDERING POLITICAL RESISTANCE AND THE POLITICS OF WHITE RACIAL DOMINATION

I am here concerned with processes of White racial domination and the ways that this relationship of power structures group advantages and disadvantages in U.S.

society and, accordingly, influences the lives and experiences of individuals with substantial, negative consequences for teacher education and other key social domains. Using a composite counternarrative methodology, I went on a journey of learning to struggle against the systemic privileging of Whiteness. Specifically, I worked backwards from my major clashes with the dominance of Whiteness by tracing representative key events of Blackness-centering resistance that led up to my literal and symbolic expulsions from respectability within particular institutional contexts.

Breaking the hegemonic device disrupts the dominance of Whites in the racial hierarchy by redirecting the "causes" of racial inequities back to their root causes. This transformative resistance—a process I call *unhooking from whiteness*—forces persons and groups racialized as *White* and *Other than White* to see themselves as not racially neutral. I suggest that White dominance is created and maintained in large part by White people individually and collectively, and at times with the support and assistance of people and groups identified as racial minorities, through processes of White racial domination via the decisions, actions, and interactions of individuals and groups that further the historical privileging of Whiteness in terms of Whites' collective interests, histories, beliefs, values, and accomplishments.

The process of unhooking from whiteness allows all—from their specific, albeit differently valued subject locations within society in relation to the historical privileging of whiteness—to be held accountable for participation in decision-making and practices that combine to result in the patterned exclusion of those marked as racially *Other than White*. Toward this goal of rendering visible for examination the process of unhooking from whiteness, I draw on the possibilities of auto-ethnography to create and then "unpack" narratives of my experiences as a teacher educator engaging in and working to challenge and ameliorate the constraints of liberals and their privileging of Whiteness; I do this by highlighting moments within my professional and personal life when the tenets of liberalism have been deployed as part of the processes of White racial domination to maintain the supremacy of Whites. My hope is that by exposing the moments in which liberalism is deployed as a weapon to maintain and sustain white dominance, we can also highlight moments in which it becomes possible to work against and challenge these very same tenets of liberalism (Delgado Bernal & Solórzano, 2001; Fasching-Varner, 2009; Lee, 1996; Lewis, 2006).

By highlighting the ways that systemic privileging of Whiteness is enacted and experienced within my personal and professional life, I hope that it becomes possible to better understand and work toward interrupting the processes of racial domination that help to maintain the whiteness of U.S. society's key institutions, teacher education included. My story provides a resource for understanding complex social processes as they occur within the relationships and contexts we are situated within and as they influence our lived experiences and opportunities. Accordingly, storytelling provides us with a helpful tool to challenge the existing racial hierarchy.

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NICHOLAS D. HARTLEP

3. THE PARANOID PROFESSOR

Invisible Scars from Unhooking from Whiteness and Their Impact on Teaching

Have you ever felt paranoid? In this chapter I share personal examples of my own paranoia, the consequence of my "unhooking from whiteness" (cf., Hartlep, 2015; Hayes & Hartlep, 2013). Specifically, I share the mental manifestations and material losses that I have incurred as a direct result of my decision to unhook from whiteness—in many cases a function of the fact that I am an outspoken critical scholar of color who is employed at a Predominantly White Institution (PWI) of higher education and who doesn't adhere to the omertá of whiteness.

When I suspected that I was becoming paranoid during my first year as an Assistant Professor—because I never used to be paranoid, even in graduate school—I looked up the word "paranoid." In searching for a definition, I learned that paranoid personality disorder (PPD) is a mental disorder characterized by paranoia and a pervasive, long-standing suspiciousness and generalized mistrust of others. Individuals with this PPD, so I learned, may be hypersensitive, feel easily slighted, and relate to the world by habitually and vigilantly scanning the environment looking for clues or suggestions that may validate their fears or own biases. While I don't feel that I have a clinical form of PPD, I do regularly feel paranoid as a professor of color at the PWI where I work, something I have written about elsewhere (cf., Hartlep, 2015).

Although being paranoid is something relatively new to me—neither had I felt paranoid as an elementary school teacher—I'm highly intrigued that the symptoms of PPD are eerily similar to those of Racial Battle Fatigue (RBF), a term William Smith coined for "the physiological and psychological strain exacted on racially marginalized groups and the amount of energy lost dedicated to coping with racial microaggressions and racism" (Smith, Allen, & Danley, 2007, p. 555). While I've written about my RBF experiences elsewhere (Hartlep, 2015), in this chapter I highlight how my personal choices and professional (in)actions have affected me in higher education, namely that I've become what I refer to as "a paranoid professor."

In this chapter I share the scars that I've received as a consequence of my intentional choice to unhook from whiteness as a pre-tenured Assistant Professor of Educational Foundations, and the impact these (in)visible scars have had on both my teaching and non-academic life. The auto-ethnographic insights that I share

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 27–33.

are important in the context of higher education generally, and teacher education specifically, because the overwhelming majority of teacher education students are white and female, while an even smaller percentage are faculty of color; these realities perpetuate silence and continue stasis. As Sleeter (2001) warns, "[T]he overwhelming presence of Whiteness can be silencing" (p. 101). I also address the mythology surrounding the realities of paranoia in higher education. I argue that Hollywood depictions of the paranoia that professors experience are problematic, mostly because these narrow portrayals are simplistic caricatures and can lead to inaccurate understandings of racism in the academy.

Myths and Realities of Professorial Paranoia

I believe that there is a false sense of what paranoia looks like and feels like for professors. From my critical perspective, Hollywood movies have contributed to what I will call here, for lack of a better term, a professorial paranoia mythos. A tangible example of this mythology can be seen in the 2001 movie *A Beautiful Mind,* in which Russell Crowe plays mathematics professor John Nash. *A Beautiful Mind* dramatizes the life of professor Nash, who in real life suffered from paranoia and schizophrenia. The movie received an Academy Award for Best Picture in 2001. Unfortunately, the highly acclaimed film gives the impression that the mental illness (or the professorial paranoia) Dr. Nash experienced was a result of his brilliance—hence the title: "A Beautiful Mind." It's unfortunate that the film forwards the notion that brilliance is accompanied by mental illness because it minimizes the seriousness of schizophrenia and makes it seem interesting.

My Reality

First, I am not a brilliant, Endowed Professor like Dr. Nash was. No Nobel Prizes for me. No Ivy League education. I would also like to point out that, at least in my situation, paranoia began when I became an Assistant Professor. Dr. Nash is portrayed as already showing signs of paranoia while completing his doctorate at Princeton; the symptoms grow more intense when he is a professor at Massachusetts Institute of Technology (MIT). The professorial paranoia Dr. Nash suffers from in *A Beautiful Mind* is linked to his genius (or hubris), but what if the source of paranoia for some professors in real life was something altogether different? Dr. Nash was white, but what if some professors of color were paranoid due to racism (both institutional and individual)?

My paranoia is neither caused by schizophrenia nor my brilliance. It manifests from the fact that I am constantly monitored and made to feel incompetent by my colleagues and administrators, which wears me down physically, emotionally, physiologically, and cognitively. Women often describe the phenomenon of being "mansplained" to. I, too, have been on the receiving end of "mansplaining"—mostly from white, full or emeritus professors. My fatigue, in all of its forms, coupled with

my past experiences with racism, frustrates me; it also makes me suspicious of individuals and the very institution that writes my paycheck. My suspicion causes me to mistrust others and the colorblind institutional processes.

Meanwhile, my exhaustion has the potential for resulting in poor judgment. One such misjudgment was when I became so frustrated with being micro-invalidated that I was dismissed from a search committee because I publicly said the search process appeared to me to be following what Derrick Bell (1980) labeled white "interest convergence." I detail this incident below.

I have found that my hypersensitivity and irritability are heightened because I choose to unhook from whiteness when I speak about issues of inequity in forceful and honest ways with students and colleagues. Speaking candidly makes people who benefit from whiteness feel threatened and insecure. As Alinsky (1989) writes, "The Haves are the authorities and thus the beneficiaries of the various myths and legends that always develop around power" (p. 99). Speaking against hierarchy and oppressive power is important for disrupting the domination of whiteness on people's mindsets and frames of understanding. According to hooks (2003), "When we stop thinking and evaluating along the lines of hierarchy and can value rightly all members of a community we are breaking a culture of domination" (p. 37). Higher education is hierarchical by its very nature, and when professors disrupt such hierarchies, whiteness is disturbed and domination is challenged.

UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS: A CRITICAL MINDSET, CHOICE OF BEHAVIOR, AND MATERIAL ALLEGIANCES

To me, "unhooking from whiteness" can mean many things (cf., Hayes & Hartlep, 2013). Foremost, it can mean being an outspoken critic of racism, whenever and wherever it happens. This may require chutzpah: that I speak at (in)opportune times may cause me to "stick out." Because unhooking requires speaking truth to power, even if doing so will result in personal disadvantage and/or professional loss, I view it as a critical mindset. In my experience, unhooking from whiteness frequently results in isolation. For instance, if someone unhooks from whiteness, s/he automatically becomes an outsider to many higher education practices. "Outsider" status naturally makes it difficult to access resources that are protected and distributed by those who are inside the system and who operate by *quid pro quo,* which (re)inscribes the *status quo* and the hierarchies inherent in inequitable hierarchical and competitive systems. If you "behave" (subscribe to whiteness), you may receive material and economic resources—annual "merit" increases, awards, publication opportunities, speaking engagements, etc.—but your allegiance is to a system that is oppressive and does not respect humanity. Because of this reality, I don't adhere to the *Esprit de corps* in higher education.

One incident in which I broke the omertá of whiteness resulted in me being professionally assaulted and personally discredited. The particular incident was

when I served on a search committee. Frustrated because I felt my insights and contributions were not being taken seriously, I spoke up, indicating that I was experiencing micro-invalidations on the committee. I shared with the other search committee members that I felt the pool of candidates was not diverse either in ideological terms or background in higher education. As time went on, my experiences didn't improve. If anything, they got worse. Staying on the committee was mentally draining for me. One day, after a very difficult committee meeting, I posted on my personal Facebook page that I felt as though the search committee was merely theatre and spectacle—really that white "interest convergence" was at play—and that I was becoming extremely frustrated by the institutional process. I felt like I was a high school student serving on the Junior Prom planning committee, and although the teachers said the committee would plan the dance, it was actually the "adults" who were ultimately planning the evening's event.

What angered was that I sought to be on the committee to help ensure the candidate selected would be progressive and be an ally for critical scholarship and teaching. According to a confidential letter that I received from the Human Resources (HR) Office—only days after my post on social media—my personal communication broke confidentiality, which is why I was being removed from the committee effective immediately. Confused, I emailed the HR administrator who sent me the letter, asking for clarification. She replied that my post was "grossly unprofessional" and that she would not elaborate further. Frustrated, I spoke with other members of the search committee. They were equally confused about my sudden excommunication. I have a quote on my office door that reads, "To learn who rules over you, find out who you cannot criticize." That day I learned who ruled over me—the PWI did not like me criticizing the search process for being racist, classist, sexist, and homophobic, among other descriptors. Still unaware of why my post led to my censorship, I followed up again with the administrator for further explanation. It was then that I learned that she had taken a job at another university. I was left more paranoid: Did she get me off the committee because she knew she would be leaving the university and would not have to account for her action? Suffice it to say: the experience of serving on the search committee was isolating for me because when my colleagues learned about my sudden departure, I was discredited via closed-door gossip as not being a "team" player or as someone who did not uphold "process." The impact of being dismissed from the committee was a professional assault and left me personally discredited and visibly scarred. The paradox for me was that speaking against the system—for the purpose of greater inclusion and diversity in the hiring procedure—made me appear to be a bad person, someone who couldn't "get along with others." Meanwhile, those who didn't speak against the university (or who did, but remained on the committee) were viewed as being "honorable" when I was made to be an example. My reality informs me that the opposite is always true: silence only helps the oppressor.

Critical Mindset

For me the acronym SFE typically stands for Social Foundations of Education, but on that day those three letters stood for something else. Surely my paranoia comes from Stress, Fatigue, and Exhaustion (SFE). The sources of my S-F-E were the fighting, the questioning, and my critical mindset. *I fight* because there is a war going on—and the critical side is not winning. If you're not angry, you're not noticing. *I question* because I don't ever want to be a "period": I want to be a "question mark" and always to be asking questions. *I am critical* because I cannot believe the lies that are (re)told—I hope for a revolution because reform doesn't lead to radical results. As the un-attributable but frequently circulated quote goes: "In a time of universal deceit, telling the truth is a revolutionary act."[1] To unhook from whiteness is a revolutionary act, and it's an act that has caused me to experience paranoia in the place where I practice my profession and exert my time, energy, and talents.

For professors of color, maintaining a critical mindset while teaching at a PWI is very tiring because of race-related stress. Smith, Yosso, and Solórzano (2006) "discuss the race-related stress faculty of color confront when navigating through historically white universities" (p. 300). They note psychophysiological symptoms such as headaches, anxiety, insomnia, mood swings, and increased swearing or complaining. I have experienced these symptoms, as I am sure others have who work at PWIs.

Choice of Behavior

Behavior is learned. We are socialized to *act* (read: "behave") in certain ways—be it good, bad, or ugly. Higher education is no exception to this rule. When I interviewed for my current position I wore a suit and a tie. Clearly I chose to dress this way for the interview because I suspected I was expected to do so. Would I have been offered the position if I wore jeans and a t-shirt? What about a tank top or basketball jersey? It is too late to go back and find out, but most likely not. If you attend an academic conference, more often than not there will be presentations delivered through PowerPoint. PowerPoint is the medium many in higher education use, and refusal to use PowerPoint at a conference often results is questioning an individual's behavior: Why didn't you use a PowerPoint for your paper?

In many ways racism continues unimpeded because of uncritical behavior that sustains and protects whiteness. For example, Thompson (2004) discusses how whiteness is maintained in scholarly writing due to the way many academics report their research using the American Psychological Association (APA) manual. Can an academic submit their work to a journal that requires APA citations, in an alternative form? Sure, that person could. But, the article would be sent back to the author. Despite the fact that professors have choices when it comes to where they submit their work for consideration of publication, whiteness is still maintained because

journals that attempt to break away from oppressive practices—for instance, by publishing poetry and alternative formatted work like digital media, art, etc.—are effectively relegated to the fringes of academe. The ideology of whiteness is further maintained via editors and editorial boards that reject critical studies that are submitted for publication.

Ursula K. Le Guin (1973/1993) wrote a short story about a seemingly perfect city, the fictional Omelas. The perfectness of Omelas and the happiness of its citizens rest on one inconvenient truth: a child is living a life of cruel abuse in the basement of a building. The ones who walk away from Omelas represent those who could not live in a society that scapegoats one for the happiness of everyone else. Likewise, unhooking from whiteness requires choosing how you behave and act.

The critical scholars who wish to unhook themselves from whiteness will need to be brave souls, like *The Ones Who Walked Away from Omelas*, but they will also have to be willing to live with the possibility that they may not gain tenure or promotion despite the fact their ideas and writing are very critical, prescient, and important. An example would be Henry Giroux, whose tenure was sabotaged by John Silber at Boston University because of his unwillingness to lie and be uncritical in his teaching and research (see Hartlep & Porfilio, 2015).

Material Allegiances

The material allegiance one has to one's world and his/her role in it is important when considering one's ability or desire to unhook from whiteness. When someone benefits from whiteness, s/he may be unwilling or unable to see how s/he directly benefits from the oppressive conditions in which s/he lives and works. Like white privilege that is invisible to whites, so too is whiteness to whites and people of color. Whiteness makes sense in a capitalistic and commercialized culture: it seems unnatural to "give up" comfort, excess, or advantage. However, when individuals live in the uncomforted or, in my case, paranoid world of unhooking from whiteness, they begin to realize the inhumanity in what we call the "real" world. The bookworm professor Nash, who writes complex theorems on the library windows, is constructed to be a bright, paranoid professor who is incessantly "inside his own head." But the reality, in my case, is that I am more than a professor. I am a father. I am a husband. I am a community member. I am a neighbor, and volunteer. I am a friend. I am… paranoid because if I weren't so, I would be hooked. I have chosen to unhook, and I suppose it is something that I have made an allegiance to: to always be suspicious… to be thought of as someone who doesn't abide by process…to be someone who is overly critical in his mindset.

CONCLUSION

One does not have to be a racist to benefit from white privilege. One can be married to a woman and be sexist. One can have a "Black" friend or an "Asian" friend and

still be racist. Heterosexuals can have homosexual friends and still be homophobic. One can stand for social justice and greater diversity and still be deemed "unworthy to serve" by those who claim to have these same values. Unhooking from whiteness has caused me to be paranoid in the classroom and the office. Is it something I would like to change? No. Because if I wasn't paranoid, what would I be? I am not the professor Schubert (1985) writes about who seeks reward in academe.

NOTE

[1] George Orwell is frequently cited as the source of this quote. However, there is no evidence he really was the originator of the quoted material.

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KENNETH J. FASCHING-VARNER

4. RESISTING THE *ESPRIT DE CORPS*

White Challenging Whiteness

INTRODUCTION

In the age of the Obama presidency many claim we live in a post-racial society. For social justice pre-service teacher educators, the mythical "post-racial" context has created a certain death for socio-cultural foundations (SCF) of education as well as culturally relevant approaches to teacher education. Simultaneously the virulent racism of the past has been replaced with what we might call "racism 2.0," a less direct but equally problematic set of engagements with race, hiding behind the thin veil of politically correct language. What is worse, the death of SCF and culturally relevant approaches systematically works to ensure that the gaps between White and non-White students remain, while education maintains its neoliberal social reproduction role in the free market (Hayes & Fasching-Varner, 2015).

To prepare pre-service educators to occupy educational environments with society's most vulnerable students, we believe pre-service teacher education must take seriously the need to return to cultural engagement of students based in SCF (Ayers & Schubert, 1992; Cochran-Smith, 2004; Crocco & Hendry, 1999; Doll, 1989; Doll, Fleener, & Julien, 2005; Dimitriadis & Carlson, 2003; Haberman, 1991; Hayes & Fasching-Varner, 2015; Hendry, 2008, 2011; King, 1991; Ladson-Billings, 1994; McLaren, 1995, Merryfield, 2000; Popkewitz, 1998; Sleeter, 1996). For my purpose I lean on Ladson-Billings' (1994) culturally relevant pedagogy as a framework by which educators might better value and address the socio-political contexts of education. Educational contexts within the United States have historically served and represented White, male, Christian, patriarchal, and heteronormative perspectives, despite K–12 students who do not mirror these characteristics. Ladson-Billings' (1994) framework suggested that setting high expectations for student achievement, enacting cultural competence, and manifesting socio-political commitments work toward equity. Such a framework, consequently, has the potential to address persistent gaps in achievement between White and non-White students that have persisted over the history of schooling in the U.S.

The U.S. teaching force is approximately 84% White, monolingual, and female (National Center for Educational Statistics [NCES], 2012). NCES (2012) suggested that over the last 25 years the teaching force has become less experienced;

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 35–46.

approximately 26% of teachers in 2011 had less than five years of experience, a sharp rise from the 8% of similarly experienced teachers in 1988. On the other hand the Pew Center for Research (2007) suggested that annually more and more students of color, and White students as well, attend school in increasingly segregated contexts; Pew suggested that in 2007, 60% of students of color attended schools that were nearly all minority and 70% of White students attended schools that were nearly all White. The complexity these demographics reveal, then, is that Black and Brown students are being taught and socialized by inexperienced White monolingual females who look, act, and sound different from them; at the same time White students are being socialized about what it means to be White by their predominately White, female, monolingual teachers who nearly all look, act, and sound like they do.

Many teachers exit their preparation programs with little or no knowledge of themselves as raced, gendered, and classed beings, with little preparation that centers on social justice, and/or with little interaction with groups outside of their own racial and cultural identity makers. My experience as a teacher educator suggests that when pre-service teachers gain experiences in settings with underrepresented students, their "mentor" teachers have often not proven to be successful with these students; thus, it is difficult for the pre-service teachers to experience sound pedagogy. When my candidates report back on their experiences, I learn that the classroom teachers often reinforce negative stereotypes about communities of color, groups with low socioeconomic standing, as well as the historically marginalized and underrepresented. Many pre-service teachers, consequently, are underprepared to identify, implement, or assess culturally responsive teaching and learning (Bell, 2002; Cross, 2005; Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012; Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin, & Bennett-Haron, 2014; Juárez, Smith, & Hayes, 2008; Hayes & Juárez, 2012). Instead of fighting against these trends, many teacher preparation programs are responding to conservative neoliberal calls to focus on accountability by placing inordinate amounts of pressure on teacher education faculty, tokenizing faculty of color, and alienating White ally faculty, while essentially obliterating attention as well as resources from socio-cultural foundations, social justice, and diversity in the preparation programs.

This chapter shares my counternarrative that highlights the challenges in teacher education, as it relates to race and the need for engaging with SCF. My counternarrative opens up a space to talk about race and challenging the *Esprit de corps* of whiteness—this clan mentality of whiteness that keeps white supremacy alive and well and silences those who challenge whiteness (Hayes, Witt, Juárez, & Hartlep, 2014). As a result, this chapter provides a set of analytical insights that can serve as a mechanism to understand why critical conversations about race are largely "unspoken" in teacher preparation programs. Finally, I offer a series of recommendations regarding how faculty members and leaders in teacher education can move forward to work towards challenging the *Esprit de corps* of whiteness.

NO LONGER A MEMBER OF THE CLAN: CHALLENGING WHITENESS

Thomas, Holly, Maggie, and the Chair

Thomas is a White, male, endowed professor in teacher education. He is in his mid thirties but brings a wealth of experiences that contradict perceptions of his age. Thomas grew up in poverty, and while he understands his life experiences may create some understandings of marginalized populations, he is also clear that growing up poor and White afforded him privileges that even people of color who grow up affluent never receive. Thomas was hired to run an elite Masters program for pre-service teachers, engaging them in an intensive single year as the candidates work toward their certification; it should be noted these candidates already possess a Bachelor in education and have completed all of the state requirements for certification except for student teaching.

When Thomas was hired, the chair was clear about Thomas's research and commitments; Thomas shared his writing, gave a lengthy job-talk about his commitments, and talked at length about his approach in his 1:1 meeting with the chair during the interview. The chair also promised that another socio-cultural foundations or curriculum theory faculty member would be hired to work alongside Thomas to run the program. A year, in the second faculty member was still not hired; the chair said, "The financials just don't add up right now Thomas; I can't get another line."

During that first year, however, Thomas reinvigorated the program. The program moved students into a single yearlong student teaching placement and ensured that all placements were in urban contexts. The program went from having lost its accreditation prior to Thomas's arrival, to being reaffirmed due to the revisions that Thomas created. The clinical supervisors were now drawing on evaluation and assessment tools in the field that were based in Culturally Relevant Pedagogy as well as data-informed practice, and everyone in the program was relatively happy.

Many supported Thomas's work, but two associate professors—Holly and Maggie—were not happy with what Thomas was doing in the program. In their minds he was wreaking havoc in the department through his advocacy for urban education and by not paying attention to supporting their strategy development work from the undergraduate program during the Master year. Holly and Maggie were also threatened by the fact that Thomas, despite his heavy administrative responsibilities, had out-published both of them combined, and even engaged the students in writing and publishing articles and a book; the program was returning to its roots as a leader in preparing teachers to be scholar-practitioners. In their disdain for Thomas, Holly and Maggie made constant micro-aggressive threats and, occasionally, public attacks. They even threatened him around the topic of tenure, but Thomas persisted.

The following year finances improved, and the department chair Charles announced at a faculty meeting that Thomas's program would hire a new faculty

member and that he had appointed Holly to chair the search committee; Thomas was still an assistant professor and though on an endowed line, Charles did not allow assistants to chair searches. Charles said that Holly would be in touch shortly about the search. Thomas approached Holly after the meeting and asked when she wanted to meet about the search. Holly replied to Thomas's inquiry with,

> Uhmm, neither you nor your program will be involved. We're gonna hire someone who's gonna contain you and this program. You focus too much on all this urban stuff, and now it's time to get to the basics of teaching or these folks will never get their kids to pass the tests.

Holly walked away and literally never spoke to Thomas again until she left the university two years later. Thomas was taken aback by Holly's behavior, to say the least, but the search continued. Holly, Maggie, and their reductionist friends on the faculty were assembled to make the search committee, and they began their work. No one from the program—faculty, clinical faculty, mentor teacher, or students—was on the search committee, despite the clear articulation that the hire was for this program.

Thomas went to Charles and demanded a discussion. The following excerpt is from their conversation:

Thomas: Why am I running a program if I don't have input on whom we hire, and my decisions about this program are undermined? Are you just using me to do the work for the program? You sure weren't upset when I redid accreditation a week into the job and all the administrative work got done. Are you kidding me?

Charles: It's complicated young man [Charles often called Thomas "young man"]. You have done things you think are good and maybe they are, in some ways. So, sure, the program is reaccredited. And yes, students and mentors may even be happy with the changes. I have been here 40 years and you curriculum people always do the same thing, pushing your agendas on everyone. I have no intention of filling the program up with people just like you with all this curriculum theory non-sense. Your are not balanced in what you do, you talk too much about this culture teaching [referring to Culturally Relevant Pedagogy], you focus entirely too much on race, and you are always going on about metropolitan education [Thomas thinks he was referring to urban education, which he did talk about, but Charles kept calling it metropolitan]. One Thomas is enough for me, and so we are going to hire a faculty member who does research on strategies that work, something that can actually help our pre-service teachers. I am sorry if you don't like it, but this is my decision.

Thomas: How could you allow her [Holly] to not have anyone from the program on the committee? You know she bullies me and you do nothing about it.

Charles: I don't have to justify anything to you, young man. You're not even tenured. I know you think you want to go up for tenure early, but that's not going to happen either—publish all you want, but I don't have to support you.

Thomas: This is not what I signed up for; you promised me help. You knew what I would do, and who I am; I sat right here and told you.

Charles: Do you have anything in writing young man?

Thomas: Wow, really?

Charles: Look, this is really simple Thomas—stop making waves, go with the flow, stop talking about how kids are so disenfranchised, and start getting to the teaching; maybe that will help. You publish a lot, and when the time is right for your tenure you will go up, and I am sure you'll be fine. You're smart, so I don't know why you aren't making this easy on yourself. I don't trust Holly, I don't even think that Holly is as smart as you, but that is not why she is chairing the search. Holly will do what I tell her to do, and that's why she is chairing this search. The curriculum theory group of faculty has had too much power for too long, and we are going to change that trajectory right now.

The conversation continued for a few minutes. Thomas left the office in great dismay, and the search continued uninterrupted. No one from the program had any input, and the search did not result in a viable candidate; they hired someone who ended up working in a different part of the unit. Four years into his time at Johnston State University (a pseudonym), Thomas still runs the program, and there is no other tenure-track support for the program. Charles was encouraged by those above him to retire, which he did, and the program continues to challenge candidates to be more inclusive, culturally responsive, and thoughtful about their approaches with underrepresented students.

DISCUSSION

Thomas's counterstory drew on real experiences in higher education, and represent some of the many challenges of the "racism 2.0" environment as it relates to engaging historically underserved students and paying attention to the socio-cultural contexts that foundations work is committed to engaging.

The university is supposed to be a safe haven for thinking and for open expression of one's commitments and research. Thomas was trained in his doctoral program to push teacher candidates toward their best potential as future educators. The core

commitment of foundations and curriculum studies is questioning the sources of power and thinking with a big "E" about the meaning of Education. As the social philosopher Hannah Arendt has been quoted as saying, "The aim of totalitarian education has never been to instill convictions but to destroy the capacity to form any." As a critical race theorist Thomas would agree with Arendt, which is why his courses' engagement in socio-cultural foundations of education creates a space to understand the gaps between White and non-White students that play out and re-replicate themselves with each generation.

Despite the "back-to-basics approaches" of the department chair, the truth is that in PK–12 public schools in our segregated post-racial "racism 2.0" society a focus of culturally relevant pedagogy is more critical now than ever. Traditional teacher education is continuing to be replaced by neoliberal-oriented alternative certifications such as Teach for America (TFA), where less and less attention is paid to justice-oriented thinking and SCF types of insights (cf., Crocco & Hendry, 1999; Doll, 1989, 1993; Dimitriadis & Carlson, 2003; Dimitriadis & McCarthy, 2001; Gay, 2002; Haberman, 1991; Hendry, 2008; King, 1991; McLaren, 1995; Merryfield, 2000; Pinar, 2012; Popkewtiz, 1998). The "limited time in training for career switchers" approach of alternative certification programs furthers the gap in experience mentioned earlier, as those programs take even less experienced teachers than traditional preparation programs and put them in the most vulnerable settings with the highest identified needs.

What Charles—as well as Holly and Maggie—fail to note is that any conversation about strategies that does not properly account for the complexity of the teaching and learning landscape will never bring about meaningful and long-lasting change. Perhaps, though, that is point: no changes are needed. The "free market" wants workers, like Holly and Maggie, as well as leaders, like Charles, to create smoke and mirrors by investing in approaches that are "known." But when these "best practices" are decontextualized, they simply do not to work. The system relies on players who genuinely believe, however, that they are making a difference. So where Holly, Maggie, and Charles treat their colleagues in atrocious manners, ironically we believe they do so with a genuine belief that their approach(es) to eliminate SCF is in the best interest of students because those types of courses are believed to be unnecessary and overly critical (cf., Hartlep, Porfilio, Otto, & O'Brien, 2015). Coupled with their genuine belief in what they do, their racism and disdain for engaging foundations make Thomas's refusal to cooperate threatening to these neoliberal players. Thomas is perceived as challenging a system on which many rely to be a part. Faculty like Thomas, consequently, will continue to be marginalized and disenfranchised so that the system can continue to run unremittingly.

THE USE OF COUNTERNARRATIVES IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST WHITENESS

Counterstories (Fernandez, 2002; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001; Taylor, Ladson-Billings, & Gillborn, 2009) challenge White supremacy by providing alternative

interpretations or understandings of social scenarios, arrangements, experiences, and outcomes regarding individuals and communities of color. Counterstories create a space for faculty of color and White allies for expressing their personal experiences of racial mistreatment as lived experiences in the academy. These stories highlight the absurdity of the dominant narratives that are the basis of how teacher preparation operates in many places. Marcus's and Thomas's counterstories are presented relatively early in this article to expose and challenge the majoritarian stories of White privilege in teacher education and larger U.S. society as the basis for the rest of our analysis (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Marx, 2006; McIntosh, 1989; Sleeter, 2001).

The counterstory presented herein challenges the Whiteness of teacher education by helping readers see why SCF and culturally relevant frameworks are simply "not spoken" in teacher education (Hayes & Juárez, 2012). Because politically correct discourse privileges silence the unspoken nature of the complexities of "racism 2.0" in the "post-racial" Obama-era, assault on and near extinction of socio-cultural foundations is difficult to reveal without counterstories such as those we present here (cf., Hartlep & Porfilio, 2015).

Following Thompson (2004), I put Whiteness at the center of my examination of U.S. teacher education in the counterstory. Thomas's professional experiences reveal racialized, not simply ideological, differences that permeate teacher education programs. We see Whiteness as an identity that is neither problematized nor particularized within discourses on race because it assumes a role as the normo-idem, or normalized identity; interestingly, *idem*, from the Latin, represents identity but also means *same*, suggesting a parallel to the way White racial identity has been normalized into the sameness of a male, Christian, heteronormativity (Tate, 2003; Fox, 2007; Garcia, 2009).

The silencing of Thomas and his program from their own hiring of faculty reveals not just attacks that center on race, but links race to considerations of SCF as an unnecessary luxury far removed from what a teacher needs. Thomas's chair enacted privilege to marginalize the voices of faculty members who challenge the normativity of Whiteness in education, exemplifying how processes of White racial domination are enacted by individuals and groups to expressly maintain the *status quo* of the neoliberal free market.

Similarly, using the hiring process as a mechanism to punish and contain faculty who are committed to SCF, curriculum theory, and/or culturally relevant pedagogy represents a perverse mechanism to maintain White superiority and privilege. One may say, "Well, Thomas is White, as were the other faculty and chair, so how is this White superiority or racism?" That Thomas's positions and approaches advocate predominately for students of color, through the commitment to urban education, signals to Holly, Maggie, and Charles that Thomas is a "race traitor" (Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996) given that they exercise dramatically different commitments as identified in their comments to Thomas throughout his time at Johnston State University. Their resistance to him, as a nexus to race, is manifestation of White

superiority. That the faculty in the story refuse to be questioned or held accountable when it comes to the engagement of students of color is highly problematic.

Moments of enacting White racial domination render Whiteness both legitimate and normal, but are very difficult to reveal without vulnerable faculty making the stories and experiences known—counterstories are an ideal mechanism, theoretically and pragmatically—to create spaces for the stories to be revealed. The buttressing and perpetuating of Whiteness as normal and dominant, through the punishment of voices that represent challenges on socio-cultural foundations, social justice, or culturally relevant fronts, cannot be easily understood within the confines of the educational metanarratives the free-market relies upon. Through our storytelling we are able to reveal persistent and problematic ways in which racism and anti-foundations approaches permeate teacher preparation.

Conversations Missing in Action

Many deans and department chairs like to believe that their colleges of education, departments, and teacher preparation programs are somehow "cutting edge" in how they approach preparing pre-service teachers for today's classrooms. Their commitment to educational equity remains to be seen, however, especially when we know that the educational outcomes for White, Black, and Brown students are not only disparate, but have been steadily so for over 50 years (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin, & Bennett-Haron, 2014). If teacher preparation programs were doing as well, we would also expect to see a narrowing of the achievement gap (among other indices). So what is going on in education, or more importantly, what's not going on? I posit that SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are often "not spoken," and will highlight a few reasons why I think this is the case.

SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when teacher education programs forcefully tell the faculty that diversity is the way "it is going, like it or not," and then shy away from actual engagement with diversity. This is particularly troublesome when programs have no courses on the history of Black, Indigenous, Asian, or Latinx education. Equally troubling is when programs ignore the demographics of surrounding communities where their candidates engage in field placements. SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when teacher education programs continue to put together hiring committees who "want" to hire faculty of color, but only when they teach "*just science*" or "*just literacy methods*." Yes, you "want very much to have a Black person in [your] department as long as that person thinks and acts like [you], shares [your] values and beliefs, [and] is in no way different" (hooks, 1989, p. 113, emphasis in the original). Often these searches end in the conclusion that "No qualified candidates of color were available."

SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when White teacher education faculty members and White students are offended by the curriculum offered through SCF, saying we spend too much time talking

about race, inequity, and social justice. White people are, to be certain, regularly offended—as demonstrated by an appallingly oppressive and bloody history known all over the world (Baldwin, 1985). After 244 years of slavery, 100 years of lynching, and 40 plus years of formal civil rights, we still seem to be moving just a little too fast for White sensibilities. I know; you do not like being continually "beaten over the head," as you say, with conversations about White racism. Yes, we remember, you "have this Black friend," which seems to justify your racism. And we know how our SCF examination of inequity makes you feel terribly guilty about being White. But, we would like to remind you that White racism may hurt all of us, but has lasting consequences for only some.

SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when there is a constant need to end every meeting, seminar, or class on a positive note, without subjecting ourselves to the "messy" and "uncomfortable" conversations that socio-cultural foundations requires. African American students cannot simply decide that today is not a good day to be Black at school, so perhaps tomorrow or next week will be better. And, forgive our incredulousness and boredom that you were not the first White person we heard say, "I didn't own any slaves and neither did my family."

SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when programs think they are "doing diversity" by inviting White colleagues to share what they learned on their [field]trip to Peru and Madagascar as keynote speakers for the university's faculty discussion forums. Taking your body into spaces of the other and coming back to tell about it does not make you an expert on diversity or culture; it makes you someone who loves to visit the margins of Whiteness and then come back to tell about its exoticness. We believe in study abroad, to be sure; one of the authors has been leading a study abroad experience with students to Chile for the last 10 years. But, do you really think it matters whether or not we require our students to do a student teaching practicum or an internship abroad when neither you nor they know how to unpack your collective "first world" White privileges?

SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when teacher education programs indignantly protest and charge faculty of color with reverse racism when they tell you that they deliberately and explicitly put the perspectives and experiences of racialized peoples at the center of their research and teaching, even though you do the same for Whiteness. Faculty of color sit in meetings where most of the faculty participants are White, except for the token people of color who are often untenured junior faculty, yet people of color are the racist ones? It is not progress just because you pulled the knife you stabbed someone with out a little bit or even all the way. Indeed, it is not progress until you admit that it was you who stabbed in the first place.

Finally, SCF and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are "not spoken" when teacher education programs are astonished, even indignant and outraged, that people of color and White allies had the audacity to question and criticize the many efforts and awards White liberals receive for helping the racialized

other and working in the racialized other's neighborhoods and schools. Why should you have to keep proving that you are one of the good Whites who get it?; every time you do you are trusted less. Well-behaved (Juárez & Hayes, 2010) people of color do indeed serve as a marvelous means of helping White people to fulfill the obligation of nobility to the ignoble (Du Bois, 1920, cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 554).

The need for the perspective of SCF, social justice, curriculum theory, and culturally relevant pedagogy is more needed now than ever. An uncomfortable silence fills the halls of the academy. Where noise is made it often has to be buried in the counternarrative, not open for all to see. When social justice and culturally relevant pedagogy through SCF becomes "spoken" in our programs, the narratives of folk like Thomas do not have to hide and lurk in the deep dark alleys in the margins of Whiteness.

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MATTHEW T. WITT

5. THE OTHER MADE BLACK

> Well, it does beat all, that I never thought about a dog not eating watermelon. It shows how a body can see and don't see at the same time.
>
> Huck, in *Huckleberry Finn*, Ch. XXXIV

> Perhaps the most insidious and least understood form of segregation is that of the word.
>
> Ralph Ellison (1953/2003, p. 81)

INTRODUCTION

In this volume's companion (Hayes & Hartlep, 2013) I wrote about personal experiences shaping my outlook as an educator facing matters of race in the classroom. In this piece I look further back, examining how the categories imposed on me as educator took shape and rooted decades before I set foot in front of the classroom, but which persist still. Keeping with Wynton Marsalis's exhortation about race in America—"The more we run from it, the more we run into it. It's an age old story" (Marsalis, 2000)—I intend with this piece to glimpse critical moments when American culture was the product of running from itself and how that avoidance shapes us today.

OF CATEGORIES AND FICTION

With an archaeologist's painstaking attention to detail and nuance, Dvora Yanow (2003) carefully excavates the pertinence for public policy and administration (the fields I teach) of race and ethnicity category-making (and derivative processes of "classification"). Categories serve purposes that cleave at least two ways simultaneously, according to Yanow: acts of sorting also entail judgment; labeling also entails exclusion (this *not* that); privileging or making salient this or that ethnic feature simultaneously also obscures similarities and other pertinent differences; to categorize at any given moment (i.e., for purposes of U.S. decennial census) inevitably means also to make irrelevant otherwise very pertinent historic patterns and flows among and between people and their cultural affiliations. Categorization can, as such, become itself the agent of perception at least as much as it's a tool useful for purposes of sorting and sifting pertinent information. As pertains to race classifications, Yanow elucidates:

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 47–61.

> When a single category is treated (poultry, "White"), the similarities of its elements (chicken, turkey, duck, Guinea hen; Italian, Irish, Polish, German) appear more salient than their differences from elements of other categories. When a set of categories is examined (meat, poultry, cheese; White, Black, Native American), it is the differences [within category set] that become more central. Classifying—assigning an element to one category or another within a set—entails an interpretive choice—a judgment—based on the relative importance of certain features over others. (Yanow, 2003, p. 11)

The sifting and re-sifting of race classifications made for U.S. census purposes—a profound parable on category-making capriciousness across U.S. history that Yanow gives account of—makes vivid how factors other than the "naturalness" or presumptive "neutrality" of categories continuously determine race classification schemes. Nineteenth century European immigration to the United States destabilized what had previously been settled "race" signifiers and typologies, making (again) turbulent what had been, according to Yanow (2003, p. 36) the "accepted, prevailing, common sense self-understanding of what it meant to be an American," especially in the case of the vast numbers of (nominally "white") Irish Catholic immigrants whose cultural affiliation with Protestant England and America was (made) profoundly antagonistic (Yanow, 2003, p. 36).

By the turn of the 20th century, the influx of Southern and Eastern European immigration brought vastly more Catholic people and, then for the first time, massive Jewish immigration also. As Yanow (2003) summarizes: "'American' still meant 'White,' but Irish, Poles, and others were seen as—and called—'Black'" (p. 36).

But not forever. The passage in 1952 of the McCarran-Walter Immigration and Nationality Act, and removal of the 1924 ban on Asian and African immigration, set in motion the alchemy of race classification which, near the end of the 20th century, would group Catholics and Jews almost entirely as "Whites" (Yanow, 2003, p. 37). This alchemy indicates that "White" and "Black" are only nominally "categorical." More significant for purposes of understanding race alchemy in the United States is the signification of white*ness* and black*ness*.

The house of mirrors quality of American race classification is vividly poignant in the catalog of Supreme Court rulings during the late-19th and early-20th centuries. Led for decades by the race classification fervor that had nestled into Northern European and American intellectual venues (especially Ivy League institutions, cf., Witt, 2006a), the U.S. Supreme Court in 1923 finally gave up on the "expert" testimony upon which it had for so long depended in immigration cases because, by Roediger's (2005) account, these classifications became so contradictory as to be useless. Reasoning in the *Thind* case (for the naturalization of an Asian-Indian litigant), the Court reversed course it had established the previous year in *Ozawa.* Roediger (2005) explicates:

> Unable to demonstrate intellectually his non whiteness, the justices told Thind that everyone (or at least the "common" American) simply knew that he was

> not white. "Common speech" and "popular understanding" were to be the new tests for whiteness, at a time when the most ambitious social scientific study of "race attitudes" of the native-born middle class found almost identical percentages wishing to exclude Japanese and Serbo-Croatian "races" from citizenship. (Roediger, 2005, p. 59)

This vigorous and deliberate sifting and sorting of people according to surface characteristics imposed on late-19th and early-20th century U.S. immigrants can be explained, up to a point, according to the category-making logic that Yanow (2003) identifies: once the salient features of "sets" emerge (*Northern* Europeans, *Southern* Europeans, *Eastern* Europeans) under any given categorization orientation, the differentiation *across* sets becomes more pertinent than the differentiation within set. Policy making practices and accompanying narratives have always been (and will always be) beset with "this *not* that" schematizing and commensurate dilemmas; yet, as Yanow reasons:

> Public policy narratives sometimes feature another dimension. In the face of incommensurable values or beliefs, people often create a myth—a narrative, not an argument or explicit explanation, although not necessarily one with a fiction like plot—which serves, at least temporarily, to suspend the tension between the incommensurables *and allow action to proceed*. […] In the process, explicit public discourse on the incommensurability is rendered *verboten*, silenced. [italics added] (Yanow, 2003, p. 8)

Initially spurned by nativist labor unions that were themselves constantly undermined by industrial agents, Eastern and Southern European immigrants (or those otherwise categorized as such) were made immediately wary of what white*ness* and black*ness* really meant in America. Blacks affiliated with African descent were barred categorically from labor unions until the 1930s, a facet of working class race bitterness that U.S. corporations became expert at exploiting, deploying all *black* (not Polish, not Irish, not Slavic) national guard regiments for a series of strike breaks during this period on the tactical premise that white laborers would not form common cause across picket lines with blacks on any terms (Grossman, 1989; Massey & Denton, 1993; Noon, 2004).

Southern black migration during this period was a major impetus to the shifting construction of "blackness" as a major demographic category. By WWI, the European labor pool feeding U.S. industrial expansion was drastically cut back, to be filled by a major influx of southern black tenant farmers and other black rural poor, themselves displaced by a Mexican boll weevil outbreak that devastated cotton crops across Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama intermittently from 1906 through 1916. Disastrous floods and plummeting cotton prices turned southern planters to food crops and livestock, both commodities requiring much fewer workers than cotton picking (Grossman, 1989; Massey & Denton, 1993). Northern and western strike breaking tactics during this period firmly fixed the animosity adopted by an increasingly pan-European "white" labor consciousness towards blacks.

The affiliation of "union-busting" with "black scabbing" by a vast, nativist-infused white working class was just one facet of the rac*ist* chrysalis from which U.S. Supreme Court rulings, public policy and administration would take shape; helping "to suspend the tension between incommensurables and allow action to proceed" (Yanow, 2003, p. 8).

The race/class dynamics of this era occurred within the context of American imperial ambitions that made useful "fiction-like" race specifications in order to jockey America into colonial competition with Europe (Zinn, 2003, pp. 297–320). Not long earlier, in 1893, Teddy Roosevelt had proclaimed with impunity that American failure to annex Hawaii was "a crime against the white civilization" (Zinn, 2003, p. 300). As the black population grew in northern urban centers, race animosity and antagonism became increasingly enfranchised by newspaper depictions and reporting deploying derogatory terminology under salacious headlines, further instantiating unchallenged race fictions and impelling a process of deeply entrenched black/white narrative to proceed (Kusmer, 1976; Osofsky, 1968; Philpott, 1978).

In order for black*ness* to garner its bitter and elusive potency across the American cultural, political, and legal landscape, the availability of variable skin pigmentation was as if made to order (Jacobson, 1998, pp. 203–222);[1] for this skin tone variation permitted, authorized, and fomented fictions that wormed through an otherwise clearly discernible interest *set* (a divested labor pool of *all* "races"), cleaving this common stake with bitter tensions. As the Church Committee (convened 1975) investigation uncovered, the FBI routinely deployed innuendo and supplied presidents with suspicion that civil rights activism was linked to communist party affiliations, despite overwhelming evidence to the contrary (Johnson, 2004; Kotz, 2005). Such innuendo was possible because it reinforced the racist imaginary order already well in place after the vast, white/black labor breach that had first yawned at the turn of 20th century.

BLACKSCAPING

During the 1970s and 1980s a word disappeared from the American vocabulary. It was not in the speeches of politicians decrying the multiple ills besetting American cities. Government officials responsible for administering the nation's social programs did not speak of it. The word was not mentioned by journalists reporting on the rising tide of homelessness, drugs, and violence in urban America. Foundation executives and think-tank experts proposing new programs for unemployed parents and unwed mothers did not discuss it. Civil rights leaders speaking out against the persistence of racial inequality did not articulate it, and it was nowhere to be found in the thousands of pages written by social scientists on the urban underclass. The word was *segregation* (Massey & Denton, 1993, p. 1).

Thus opens the exhaustive study of race-based housing segregation in the United States from 1950 to 1990 by authors Douglass Massey and Nancy Denton (1993), which found that by 1990, among 30 of the largest U.S. metropolitan areas,

all but one major city (San Francisco) was significantly more race stratified by neighborhood—with black Americans (as so classified by disambiguated census designations) geographically concentrated and isolated far more than any other race/ethnicity—than was the case any time prior to 1950. Alexander (1997); Witt (2006a, 2006b); and Witt, Kouzmin, Thorne, and deHaven-Smith (2009) corroborate these claims: a canvass of leading U.S. public administration and policy journals indicates virtually nothing pertaining to race segregation from 1940 through the rest of the century. During the very period that American metropolitan areas became more segregated by race and more black-concentrated in American urban ghettos than had ever been the case *even before major civil rights legislation*, American public affairs journals assiduously, if not systematically, avoided examination of the root causes of the most intractable problems ever encountered in the United States because they were abetted by official policy making. The linkages between race fictions, governmental duplicity, class dominance and property, education, and employment rights were thus virtually rubbed out entirely from the canvass of public administration scholarship.

Racist narratives were re-engineered beginning in the early 1980s when there rushed into conservative academic discourse new terminology—"the urban underclass"—over-writing (as if meaningless) what decades of race-classification had otherwise etched into policy and other pertinent landscapes. According to the "urban underclass" thesis, the real scourge of urban slum areas—according to authors like William Julius Wilson (1987)—originated with the segmentation within-race-group of the "truly disadvantaged." By this and kindred reasoning (e.g., public choice theory), those whom public policy putatively intended to help had in fact been trapped into a "cycle (also 'culture') of poverty." By narrowing how black*ness* had been and continued to be constructed, the "urban underclass" thesis inverted the categorization schemata that had until that time denoted race classification in America: a process of ever-expanding in-group/out-group comparisons seeking to encompass (if narrowly define) all people.

Following the logic Yanow (2003) establishes, the tack initiated by the urban-underclass thesis seems to have been to disavow the relevance that white*ness* has conferred upon those once considered "black" (Poles, Irish, Jews, Catholics in general, etc., who would become naturalized whites by custom if not official categorization) and emphasize instead the exclusive relevance of an increasingly narrow blackness. This exclusive, narrow focus has oriented policy attention to the less (black middle class), the little-bit-more (black working class), and the "truly disadvantaged," the latter group coincidentally located in highly concentrated geographic areas; very unlike their black-*like* forbears (e.g., Irish, Poles, Italians, Slavic peoples), whose housing mobility had always been, by comparison, demonstrably more fluid and far less constrained by deed and covenant restrictions (McKenzie, 1996), and who themselves often lived shoulder to shoulder in areas of high ethnic diversity (excluding, particularly after WWI, black Africans). Notably, this systematic elision from public discourse about segregationist practices so happened to neatly coincide

with a period of contracting urban labor demand and massively reduced federal subsidy for urban areas commensurate with a surge of government-provided private development subsidy for continuing suburban growth and expansion (Frug, 1996; Levine, 2006; Orfield, 2002).

MYTH MAKING AND BREAKING

The driving force behind American-fashioned blackness has not been the indifferent and/or bedeviled hand of bureaucratic category-making but instead the active cultivation by powerful actors intending to divest from a discernable class of people their civil liberties and thereby their capacity to generate real wealth with parity to white(ned) Americans, but which in actuality has divested the American creed of a founding, stabilizing covenant and unshakable values.

The next section examines three artistic works of narrative fiction (two novels: *Huckleberry Finn, Invisible Man*; one film: *The Matrix*) featuring race as either dominant motif or barely submerged in context. This examination is intended to reveal how race signification permeates American cultural consciousness, making black*ness* and white*ness* paradoxically both highly visible and invisible; an alembic turbulence that befuddles and subverts how we might otherwise make plainly evident the manner in which policy making in America and invidious categorization schemes persist unchallenged and, more worrisomely, unchallenge*able* by conventional academic inquiry and on-the-ground public administration. First will be examined *Huckleberry Finn* (1885), which provides an enduring portrait of how fragile race innocence is in America. Second, Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man* (1995) is examined, a masterpiece of race candor written by one of the most influential American (if not also international) writers of the 20th century. This novel's closing epilogue prophecies the total psychological deracination depicted in the science fiction film epic *The Matrix* (1999–2003), which, though not outwardly a commentary on race in America, is laced with race iconography and symbolism. These three works help to substantiate Yanow's (2003) insights about the role fiction plays in permitting policy action to proceed, and also to explain how perennially gullible (and culpable) white America has been made to racist (un)consciousness and to suggest how white Americans can, and must, re-conceptualize how racism now disenfranchises us all; for racism has always been a bait and switch tactic, now at the center of empty pieties proclaiming a "post-racial America."

Adrift with Huckleberry Finn

Huck and the slave Jim are two profoundly disenfranchised characters, together escaping their circumstances by drifting from Missouri down the Mississippi River. Huck is desperate to escape a brutally violent and alcoholic single parent father on the one hand, and also the oppressive conventions he attributes to life in town otherwise, beginning with his ward status under Miss Watson and the Widow

Douglass. Jim seeks to escape his bondage under slavery (owned by Miss Watson) and reunite with his wife and children down river. Huck and Jim do not initially plot their escape together, but encounter one another early en route.

Huck is among the leading archetypal incarnations of the (white) American Trickster, brimming with pluck and guile. But Huck deviates from pure Trickster amorality by, first, his abject subordination to a brutal father and also his categorical innocence (as a youth); secondly, because of his emerging love for—if not direct identification with—Jim. These features of the story form the nexus of Twain's searing indictment of and (simultaneously) soaring testament to American self-concept and race consciousness: only through the (relatively innocent) eyes and heart of youth, and then only after facing perilous challenges, can white America see past race stigmata. As a stereotype, Jim is drawn whole cloth from 19th-century racist iconography; as with the superstition he is attached to and the depictions of childlike naïveté that he is characterized with. But it's by his characterization vis-à-vis Huck and the other characters populating the novel that Jim's authenticity and humanity is revealed.

The novel has been roundly criticized since its debut, most notably in recent decades for the racist iconography Twain utilizes for rendering Jim; criticism pointing to a dubious suspension of disbelief: Why is the (white) *boy* Huck depicted as so clever and full of pluck and guile, while the (black) *man* Jim is depicted as so gullible and dependent? In order to garner any realism for readers in the 1880s (not to mention readers decades thereafter), a relationship of desperate interdependence between a white man and a black man lacks the believability and emotional dynamism necessary to elicit suspension of disbelief. Huck's pluck and guile (far beyond his years) set against Jim's naïve innocence and profound disenfranchisement in spite of his age maturity is the narrative chrysalis and central motif of the story. This staging and characterization makes possible a central reversal: the identity crisis Huck experiences once he realizes he must steal Jim back after he is stolen by two scoundrels and sold to another master.

Along their way, Huck and Jim encounter con men and desperados on the river, lunatic clans of warring factions on land, and gullible and forlorn townspeople. The novel is brimming with hilariously drawn caricatures, staging circumstances and actors that are at least as dangerous as—if not far more (if sometimes inadvertently) dangerous than—the meandering Mississippi that Huck and Jim drift during a springtime flood, when the river's currents are most treacherous as they gather from riverbanks all manner of flotsam.

Against this backdrop, the profoundly "bare life" (cf., Agamben, 1995) the two characters endure on the river is far preferable for them to the institutionally disenfranchised circumstances they face on land; not merely because of the circumstances they have escaped upriver, but because of the lunacy of life under "civilized" circumstances that they cannot escape from anywhere but on the shifting currents of dangerous waters: the moral order on land places demands on Huck he would rather defy—and thereby risk damnation—than betray his friendship with

Jim. Only adrift on a raft amidst treacherous currents and the traffic of gamblers and desperados does Huck have any chance of discovering this central basis of his humanity.

Only in the liminal space where the rules and categories ordaining right and wrong (the superego of civilization) are suspended could Huck (and Jim) have any chance of recovering their humanity and redeeming our own as readers; for the slave Jim stands little to no chance of freedom in a world absorbed to distraction with doing the *right* thing the *correct* way. Category making and breaking, the lure of culturally ordained glory and privilege, and other ordinance of superego attachments are all at the center of Twain's deceptively complex storytelling.

Unmoored with "Invisible Man"

Writing in a 1953 essay, Ralph Ellison (himself black) limned Twain's characterization of the slave Jim: "[T]hough guilty of the sentimentality common to all humorists, [Twain] does not idealize the slave. Jim is drawn in all his ignorance and superstition, with his good traits and bad. He, like all men [sic], is ambiguous, limited by circumstance but not in possibility" (Ellison, 1953/2003, p. 88). With his first and also National Book Award winning novel *Invisible Man* (first fully published in 1952), Ellison carves as if from Twain's mold a Promethean Jim now unbound from the circumstances of slavery, from which he rushes, Oedipus-like, headlong northward (in the reverse sequence Twain gives us with Jim and Huck) towards first a bitter, then existentialist realization that there will be no innate human possibilities that cannot be defeated by the categorical circumstances that mid-20th century America presents the black man and woman.

Ellison adopts the first person narrative style, making possible the psychological depth and circumspection of the Narrator that proceeds apace with a welter of dehumanizing, numbing experiences as the Narrator encounters one after another of fiercely cruel and/or absurd farce, bewilderment, disillusionment, and heart-wrenching loss.

We encounter on the novel's first page the Narrator at the end of his story, a man in his late 30s whose home is an underground cavern below the streets of Manhattan, illuminated by 1,369 lights powered by the electricity he pirates from Monopolated Light and Power. "Nothing, storm or flood, must get in the way of our need for light and ever more and brighter light. The truth is light and ever more and brighter light" (p. 7). Beneath the streets of nominally the most egalitarian of American cities at mid-20th century, Invisible Man domiciles himself, a circumstance that is paradoxically redundant to and profoundly confirming of the life he had once lived above ground. "I am invisible, understand, simply because people refuse to see me. Like the bodiless head you see sometimes in circus sideshows, it's as though I have been surrounded by mirrors of hard, distorting glass. When they approach me they see only my surroundings, themselves, or figments of their imagination—indeed, everything and anything except me" (Ellison, 2003, p. 3).

The Narrator's induction into invisibility begins upon entering manhood when he is invited to give his black high school graduation speech before a gathering of the (somewhere Southern) town's leading white citizens. The event he attends is actually a "smoker," a "battle royal" staged in the basement of a luxury hotel pitting a score of black youth in a brutal contest of punching and jabbing while blindfolded, barred from exit and egged on by the drunken tittering of the "leading (white) citizens." The floor tile beneath the boy's feet is wired with electrical current charged on and off as the boys flail at one another blindly and fall on knees and hands, convulsing from the electrical shock. Ellison's touch of ineffably light, macabre humor through this sequence and intermittently throughout the novel offsets the comparably ineffable despair the book renders.

> The boys groped about like blind, cautious crabs crouching to protect their mid-sections, their heads pulled in short against their shoulders, their arms stretched nervously before them, with their fists testing the smoke-filled air like the knobbed feelers of hypersensitive snails. In one corner I glimpsed [pulling upwards his blindfold] a boy violently punching the air and heard him scream in pain as he smashed his hand against a ring post.
>
> […]
>
> The harder we fought the more threatening the men became. And yet, I had begun to worry about my speech again. How would it go? Would they recognize my ability? What would they give me? (pp. 23–24)

The night following this event the Narrator dreams he is at a circus with his grandfather (who is fiercely dubious of whites), who refuses to laugh no matter what the clowns do. In the dream, the Narrator's grandfather later beckons him to open the briefcase (given the Narrator with a scholarship inside to a black college after he delivers his speech, bloodied with face puffing by the battle royal) and read what is inside, where the Narrator finds:

> an official envelope stamped with the state seal; and inside the envelope I found another and another, endlessly, and I thought I would fall of weariness. "Them's years," [grandfather] said. "Now open that one." And I did and in it I found an engraved document containing a short message in letters of gold. "Read it," my grandfather said. "Out loud!"
>
> "To whom it may concern," I intoned. "Keep This Nigger-Boy Running."
>
> I awoke with the old man's laughter ringing in my ears.

Ellison stages some of the novel's major plot points through a series of speeches (some impromptu, some rehearsed) imminent circumstances compel the Narrator to deliver that make progressively evident he is a *profoundly* invisible man; for he has fallen somehow from grace, seemingly before time, by forces he cannot quite fathom. At the opening of the novel the Narrator conveys his conviction that the only place

that can supply sufficient illumination given his circumstances is a literally darkened pocket below a far more profoundly darkened surface world. A few pages from the end of the novel, the narrator realizes: "Now I know men [sic] are different and that all life is divided and that only in division is there true health. Hence again I have stayed in my hole, because up above there's an increasing passion to make men conform to a pattern" (p. 576). The pattern the Narrator identifies here can be gleaned from context: the pattern of totalizing society under thrall of increasingly rigid ideologies at mid-20th century; ideologies that had swept the Narrator into "the Brotherhood" twenty years earlier (an oblique reference in the novel to the Communist Party of America), a political sect adopting and then propelling the Narrator fatefully forward in its thrall for his oratorical skill and categorical disenfranchisement as a black man.

In a near-closing scene riot breaks out in Harlem, where the Narrator had months earlier been stationed as a tenant organizer by the Brotherhood but from where the Brotherhood withdrew him unexpectedly and without explanation. The Narrator blames this withdrawal for the ensuing violence and desperation, and he chooses to run headlong into the bedlam; a plot point depicting a return to the battle royal the Narrator could not escape so many years earlier. Personal choice and compelled responsibility now impel the Narrator to re-encounter the same sources of violence and desperation from which he seemingly could never escape.

Closing on the last page of the epilogue section to the novel, Ellison brilliantly fudges, completely, the line between the Narrator and himself-as-author (and also the relevance of time sequence to storytelling) as he introduces himself, finally (circling back to the book's opening page), to a fiercely segregated America at mid-20th century just a few years after a world war fought to vanquish race supremacy:

> I'm shaking off my skin and I'll leave it here in the hole. I'm coming out, no less invisible without it, but coming out nevertheless. And I suppose it's damn well time. Even hibernations can be overdone, come to think of it. Perhaps that's my greatest social crime, I've overstayed my hibernation, since there's a possibility that even an invisible man has a socially responsible role to play. […] Being invisible and without substance, a disembodied voice, as it were, what else [but come forward] could I do? What else but try to tell you what was really happening when your eyes were looking through? And it is this which frightens me: Who knows but that, on the lower frequencies, I speak for you? (p. 581)

Down the Rabbit Hole in "The Matrix"

The science-fiction film trilogy *The Matrix* depicts an epic struggle for consciousness being waged by the free people burrowed deep in the Earth's crust (a home portentously called Zion) against the Machine City, a world governed entirely by a fully autonomous (and autogamous) artificial intelligence that draws its energy

source from the body heat and electrical current it siphons directly from human life organisms implanted as embryos into superconducting, high-rise gothic towers where they grow to adulthood entirely oblivious of their actual habitat. The film's central protagonist, Thomas A. Anderson, alias "Neo," is first encountered as a diffident system software designer by day, aspiring systems hacker by night, who is inducted into a very postmodernist hero's journey requiring of him to "hack" into higher and higher levels of consciousness, past the deceptions posed to him by the mainframe artificial intelligence (AI) known to him and a cadre of defiant others as The Matrix.

One of the film story's initial plot points opens with Neo being approached online by alias Morpheus, known initially to Neo as the most notorious systems hacker and most wanted "terrorist" by federal authorities, and, as such, Neo's avowed hero. From this ensues Neo's initial induction into what will become his epic struggle against a rogue cybernetic program, Agent Smith, whose malevolence threatens not only to destroy all free human life beneath the Earth's surface but also to derail the artificial world sustained by the Matrix itself.

The Matrix world is governed entirely by the illusions propagated by a massive system relay of virtual reality programs operated (for the most part) by a super colossal mainframe system governed by AI. This propagation of illusionary fictions is necessary for keeping the countless legions of pod-enclosed human organisms sufficiently ignorant of their real purpose and profoundly morbid existence: one that serves to supply thermodynamic energy taxed from them for the Matrix operations. Thereby is sustained the ultimate narrative pretense: a world that is entirely and profoundly self-referenced.

Except for one fleeting scene featuring two people of color at a distance in a crowd, all the inhabitants of the artificial world are white, none more so than Agent Smith himself, who, though not an organic life form, appears vividly so to the deeply unconscious human denizens tied umbilically to the Matrix. Only outside of the Matrix-simulated world can there be found people of color, beginning with Morpheus himself (played in the film by actor Laurence Fishburne). It follows, at a surface level of plot analysis, that the rules governing the Matrix world do not work for a discernable class of people and that these people are most inclined, as with Morpheus himself, to opt out of the Matrix given the opportunity. Such voluntary exit from the Matrix is no straightforward matter, as is depicted in a scene when Morpheus and his pirate crew abduct/rescue Neo from the amniotic, gelatinous pod he actually inhabits when he first meets Morpheus online.

As with Ellison's Narrator, Neo is also compelled to unmoor himself from the symbolic world otherwise subsuming his self-concept. Unlike Ellison's Narrator, Neo is himself very white. It is, therefore, Neo's invisibility *to himself* that must be overcome; the complete replacement of a (profoundly) *received* self-concept with an antithetically and diametrically opposing *derived* self-concept. For this process to be fully transacted, Neo must eventually realize that the rogue computer program, Agent Smith, which is singularly devoted to a monstrously deracinated purpose to

seek out and destroy any "anomaly" to the Mainframe fiction (anyone questioning Matrix reality), is the "other face" of Neo himself.

The Matrix film story is in this sense a tale of a hero's struggle to recover his humanity from absolute subordination of human to machine consciousness—the dark terror that Morpheus plaintively evokes at a pivotal plot point when he reminds Zion it has been fighting the Machines for 100 years. This speech mimics in tone and cadence very closely the kindred sentiment evoked by Martin Luther King before the throng gathered at the Nation's Capital in 1963, one hundred years after Lincoln's second Emancipation Proclamation (January 1, 1863), which pronounced after the first Emancipation Proclamation (September 22, 1862) the 10 states where slaves were explicitly to be made free.

Like *Invisible Man*, *The Matrix* imagines a world profoundly antagonistic towards "the other," who is forced, like Invisible Man, literally underground. But in the Matrix, the "other" is no longer merely one defined by his/her skin tone and physiognomy, acquired cultural traits and suborned social status; the "other" in the Matrix is anyone refusing to accept a received reality ordaining brutal fictions that very literally and categorically disenfranchise mind from body. The full scale siege battle waged by the Machines against Zion is forestalled only after Neo finally compels the Agent Smith program to accept its impermanence and subordinate itself to a world delicately balanced between human consciousness free from direct enslavement, and everyone else willing to accept the Matrix on its own terms and as real.

CONCLUSION

In his 1953 essay entitled "Twentieth Century Fiction and the Black Face of Humanity," Ralph Ellison compares the work of Mark Twain in *Huckleberry Finn* with the iconic works of Ernest Hemingway (and also William Faulkner). Ellison's purpose in this essay is to examine how, by the early 1920s, America had entirely forsaken the "black face of humanity" that Ellison sees limned by Twain's depiction of Huck and Jim; an irony, given that Hemingway had famously avowed that all American literature started from, if it did not directly mimic, *Huckleberry Finn*. For Ellison, Hemingway represented the iconic embodiment of tragic retreat from the moral odyssey authors like Twain (also Melville, Poe, and Hawthorne) viewed as foundational to American fiction: reconciling America's avowed doctrine of human freedom with its (near) mortally self-inflicted disgrace of black slavery. Ellison pinpoints in Hemingway a profound blindness to this dilemma in Hemingway's remarks that all readers should "stop where the Nigger Jim is stolen from the boys. That is the real end. The rest is just cheating" (cited in Ellison, 2003, p. 90). Hemingway's virtuosity as writer through his creative adoption of protean techniques established by Twain—flexible colloquial idiom, the vivid and sharp naturalism of yeoman characters, the "thematic potentiality" of adolescent discovery—is achieved,

according to Ellison, with the sacrifice of Twain's encompassing moral vision. "And just as the trend toward technique for the sake of technique and production for the sake of the market lead to the neglect of the human need out of which they spring, so do they lead in literature to a marvelous technical virtuosity won at the expense of a gross insensitivity to fraternal values" (Ellison, 2003, p. 91).

Speaking of Hemingway's preoccupation with physical violence and disfiguration, Ellison (1953) writes:

> Here is the literary form by which the personal guilt of the pulverized individual of our rugged era is expatiated: not through his identification with the guilty acts of an Oedipus, a Macbeth or a Medea, by suffering their agony and loading his sins upon their "strong and passionate shoulders," but by being gored with a bull, hooked with a fish, impaled with a grasshopper on a fishhook; not by identifying himself with human heroes, but with those who are indeed defeated. (p. 95)

Ellison (1953) continues:

> And when I read the early Hemingway I seem to be in the presence of a Huckleberry Finn who, instead of identifying himself with humanity and attempting to steal Jim free, chose to write the letter [to Miss Watson] which sent him back into slavery. So that now he is a Huck full of regret and nostalgia, suffering a sense of guilt that fills even his noondays with nightmares, and against which, like a terrified child avoiding the cracks in the sidewalk, he seeks protection through the compulsive minor rituals of his prose. (pp. 95–96)

Here we arrive full circle to (re-encounter) the subtext of race classification schemes in America that Yanow (2003) examines: compulsive, minor prose rituals intended to obscure from view a history of governmental venality, subversion of authentically free housing and labor markets, willful contravention of civil liberties and other dubious and duplicitous actions that have been underwritten if not conceived by powerful governmental agents, agencies, and auxiliary actors, including (directly and indirectly) scores upon scores of academics. Of course race schemata can be claimed to have legitimate purposes. But these purposes are not the origin of these schemata; these schemata are half-baked policy responses and make-up calls beckoning equally half-baked reaction, as with the synthetic "culture of poverty" thesis of the 1980s or the "post-racial America" piety parroted constantly on *Fox News* since 2008 and picked up like clockwork by larger media networks.

We have in this sense, as the hired guns at *Fox News* exhorted of us constantly in the lead-up to the 2008 presidential election, become a "post-racial America." Race as salient social schemata *has* become in some very bitter and paradoxical ways profoundly irrelevant now that, failing to confront the spin doctors across decades of the vicious illusion and fiction of race, America has become overrun by an institutional matrix more and more uncoupled from this nation's founding tragic

awareness: the price of freedom/democracy is eternal vigilance directed, first and foremost, inward against compulsive minor rituals and outwards towards those who propagate them.

NOTE

[1] For review of the literature on the measurement of segregation by race see Taeuber and Taeuber (1985), Massey and Denton (1988), and White (1986).

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ROSA MAZURETT-BOYLE AND RENÉ ANTROP-GONZÁLEZ

6. TOWARDS EQUITY AND JUSTICE

Latinx Teacher Auto-Ethnographies from the Classroom

In the first book of this series on *Unhooking from Whiteness: The Key to Dismantling Racism in the United States*, we examined our trajectories as U.S. Latinx[1] to understand our hybrid identities and our participation in our worlds framed within whiteness and Latinx-ness. Our original ethnographic study aimed to ascertain how our hybrid identities exist within historically accumulated lived experiences juxtaposed against normative policies and dominant views of race, ethnicity, gender roles, and hegemonic socioeconomic oppression during our schooling. The close analyses of our own histories and experiences allowed us to identify how we resist assimilation, heal from discrimination, and participate in constructing broader societal models of normalcy. We offered the term Latinx-ness to discuss ourselves through *testimonios* and to explicate our complex identities within whiteness.

Through our *testimonios*, we expanded racial-ethnic, gender, social, cultural, linguistic, and (im)migrant categories to offer insights into our Latinx hybridity. Likewise, in using the term Latinx-ness as a broader concept about ourselves and our worlds, we were able to question our hybrid identities, identify ways we learned to resist normative practices, see how we contest oppressive forces, and enumerate the means we employ to finding our voices as non-dominant individuals and educators.

OUR CONCEPTUAL APPROACH FOR THIS EDITION

In this chapter, we aim to question how our Latinx-ness lives in our teaching, and we are always concerned with how our presence in the classroom reflects the tenets of critical pedagogy and Latinx critical race theory. Like many other critical scholars, we are constantly struggling to understand our roles as educators working toward dismantling oppressive practices, promoting equity, and encouraging our students to find their own voices when working within an educational system that favors middle class White practices and politically fickle educational mandates.

Years ago, it became clear to us that our personal and professional collaboration offered an exceptional opportunity to contribute to the scholarship on the effects of Latinx educators in K–16 settings from a wider lens. In the research literature, we find work that scrutinizes the presence of Latinx educators in schools and higher educational settings (Albers & Frederick, 2013; Flores, Clark, Claeys, & Villareal, 2007; Monzó & Rueda, 2001). These studies report on and about Latinx teachers and

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 63–73.

their experiences in different educational settings. Nonetheless, there is negligible research conducted by Latinx educators analyzing their own practices and presence through a Latinx-ness identity lens. As a practicing teacher and a teacher educator respectively, we sought to conduct a self-study to thoughtfully and rigorously examine our impact on Whitestream systems. Through the collection of qualitative data, we aimed to theorize how as Latinx educators we contribute to, alter, or maintain traditional schooling practices. This personal and academic research journey closes a gap in the literature on how practicing Latinx educators combine theory and practice in mixed settings such as middle school, high school, and college environments, and articulates solutions to racism and discrimination.

After collecting data from our own teaching to explore the notion of teaching to dismantle oppression, we identified two areas of scholarly research to ground what we were seeing in professional journals: work-force diversification and multicultural professional preparation. From our literature review, we ascertain that the presence of a diversified teaching force at the K–12 level is beneficial to non-dominant student populations. According to Villegas and Irvine (2010), non-dominant teachers appear to be more committed to teaching in difficult-to-staff schools and have lower attrition rates, which indicate that students of color benefit from having teachers of color in their classroom, as they become intermediaries linking paths between the educational setting and students' culturally diverse worldviews. It has been documented that teachers of color act as translators, become resources to stabilized families, and understand and model socially sanctioned patterns of behaviors in non-dominant cultures and in dominant educational settings (Nieto, 2010; Villegas & Irvine, 2010).

Other scholars examine questions about the additional responsibilities Latinx teachers take on to support students and their families. In our own experiences, adding professional responsibilities to an already taxed teaching day does not affect our professional evaluations or reward us with additional financial compensation. Nonetheless, taking on tasks that deconstruct injustices, improve social and political outcomes for students, and contribute to advancing the economic status of students of color form part of Latinx educators' professional lives (González & Padilla, 2008).

Undeniably, for us in the classroom, teaching has become a game of high stakes testing. Even though the presence of teachers of color cannot account for improved test scores or any other narrow standardized testing measures, there is consensus that Latinx teachers repeatedly challenge discriminatory teaching practices and enhance instruction through lessons that are grounded in culturally responsible understandings (Ochoa, 2007). Consequently, in collaboration with state and federal funding, some higher education institutions are implementing programs to attract, graduate, and retain educators of color (Achinstein, Ogawa, & Sexton, 2010; Sleeter & Milner, 2011). Despite efforts to diversify the teaching profession and retain non-dominant individuals, we continue to fall short in luring more Latinx teachers into classrooms (Irizarry & Donaldson, 2012). Therefore, with fewer Latinx teaching in high schools and postsecondary institutions, we are depriving students

from fair access to cultural and social knowledge reflecting their lived realities and limiting the enactment of empowering policies.

The second theme in the literature regarding Latinx educators aligns with professional preparation for pre-service and in-service teachers. Addressing both pre-service and in-service teacher preparation is central to our research, as we both work with pre-service teachers, and Rosa, as a classroom teacher, is contractually required to participate in in-service teacher preparation sessions. As a practicing teacher and a postsecondary faculty member, we recognize that educational systems have deeply rooted hegemonic practices and policies. According to Spring (2008), educating culturally diverse teachers is challenging, as our educational system remains grounded in ethnocentric European traditions that promote colonial dominance. As educators of color, we are not surprised that for the past century, education has been presented as the answer to solving problems related to social issues such as poverty, health, economics, and incarceration. U.S. Latinx have lived through a century or more of school reforms that have come and gone in efforts to fix schools for children of poverty from a deficit perspective (Tyack & Cuban, 1995).

Critical scholars have long contested the cankerous notion that schooling can be improved for students of color with new policies and practices while ignoring the fact that normative White practices are deeply woven in educational reform (Tye, 2000; Hess, 2011). Hence, there is a large body of scholarship examining the question of disparities in academic achievement between non-dominant and dominant students, which puts forward centuries of systematic deculturalization and subtractive education for Latinx (Spring, 2012, Valenzuela, 1999). Nevertheless, schools across the nation continuously participate, with mixed results, in an assortment of school reforms designed to minimize the discrepancies between Whites and non-dominant groups. All these changes come with the expectation that teachers in the trenches remain on course despite school instability because of demands for re-tooling, adapting, and adopting the up-to-the-minute educational policies and strategies seeking to improve their failing schools (Datnow, Hubbard, & Mehan, 2005; Lee & Ready, 2007; Lonsbury & Apple, 2012).

In fact, Ladson-Billings (2009) points out that critically prepared teachers of different racial backgrounds can successfully teach non-dominant students. However, Gorski (2010) reports that college courses preparing multicultural educators often focus on issues around cultural sensitivity and operationalizing cultural diversity while classroom teaching techniques ignore critical praxis. He specifies that college preparation programs ignore theoretical perspectives addressing issues of power, equity, and oppression. By ignoring critical pedagogy as the theoretical foundation of multicultural education, college courses adversely promote notions about inequality that are hierarchical and oppressive. Students may not explore how oppression operates in its multiple forms and, as such, there is no distinction between linguistic oppression, gender oppression, and racial oppression. Oppression is oppression (Gorski, 2012; Gorski & Goodman, 2011). Teacher education programs, even when offering multicultural courses and instruction directed towards improving *racial*

goodwill (Juárez, 2013), often fail to challenge normative thinking about educating diverse student populations (Ladson-Billings, 2011).

Moving from professional preparation to the work teachers do in their schools, Urrieta (2010) argues that the path-making process between academic settings and non-dominant students requires teachers that are committed to supporting students' journeys in resisting Whitestream education as well as in-depth knowledge of the content areas they teach. According to Urrieta (2010), committed Latinx educators work on sharpening and promoting their critical consciousness and social activism. Similarly, in our work, we assert that critical scholars are not born with a critical consciousness. Instead, we offer our own *testimonios* that critical consciousness transforms through our lived experiences with discrimination in academic institutions (Mazurett-Boyle & Antrop-González, 2013). Therefore, critical consciousness must be incorporated into teacher preparation coursework. Teachers, especially educators of color, need critical and multicultural preparation to recognize and contest racist and discriminatory academic practices (Hayes, 2013). Hence, the need for a critical underpinning in pre-service and in-service preparation is obligatory if we consider the latest census reports, which reveal U.S. citizens are self-identifying as multi-ethnic and residing within multi-racial households (U.S. Census, 2010). New teachers entering the field must be ready to create and deliver instruction that is culturally responsible for the increased population of racially and ethnically diverse school age children.

METHODS

Data for this chapter were gathered during 2010–2014 in the form of journal entries, reflective fieldnotes, course syllabi, and other documents such as publications and essays. Using auto-ethnographic data collection methods, we aimed to collect explicit and detailed data about our practices and experiences as Latinx educators and academics. Self-reflexive data analysis (Urrieta, 2008) was used to categorize and sort data to learn more about the effects of our Latinx-ness in our professional lives.

As critical scholars looking to improve both our practice and our understanding of what is really happening in our schools and postsecondary institutions, we continually examine our own teaching practices to understand who we are and what our teaching looks like as Latinx educators and researchers. In the following section, we offer selections from our data.

CRITICAL MOTHERING AND QUALITY OF LIFE

During the last four years of data collection, it became clear that our experiences as postsecondary students continue to mirror our K–12 students' experiences. That in itself is intriguing as researchers and discouraging as educators. During

the last 15 years, Rosa has been teaching in the fourth-poorest school district in the nation servicing African Americans, Latinx, and other students of color. This year, district officials reported that only 10% of the African American and Latinx students graduated high school in this school district in 2013–2014. For Rosa, a Latina mother of three, these statistics are tragic. We also cannot stop thinking about the extent to which school-related structures of opportunity are heavily dependent on students' socioeconomic status, racial/ethnic identities, linguistic uniqueness, and sociocultural backgrounds. We also know that humans fall in love or find mates through a complex process of selection, evolution, and reproduction influenced by chemicals and biological and cultural preferences. Individuals fall for others with comparable socioeconomic backgrounds, intelligence, looks, and even religious backgrounds (Fisher, Brown, Strong, & Mashek, 2010; Sternberg & Weis, 2006). Moreover, some findings report that adolescent romantic relationships play an important role in identity formation, social competence, independence, personal achievement, and interpersonal relationships (Donaldson, 2014).

The following long quotation comes from Rosa's journal:

> "*Got Sperm*?" My Spanish IV students debated the ethics of testing on animals and that conversation morphed into raising animals with specific genetic compositions for testing. The discussion incorporated issues around DNA, social heredity, and the use of sperm banks. They (2 males & 8 females) had mixed feelings pro and against artificial insemination and use of animals in lab tests. Please don't ask me how the discussions moved from animal testing to DNA and sperm banks. I can only say this is a chatty group with strong critical thinking skills. The students' debated questions around DNA, DNA manipulation, preserving/eliminating family features, severe illness, and medical benefits/drawbacks of testing on animals. I asked the only two male students in the class, "Would you donate sperm to a sperm bank?" These boys are college-bound Latino males. Both students agree that they would not consider donating sperm. LR said, "My cousin is the baby daddy of five kids… his DNA is solid," and PN added that he couldn't do it. I think the idea of having kids without an active role in their lives made them uncomfortable. In earlier discussions, PN also showed reservations about animal testing and stem cell research. Then I shared the abysmal graduation data for Latinos and African American males and they discussed its significance in real life terms. LR: "I'm not going to be that, because I am graduating and going to college." The students quickly agreed that statistically, Latinas and African American females with college degrees will be hard pressed to find non-dominant partners who shared their socioeconomic status, looks, and academic achievements. Then I asked the girls, "Would you use a sperm bank?" DM said, "My aunt is gay and she went to a sperm bank," adding, "It's hard to grow up looking like me and not looking like nobody else in your family." (*January and February, 2014*)

The abysmal graduation rates for males in my district will have long lasting effects in the life of our schools and community. The notion struck a chord with me and my students, so I shared my journal entry with the principal and the counselors. On Wednesdays, the school meets in the auditorium for a school wide assembly. Normally, during this time, students perform; there are guest speakers; and the staff shares information about a wide range of topics. The principal decided to give students graduation data for the district and for our school. The data allowed staff and students to think about and find tangible ways to improve college access opportunities, academic achievement, employment, and seeking out community partnerships.

PROFESSIONAL DUTIES

> Constantly, I find myself assisting pre-service teachers to move beyond what they see in my urban classroom or passing judgment on students without deeper exploration of our own prejudices, preexisting biases, and socialization through social class and race. I like to debrief with students about lessons and what we experience during the day or week. By questioning our classroom practices and experiences, I attempt to help future teachers develop critical teaching praxis and curriculum. Unfortunately, the area universities I work with do not offer seminars to help their student teachers reflect on their experiences from a critical race perspective. How can we expect to have reflective practitioners, White or non-dominant, when their professional preparation avoids or ignores the influences of White privilege on professional and personal decisions? (*2013–2014 school year*)

My professional responsibilities include keeping up with my professional preparation and duties as a classroom teacher in addition to advocating for our students. As a teacher, I participate in service learning opportunities with area colleges to create opportunities for my students to interact with area college students and faculty. I open my classroom to student teachers and pre-service teachers doing observation hours. I write curriculum that incorporates students' funds of knowledge with *cariño*, *respeto*, y *confianza* [care, respect, and trust] (Moll, Amanti, Neff, & González, 1992). In addition, I am always seeking professional opportunities to improve my teaching through affiliations in professional organizations at the local, national, and international levels. In my life as a researcher, I try to keep up with the literature in my area of interest; I collaborate with other researchers; and I develop research opportunities that include my students and other educators. Therefore, creating opportunities for students to develop the skills to address social issues involving the police is an important part of my professional responsibility. Teaching, then, is not just about the job but a conglomeration of jobs that give me the opportunity to work in the classroom, to interact and mediate with families in my community, and

to help prepare White and non-dominant pre-service educators to work within and for social equity.

I DON'T TEACH CRIMINALS

We have a police officer in school today, and I am so mad. After the fourth or fifth fatal shooting, reports of muggings, drug dealings, gang assaults, and other dangerous events near our school the city assigned an armed school officer to our building. Our students have not participated in any of the violent events taking place outside our school. They arrive by public transportation at seven, and for the most part they leave by two fifteen. In our school, our students have the highest graduation rate in the city. Most of our students will graduate with 10 to 20 college credits. This year we have a young lady receiving both her high school and her associate degrees. We have students going to four-year colleges as far away as Alaska and into aeronautical programs across the Eastern border. Down the street we have one of the top IB high schools in the city. It's true that our students have been the victims of mugging and other violent attacks while walking home or waiting for public transportation. A few years ago along the streets bordering our school building, the city police installed a noise detector to pinpoint gunshots, traffic cameras, and other surveillance equipment in this historically African American neighborhood. Some of my students live in this neighborhood; they ride the city busses to and from home to school and to college campuses; they walk home; and they frequent the corner stores, play with siblings in the streets, ride their bikes, and party in nearby houses. Inside the school, they work.

A crime, yes it's a crime that my students—like me at their age—have to live in the fourth-poorest city in the country. Installing an armed police officer in my school criminalizes my students because of their economic status and is a deliberate macroaggression. Sadly, my students live in streets and neighborhoods policed by visual and sound surveillance. Then at school they go through metal detectors, turn in their phones, and their bags are searched. They eat lunch with an armed police officer in their cafeteria, and when they leave they see the police car parked strategically by the front entrance. Since experiencing this police presence, modeling and advocating for students' dignity is an important part of my job.

I invited the police officer into my classroom to discuss his presence in our school and to help my students negotiate the boundaries between being policed and speaking out. According to the school officer, I was the only teacher in his 20 years who invited him into the classroom to question his presence in the school and to allow students to voice their feelings about having a police presence in their cafeteria, halls, and on the school campus. In inviting him to our classroom, I aimed to share my students' experiences as learners under police surveillance and to give them a voice to fight criminalization of their schooling experience on the basis of social economic status as well as our racial makeup.

RENÉ'S PROFESSIONAL JOURNEY

Like Rosa, I am a teacher and a teacher educator. More specifically, I support the preparation of ESL teachers in Georgia. Before deciding to move to the Deep South, I supported the preparation of second language educators in Milwaukee. Milwaukee was an attractive city for a community worker and scholar like me, because of this city's progressive politics and racial/ethnic and linguistic diversity. Moreover, Milwaukee's public schools value developing bilingual education programs and is the home of *Rethinking Schools,* a progressive educator publication that centers its work on social justice learning and teaching. Unhooking from whiteness for me means pushing my students' thinking around race/ethnicity and language and immigration rights. The rural area in which I now work and reside is uniquely positioned in the South, as a majority of its residents are of color with 50% being Latinx.

In spite of this area's racial/ethnic demographics, bilingual programs do not exist and the area's schools are assimilationist in nature and engage in subtractive schooling (Valenzuela, 1999). As a teacher educator who is Latino and bilingual/bicultural at an emerging Hispanic Serving Institution (HSI), I have Latinx students in my courses who often hesitate to engage me in Spanish. Undoubtedly, this hesitation has been shaped by years of subtractive schooling and the ultra-conservative politics that permit local police to set up roadblocks in their effort to deport people without documentation and/or drivers' licenses. As residents of a "show me your papers" state, many immigrants in the community in which I live fear being separated from their families. Additionally, there exists very little political organization and direct action among Latinx in this area. In fact, the power structure is overwhelmingly White and politically conservative in spite of this area's majority minority status. What I have come to observe and theorize is that this Latinx political disengagement is directly connected to the stripping of Latinx students' primary culture and language.

As a teacher educator of color, it is my moral obligation to uncover learning and teaching practices that are grounded in colonialism. It is my hope that the pre-service educators I work with will take up the call for respecting their students' first language and culture rather than work to reproduce the racist cultures of schools that only wish to "mold real Americans." In the process, unhooking from whiteness and weaving bilingual/bicultural education into school curricula have the potential to support the raising of political consciousness so that we can dismantle the anti-immigrant sentiments and legislation that pervade Georgia. In the meantime, unhooking from whiteness obligates us to start and sustain difficult dialogues with reactionary elected officials and pre-service educators in the spirit of political and community transformation and justice. Until these transformations take place, we cannot rest.

CONCLUSION

As Latinx teacher educators, we use our classrooms as spaces where we can challenge deficit-based ideologies. Because these ideologies are based on White

supremacy, it is our moral obligation to disrupt the potential for psychological trauma and other forms of symbolic violence that these hurtful belief systems wage on students of color. We attempt to disrupt this violence through our curricular work in schools and the communities in which they reside. We strongly feel this curricular contestation is more likely to occur when teacher education programs work to recruit and retain people of color who are passionate about disrupting racist discourses, engaging in curricular truth telling, and building relationships with students. Such teachers hold their students to high expectations and engage in the comparing and contrasting of master and counternarratives in order to offer their learners competing historical narratives and their implications for how they are shaped and viewed in popular culture.

In conclusion, we call upon teacher education programs to support Grow Your Own programs in which there is explicit work conducted to recruit and retain teachers of color and arm them with courses characterized by syllabi that introduce Critical Race Theory, bilingual/bicultural education, multicultural education, and Youth Participatory Action Research (YPAR), among other critical sociopolitical and historical frameworks that inform and facilitate ways that classroom teachers can support the development of critical political consciousness in the lives of young people. Unless there is enough political will to contest and dismantle the education apartheid that currently exists in the teaching profession, marked by the dominance of White monolingual and monocultural teachers who operate from deficit ways of viewing learners of color and their communities, we have no choice but to continue to offer our *testimonios* as Latinx teachers working in the spirit of intentional anti-racist education practices.

NOTE

[1] In this chapter we use the terms Latinx and Latinx-ness. We do not use singular or plural or gendered forms. See https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2015/12/08/students-adopt-gender-nonspecific-term-latinx-be-more-inclusive

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ANTONIO L. ELLIS AND CHRISTOPHER N. SMITH

7. UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS

Are Historically Black Colleges and Universities Good Enough?

INTRODUCTION: WHITENESS VALIDATES YOU

This chapter shares two counternarratives. The first counternarrative shares Ellis's experiences as an African American who received his primary education from predominantly Black schools and his postsecondary education from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). However, while studying in K–12 schools and while completing his bachelor's degree from an HBCU, he was strongly encouraged by African American teachers and professors not to attend an HBCU for graduate studies. They contended that people who received bachelor and graduate degrees from HBCUs are less likely to be as employable as persons who studied at Predominantly White Institutions (PWIs). Unfortunately, Ellis took the advice of these teachers and professors seriously. Therefore, after Ellis completed his undergraduate work, he remained committed to gaining admission into a PWI.

The second counternarrative relates Smith's experiences as an African American who received his primary education from predominantly white schools and his postsecondary education from Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). While completing his post-secondary education he noticed a lack of respect afforded to his education from an HBCU compared with his secondary-school classmates who were attending PWIs. Additionally, when discussing his aspirations for graduate studies he was confronted by more negative attitudes concerning HBCUs, coupled with consistent pressure from African Americans and non-African Americans alike to seek a graduate degree at a PWI. Even after attaining two degrees, Smith struggled with the notion that HBCUs could not compare to PWIs, and he found himself at a fork in the road when applying for doctoral programs.

A COUNTERNARRATIVE BY ANTONIO L. ELLIS

K–12 Education: My Hunger for Whiteness

While receiving my primary education from the Charleston County Public Schools in the inner City of Charleston, South Carolina, my Black peers and I were constantly informed that we had to be as good as White children at schools located in the wealthier neighborhoods. Although the urban schools that we attended received

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 75–87.

hand-me-down books, computers, and appliances from the White schools, we were still expected to intellectually compete with them. As an African American male with a speech impediment, I constantly struggled internally to understand why Black students were treated differently than White students. However, because of my speech impediment, I did not feel physically capable or mentally empowered to verbally challenge institutionalized systems of inequality. Over the last 50 years, the general consensus has been that people with speech and language disorders are disadvantaged both socially and academically (Logan, Mullins, & Jones, 2008; Hartlep & Ellis, 2012). As a result of my feelings of powerlessness, I continued to marvel at the perceived lifestyle of Whiteness and secretly desired to obtain it. Charleston is a city that is arguably rooted and grounded in Whiteness. The majority of the local key decision makers have traditionally been White. For example, Mayor Joseph P. Riley was elected as the mayor on December 15, 1975. He is currently serving his tenth term in office, making him one of the longest serving mayors. Consequently, throughout my K–12 schooling journey, I never saw diversity within the ranks of my local mayoral leadership.

HIGHER EDUCATION: I OBTAINED MY GOAL OF WHITENESS

After graduating from Burke High School in Charleston, I attended Benedict College in Columbia, South Carolina. Benedict College has been one of the fastest growing of 39 United Negro College Fund (UNCF) Schools. Of the 20 independent colleges in South Carolina, Benedict has the largest undergraduate student body and is the second largest overall. The College has students enrolled from every county in South Carolina. More than 3,200 students currently study at the school, and it is distinguished by its continued commitment to facilitate the empowerment, enhancement, and full participation of African Americans in a global society. While studying at Benedict College, not only did I develop academically, but I also developed a higher self-esteem, a deeper commitment to serving my community, and a passion for continual success throughout life. In 2004, I completed a Bachelor of Arts degree in Religion and Philosophy at the college. Because of the firm academic foundation that Benedict provided during my matriculation, I applied to graduate school at the Howard University School of Divinity. Howard University is a federally chartered, private, educational, nonsectarian, historically black university located in Washington, DC. It has a Carnegie Classification of Institutions of Higher Education status of RU/H: Research Universities for high research activity.

While studying at Howard University, I felt deeply within the core of my being, as if my education was not good enough because I was attending graduate school at an HBCU. I mentally and emotionally held on to the advice that previous educators had given me regarding attending HBCUs for both my undergraduate and graduate studies. Regardless of being taught by leading theological and religious scholars at Howard, I still felt inadequate at the time. As a result of my feelings of inadequacy, during my final semester at Howard in 2006, I applied for admission to the

Georgetown University School of Liberal Arts, where I pursued a graduate degree in liberal arts education. Established in 1789, Georgetown University is the nation's oldest Catholic and Jesuit university. The university website states, "We provide students with a world-class learning experience focused on educating the whole person through exposure to different faiths, cultures and beliefs…Georgetown offers students a distinct opportunity to learn, experience and understand more about the world." According to the university website, as of Fall 2013, the racial demographics were 48% White, 21% African American, 18% Asian, 9% Hispanic/Latino, and 4% other races. I finally obtained my goal of Whiteness.

BLACK, MALE, AND SPEECH IMPAIRED AT A PREDOMINANTLY WHITE INSTITUTION

After being admitted into Georgetown University, I finally felt as if my education was meaningful and legit. During my first day on campus, with haste, I purchased university paraphernalia. After being accepted into a PWI, I also felt delighted to be accepted by the dominant culture (Whiteness). While attending classes with White students, I subconsciously noticed that both Benedict College and Howard University prepared me to be competitive at a PWI. As a result, during my first semester at Georgetown University, I didn't earn any grade less than a 3.0 on their 4.0 scale. Following a successful semester at Georgetown, I scheduled a meeting with the associate dean of the school of liberal arts. The purpose of this meeting was to inquire about merit based scholarships and work-study opportunities that were offered by the department. On the day of the meeting, I arrived at the associate dean's office thirty minutes early so that she would view me as a punctual person. I was determined to maintain and increase my connections to Whiteness. Upon my entering the associate dean's office, the administrative assistant greeted me and asked for my name and the time of my scheduled appointment. Due to my speech impediment, I experienced fluency challenges while trying to say my name and the time of my appointment. Thereafter, with some discomfort, I reached into my book bag for pen and paper and wrote out the information that the administrative assistant requested.

Approximately thirty minutes later, the associate dean called me into her office. She closed her office door and proceeded to ask me to tell her about my experiences at Georgetown so far. Again, because of my stuttering disability, I experienced challenges verbally communicating. While I was struggling to communicate with her verbally, she asked in a cruel tone of voice, "What's wrong with you?"

At that point, I felt as if my approval by Whiteness started to dwindle. I hastily started to write a note to her explaining that I was speech impaired. While I was writing the note, she stormed out of the office and was gone for about five minutes. When she returned I gave the note to her and nervously awaited her response. After reading my note she said, "I will contact your professors. If you cannot get your words out, then Georgetown is not the university where you need to be. Perhaps,

you should consider applying to an online school. In order to be a success in our program, you must be able to speak aloud during classroom discussions."

At that point, I experienced multiple emotions and thoughts consecutively. My self-esteem plummeted and my self-confidence was broken. While I always wondered about what people authentically thought about my speech impediment, this was the first time someone blatantly discriminated against me because of it. Prior to my leaving the associate dean's office, she said, "I am going to remove you from the program. Would you like advice for some online programs that would better accommodate your needs?"

My eyes filled with tears, I responded by writing, "no ma'm, thank you for your time." While walking across campus for the final time as a student, I realized that my combination of being Black, male, and speech impaired made me a triple minority. Regardless of being admitted into Georgetown and earning competitive grades, I still was rejected by Whiteness.

UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS: TAKING ANOTHER LOOK AT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

After the associate dean of the Georgetown University School of Liberal Arts removed me from the program in December 2006, I was forced to take a semester off because it was too late to apply to start any academic program in spring 2007. In addition, I needed time to mourn my disconnection from Whiteness and to figure out which academic program I would apply to next. I wrestled with two questions. Should I apply for admission into another PWI? Should I apply for admission into another HBCU? I also started to spend a considerable amount of time thinking about ways to advocate on behalf of African American males who are speech and language impaired. The insensitive rejection by Whiteness impregnated me with a passion to prevent my peers from experiencing the pain I was currently experiencing. Based on my reflections on my experiences at HBCUs and at Georgetown, I intentionally decided to return back to Howard University to pursue a master's degree in educational administration and policy, with a special focus in special education. In light of being unethically rejected from a PWI by an educational administrator because of my disability, I developed a desire to become an educational leader to combat unjust racial and disability discrimination in K–12 and higher education institutions.

POST GRADUATION: ROUND TWO OF PROMOTING WHITENESS

Upon my return to Howard University, I became more involved in my education than some of my colleagues who were pursuing graduate degrees in educational leadership only for career advancements. My return to study at Howard University was driven by a deeply rooted commitment to social justice. In addition, I returned to Howard with an appreciation for the nurture, acceptance, and care that I didn't

receive from Whiteness. During the 2008 spring semester, the Howard University department of educational administration and policy (now educational leadership and policy studies) received a United States Department of Education grant. As a result, the principal investigator of the grant and my professor, Dr. Saravanabhavan, invited me to attend the American Educational Research Association (AERA) Annual Meeting, which was held in Manhattan, New York. This was my first time attending an academic conference. I met so many educators and established great relationships with graduate students from national and international universities, including one of the editors of this book, Dr. Nicholas Hartlep.

While at this national meeting with over 5,000 registered, I noticed that less than 10% of the presenters were from HBCUs. In addition, over the four-day span of the meeting, I only met two people who graduated from an HBCU; however, they were teaching at PWIs. In the midst of conversations during the meeting, I informed faculty and graduate students that I was interested in becoming a professor after I earn a doctoral degree. My peers were only interested in teaching at PWIs. When I mentioned the possibilities of teaching at an HBCU, I received responses that reflected the advice I received about HBCUs before I was admitted into Georgetown University. The consensus was "HBCUs don't pay enough; HBCUs don't have enough research funding; HBCUs are not research oriented; HBCUs are not respected academically; HBCUs aren't good enough." However, based on my unhooking from Whiteness, those negative comments regarding HBCUs increased my commitment to those institutions. The education that I was receiving from Howard University was state-of-the-art and second to none. My professors were competent practitioners and researchers, who graduated from leading schools such as Howard University, Harvard University, Yale University, Morehouse College, Temple University, Duke University, Princeton University, Spelman College, and University of Chicago, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, among other nationally respected colleges and universities.

MISLEADING ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT HISTORICALLY BLACK COLLEGES AND UNIVERSITIES

As demonstrated in the previous section, there are several assumptions about HBCUs. However, based on my experiences at these prestigious institutions, these assumptions are misleading. This section will showcase a few successful HBCU graduates in order to serve as a counternarrative against the ideology:

> Lonnie Rashid Lynn, Jr. (also known as "Common") attended Florida A&M University earning a degree in business administration before some recognition by *The Source* magazine propelled his career into rap and acting.

> Toni Morrison is a Nobel Prize-winning author of such esteemed classics as *Song of Solomon* and *Beloved*. She graduated from Howard University with a degree in English in 1953.

Gloria Ladson-Billings, Ph.D., is the Kellner Family Professor of Urban Education in the Department of Curriculum & Instruction at the University of Wisconsin-Madison and the 2005–2006 president of the American Educational Research Association. She graduated from Morgan State University in 1968.

John Harkless, Ph.D., an award-winning Associate Professor of chemistry at Howard University earned a Bachelor of Science degree in mathematics and chemistry from Morehouse College in 1995.

Reverend Jessie Jackson, the civil rights activist often regarded as among the most important of black leaders, graduated from North Carolina A&T University in 1964.

Colbert L. King earned a government studies degree from Howard University. King used his writing prowess to earn a Pulitzer Prize during his tenure as a columnist for the *Washington Post*.

Jerry Rice graduated from Mississippi Valley State University. He's not only recognized as the greatest wide receiver in NFL history, but as being among the greatest at any position, winning three Super Bowls with the San Francisco 49ers as well as an AFC Championship with the Oakland Raiders.

Herman Cain, a successful businessman and 2012 republican presidential nominee graduated from Morehouse College in 1967. He studied mathematics.

Spike Lee graduated from Morehouse College in 1979, where he also lensed his first student film, *Last Hustle in Brooklyn*.

Thurgood Marshall, a graduate of Lincoln University, who became the first African American Supreme Court Justice.

Wayne A.I. Frederick, M.D., entered Howard University as a 16 year old to pursue his dream of becoming a physician. He earned a dual B.S./M.D. degree, and went on to enter a surgical residency at Howard University. He was named one of America's Best Physicians by *Black Enterprise* magazine. Frederick currently serves at the 17th President of Howard University.

UNPACKING HBCU SUCCESS STORIES

These selected success stories of HBCU graduates are counter to what I've been told about HBCUs over the past two decades. The Higher Education Act of 1965, as amended, defines an HBCU as "any historically black college or university that was established prior to 1964, whose principal mission was, and is, the education of black Americans, and that is accredited by a nationally recognized accrediting agency or association" (Diamond, 2003). HBCUs offer all students, regardless of race, an opportunity to develop their skills and talents. These institutions train people

who become domestic and international experts in various fields of study, as shown in the counternarratives.

UNHOOKED FROM WHITENESS: EMBRACING MY BLACKNESS

This section reveals my epistemological foundations as an African American male, who became comfortable with my Blackness after losing my appetite for Whiteness. I am reminded of my lived experiences in academic environments as an African American male who stutters, particularly my experience with the associate dean at Georgetown University. Now, as an emerging scholar in the field of education and as one who aims to lay a new foundation within the academy, I am challenged to revisit my epistemological commencement as a way to evaluate my sources of knowledge, my perspectives on the world, and, more importantly, my beliefs about educational spaces for African American males who are speech and language impaired, particularly those who stutter.

Although I share a very similar background with this population of males, we endure different experiences due to our separate locations, support systems, parental involvement, safety nets, advocacy, and self-perceptions. In light of experiencing marginalization, discrimination, and arguably racism at Georgetown, I am propelled to embrace my blackness, HBCUs, and speech and language impairment. As a child who avoided verbal communication because of my blackness combined with a stuttering disability, I navigated school buildings in urban communities in which I was raised in silence. As an African American male emerging scholar—one who has received one of the highest academic degrees from an HBCU—I represent the potential brilliance embedded within my peers who are marginalized within White educational spaces. I was blessed to have had a high school band director—Mr. Linard McCloud (Burke High School)—and pastors—Bishop Brian D. Moore (Life Center Ministries, Charleston, SC) and Rev. Dr. Howard John-Wesley (Alfred Street Baptist Church, Alexandria, VA)—who, in my early development and young adulthood, recognized my potential abilities and nurtured my dreams. Because of their involvement in my life, I have been able to supersede boundaries that many people set for me because of my stuttering disability. My high school band director demanded that I never give up in the face of adversity and what I perceived to be hopelessness. Therefore, I am motivated by a fierce sense of self-empowerment, a desire to empower others who are marginalized, a passion for educational achievement, and a sense of responsibility to mobilize those who are silenced and are unable to speak up for themselves.

My desire to advocate for marginalized groups has a sturdy religious and social justice base. My first advanced degree is in theological studies. I sought a theological degree hoping to gain a better understanding of my experiences as a stutterer. During my matriculation in divinity school, I gained a deeper understanding of my experiences by studying the writings of contemporary authors such as Cain Hope

Felder, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr., Gregory Carr, Marcus Garvey, Reinhold Neihbuhr, W.E.B Du Bois and Fannie Lou Hamer. Regardless of their various perspectives, each of them dedicated and committed their lives to standing on behalf of minority groups who were marginalized by Whiteness. Therefore, my spiritual, religious, and theological base represents an extensive number of social and Black Nationalist movements that were dedicated to altering racism, feminism, dominance, sexism, ageism, and White supremacy within the U.S. context.

It's my belief that one of the most influential tools for providing positive change in the life of disenfranchised populations is education and the acquisition of knowledge. However, there is a large possibility that an educational structure embedded in fluency-dominated cultures, where the "gift of gab" is used to maintain social and economic power, can be seen as an advantage to White Supremacy. Regardless of race, those who are non-fluent often live in poverty and are positioned at the bottom due to the lack of reasonable accommodations, patience, and acceptance by those who are more fluent. However, being a Black male and speech impaired does not make this phenomenon any better within a democratic society that is dominated by White Power. Educators in urban environments rarely, if ever, highlight African American males who stutter and have excelled in various careers so that male students who stutter can gain inspiration. To only teach a child, particularly an African American male who stutters, the accomplishments and contributions of White non-stutterers creates a sense of doubt and hopelessness that he cannot achieve his goals in life. He will never be White, and his stuttering possibly may not be cured. Human beings tend to be motivated by what we can see, hear, taste, touch, and smell.

My greatest accomplishment thus far has been my presence in urban school buildings, higher education classrooms, and academic conferences. As an educator and advocate, I feel that it's my ministry, obligation, and duty to motivate students who live the same realities that I did as a child and into adulthood. My obligation is to assist them in developing strength and boldness to pursue their dreams in the face of multiple adversities. I have had the privilege and honor of meeting some of the most talented, intelligent, and bright minds who have been silenced by fear, just as I was prior to unhooking from Whiteness. These Black children possess an undeniable glow that demands attention and validation, which I wholeheartedly give. While spending time in school districts that are classified as urban, I constantly reflect on my own experiences and realities. It's because of the struggles of my students that I realized the significance of my own life history; therefore, I now embrace healing through advocating for my peers (children and adults) who face the same obstacles.

The personal relationships that I developed with African American males who stutter via my work as a researcher, educator, and peer have been extremely rewarding. I have come to understand and embrace the significance of our lives and relationships. I was reared in communities that are somewhat identical to theirs, and I understand and identify with their struggles, concerns, pains, and cultural codes. Using my personal stories, experiences, and humor, I have worked

diligently to relate to their everyday lives. In light of my upbringing as a student influenced by social and political movements like the Civil Rights Movement and that of the Black Panther Party, I feel a fierce sense of urgency in eradicating systems of inequality, suppression, oppression, and White Supremacy. Therefore, my intellectual contribution to the field of education will also be to give support to the expansion of novel, innovative, and critical theoretical frameworks. West (1993), in his article "The Dilemma of the Black Intellectual," refers to a new "regime of truth" that challenges scholars of color to analyze and critically examine the unique experiences of African Americans, including those who are hooked to Whiteness.

I developed a deep commitment to transforming schools such that more African Americans will graduate and become productive and respected citizens in society. Therefore, my research focuses specifically on revealing their stories and developing systems of support, and offers possibilities that may work toward helping them to be successful in academic environments and in the larger society. An examination of these "possibilities for success" is meant to be a catalyst and prototype for disrupting educational institutional practices in regard to how African American students are included and/or not included. My goal is to deconstruct and challenge the *status quo* of educational spaces that have produced decades of negative stereotypes of African Americans, persons with disabilities, and HBCUs. Dillard (2000), Scheurich and Young (1997), and West (1993) all urge Black scholars to be bold enough to embrace their stance as African Americans within the academy and to deliberately focus on the mobility of Black people if they desire to do so. In the midst of investigating and crafting educational scholarship that gives direct attention to African American students and debunking myths about HBCUs, I hope that additional research paradigms and supportive peer reviewed scholarship will emerge to interrogate Whitewashed opinions about our beloved institutions, while shedding light on the success stories of African Americans and HBCUs.

RECOMMENDATIONS: WHERE DO HBCUS GO FROM HERE?

Currently, no HBCUs offer graduate degrees in higher education. Therefore, these institutions are not represented among the producers of higher education administrators. African Americans who want to pursue graduate degrees in higher education are forced to attend PWIs because they have no option among HBCUs. While studying at Howard University, I was constantly told by my professor, Dr. Lois Harrison-Jones, that "if you are absent from the table, then you just may be a part of the menu." HBCUs are absent from the table in this regard; therefore, African Americans are learning how to be higher education professionals from the perspective of Whiteness. At a recent educational leadership and policy meeting held at Howard University, Dr. Melanie Carter stated, "A graduate degree in higher education program at an HBCU would require designing a culturally-based curriculum grounded in the theory and practice of higher education leadership and policy." It's imperative that HBCUs develop sustainable graduate degree

programs in higher education that would produce culturally relevant leaders throughout the nation.

A COUNTERNARRATIVE BY CHRISTOPHER N. SMITH

Struggling from Birth

The greatest struggle in my life has been to accept that skin tone does not equate to intellectual deficiency. As the son of a military officer and a stay-at-home mother, living in middle class society, benefiting from all the "privileges," it could be easily assumed that my life was easy. However, that assumption grossly misconstrues the harsh racial realities that existed and still do within the context. While growing up I was faced with constant comparisons to my white classmates from kindergarten through high school. I was taught that to succeed I must be better than them in all areas. I was told that I must perform better academically; I must be more athletically skilled; and socially I could not reveal myself as too confident, or I would be perceived as a threat. I was in a constant fight with identity; oscillating between the dominant white ideologies of self, the family expectations that were deeply rooted in Americanized Christianity, the popular black culture that was burnt into my mind through media, and the uncultivated connection to an ancestry that I only heard about in part during Black History Month. These mandates weighed heavy on my self-confidence and self-perception; at one point in time I even remember regretting being black.

Matriculating through middle and high school was particularly difficult. During these phases of my education, I was confronted regularly with race-based stereotypes. As a "black" pre-teen I was not expected to be intelligent nor to strive to succeed academically. Incessantly I was teased by African Americans, European Americans, Latin Americans, and Asian Americans alike concerning my chosen style of dress, music selection, and vernacular. To many I didn't act "black" enough, and I didn't do "black" things. To others I was not "white" enough, nor did I relate to "white" interests. I was an anomaly, and this pressure pushed me towards becoming extremely apprehensive with conversing with all cultures. In middle school I found no home with anyone; I was never "enough."

In high school the narrative did not alter. Attending school within Fairfax County Public Schools, one of the top counties in the nation educationally and economically, at a high school with one of the most competitive athletics programs in the state intensified the consist pressure to conform. When I enrolled in advanced placement class, I was shunned by the other African Americans for trying to act "white." While in these courses I was conditionally accepted by the other races as an equal. However, that conditionality came with the price of accepting ignorance and sometimes outright disrespect toward my own character and to those of my same skin tone. I became the "token" at the price of my self-respect, and I hated it. Participating

in multiple sports did not make the pressure any lighter. In the athletic realm I was consistently pressured to fit the stereotypes of black athletes: mainly registering for learning disabled courses, engaging in sexual activities with numerous women, and focusing all my energy on becoming a "stud." I literally felt like a slave and no matter where I turned, I could not escape.

Not even my family was a source of refuge. My parents, who had grown up during the civil rights era and came from inner city circumstances, had no real insight or understanding into what I was facing on a daily basis. My parents were not aware of the covert racism and discrimination I was facing from all sides. They assumed everything was ok because were not in the "hood" and we were receiving the "best" education possible. My siblings really were no support either. They had simply decided to assimilate into the dominant white culture and really had no desire to point out the inequity. This identity and oppression whirlwind produced some of the most depressive and suicidal times in my life.

The First Counter Punch in a Lifelong Battle

During my senior year of high school, I was accepted into a multitude of universities, both HBCUs and PWIs. I specifically chose to attend Howard University, an HBCU located in Washington DC; much to the dismay of many, including members of my own family. There were constant remarks about the inadequacy of HBCUs in all areas. I was constantly advised to attend a PWI for post-secondary schooling, so I could be more competitive and "well versed" in my subject of choice. However, it was my journey in higher education that finally brought about the personal equilibrium that I had been searching for my entire life. It was in this that I began my journey in "unhooking from whiteness."

Howard University was when the narrative changed. There was where I, for the first time in my life, was surrounded by people of color from all over the world just like me. I at last came into contact with individuals and learned of people of color who were socially and intellectually striving to better themselves outside of the stereotypical "white" and "black" cultural narratives that I had experienced while growing up. Learning about other people of color worldwide currently and historically who had contributed to the human legacy—learning of individuals like Kelly Miller, W. E. B. Du Bois, Stokley Carmichael, Huey Newton, Angela Davis, and many more provided me a positive reference point. Reading about the history of Africa and other lands from the perspective of people of color drastically altered my self-conception for the better. I felt so fulfilled with the undergraduate experience that it led me to pursue my first postgraduate degree at Howard University as well. For the first time ever I did not feel like an anomoly; I felt at home. However, this comfort and confidence was short lived and restricted to the Howard University halls.

Whenever I left Howard the same stereotypic comparisons, ignorance, and outright disrespect was prevalent. In conversations with other African Americans

from my hometown and in even within the District of Columbia, I came to find a general lack of respect afforded the academic programs at Howard. Particularly, my past high school classmates would often snicker at the thought of or outright deny that Howard University was providing me any type of academic progression. Though I knew it was a lie, I allowed these voices to dampen my excitement and to make me long for becoming validated by attending a PWI for my doctoral studies.

When the Fork Appeared

When applying to doctoral programs, there was a bit of apprehension and the hooks of whiteness began to reappear. I often struggled with deciding between attending Arizona State University and Howard University. Arizona State University has accumulated many accolades, and I truly felt that a degree from there would have given me a better chance at postgraduate employment. However, when I applied for their doctoral program, I was flatly rejected, and they offered instead to enroll me into their master's program. Arizona State felt I could "benefit" from the course work offered and that I was not prepared enough for their program. That was a shock and a blow to the pride in my educational accomplishments I had earned. It was as if my education was subpar to them, like my hours of studying under some of the most accomplished and prolific scholars of color were inadequate.

However, it was in that moment that I realized my attendance at an HBCU for a doctorate was a necessity. I have a responsibility to myself and others like me to exemplify what an HBCU education can do. The PWI advocating and HBCU bashing ideology never settled well with me; actually, I found it to be quite contradictory. If for 18 years of my life I have been learning through the filter of whiteness, would it not make sense that in order to be "well versed" I should spend the same amount of time learning from another filter? I found that attending HBCUs did exactly the opposite of what I had been told. When I appear at conferences and interact with academic colleagues, I quickly come to understand how my education has made me more holistically aware in my field of study. Counter to popular belief, it's my HBCU education that has allowed me to have the opportunity to excel, work on multiple publications, and attend multiple conferences while earning a 4.0 GPA in the doctoral program in sociology.

The depth and width of academic and personal growth that I've attained, I solely attribute to my education at HBCUs. PWIs and HBCUs alike have a lot to offer. However, if we as a human race are going to begin to see ourselves transcend racial stereotypes and racist inclinations, we too must begin to challenge the manner in which we think about education. When people rely on surface appearances and false racial stereotypes, rather than in-depth knowledge of others at the level of the heart, mind and spirit, their ability to assess and understand people accurately is compromised. This reliance must be altered so that educated people, no matter where they matriculated, can be lauded for their accomplishments and afforded the opportunities they have worked to earn.

CONCLUSION

This chapter is not intended to promote HBCUs or to speak negatively of PWIs; however, it *is* intended to debunk and resist dominant notions that HBCUs are less credible academic institutions. HBCUs offer culture, a rich history, and rigorous academic programs. Most importantly, they prepare students for leadership and life beyond graduation. While HBCUs represent only three percent of the nation's institutions of higher education, they graduate nearly 20 percent of African Americans who earn undergraduate degrees (Perna, 2001). In addition, these institutions graduate more than 50 percent of African American professionals and public school teachers (Brown & Davis, 2001). HBCUs hold a unique legacy to the specific needs of young African American minds and continue to demonstrate the most effective ability to graduate African American students poised to be competitive in the corporate, research, academic, governmental, and military arenas. I urge all HBCU scholars to unhook from Whiteness by publicly defending the worth, value, and importance of our institutions. We must tell stories that explicate White ideology and unlock possibilities for challenging their hegemony, just as auto-ethnographic stories by and about people from oppressed communities offer strategies for challenging domination. Unhooking from Whiteness is not popular or convenient; however, it's necessary for the preservation of our communities and educational institutions.

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CHERYL E. MATIAS

8. WHITE TUNDRA

Exploring the Emotionally Frozen Terrain of Whiteness

How sad is it that we don't feel
We don't want to feel
As if our tears or shouts are meaningless
Castigated down
Buried deep
At Bell's[1] *bottom of the well*
– C. E. Matias

I'm often asked why I study what I study. "Isn't race over with?" naysayers ask. "Isn't it best to take the emotions out of race?" they insist. Regardless as to whether or not these inquiries stem from good intention, they are nonetheless violent to me; for I spent twelve years in higher education to refine my studies in race in education to a point where I can clearly state, "*I study a feminist of color approach to deconstructing the emotionality of whiteness in urban education."* Therefore, to say emotions and race are meaningless is like rendering my entire educational journey valueless and, for that matter, made worthless by someone who probably has zero years of academic training in the matter. The irony of it all is that as I probe further in my discussions of race—specifically, the emotionality of whiteness—my naysayers get exponentially more uncomfortable, often flailing their arms with adamant certainty that emotions have nothing to do with racism, let alone whiteness. In fact, they argue that we should take emotions out of race discussions, opting for "objectivity" as if emotions are meaningless in how we "objectively" experience a world that subjugates us by virtue of our skin color, eye shape, and/or language we speak. In my insistence that race and emotions go hand-in-hand, my naysayers who claim they are objective and not emotional about the subject get visibly more upset. They pound their fist onto the table. Some cry. Others scream and spout off anything to refute the realization of race, all while claiming that I, as a brown-skinned Pinay, should not get emotional over the topic. As interesting as their emotional displays are, I find another emotional display more interesting. There are those naysayers who, when confronted with issues of race dialogue or racial experiences, stay emotionally frozen "like a deer on the highway, frozen in the panic induced by the lights of an oncoming car" (Tatum, 2008, pp. 147–148). No words are uttered. No behaviors suggest any penetration of the on-goings

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 89–99.

around them. Rather, they remain emotionally frozen in the face of race. This piece is dedicated to them because as they stare blindly into the abyss of society with a seemingly apathetic look, lacking breath, conviction, and/or soul, they nonetheless participate in operations of whiteness that ultimately uphold white supremacy. Plainly, the emotional frozenness of whiteness is one factor that supports white supremacy; a process that then turns around and substantiates enactments of racism. And in this frozen white tundra, the hellish heat of race still burns.

This chapter takes an emotional approach to unveiling the psychoanalytics behind the emotionality of whiteness, particularly emotional frozenness in whiteness. I begin with a detailed definition of the emotionality of whiteness and its emotional and psychoanalytic roots. Then I explore the specificities of emotional frozenness and how it metaphorically relates to the white tundra. In order to illuminate these theoretical postulations, I include poems (Lorde, 2007), counterstories (Matias, 2012), and fan-fiction (Preston, 2013). To be clear, I take ownership of the emotions that racism brings forth by engaging in them freely instead of masking, projecting, or repressing them. I do so to forever remind humanity that racism hurts and that such a pain is a natural emotional process in response to the dehumanization embedded in white supremacy.

WHY DO I DO THIS?

They call me the angry brown chick, a militant, the 'real' racist for simply bringing up race
But alas I'm not angry; I'm hurt for your lack of love despite your claims of love
I pity you, for you never see how blindly hateful your heart truly is
I refuse to let your lovelessness infect my heart again
I am a soldier for humanity forever protecting
The purity of my heart
The hearts of others
Unbeknownst to you
Yours as well
– C. E. Matias

Fanon (1967) writes about the psychoanalytical effects of colonial racism and describes how it makes him feel. He writes:

> I am enraged. I am bled white by an appalling battle, I am deprived of the possibility of being a man. (p. 88)

He then divulges how such emotions cannot be separated from him, for as he feels them he knows it intimately ties him to the fate of other Black men and people in a white supremacist world.

> I cannot dissociate myself from the future that is proposed for my brother. Every one of my acts commits me as a man. Every one of my silences, every one of my cowardices reveals me as a man. (p. 89)

Like Fanon, I am no different. My emotions with race are a direct response to the institutional racism and racial microaggressions I am forced to endure each day of my life as a single motherscholar of color in the academy. So yes I'm pissed. I'm hurt. And I refuse to silence those emotions, for in doing so I silence the anger and pain of so many others. As hooks (1995) suggests only when we locate our pain and struggle can we possibly make "all our hurt go away" (p. 75). The "Ph.D." behind my name has afforded me the opportunity and the confidence to speak out, hoping never again to mask my feelings. In modeling such an approach, I hope others too wake up from this emotional slumber so that humanity can feel once again.

WHAT IS THE EMOTIONALITY OF WHITENESS?

"I never owned slaves!" retorts Haley.
"Why are you making me feel so bad?!" projects Cindy.
"Maybe you're just being too sensitive," cries Nancy.
"It's not about race. I have Black friends!" argues Suzanne.
"I'm not white anymore! I want to be called a Pink Irishman!" attacks John.

These common phrases are verbal expression of the emotionality of whiteness. The first two can be categorized under emotional projections whereby those who feel guilty about race are unwilling to self-analyze their emotions and, thus, emotionally project their discomfort to deflect their racial culpability. The third phrase becomes a verbal expression of how one minimizes another's emotional experiences with race and, by doing so, purports white emotions to elevated status. The last two phrases emotionally obscure and deflect racial knowledge while opting in on racial discourse by calling out Blackness ("I have a Black friend") and erroneously equating "Pink" to the racist colorism that people of color experience daily.

As if talking about race is not enough, focusing on the emotionality of whiteness not only broaches the comfort levels within a system of race; it also encroaches upon the comfortability within patriarchy. Boler (1999) argues that addressing emotion is "risky business" for academics because academia often believes emotions are not reasonable or Truth, as if there is a single stamp of Truth (p. 109). Additionally, Ahmed (2004) reminds us that "emotions are not only 'beneath' but 'behind' the man/human" (p. 3) and are often associated with weakness and femininity. Debunking this primitive ideological construct, then, is emotionally unfettering for those ensnared in patriarchal thinking.

Emotions are complex phenomena that have within them a cultural politics (Ahmed, 2004), and they are not removed from the power structures that dictate their expression (Boler, 1999). As such, contrary to popularized notions of emotions being illogical or irrational, emotions are, in fact, logical and rational responses to larger systems of power and the relational interactions between individuals under these systems of power. Needless to say, emotions are relevant in understanding the racial lay of the land. Take for example the common parlance of "Angry Black

man." If emotions are rendered irrelevant in race, how, then, is the phenomena of the "angry" Black man manifested? We cannot opt in and out of emotions when we find it most opportune. In this example, the speaker of such a phrase strategically opts in with emotional jargon to support the ideology of whiteness as innocent while perpetuating Black male racial stereotypes. Therefore, we must address emotions head on, lest we be trapped in illogical cognitions. For example, feeling one way and expressing in another way: like a white teacher who proclaims pity for urban students of color but truly feels disgust for them (cf., Matias & Zembylas, 2014). Or, feeling one way and repressing such feeling for fear of societal retribution: like a man crying over the breakup of his lover. A final example of illogical cognitions of emotions is repressing one's emotions and projecting them onto someone else (cf., Matias, 2013a): like a white female feeling guilty in race discussions and, instead of self-analyzing why she feels guilty, she projects anger towards those who she believes are making her feel guilty. Emotions, then, are as much a part of race as water is a part of human bodies.

Defining the emotionality of whiteness has its roots in my own racialized experiences. Specifically, as the only tenure-line faculty of color in an urban-focused teacher education program at my institution, I found it disingenuous when I had teacher candidate after teacher candidate (and many of the teacher educators who trained them) profess their need to "save," "help," or "give back" to urban students of color yet refused to accept me as their professor or colleague (cf., Matias, 2013b). Beyond that, I recognized there were socially acceptable emotions that played into how race was discussed. In my experiences, for example, I noticed that my predominantly white teacher candidates and white teacher educators were allowed to talk about race through an emotional framework of pity, relieving, and redeeming. Yet when discussions of race went deeper—as to why, for example, these individuals believed themselves apt to redeem students of color despite never having had any foundational relationships with people of color—defensiveness, guilt, and anger surfaced. My research curiosity naturally led me to study these emotions and how they might impact how teachers, who are predominantly white females, engage in anti-racist teaching. I especially took interest in those teachers who displayed pity and concern for urban students of color but who throughout a diversity course revealed how much disgust and distaste they had for people of color. Considering this, I could not help but notice how emotions get sentimentalized as one thing to mask a deeper feeling, one that is not socially acceptable and could be tantamount to racist ideology (cf., Matias & Zembylas, 2014). Of course, no one wants to be called or labeled a racist, so the repression of one emotion is mastered.

The emotionality of whiteness encompasses all the emotions one feels to exert the hegemonic dominance of whiteness. With respect to the examples above: if I were to challenge, for example, a professor's sentimentalization of urban students of color, I would then be greeted with coldness, anger, claims of reverse discrimination—all of which is well documented in the literature of critical race theory in education. That was, in fact, what did happen to me throughout my experiences in academia.

Regardless of my own trauma in dealing with this, the phenomena was clear. In order to maintain the emotional rhetoric that whiteness upholds—namely, that whites save people of color—I needed to be silenced about its falsity. Similar to Foucault's (1977) conceptualization of surveillance, my behaviors and speech were surveilled in order to protect the hegemonic dominance of the emotionality of whiteness. Whiteness, then, maintains itself through emotionally co-optive ways. That is, often invoked in educational rhetoric are the notions of care, love, and hope in teaching. These emotions are socially accepted in the field, such that they are identified as the appropriate emotions to have when teaching. However, there has been a litany of literature that details how these emotions are truly being fully felt in classrooms that are predominantly students of color. For example, Valenzuela (1999) argues that teachers (who are mainly Anglo) need to have authentic care for their Mexican American students. Duncan (2002) reveals how false empathy manifests among his white pre-service teachers. Dixson and Rousseau (2005) argue that Black students are "still not saved" because of the "psychocultural assaults" they undergo in a racist education system (Ladson-Billings, 2009). Suffice it to say that although most teacher candidates, in-service teachers, and teacher educators claim to be loving, caring, and empathetic to diverse student populations, they are not. And this disingenuous expression of emotions results in two devastating phenomena.

First, it continues to racially oppress people of color because what is undergirding most emotions in whiteness is not genuine. That is to say, if one blindly subscribes to whiteness ideology, one cannot possibly move beyond its hegemonic power. How can one see outside of a telescope if one refuses to take one's eyes off it? As such, whiteness is maintained when one refuses to (1) identify the hegemonic manifestation of whiteness and (2) realize how it leads to enactments of whiteness. And in these enactments of whiteness people of color and white anti-racist racists[2] suffer. In fact, Matias and Allen (2013) argue that whites who refuse to let go of whiteness self-enlist in a sadomasochistic relationship with whiteness, one that knowingly hurts people of color and unknowingly hurts their own humanity.

Second, as people of color continue to be racially oppressed by the exertion of the emotionality of whiteness this also reifies white supremacy. In other words, when the emotionality of whiteness is given more credence than the emotionality of people of color, this then reinforces white supremacy, rendering the emotions and concerns of people of color only three-fifths of a white person's human worth.

Psychoanalytically, where do these white emotions derive from? Several scholars have attempted to detail the psychoanalytics of race. Fanon (1967), for example, describes how Black men develop an inferiority complex in surviving white colonial racism. Critical race theorists argue the emergence of defeatist behaviors or internalized racism that manifest in people of color under prolonged racism, a process that berates their own racial identities (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). However, with respect to how whites internalize their racially superior status, Thandeka (1999) argues that white children have been racialized into the white community by their white parents, claiming that "the price *for* the right to

be white had already been exacted: wholeness" (p. 87). As such, "what remained was a self that was conflicted and fearful" (p. 87). In this state of confliction and fearfulness, whites stray from humanity, for if "treason to whiteness is loyalty to humanity," then loyalty to whiteness is treason to humanity (Ignatiev & Garvey, 1996). The white self is thus left in a perpetual state of human emptiness, and it masks this emptiness with colorblind discourse rhetoric (Bonilla-Silva, 2010) and rationales to justify its usurped positionality in whiteness. For example, Memmi (1965) states that those who accept a colonizer position (in this case racial colonizer) are usurpers and "will defend it by every means" (p. 52). In this illegitimate usurpation the colonizer finds himself needing to "absolve himself of it and the conditions under which it was attained" (p. 52) and thus will "falsify history, he rewrites laws, he would extinguish memories—anything to succeed in transforming his usurpation into legitimacy" (p. 52). This illegitimate usurpation thus demands constant production of rationales and performances of whiteness, which leads white colonizers to feel shame and guilt (Thandeka, 1999). This shame and guilt, in turn, are emotionally defended to self-protect the lies of whiteness; hence, the emotional expressions of anger, defensiveness, or guilty sadness. However, there is another emotional response that self-protects the lies of whiteness. Emotional frozenness.

WHAT IS THE WHITE TUNDRA?

In between her choking sobs Malina lifted her tear-stained face to address her classmates. Although embarrassed for her emotional display, she was compelled—determined if you will—not to silence herself for the sake of sparing someone else's unwillingness to witness her tears. She knew all too well this was the space she could finally speak the truth about her racialized experience as a brown-skinned Filipina; for this was, after all, a class on race, teaching, education. Around her were many other college students of color, many of whom either ran over to hold her hand, had familiar tears in their own eyes, or were shaking their heads with empathetic furiousness. The class was worked up. The professor examined the face of each of her students sitting in the circle for critical class dialogue. Malina's tears streamed openly. Geneva (a Black female) refused to lift her face hoping to shield her tears. Roberto (a Latino male) shook with anger and Naomi (a Hapa[3] female) threw her hands in the air seemingly tired of being mislabeled. Among the students were two White students: one who remained sympathetically silent but seemingly engaged during the entire racial interlude and the other who appeared emotionally frozen, as if staring into space.

"Haley," said the professor, "Do you have anything to add?"

Hayley, a white female, barely moved her head to face the professor, for she was committed to staring at the exit sign that glowed above the classroom door. Without any movement, not even a breath, she replied, "No."

> *The professor, notwithstanding the obvious disengagement of the content and dialogue, followed up with "Hayley, how are you feeling about all of what you heard?"*
>
> *Haley's apathetic face showed no anger, sadness, elation, or any emotional response. As if frozen like the Alaskan tundra, everything was still with her. She unexcitedly and expressionlessly remained looking at the burning green glow of the exit sign and nonchalantly replied, "Fine."*

The fan-fiction counterstory (Preston, 2013) described above illuminates how emotional frozenness is expressed. Some argue that such frozenness stems from the paralysis of fear, claiming that "fear is a powerful emotion, one that immobilizes, traps words in our throats, and stills our tongues" (Tatum, 2008, p. 147). Although I find this emotional interpretation fruitful in describing one avenue of the emotionality of whiteness, specifically emotional frozenness, I offer another psycho-emotional interpretation of emotional frozenness that is not predicated on *proclaimed* emotions of fear and/or isolation. Like emotional responses that are argumentative or aggressively combative, emotional frozenness is also an emotional strategy that purports whiteness to elevated status, albeit differently. Unlike those abovementioned emotional expressions, emotional frozenness reifies hegemonic whiteness by simply racial reality and refusing to engage in reality that does not emotionally cater to whiteness. Suffice it to say that when one chooses to remain emotionally frozen during racial dialogue or incidents, one refuses to bear witness to reality of race and instead remains faithful to a false white imagination. And it's this loyalty to a false white imagination that obscures racial reality and reinforces whiteness.

Because of this loyalty to the white imagination, I entertain theorizations of what constitutes imagination and how subjective positionality impacts the development of imaginations. hooks (1995) argues how whiteness is manifested in the Black imagination, claiming that it's an accumulation of shared experiential knowledge of whiteness "gleaned from close scrutiny of white people" (p. 31). In this shared knowledge is a repertoire of terror that "all black people in the United States, irrespective of their class status or politics, live with the possibility that they will be terrorized by whiteness" (p. 46). That is, the Black imagination is not fictive or simply a thought process that dreams of "things that are not real."[4] Rather, the Black imagination is, indeed, realness wrought with a mental chronology of the terror felt under racial oppression. Plainly stated, the Black imagination is a mental inventory of racial Truth.

Whereas the Black imagination is a historical documentation of shared racial terrorism in Black communities, the white imagination is developed under the hegemonic dominance of whiteness in white communities (Matias, Viesca, Garrison-Wade, Tandon, & Galindo, 2014). In this dominance whiteness is rendered invisible, natural (Leonardo, 2009), and central to Americanness while rendering Blackness as its ontological opposite; namely un-Americanness (Morrison, 1992). Additionally, whiteness is wrought with the falsity of colorblindness, often referred

to as colorblind racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010). And within this colorblind racism "the act of enforcing racelessness…is itself a racial act" (Morrison, 1992, p. 46). Thus, though one characteristic of whiteness is the false profession of not seeing race or color, those who subscribe to it often "throw the white race card" when they find it more opportune to do so (Leonardo, 2009, p. 116). If whiteness, as Thandeka (1999) suggests, stems from a process of white racialization that produces a shamed feeling of "someone who is living a lie" (p. 34), then anything stemming from that point of departure is in turn a lie as well. As such, the white imagination—produced within the vacuum of whiteness—that imagines racial cohesion, legitimization of white racial superiority and innocence, and release of racial culpability via an epistemology of racial ignorance (Mills, 2007) is nonetheless false too. Plainly stated, the white imagination to which emotionally frozen individuals remain loyal is nothing but a false white mecca used to shield whiteness and protect against racial realism.

For example, despite the realism of racial terror, white people "imagine there is no representation of whiteness as terror, as terrorizing" (hooks, 1995, p. 45). One may ask how does the truth about terror get buried behind the façade of whiteness as innocent? The truth about this terror is silenced because of "accusations of reserve racism or by suggesting that black folks who talk about the ways we are terrorized by whites are merely evoking victimization to demand special treatment" (p. 47). Therefore, when a white person is finally given the space to bear witness to racial violence via race dialogues (cf., Leonardo & Porter, 2010) or by observing racial incidents, remaining emotionally frozen becomes an emotional way to deny racial reality.

Essentially, this denial becomes symbolically violent (Bourdieu, 2003) when it turns into the dominating "language" that "governs without the collaboration of those it governs" (p. 113). Stated another way, when the emotional frozenness becomes a way of silencing and dismissing others' racial reality it becomes symbolically violent. The silence or dismissing embedded in frozenness *is* the "language." Therefore, it is (1) the language that is spoken (or in this case not spoken), (2) the speaker's racial positionality, and (3) the speaker's racial positionality in relation to the receivers that brand emotional frozenness symbolically violent. Bourdieu (2003) writes:

> The power of the words is nothing other than the *delegated power* of the spokespersons, and his speech—that is, the substance of his discourse and inseparably, his way of speaking—is no more than a testimony, and one among others, of the *guarantee of delegation* which is invested in him. (original italics, p. 107)

The situation is tantamount to a mother who refuses to address or acknowledge the whines of her child. It's not only the act of dismissing the child's whine; rather, it's about the mother's power relation to the child and her choice to engage that power by refusing to entertain the child's cries. Thus, remaining emotionally frozen has deleterious impacts on the state of race relations because engaging it means one can opt out of participating in race, which in itself is racial privilege.

The question then is why? Why do mainly whites—and I acknowledge people of color who are indoctrinated by whiteness ideology—engage in emotional frozenness? Although the intent may not be malicious or decisively about perpetuating whiteness, the impact nonetheless is just that. Since white racialization is performed by constant repression of racial reality and the adoption of a knowingly false color-blind society (Thandeka, 1999), whites, then, as Bonilla-Silva (2010) suggests, have mastered rhetorical, discursive, and emotional maneuvers that exert hegemonic whiteness while feigning racial epistemological ignorance (Mills, 2007). As Matias and Zembylas (2014) argue, the emotionality of whiteness is strategically expressed in one way—one that is more socially acceptable and politically correct—to mask racial disgust, an emotion that is not socially acceptable or politically correct. This mastery of performed whiteness had to be learned, practiced, and perfected. Specific to learning emotional frozenness, there exists a pedagogical process passed down from generations on how to perform it. By freezing, whites do not have to acknowledge or participate in race until they find it strategically opportunistic to do so. They, as the generations before them, remain frozen because although they see race and know of its existence—seen by their avoidance of driving through communities of color, refusal to bring home a Black boyfriend, etc.—they are racialized to believe it does not exist. By accepting this false premise they are forever conflicted, shamed by their acceptance of the falsity of colorblindness and constant performance of racial naiveté. Yet, in their acceptance the racial benefits are still greater; for once they accept the white lies (Daniels, 1997), they are given an exclusive invitation to the world of whiteness.

AND WHAT OF THE TUNDRA?

Whiteness is a lonely, frozen tundra, leaving one immobile to expand beyond the confines of its chilling landscape. Entombed beneath its icy layers rests the reality of racial Truths unable to surface beyond the glacial surface. In this frigid climate

the warmth of humanity freezes and the hope of a more temperate society remains still. People of color are then left to pick up the bitter icy remnants of race that nonetheless burn the loving beats of their hearts. In our forever pursuit to build a warmer racial humanity—one that melts away the Othering of people of color—the emotional frozenness must evaporate. For if it doesn't, the warmth of the human heart freezes over.

SPECIAL NOTE

To those individuals who remain fully present despite the discomfort in race dialogues: May you always have the strength and endurance to fully participate in racial analyses and dialogues for the purpose of racial harmony.

NOTES

[1] Referring to critical race legal scholar Derrick Bell and his 1992 book *Faces at the Bottom of the Well.*

[2] Terminology stems from personal conversations with critical whiteness scholar, Dr. Ricky Lee Allen. He argues that whites can be white anti-racist racists at best because they continue to reap institutional benefits under a racist system despite their individual efforts.

[3] Hapa refers to someone who is mixed race with Japanese ancestry.

[4] According to the Merriam-Webster online dictionary http://www.merriam-webster.com/dictionary/imagination

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BRENDA JUÁREZ HARRIS, DARRON T. SMITH
AND CLEVELAND HAYES

9. JUST DO WHAT WE TELL YOU

White Rules for Well-Behaved Minorities

INTRODUCTION

In our society education has typically been viewed as a social good that is requisite for citizens' full political and economic participation (Dewey, 1916/2005; Fine, 1990; Lasswell, 1936; Postman, 1996; Woodson, 1933/2000). To create an educated citizenry, accordingly—and within this tradition of public schooling—the best education must be *equally* available to *all* children and youth (Gutman, 1999; Oakes, Quartz, Ryan, & Lipton, 2000). The problem with the notion of equal education, however, has been in deciding what and who are meant by the *equal* and *all* and—unfortunately yet accurately—*White is right* has most often been the decision made (Anderson, 1988; Donato, 1997; Juárez & Hayes, 2012a; Shujaa, 1994; Spring, 2010).

In the U.S.—and despite popular belief in a widely held consensus on the importance of educational equality and the presumption that it is already a reality—"race inequity and racism are [still] central features of the education system" (Gillborn, 2005, p. 497). Indeed, at present, there is a rapidly growing and increasingly close, pipeline-like connection between U.S. prisons and public schools serving students and communities identified as racial minorities and economically poor (Lipman, 1998; Noguera, 2003; Wacquant, 2002). Students who are male and Black or Latino have a much greater chance of going to prison than going to college (i.e., 1 in 3 and 1 in 6 respectively), particularly as compared to their White counterparts (i.e., 1 in 17) (Alexander, 2010; Children's Defense Fund, 2007; Holzman, 2006; Kim, Losen, & Hewitt, 2010). Across schools and society, "[r]ace continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the United States" (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, p. 48).

Teachers, in turn, and very importantly, are central to matters of equality in education; they are gatekeepers making and (re)considering decisions about how education is and *should* be dispersed—"Who gets what? How much should they get? In what contexts? For how long? Toward what ends? Who is entitled to receive special services (mentally gifted? Special education? Tracking? Head Start?)?" (Fine, 1990, p. 107). Teachers decide "how school resources are allocated, how students are labeled and served, and how different individuals and groups are represented in

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 101–116.

the curriculum" (Bell, 2002, p. 237). Teachers are the ones who decide, very directly, the politics of education (Lopez, 2003)—who is deemed worthy; more specifically, who is deemed *a citizen* or member of the community worthy of the right to equal treatment and access to the distribution of resources and opportunities in education.

Teachers' decisions about equality and education thus profoundly influence students' life chances and educational outcomes and opportunities by informing, for example, who goes to college and who goes to prison (Darling Hammond, 2000, 2004; Rivkin, Hanushek, & Kain, 2000; Wright, Horn, & Sanders, 1997). Pointedly, most Black and other students of color today are regularly taught by teachers who would prefer not to teach them (Gollnick, 1995; Goodman, 2001; Grant, 1994; Hilliard, 2001; Martin, 2001). At the same time, many school districts in the U.S. already have or are quickly moving towards majority minority student populations (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 1997; Southern Education Fund, 2010). The teaching force, notwithstanding, remains a White world (Juárez, Smith, & Hayes, 2008; Juárez & Hayes, 2010) with most teachers identified as White and female, monolingual, and primary speakers of English (National Summit on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2002; Sleeter, 2001).

Hence, if we are concerned with equal education—and we the authors posit, following Martin Luther King, Jr. (1968) and others who have struggled for equality over time (Donato, 1997; Moreno, 1999; Sitkoff, 1993), that our collective global and national futures depend on our shared willingness to invest in issues of equality—then we must consider the following questions: (1) What are the criteria, beliefs, values, assumptions, or knowledge that teachers draw on to make these determinations about students and educational equality? (2) How and why do teachers make the decisions they do about equality, resources, and education, and therefore the lived experiences and life chances of students? And most importantly, despite widespread support of equal education in U.S. society, (3) why do the decisions of teachers and vested others most often continue to support and help to perpetuate the existing racial hierarchy?

Considering the Seeming Paradox of Inequalities in Equal Education: Purpose of Inquiry

In this chapter, we are thus concerned with U.S. society's ideals of equal education and the seeming paradox of "how and why the field of education is still plagued by gaps, disparities, and deficiencies along the color line in predictable fashion" (Horsford, 2011, p. 83). Drawing from in-depth focus group interviews, we critically examine White future teachers' responses to questions about equality-oriented curriculum diversity initiatives and race-targeted academic programs and public policies. Educational researchers, policy-makers, program developers, and others currently demonstrate keen interest in the unequal academic outcomes in U.S. public schools and the [so-called] failure of Black and other students of color to academically perform at the same levels as their White counterparts (Bhargava,

Frankenberg, & Le, 2008; Irvine, 1990; Lleras, 2008; Love, 2004; Valencia, 1991). Much has likewise been written to document the (e.g., typically negative) racial perceptions and understandings of White teachers and White future teachers and the (e.g., typically negative) consequences for students' schooling outcomes and experiences (Barry & Lechner, 1995; Berlak & Moyenda, 2001; Lewis, 2003; Obidah & Teel, 2001; McIntyre, 1997; Sleeter, 2005; Terrell & Mark, 2000). Less examined, however, are the "normative assumptions of Whiteness that remain unspoken and often in the background, but which profoundly shape White attitudes and beliefs about racial others" (Bell, 2002, p. 238). Put differently, rarely considered regarding the matter of equal education is the role of White racial knowledge and its *modus operandi*—that is to say, the ways this race-based knowledge of Whiteness functions to provide the criteria or rules that teachers and others use to make sense of and act on matters of equality in education and society.

Applying the notion of White racial framing (Feagin, 2010), then, our purpose in this chapter is to explore the ways race-related understandings of equality position individuals to perpetuate or challenge U.S. society's existing racial hierarchy (Bell, 2002; Bennett, 1972; hooks, 1989; Shapiro, 2004). Our aim specifically is to illustrate how White racial knowledge most often serves to secure processes of race-based domination as individuals and groups apply principles of equality in ways that frequently sustain and on certain atypical occasions, serve to challenge historical inequalities. Our hope in this chapter is that our examination of the race-based knowledge embedded within teachers' talk will serve as a learning tool for helping all of us to better understand not only the seeming paradox of democratic ideals of equality and the racialized inequalities that continue to characterize U.S. public schools, but also to help us to better understand how, together, all of us can work to interrupt these exclusionary processes and instead foster more robust forms of democratic, inclusionary living and participation within classrooms and communities.

WESTERN UNIVERSITY AND MULTICULTURAL TEACHER PREPARATION

The responses analyzed for this chapter were drawn from four transcribed focus group interviews conducted during the winter semester of 2007 with 28 students enrolled in a large undergraduate teacher preparation program at Western University. Located within a mid-sized city in the western United States, the college of education at Western University reflects national patterns of a predominantly White faculty and an overwhelmingly White student population.

At the time of data collection, students enrolled in Western's teacher preparation program were required to take one multicultural education course for graduation. At Western University, there are 4 instructors (i.e., 2 full time and two adjunct faculty members) who teach the multicultural courses, and they self-identified as White. The teacher preparation program's one multicultural education course was divided into two sections specifically designated for enrolling students from either elementary

and early childhood education majors or secondary education majors, respectively. This one required multicultural education course is part of a sequence of required methods courses, and teacher education students at Western had some flexibility in terms of deciding when to take it. These students were permitted to enroll in the course at any time during their junior or senior years and after having successfully applied for teacher candidacy.

Two instructors (i.e., one full time and one adjunct faculty member) of the one multicultural course at Western assigned and required students to read and engage texts all exclusively identified within the field of multicultural education's research base (e.g., Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1995). By direct contrast, students enrolled in the sections taught by the other two instructors (i.e., one full time and one adjunct faculty member)[1] were assigned and required to read and engage texts all exclusively from politically conservative religious perspectives (e.g., Payne, 1998). Importantly, students who participated in this study's focus group interviews came from and represented the classes of all four multicultural education instructors at Western.

Apart from the one required multicultural education course, teacher education students at Western had relatively little background in or exposure to multicultural education ideas, research, or orientations. As is standard across most teacher preparation programs (Ladson-Billings, 2000), the teacher education students at Western participated in general, introductory, school-based field experiences prior to student teaching experiences; no field experiences were attached to the one required multicultural education course conceptually, in practice, or otherwise.

In addition to its one required multicultural education course, Western's teacher preparation program also hosted both a faculty diversity committee and a student diversity organization. Both the faculty and the student diversity-based organizations met monthly and officially focused on exploring issues of cultural diversity in education and society. Notably, Western's college administration required the student diversity association to select a group name, which focused on growth, harmony, and unity, and specifically banned the student group from using a name that included the word "diversity."

DATA COLLECTION AND METHODOLOGY

Focus Group Interviews

For this study, there were four focus group interviews conducted, each interview conducted separately and on different days across one semester. Participants in each focus group interview were invited to discuss their views about racial equality by responding to questions about race-based curriculum initiatives and educational programs. The same questions were posed to all students in each of the four focus group interviews. Each interview lasted between 120 and 175 minutes. Together, the interviews generated 153 transcript pages, an average of 38.25 pages per interview. At the time interviews were conducted, all participants were either in the process of

completing the required multicultural course or had completed it within the previous academic year.

Participant and Interviewer Demographics

With 6 to 8 individuals per focus group, a total of 28 students were interviewed for this study. Students invited to participate in this study self-identified as White and thus reflect the predominantly White teaching population in U.S. public schools (Sleeter, 2005). Likewise mirroring the overrepresentation of women in education (Martinez & Curry, 1999; National Center for Education Statistics, 2002; National Summit on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2002), 26 of the 28 students were female and two were male. All 28 students were undergraduates working toward a bachelor degree in education and teaching licensure. Nineteen of the students were elementary education majors, and nine were secondary education majors with program emphasis respectively in science (2 students), history (2 students), English (3 students), music (1 student), and physical education (1 student) content areas. Students ranged in age from nineteen to twenty-six years. Students were not asked to self-identify their socio-economic class or primary language backgrounds although the self-published demographics of Western's official website suggest that most students come from relatively affluent economic status, the same religious affiliation, and primary English speaking backgrounds. As a large private religious institution, however, Western does also draw some students from many parts of the world who share the same religious affiliation if not the same middle-class or linguistic backgrounds.

All teacher education students present and past in all sections of the multicultural education course taught by all four instructors were notified of the study through invitations written and posted electronically via list-serv group e-mails and as a poster announcement physically posted throughout Western's College of Education building—student lounge areas in particular—inviting those who self-identified as White to participate in a focus group interview soliciting their perspectives on issues of race and equality in education and U.S. society.[2] Students did not sign up to participate in this study; they simply arrived at the advertised time and place for study participation.

Because all participants in this research self-identified as White, all interviews were conducted by Researcher 1 or one of her graduate student assistants who also self-identifies as White (Hurtado & Stewart, 1997; Marshall & Rossman, 1989; Maxwell, 1996). The intent of having White interviewers interview White teacher education students about matters of racial equality in education and society was to try to minimize the potential discomfort that we felt White participants might experience when being asked to speak about their views on racial matters within a racially heterogeneous context.

Importantly, interview questions did not solicit participants' reasons for accepting the invitation to participate in this study. Moreover, care was taken to ensure that students from all four instructors' multicultural education courses past and present

were represented in the sample of participants. Participants who at that time were or previously had been students in the sections of the multicultural education course taught by Researcher 1 were specifically *not* placed within the two focus group interviews conducted by this researcher. Hence, none of the participants in any of the four focus group interviews were acquainted with or knew the individual conducting the interview prior to the time of the focus group interview.

Similarly, no teacher education students received any extra credit or other forms of reward for participating in this study. Based on the deep familiarity Researcher 1 has with Western's teacher preparation program, and on our respective personal and professional experiences as anti-racist educators navigating U.S. society's white mainstream, we feel that it's possible that perhaps some of the students who volunteered to participate in this study did so because they had strong feelings one way or another about matters of racial equality and wanted a forum to share these views, which participation in the study may have provided. Self-selection, moreover, provides the potential for intensified homogeneity among participants and thus also allows for the possibility of illuminating more nuanced patterns in ways White future teachers may think about race that are not otherwise readily visible and available for analysis (Miles & Huberman, 1994).

Data Analysis

Data analysis for this study was guided by the philosophical tenets and practical considerations of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Huckin, 1995; Van Dijk, 1984, 1999). The objective of CDA is to identify the connections between individuals' daily lives and interactions and systemic patterns of inequality through analysis of texts and talk (Van Dijk, 1993). From a CDA perspective, language carries and reflects "the way social power abuse, dominance, and inequality are enacted, reproduced, and resisted by text and talk in the social and political context" (Van Dijk, 1999, p. 352). Salient categories and themes from interviews are therefore embedded and identified within individuals' speech.

In this chapter, our intent is to explore how individuals framed their ideas about racial equality and how the categories embedded within their talk connected them to the racial *status quo*. Accordingly, first working separately and then coming together to discuss discrepancies in our coding, we identified and pulled out all segments in transcripts that conveyed a belief or statement about equality and its meaning and application to matters of race (Lofland & Lofland, 1995; Patton, 1990; Yeh & Inman, 2008). We used instances of difference in coding to challenge and expand our respective and combined emergent themes. With few exceptions, we noted that participants cast their responses in moral terms expressed through explicitly values-based language, taking the form of a social rule of thumb or normative standard to guide their understandings of matters of equality and race. We organized segments into categories and then into themes according to topic of the segment.

Interview segments were identified as social rules if they involved reference to normative standards for behavior, attitudes, and knowledge statements defining that which was and was not considered normal, a field of comparison, and site for differentiation (Bhaba, 1989; Hall, 1997). Importantly, moral language provides *authoritative imperatives* or *compelling rules* (Locke, 1935/1989) that guide and direct individuals' interactions and activity by drawing on and defining collectively shared understandings of how people should and should not behave (and as compared to how they actually do behave) (Ward, 1991). While the interview protocol did not specifically ask participants to state rules or conventions for understanding equality and race, individuals in their responses to questions often explained how they applied the criteria provided by a rule of thumb for determining who was and who was not qualified to be included within a particular moral community as an explanation and rationale for their thinking. Moral concepts, importantly, are central to the ways individuals see themselves and others (Gilligan, 1982; Kohlberg, 1984; Opotow, 1990; Ward, 1991). During interviews, rules for thinking about equality and race were most often introduced by one participant and then explained and elaborated upon by other participants, and in a few instances challenged by another participant. That participants were potentially able to build on each others' answers was a possible advantage of using focus group interviews in this study. One potential disadvantage of using focus group interviews in this study is the possibility that some participants felt constrained and thus less able to articulate a more divergent viewpoint while in the presence of their peers (who are other Whites) and being tape-recorded.

In this chapter, the interview transcript number and the identification number of a student from the corresponding focus group denote each excerpted response. For example, (T2S6) refers to the second focus group interview transcript and the response articulated in that interview by student 6 (i.e., Transcript 2 Student 6). Below, we share and discuss representative responses.

ANALYSIS OF THEMES

In this study, participants' responses engage and articulate positions on matters of social justice and racial equality in education and U.S. society with regard to how individuals should be treated, to their rights and obligations relative to each other, and to the social institutions they are part of and participate in—and, in the name of fairness, "to whom and for what society's rewards ought to be distributed" (Stevens & Wood, 1992, p. xiii). From our analysis of transcripts, we have identified three interrelated themes across responses that contribute to understanding the space between democratic ideals of racial equality and systemic practices of race-based exclusion: retributive equality, distributive equality, and colorblindness.

Embedded within each theme, and as the names suggest, is a different and particular conception or understanding of what is just and equal regarding matters of race and how race should be interpreted. Expressed through their responses,

participants talked about how they applied their understandings of race and equality in their daily lives to make sense of the world around them by using these understandings to generate and serve as the basis for three distinctive sets of social rules or normative standards for evaluating individual behavior—their own and that of others. Derived from the two understandings of race and equality carried respectively within each theme, the three sets of rules we have identified within responses include a moral code of conduct, a political etiquette guide, and an addendum on race rules.

A Moral Code of Conduct, A Retributive Perspective on Social Justice and Equality:

> Rules on How to Merit Society's Rewards
>
> If, within the retributive understanding of equality, one must merit society's rewards, how does one earn or come to deserve that merit? The retributive understanding of equality focuses on processes and sameness of treatment, not outcomes. Individuals, treated fairly in the process of competition, must merit society's rewards.

Embedded within students' responses, and based on the retributive understanding of equality, then, the following set of rules is a moral code of conduct that outlines specifically the ways individuals are expected to qualify themselves for, and thus merit or deserve, access to society's rewards. The main task or objective of retributive justice is to construct criteria that is fair and, when equally applied, will result in the fair distribution of society's valued yet limited resources (Ryan, 1993). Collectively generated by this study's participants and generated from the retributive understanding of equality they drew on and applied to make sense of racial equality matters, the following rules serve as the criteria or normative standards and means they used to evaluate their own and others' behavior and thereby determine who is and who is not qualified to merit access to society's rewards.

Retributive Equality in Action

- Rule One: Be a hard worker and provide for yourself.
- Rule Two: Be deserving of or merit what you have; don't abuse things or take something for nothing.
- Rule Three: Be motivated and have a positive attitude.
- Rule Four: Be honest.

As part of the moral code of conduct, rules one and two—work hard and do not abuse anything or take something for nothing—are two sides of the proverbial same coin. Rules three and four—be motivated and have a positive attitude while being honest—are about individual character and outlook on life. Put crudely, following these four rules as guides for individual behavior and comportment is how one merits access to society's rewards.

With the emphasis on hard work, honesty, and a good attitude, the rules of the moral code of conduct outlined by the future teachers in this study reflect and may be situated within dominant historical traditions of individualism in the U.S. (Bellah, Madsen, Sullivan, Swidler, & Tipton, 1985/2008). Of the 28 participants, 22 participants provided responses describing hard work, merit, and personal integrity as race-neutral ideals that served as standards for individual behavior and comportment as a means to qualify themselves for society's rewards.

Explaining why the race-neutral values of hard work and merit were considered necessary for meriting society's rewards, one participant provided a typical response: "If I have to work hard to get into school, they [racial minorities] have to work hard too. They shouldn't be handed something just because they are Black. I just think everyone can work hard and have a positive attitude" (T1S2). Another concurred: "Lots of people have it hard, not just Blacks. It's not like every Black is in the ghetto anymore" (T4S8). This requirement of working hard to merit or deserve society's rewards is, notably, a universal and therefore race-neutral requirement.

Across these responses, equality means sameness or parity of treatment in the process of competing for society's rewards—if I have to work hard, then you have to work hard too. Whites are not differentiated from racial minorities; racial minorities are viewed as necessarily being equal to and on the same and equal playing field and having the same opportunities (and disadvantages) as Whites due to their equal or sameness of treatment in the process of competition for society's rewards—*Lots of people have it hard, not just Blacks*.

Any special treatment based on race was considered unfair and unequal—*It's not like every Black is in the ghetto anymore*. Accordingly, outcomes in the process of competition for society's rewards must be determined by merit. One merits society's rewards, in turn, by hard work and a positive attitude—expectations for individual comportment for all regardless of racial background.

Distributive Equality in Action: How to Make Demands for Equality

- Rule Five: Make demands, but within reason.
- Rule Six: Be respectful when making demands.
- Rule Seven: Learn to speak English.
- Rule Eight: Be grateful.
- Rule Nine: Do not make White people feel racist.
- Rule Ten: Do not blow things out of proportion or get too pushy.

Addressing questions about racial minorities making demands on society—their influence on school desegregation plans, for instance—the responses of 20 of the 28 participants suggested that while individuals should not be forced to subtract racial and cultural markers, they should make demands for equality on society, but within boundaries defined as acceptable by Whites. They also should not expect society to make changes to the existing racial and cultural organization in the U.S.; they should assimilate into, but not try to change U.S. society.

Racial minorities may make demands on society, but only if they subscribe to and follow the political etiquette defined by Whites on how to make demands for equality—demands must be reasonable as determined by Whites, and these demands must be made in a manner that is respectful, not pushy, and doesn't push too hard. People of color may demand equality but only to the point that what they are demanding fits within and allows them to assimilate into the existing organization of a White dominated society. According to the rules of the Political Etiquette Guide, the Whiteness of society may not be questioned or challenged. Those who are not White may strive toward inclusion in Whiteness but they may not challenge it beyond limits set by Whites. As one student explained, "I can't say that I really understand Black frustration or the frustration of people of color generally. I'm from a White, middle class family, so I don't know. But I do think it's frustrating when things are blown out of proportion" (T2S4).

RACIAL LIBERALISM: COLORBLIND IDEALS OF EQUALITY

Racial liberalism places emphasis on the individual, thus redefining racism from a matter of institutional structures to an act of personal biases and prejudice (Goldberg, 1993; Guinier, 2004; Mills, 1997). Race itself, within racial liberalism, is reduced to skin color and therefore irrelevant. Enfolding African Americans and other Americans of color into its representation of America as racially inclusive and promoting the inclusion of the previously excluded as proof of America's exceptionalism and mission of manifest destiny, influenced by the events of the Civil Rights era, racial liberalism recognizes race-based inequalities as a problem (Gaines, 1996).

Defining race as having no relevance, therefore meaningless—this is very important, not to be used to differentiate between people for any distribution of society's rewards—racial liberalism promotes a colorblind tolerance and inclusivity based on race-neutral, universal ideals of equality. Responses across interviews, as illustrated in earlier sections, consistently emphasized colorblind, race-neutral understandings of equality, and participants defined both retributive and distributive understandings of equality across interviews as race-neutral, blind to color. Equality speaks no race. Equality is colorblind.

RACE RULES: AN ADDENDUM ON RACIAL EQUALITY

Do NOT Speak Race, Please! Colorblindness in Action

As in previous sections, the set of race rules presented herein were embedded within participants' responses and illustrate how participants applied their knowledge of race as irrelevant. The race rules are racial liberalism's understandings of race as irrelevant in action. Specifically, the addendum of race rules is a set of rules or normative standards collectively generated and applied by participants on how to

understand the topic of race and based on racial liberalism's understandings of race as irrelevant.

Rule 11 denotes race and racism as things of the past and therefore irrelevant. Rule 12 highlights Whites' ability to define what topics are acceptable topics of conversation and deny the topics they don't want to talk about. Rule 13 demonstrates a Fanonian moment with a pleading by Whites for acceptance from those they have oppressed and making racism a matter of interpersonal injury and hurt feelings.

- Rule 11: Stop beating a dead horse, slavery is over; talk about race is unacceptable.
- Rule 12: Just let the race thing go and get over it; don't use the race card.
- Rule 13: Stop being angry; forgive and forget about slavery—race doesn't matter anymore.

The idea of racial progress and race as a crutch that keeps people of color and U.S. society from realizing full race-based equality is reiterated across these responses. Importantly, the petitions of people of color for equality are defined as unnecessary whining and as events that cause discomfort to Whites in terms of their personal feelings and what they want to hear and how they want to hear it. Negative stories of oppression and hardship are not deemed welcome by Whites and therefore are not wanted.

Again, the ownership and entitlement of Whites to decide what to hear and how it should be presented is presumed. Only two students questioned the rightness of Whites to control talk about race. As one student noted, "Before this multicultural class, I didn't realize discrimination is as much of a problem as it still is" (T4S4). Another student argued, "I think that a lot of the positive attention racial minorities get in the media is for sports and athletes. We don't really see a lot of Nobel Prize sort of attention going on for minorities" (T4S8). These two students, out of the 28 participants, considered the possibility that race might still matter in the lives of people of color. For the most part, as with Whites generally, responses suggested that race no longer matters and that therefore people of color should no longer talk about it because Whites, as the owners of equality, are tired of hearing about it.

Imagining New Rules Not Based on Whiteness

Our purpose in this study was to examine how understandings of racial equality link White future teachers to the existing racial hierarchy and influence the decisions they make about distribution of rewards pertinent to classrooms and more. Although very infrequent, there were instances when participants attempted to challenge the notions of racial liberalism identified across responses to hint at the structural and historical dimensions of racial inequalities. Overwhelmingly, however, responses relied on racial liberalism's colorblind ideals of retributive and deficit-oriented distributive justice to make decisions and understand the surrounding world. The property functions of Whiteness embedded within the racial liberalism applied

by the participants helped to ensure that the existing racial hierarchy will remain undisturbed and not be challenged. Following Ladson-Billings (1995), we suggest that interruption of the historical democracy-racism paradox requires Whites to consistently think differently about equality and race. The notion that Whites alone have created U.S. society and its institutions is a myth; Whites have contributed to, yet compromised American democracy through the historical privileging of their group-based interests (Olson, 2004). Equality must therefore become contextually situated, group specific, and color specific.

This empirical effort contributes to previous understandings of how the democracy-racism paradox is continuously re-created and maintained. The findings of this research are very useful but limited. The small number of participants in this sample allows us only to identify and explore intriguing possibilities for further investigation of the democracy-racism paradox. Research that further interrogates the link between race-less ideals and racialized exclusions with larger samples is critical for fully understanding and interrupting these connections.

Future research, then, must explore how White egalitarian traditions may draw from the collective achievements and experiences of people of color in U.S. society to redefine equality and other democratic ideals without the burden of Whiteness (Goldberg, 2009; Lomax, 1964; Marable, 1993). Notions of White moral superiority and non-White moral inferiority must be challenged and recreated to reflect the gifts of not only Blacks but other people of color in the U.S. Social justice must acknowledge, not eliminate, groups without re-instantiating the existing racial *status quo* by celebrating difference from Whiteness (Browne, 1990; Delgado & Stefancic, 1997; Feagin, Vera, & Batur, 2001; Ladner, 1973; Lopez, 2006; Marable, 2000).

NOTES

[1] The direct contrast between the philosophical approaches of the two pairs of multicultural education course instructors at Western was coincidental, not planned. The two instructors who taught a more politically conservative approach to multicultural education were both graduates of Western who had been hired on as faculty. The other two instructors, who taught multicultural education in a manner more likely to be recognized by multicultural education scholars, were also both graduates of Western but had gone on to do their graduate work at other institutions and had come back after several years of working at other universities to teach at Western.

[2] Dates, times, and places of the four focus group interviews were consecutively scheduled throughout the semester. Students arriving for interviews at previously designated times and places were given informed consent forms to read and sign. Consent forms reiterated **t**hat students' actual names would not be disclosed and that their responses would not jeopardize their standing, status, or grade in any course, with the college's faculty, or in the university's teacher preparation program; this has been realized. Students' participation in focus group interviews was not part of any course activities, extra credit activity, or in any other way related to their teacher preparation program; students were not reimbursed or rewarded for participation.

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BRANDON O. HENSLEY

10. LIFTING THE DUMBBELLS OF WHITENESS AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

Every day, I'm lifting them.
They lift me; I lift them.
It's exhausting work
maintaining the appearance of a hegemonic masculine body and upholding whiteness
while doing so breaks your heart and crushes your critical soul.

The first time I immersed myself in bodybuilding, I thought I had a good reason
to build a muscled "human fortress" (Fussell, 1991, p. 24).[1]
I couldn't take getting beat up, taunted, called "Braindead" (instead of Brandon),
called "faggot," "bitch," "queer," and pushed, laughed at, yelled at down the hallway,
(a)shamed.
I know I'm not alone (now).

Feeling bullied in one form or another is a human experience that cuts people
across racial lines and other socially constructed borders of difference.
For me, a path of isolation was the way. Working out alone,
first in my dad's tool room in the basement, then in an old hospital gym
and, later, in high-tech university gyms where weights gleamed and mirrors were
everywhere.

Luckily, in college I had teachers who cared,
who nurtured me, who talked me into graduate school and college teaching.
If I had not taken the route of graduate studies, critical/cultural studies, and
autoethnography,
I might be a junior account executive for Fleishman Hillard, or some other corporation
of conspicuous consumer casino capitalist spin.

With no critical consciousness,
a life of woeful unchecked whiteness atrophies
the muscles of the heart
and the attendant abilities of empathy, openness, and love.
Lifting The Dumbbells[2] without thinking, without questioning is the hardening of
the soul; the resulting muscles choke out the capacity for compassion.

***

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 117–119.

I have learned to stop lifting them, to question why I am in the first place, to break the culture(s) of domination (hooks, 2003)—even if for fleeting glimmers—but the dumbbells of hegemonic masculinity and whiteness are alluring, always there, menacing, and just when I think I am done with them I do/say/think something and I'm lifting again.
It's exhausting work when lifting these weights break the ability to live and love.

This "reflexercise" (Hensley, 2011) will never be over,
unhooking never complete (Hayes & Hartlep, 2013).
I can only work at undoing each lift with a stretch away from whiteness,
a critical look into the mirrors of memory and the mind, feeling the burn
of assumptions, positionality, complicity, values that still work to reify/deify

the gulag of whiteness and the tyranny of heteronormativity, weights that crush together, but
can maybe also crash together. I hope that I can stand up to future bullies
that may or may not be actual people, but certainly will be
throwing their weight around in dangerous ignorance and dominance, qualities of a bully behaving in ways steeped in whiteness and hegemonic masculinity.

I picture a day when the dumbbells drop, the hard thud of iron meeting white cracked concrete,
fracturing shattering relief of revelation and weight… (long) wait…
lifted.
I hope for a day when social justice and love replace those rusted, bloody weights.
A day when white men's "equipment for living"[3] is less about greed, gunpowder, pillaging and patrolling,
and more about sharing, learning, questioning, unhooking, and co-creating a revolution of love.[4]

NOTES

[1] My experiences being bullied in middle school and high school were lived struggles I suppressed until I first wrote about it in graduate school, when auto-ethnography found me.

[2] I capitalize these words to signify two interlocking forces of domination—whiteness and hegemonic masculinity.

[3] I'm drawing from Kenneth Burke (1931) here, who wrote of identification and the constitutive power of rhetoric.

[4] hooks (2013) writes, "Unless we make a conscious effort to change thought and action by honestly naming all the myriad ways white supremacy impinges on daily life then we cannot shift from a politics of hate and create a new foundation based on a revolution of love" (p. 12).

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VERONICA ESCOFFERY-RUNNELS

11. CHALLENGING WHITENESS AND THE VIOLENCE THAT FOLLOWS

A Poem of Reflection

SETTING THE CONTEXT OF THE POEM OF REFLECTION

The post-racial is a mythical idea that ironically shelters and helps to sustain the endemic nature of racism in the United States (Bell, 2002). Every year since the landmark *Brown v. Board* decision, the United States has become markedly more politically correct in its articulations. Despite these articulations racism remains fully present and just as violent, though under a new yolk of post-Jim Crow nouveaux racism as we see with the experiences of people who challenge the *status quo* of Whiteness. In this chapter, I reflect on the lives of Black men in this country who have been killed simply because they were Black and Brown in the wrong place at the wrong time; while many feel that if these men would have been well-behaved minorities, their fate would have been different. Many in this country have spent an enormous amount of effort demonizing the men listed in my poem without any reflection on the systems of oppression and violence that continue. This chapter is a reflection on the lives of those men in hopes that it can become a muse for others in the fight against race, racism and White supremacy (Juárez & Hayes, 2014).

What pray tell is a Black man's worth?
Priceless potential his parents see,
Celebrating his momentous birth.
Yet worthless his presence in society.

250 years of slavery borne upon our souls,
60 years of separate but equal we have withstood,
90 years of Jim Crow unable to vote at the polls,
And still a Black man's life is no good.

21 times more likely to be killed by police.
Another headline for the media to hype,
Rioting across the nation for justice and peace
Conservatives cry foul and reply don't gripe!

The post-racial fallacy we must judge
An opportunity for ignorance to reign

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 121–122.

Hypocritical people their opinions don't budge
This, a reality that Black America must deign?

We bring forth the named and nameless who have passed
Oscar Grant
Sean Bell
Trayvon Martin
Kendrec McDade
Johnathan Ferrell
Eric Garner
John Crawford III
Michael Brown
Ezell Ford
We remember their light and abhor the darkness of their absence.
How much longer must this degradation last?
The betrayal of the Black man's significance

What pray tell is a Black man's worth?

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CLEVELAND HAYES, BRENDA JUÁREZ HARRIS
AND NICHOLAS D. HARTLEP

12. STOP SHOWING YOUR WHITENESS AND UNHOOK

INTRODUCTION: THE WHITE RACIAL FRAME

As we have worked to illustrate through our narratives, the framework of liberalism privileges the historical dominance of Whites and Whiteness. Our narratives also illustrate that individuals and groups—either knowingly or unknowingly, it matters not because the damage is done—do willfully and with alternative choices available enter into interactions and make decisions that draw on and help to defend, sustain, and further perpetuate liberalism with its historical privileging of Whiteness. Specifically, when individuals and groups and institutions deploy notions of colorblindness, meritocracy, and a context- and history-free focus on the individual, a choice for Whiteness and its continued role in racial domination is made. Accordingly, individuals, groups, and institutions must unhook themselves from Whiteness and its conveyor of liberalism if they are indeed at all serious about realizing the democratic ideals of freedom and equality for all. Whiteness and human freedom can never be simultaneously affirmed, as history has repeatedly shown us.

In this chapter, we are concerned with the problem of good and the continuing problematic notions of liberalism. Many who work in teacher education programs portray themselves, through their actions and interactions to be "Friends of the Race" (Harris, 1995), good White liberals who advocate for "diversity." As Lerone Bennett (1964) explains,

> The White liberal is a person who defines themselves as White, as an oppressor, in short, and retreats in horror from that designation. But they only retreat halfway, disavowing the title without giving up the privileges or tearing out, as it were. The fundamental trait of the White liberal is their desire to differentiate themselves psychologically from White Americans on the issue of race. The White liberal wants to think and wants others, namely people of color, to embrace brotherhood. White liberals have two basic aims: to prevent polarization and to prevent racial conflict. (p. 76)

According to Caditz (1977), White liberals have a strong and longstanding commitment to ethnic integration. They believe in the general ideas of civil rights and justice for minorities. Many believe in general anti-discriminatory principles;

N. D. Hartlep & C. Hayes (Eds.), Unhooking from Whiteness, 123–138.

that "color makes no difference," "people are people," and "there should be one human race" (Caditz, 1977). However, the contradiction arises, in the case of teacher education, when a White teacher begins expressing racist thinking and acting in racist ways while extolling her own "helpfulness" and role as *Friend of Race*. Importantly, White liberal forms of helping have historically helped the helper more than those being helped (Juárez & Hayes, 2010).

Many White liberals believe in colorblindness and apparently neutral principles of universalism. Critical Race Theory Scholars (CRiTS) argue that holding onto a colorblind framework only allows these *Friends* to address the egregious forms of racism, the ones everyone would notice and condemn, such as a White person calling an African American the "N" word in public. Yet, because racism is embedded in our thought processes and social structures, the ordinary business in our society keeps people of color in subordinate positions through daily interactions and practices as exemplified by many of the chapter writers. Only aggressive, color conscious efforts to change the way things are done will do much to ameliorate misery inflicted on people of color by White racism (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1997).

The problem of liberalism, within teacher education, emerges against the backdrop of official calls and wide consensus for the multicultural preparation of teachers and the fact that "teacher preparation programs continue to graduate and credential educators who are not prepared to effectively teach students of color" (Blanchett, 2006, p. 27).

Applying the notion of White racial framing (Feagin, 2010), then, our purpose in this study is to explore the ways race-related understandings of equality position individuals to perpetuate or challenge U.S. society's existing racial hierarchy (Bell, 2002; hooks, 1989). Our aim specifically is to illustrate how White racial knowledge most often serves to secure processes of race-based domination as individuals and groups apply principles of equality in ways that frequently sustain and, on certain atypical occasions, serve to challenge historical inequalities. Our hope in this article is that our examination of the race-based knowledge embedded within teachers' talk will serve as a learning tool for helping all of us to better understand not only the seeming paradox of democratic ideals of equality and the racialized inequalities that continue to characterize U.S. public schools, but also to help us to better understand how together all of us can work to interrupt these exclusionary processes and instead foster more robust forms of democratic, inclusionary living and participation within classrooms and communities.

We begin our examination of White racial knowledge in equal education by first briefly reviewing the contemporary demographics in U.S. public schooling and research findings on teachers' racial attitudes and the consequences for students' educational outcomes. Next, we outline a definition of White racial knowledge and discuss how this race-based knowledge is transmitted over generations through education and within other important socializing domains in U.S. society. We then make note of the methods and methodology used in this study before presenting and analyzing themes from our interview data. We conclude with a discussion of the role

of White racial knowledge in classrooms and consider possibilities for interrupting the link between equality and inequality in education.

THE WHITE RACIAL FRAME

In this chapter, we draw on Feagin (2010) and Picca and Feagin's (2007) notion of the White racial frame to examine participants' perspectives on equality. The White racial frame helps us to understand how individuals of goodwill may and often do support and affirm racist oppression despite their anti-racist intentions. Specifically, the White racial frame enables us to highlight and examine the race-based assumptions individuals use to interpret matters of racial equality.

Passed down by Whites over generations, the White racial frame refers to "an organized set of racialized ideas, stereotypes, emotions, and inclinations to discriminate" (Feagin, 2006, p. 25). Five important dimensions make up the White racial frame: (1) assumptions about the overall superiority of Whites in culture, achievement, and morality as justification for White control and dominance of institutions and beliefs about people of color as inferior and less significant in the making and maintaining U.S. society; (2) negative stereotypes about people of color; (3) emotions racialized by association with racial assumptions or knowledge about and between people of color in the form of negative stereotypes; (4) recurring individual and group enactments and performances of racialized knowledge; and (5) the larger institutional structures in which racialized performances are enacted (Feagin, 2006; Picca & Feagin, 2007).

Pointedly, the White racial frame is more than a deeply embedded cognitive tool historically used by Whites (Picca & Feagin, 2007; Feagin, 2010); it's a collectively shared perspective that guides how Whites as individuals and groups think about and interact with people of color (Feagin, 2010; Gillborn, 2005; Leonardo, 2009). The White racial frame is a guide and therefore does not determine how Whites as individuals or groups—or anyone else using the knowledge of Whiteness—will act. Moreover, not all five dimensions of the White racial frame will be evident within every interaction or speech act that involves Whiteness. We focus specifically on the White racial frame's assumptions of White superiority and Black inferiority because of the normalizing function of race-based knowledge and its tie to individuals' actions and decision-making process in education and other social institutions. As we learn more about the functions and consequences of White racial knowledge in structuring the distribution of education, we may become better equipped to interrupt the processes of race-based dominance which continue to produce inequalities in education and society (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995).

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AND UNHOOKING FROM WHITENESS

Like Knaus (2009), we apply Critical Race Theory for the purpose of developing the voices and narratives that challenge racism and the structures of oppression. Tate

(1997) asks the question, "Pivotal in understanding CRT as a methodology, what role should experiential knowledge of race, class and gender play in educational discourse?" (p. 235). Ladson-Billings (1998) states that CRT focuses on the role of "voice in bringing additional power and experiential knowledge that people of color speak regarding the fact that our society is deeply structured by racism" (p. 13). Solórzano and Yosso (2001) define CRT as "an attempt to understand the oppressive aspects of society in order to generate societal and individual transformation and are important for educators to understand that CRT is different from any other theoretical framework because it centers race" (pp. 471–472).

CRT scholars have developed the following tenets to guide CRT research; all of these tenets are utilized within the design and analysis of this study (Kohli, 2009):

(1) *Centrality of race and racism*. All CRT research within education must centralize race and racism, as well as acknowledge the intersection of race with other forms of subordination. (Kohli, 2009; Sleeter & Delgado Bernal, 2002)

(2) *Valuing experiential knowledge*. Solórzano and Yosso (2001) argue that CRT in educational research recognizes that the experiential knowledge of students of color is legitimate, appropriate, and critical to understanding, analyzing, and teaching about racial subordination in the field of education. Life stories tend to be accurate according to the perceived realities of subjects' lives. They are used to elicit structured stories and detailed lives of the individuals involved. (Delgado, 1989; McCray, Sindelar, Kilgore, & Neal, 2002)

(3) *Challenging the dominant perspective*. CRT research works to challenge dominant narratives, often referred to as majoritarian stories. CRT scholar Harris (1995) describes the "valorization of Whiteness as treasured property in a society structured on racial caste" (p. 277). Harris (1995) also argues that Whiteness conferred tangible and economically valuable benefits, and it was jealously guarded as a valued possession. This thematic strand of Whiteness as property in the United States is not confined to the nation's early history. (Frankenberg, 1997; Ladson-Billings, 1998)

(4) *Commitment to social justice*. Social justice must always be a motivation behind CRT research. Part of this social justice commitment must include a critique of liberalism, claims of neutrality, objectivity, colorblindness, and meritocracy as a camouflage for the self-interest of powerful entities of society (Tate, 1997). Only aggressive, color conscious efforts to change the way things are done will do much to ameliorate misery. (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1997)

(5) *Being interdisciplinary*. According to Tate (1997), CRT crosses epistemological boundaries. It borrows from several traditions, including liberalism, feminism, and Marxism to include a more complete analysis of "raced" people.

CRT has emerged as a theoretical and methodological instrument that has been useful for centering education research on race and racism. CRT scholars center the experiential knowledge of peoples of color to expose everyday forms of racial violence, placing these experiences within a collective historical context (Elenes & Delgado Bernal, 2010; Fernandez, 2002; Zarate & Conchas, 2010).

Pointedly, the legitimacy of CRT in education has already been established (Ladson-Billings, 1998). According to Ladson-Billings (1998), CRT in education names one's own reality as a way to link form and substance in scholarship. CRT in education allows for the use of parables, chronicles, stories, *testimonios*, and counterstories to illustrate the false necessity and irony of much of the current civil rights doctrine: we really have not gone as far as we think we have. Adopting CRT as a framework for educational equity means that our aim is to expose racism in education and propose radical solutions for addressing it. CRT in education makes sense when we consider that the classroom is where knowledge is constructed and distributed; hence, it becomes a central site for the construction of social and racial power (Fernandez, 2002; Ladson-Billing, 1998).

SAYING IT LOUD: THE DANGERS AND DANGEROUSNESS OF CHALLENGING WHITENESS

> *And, in fact, the truth about the Black man, as a historical entity and as a human being, has been hidden from him, deliberately and cruelly; the power of the White world is threatened whenever a Black man refuses to accept the White world's definitions. So every attempt is made to cut that Black man down—not only was made yesterday but is made today.* (James Baldwin, 1962/1993, p. 69)

Drawing on the tenets of Critical Race Theory (CRT) and the CRT methodology of Critical Race Counterstories, this chapter points to how the continuing inadequacy of teacher preparation is achieved through processes of White racial domination and race-based acts of domestic terrorism; that teachers continue to enter the classroom unprepared to teach all students is not an unfortunate mismatch between programmatic aims and outcomes of individuals. This section describes the consequences for challenging White racial domination and "those acts, decisions, and policies that White subjects perpetrate on people of color" (Leonardo, 2009, p. 75). Domestic terrorism, in turn, is defined as "the calculated use of violence and the threat of violence, to produce goals that are political and ideological in nature." White racial domination and acts of race-based domestic terrorism occur when individuals and groups apply institutional power to (re-)establish and protect, often violently, the historical privileging of Whiteness.

Many chapters in this volume illuminate the clear and calculated instances of domestic terrorism we refer to herein as *academic lynching*. Individuals apply institutional power through e-mail correspondence, course evaluations, letters

destined for personnel files, and other forms of official and unofficial actions, policies, and decisions as part of processes of White racial domination used to define one as someone outside of the realm (Juárez & Hayes, 2014).

Frequently considered matters of individual feelings one may choose to rise above—the consequences of domestic violence in all its forms, including academic lynching—are very real, very deeply lived and felt, and very destructive (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001). In contrast to times past with the emphasis on grossly explicit, physical, and bodily assaults, the substance of contemporary White racial violence resides instead in the subtle, cumulative mini-assaults and micro-aggression that in isolation and in the immediate may seem harmless, *even comical* (especially to those who are not targeted). Delgado and Stefancic (2001) explain microaggressions in these terms:

> You are a person of color when an event such as being followed in a department store happens. What is the first thing that comes to your mind? Do you immediately think that you might be treated in these ways because you are not White? When these and other effects take place, social scientists call the event a "microaggression." Like water dripping on sandstone, this can be thought of as small acts of racism, consciously or unconsciously perpetrated, welling up from the assumptions about racial matters most of us absorb from the cultural heritage in the United States. (pp. 1–2)

If and how we survive having come under the surveillance and purview of Whiteness is at this point in time not at all assured or predictable.

YOU HAVEN'T UNHOOKED IF…

In this section, drawing from the tenets of CRT, we interrogate the meaning(s) of social justice and culturally responsive teaching within the context of the White world of teacher education and the changing demographics of U.S. public schools. The list of reasons is drawn mostly from the experiential knowledge of the researchers. CRT is important because it allows for an understanding of the role experiential knowledge plays in the discourses of people of color. This list is also drawn from our commitment to social justice. The idea of this list is to challenge notions of liberalism, colorblindness, and meritocracy. Critical Race Theory Scholars (CRiTS) argue that holding onto a colorblind framework only allows these *Friends* to address the egregious forms of racism.

Following Audre Lorde (1984), we explore the productive uses of anger by responding to the representative exemplars of moments within processes of White racial domination enacted at the everyday level of practices within teacher preparation programs presented and described below. Illustrated through these exemplars of enacted White racial domination, we apply Carol Camper's (1994) style of incisive brevity to facilitate our efforts to spotlight the actions and presumptions that have given rise to anger as a legitimate response to White supremacy in teacher

education—anger at disingenuous superficiality and tokenism, at outright racial mistruths and distortions, and at having to constantly worry about comforting and protecting the feelings of White people.

As James Baldwin (1959/1985) noted some time ago, although White people will usually say that race relations are good, it is always extremely difficult to find a person of color who will agree with this assessment. "But the time has come for you (white America) [and teacher education] and me (black America) [and all those targeted by White racial domination] to work this thing out once and for all, to examine and evaluate the differences between us and the differences inside us" (Killens, 1970, p. 29; emphases original). Presented below, each exemplar of White racial domination in action is one side of a two-party conversation between the White world of U.S. teacher education and all those who have been racially marked as Other and/or subjected to White racial domination in retaliation for challenging White supremacy.

Like a two party telephone conversation being overheard by a third party, only one side of the conversation is audible. Likewise, only one side is presented below in print, while the other side of the conversation has to be ascertained based on audible portions of the dialogue. Each response, most importantly, functions as a challenge to the institutional conditions of White supremacy in teacher education that foster and sustain the colorblind discourse of "when can we drop all this different kind of color shit?" by identifying and exposing the privileging of Whiteness embedded within daily interactions and practices in many teacher preparation programs. It is no mystery why most teachers continue to enter the classroom unprepared to successfully teach all students, or why most students of color today are still taught by teachers who would prefer not to teach them. Social justice and culturally responsive teaching are sabotaged in teacher education through processes of White racial domination as teacher educators and administrators make decisions to sustain rather than challenge White supremacy. "These super-men [and women] and world-mastering demi-gods [in teacher education] listened, however, to no low tongues of ours, even when we pointed silently to their feet of clay" (Du Bois, 1920/1999, p. 20).

ANGER AND RAGE OFTEN REPRESSED NOW EXPRESSED: TELLING THE NAKED TRUTH; KEEPIN' IT REAL: WHAT HAPPENS WHEN YOU DON'T UNHOOK FROM WHITENESS

When you don't unhook, and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many programs proudly point to traditions of inclusion and democratic education in our university, college, and department while the syllabi, teaching practices, and curricula of our programs are indicative of education that is by, for, and about White people. Importantly, democratic education is most often education that is democratic for people historically identified as White; and it is violent, both symbolically and

physically, for everyone else. As Don Lee (1974) explains, "My teacher's wisdom forever grows, he taught me things every [student] will know; how to steal, appeal, and accept things against my will. All these acts take as facts, the mistake was made in teaching me how not to be BLACK" (p. 201; emphasis original).

You have not unhooked when there is an insistence that programs emphatically are and always have been integrated, although we just unveiled our latest diversity plan and the token People of Color on the diversity committee dissented. With the distinguished educational leadership and powerful diversity initiatives of our programs, it is no surprise that we are [all] *premiere*, even *ahead of the curve*, and *among the nation's top ranked*, in regard to realizing our progressive aims. At the same time, it is a secret only to White people that our programs and institutions are racist. Consequently, as W. E. B. Du Bois (1920) well knew, "[m]y word is to them mere bitterness and my soul, pessimism. And yet as they preach and strut and shout and threaten, crouching as they clutch at rags of facts and fancies to hide their nakedness, they go twisting, flying by my tired eyes and I see them ever stripped—ugly, human" (cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 453).

When you don't unhook, and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many teacher education programs forcefully tell the faculty that diversity is the way we are going, like it or not, and then briskly skim over and casually dismiss questions about why we have no courses on the history of, say, Black, American Indian, Asian American or Latinx education, given the demographics of surrounding communities. Pointedly, to be culturally illiterate does not mean that you do not know how to be nice, or at least tolerantly polite, to those with phenotypical features different from your own. Few things in the world are *more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity*, to paraphrase Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (see Cone, 2004).

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, teacher education programs continue to put together diversity hiring committees and then ask us if we know any potential applicants of color who teach *just science* or *just literacy methods*, but not all that political business because you get tired of W*hite people bashing*. Yes, you "want very much to have *a* Black person in [your] department as long as that person thinks and acts like [you], shares [your] values and beliefs, [and] is in no way different" (hooks, 1989, p. 113; emphasis in the original). Nothing new here; Whites have been deciding for the past 500 years what kind of and how much "diversity" they will tolerate.

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many White teacher education faculty members and White students are offended, saying we are moving too fast in bringing a scholar from another university to talk about White racism and on being Black in historically White institutions. Certainly, White people are regularly offended—as demonstrated by *an appalling oppressive and bloody history known all over the world* (Baldwin, 1985). Yet, after 244 years of slavery,

100 years of lynching, and 40 odd years of formal civil rights, we are moving too fast for whom? And why is it White people who always decide how fast we should be going?

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many White faculty members are afraid their feelings will be hurt if we keep talking about the pernicious and pervasive educational and other social inequities still running along U.S. society's enduring color line. You don't like being continually *beat over the head* with White racism and feeling guilty about being White. Yes, White racism hurts all of us, but it kills only some of us (Camper, 1994). Every day for the past 500 years, people who walk around in bodies racially marked as *Other* have had to be afraid of more than their feelings being hurt with the near genocide of some, enslavement, and then today's mass incarceration and school failure of others.

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many in teacher education insist on the need to end the meeting, the seminar, and the semester on a positive note without subjecting yourself to any further confrontations over "diversity." You do not enjoy being called a racist all the time. But, why is it always about you and your feelings and what you need? African American students can not just decide that today is not a good day to be Black at school—perhaps tomorrow or next week will be better. Rainbows and butterflies are not options for everyone. And, did you really think you were the first White person to say "I didn't own any slaves and neither did my family"?

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many in teacher education think they are "doing diversity" by inviting our White colleagues to share what they learned on their trips to Peru and Madagascar as the keynote speakers for the university's faculty discussion forums. Taking your body into spaces of the *Other* and coming back to tell about it does not make you an expert on diversity or culture. It makes no difference that your best friend growing up was American Indian, or that now your best friend is African American, or that you lived in Indonesia for so many years, *unless and until* you are able to locate yourself as primary beneficiary of White supremacy and the globalization of capital. Do you really think it matters whether or not we require our students to do a student teaching practicum or an internship in Mexico, on the reservation, or in Mississippi, when neither you nor they know how to unpack your collective "first world" White privileges to understand that the "problems" you see in the Others' space are the consequences of our nation's affluence gouged out of and built up from the backs of the Other at home and abroad? You aren't the first White person and you surely won't be the last to be enriched by your tour of and venture into Exotica and the Other's "culture."

When you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many in teacher education indignantly protest, saying we have made so much progress—just look

at the city's Black and Latinx leaders—charging us with *reverse racism* when we tell you that we deliberately and explicitly put the perspectives and experiences of racialized peoples at the center of our research, teaching, and everything else we do in the university, in the community, and at home. We have made progress because "[a] few well-screened, well-scrubbed Negroes have been allowed into previously all-White classrooms" (Lomax, 1962 cited in Westin, 1964, p. 22)? We are sitting in meetings where all faculty participants are White except for the token few People of Color who are the untenured junior faculty—yet we are the racist ones? The tradition of Latino and Black Cuisine luncheons is in its second year at institutions located *down river* and in the heart of Aztlan—and *still* we are the racist ones? To paraphrase Malcolm X (see Cone, 2004), the victims of racism are always created in the image of racists; it is not progress just because you pulled the knife you stabbed me with out a little bit or even all the way. Indeed, it is not progress until you admit that it was you who stabbed me in the first place.

Finally, when you don't unhook and you punish those who do, this prevents social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education. However, many in teacher education are astonished, even indignant and outraged, that we had the audacity to question and criticize your many efforts and awards for (White liberals) helping the racialized Other and working in the racialized Other's neighborhoods and schools. Why should you have to keep proving that you are one of the (good) whites who *get it*? When *well-behaved* (Juárez & Hayes, 2009) People of Color do indeed serve as a marvelous means of helping White people to fulfill *the obligation of nobility to the ignoble* (Du Bois, 1920 cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 554). "So long, then, as humble Black folk, voluble with thanks, receive barrels of old clothes from lordly and generous Whites, there is much mental peace and moral satisfaction. But when the Black man begins to dispute the White man's title to certain alleged bequests of the Fathers in wage and position, authority and training; and when his attitude toward charity is sullen anger rather than humble jollity; when he insists on his human right to swagger and swear and waste—then the spell is suddenly broken and the philanthropist is ready to believe that Negroes are impudent, that the South is right, and that Japan wants to fight America" (Du Bois, 1920, cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 455).

WHAT YOU NEED TO DO IN ORDER TO UNHOOK: A CRITICAL RACE PERSPECTIVE

The intent of this chapter and this volume is to do more than just unpack privilege but to put the suitcase in the closet permanently, and we argue that this is done by unhooking from Whiteness (Hayes, Juárez, Witt, & Hartlep, 2013). In this volume, we move beyond the work of Peggy McIntosh (1988), realizing that people of color also have to unhook from whiteness (see also Lensmire et al., 2013). The papers contend that in order to do authentic antiracist work, one must fully disengage from Whiteness. Leonardo (2009) argues antiracist work is not a disinterested

commitment, because one gains in human terms, but for Whites it actually means losing position in the racial hierarchy. The chapters in this volume not only describe the unhooking process but also describe the "violence" that occurs when a person unhooks.

The journey to unhook from Whiteness is different, the loss is different, but the outcomes are the same: racial justice. For the purposes of this chapter, the theoretical framework we employed was Critical Race Theory (CRT); the fundamental tenets of CRT help us to illuminate the ways Whiteness inhibits the ability for folk to realize their aims of advocacy for people of color and social justice for all.

First, in order to unhook, there must be an understanding that racism is an endemic part of American society. However, the problem with Whiteness is the refusal to consider the everyday realities of race and racism. To recognize racism's pervasiveness requires Whites to face their own racist behavior and to name the contours of racism (Bergerson, 2003; Dei, Karumanchery and Karumanchery-Luik; 2007; Gillborn, 2005). Your refusal to talk about racism, let alone acknowledge it, prevents your unhooking—and any silenced discussion about race outside of niceties of liking people who look like the Racial Other is not unhooking.

Second, in order to unhook you should understand that one cannot practice true colorblindness; in fact, colorblindness is not an appropriate ideal for social justice. According to Bergerson (2003), Whites attribute negative stereotypes to people of color while at the same time espousing their opposition to blatant racism. When White liberals fail to understand how they can and/or do embody White supremacist values even though they themselves may not embrace racism, through this lack of awareness they support the racist domination they wish to eradicate (Gillborn, 2005; hooks, 1989).

Third, in order to unhook one should understand that merit is problematic in the United States. It is not enough to say that anyone who works hard can achieve success. Students of color are systematically excluded from education and educational opportunities despite their hard work. Merit operates under the burden of racism; racism thus limits the applicability of merit to people of color (Bergerson, 2003). The hard work of some pays off much more than the hard work of Racial Others.

Fourth, in order to unhook one needs to understand the role experiential knowledge plays in the discourses of people of color. When there is an unwillingness to recognize our knowledge as legitimate, appropriate, and critical to us as we navigate in a society grounded in racial subordination, that is a problem. Posturing toward us when we have unhooked and co-opting our experiential knowledge to move forward with social justice is a form of academic lynching that Hytten and Warren (2003) call *appeals to authenticity*. In their model, this academic lynching occurs when you cite your experiences to counter or contradict our unhooked voices. Academic lynching also occurs when you stand up and espouse your majoritarian story as a non-majoritarian story; you haven't unhooked when you discredit the experiential knowledge of a person who has unhooked.

Lastly, in order to unhook one needs to understand the property value of Whiteness. Whiteness was invented and continues to be maintained to serve as the dominant and normal status against which Racial Others are measured. Whiteness serves to make "others" less privileged, less powerful, and less legitimate. When you proceeded to the department chair's office to report our so-called bad behavior, you have cashed in on the property associated with Whiteness; thus, you have not unhooked.

The aim of this chapter was to lay out a context in which we analyze the *good White folk* phenomena that sometimes prevents folk from unhooking. As we conclude, we follow Camper's (1994) format to explain why when you show your Whiteness, you have not unhooked from Whiteness. This list applies not only to White people, but to any person who thinks they are doing what is fundamentally right yet who later let their Whiteness show when people of color do not conform to preset White standards. Like Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. (1958), among others, we have found that the problem of Whiteness is not a problem of evil, but a problem of good!

DISCUSSION: THE RACISM OF EQUALITY AND THE KEEPIN' IT REAL…WHITE

A major impact of the knowledge practices and the resultant code of conduct we are describing here is the racism of equality. It is through comparison to the white ideal of the productive individual as the implicit standard that the code of conduct emerges and People of Color are racialized as different [from whites] and unfit for equality. The code of conduct thus reflects the hidden assumptions of the white ideal of the productive individual and serves to (re)inscribe People of Color as the source of racism by shifting the onus of responsibility for racism from whites to People of Color.

Against the White ideal of a productive individual, the code of conduct presumes that People of Color cause racism through reverse racism—"the notion that racism's most pernicious forms are actually utilized by Blacks against Whites" (Joseph, 2001, p. 52). Likewise implied, People of Color cause racism in the form of anti-White prejudices and race relations by being angry, difficult to get along with, and "just as racist or even worse" than whites (Joseph, 2001, p. 52). It is similarly taken for granted that People of Color cause racism by strategically playing the "race card"—the idea that Blacks in particular use their historical victim status to keep talking about, exaggerating, and dwelling on the long gone past instead of moving forward into today's more tolerant, equal, and colorblind society.

Pointedly, notions of reverse racism, playing the race card, and anti-white animus have gained currency in white America's lexicon of racial discourse at a time when:

> One in nine African Americans cannot find a job. Black unemployment is more than twice the white rate, a wider gap than in 1972. Black infants are almost two and a half times as likely as white infants to die before age one, a greater

> gap than in 1970. White households had an average net worth of $468,200 in 2001, more than six times the $75,700 of Black households. (Jensen, 2005, p. 5)

The privileging of Whiteness embedded within the ideal of the productive individual and the code of conduct point clearly to the connection between the knowledge practices used to frame talk about racial equality and the racializing practices of exclusion when racial equality talk becomes institutionalized practice. By "asserting that blacks and other People of Color have the ability to utilize state apparatuses to marginalize, exploit, and subordinate whites" (Joseph, 2001, p. 54), racial equality talk reinforces the naturalness and normalcy of white supremacy. Following Patricia Williams, equality is problematic for African Americans and other People of Color because minoritized peoples do not fit the white ideal of equality.

CONCLUSION

Our purpose in writing this chapter was to explore the relations between social knowledge about racial equality and the democracy-racism paradox in education and U.S. society. The democracy-racism paradox, we have argued, is grounded in the systemic privileging of whiteness. Our exploration of students' patterns of reasoning about racial equality, in turn, was designed to examine the connection between the knowledge practices embedded within talk about racial equality and social context of educational equity.

The approach we followed was to trace the patterns of reasoning embedded within students' talk about racial equality in education and society. We were particularly concerned about how social knowledge incites practice. Exploring these patterns of reasoning about racial equality, we identified three themes that influence the democracy-racism connection in the United States: fairness, individualism, and progress.

Combined, these three themes create an understanding of equality, which does not apply to People of Color in the U.S. Grounded in assumptions of whiteness, equality normalizes inequity for People of Color and then names minoritized peoples as the source of white racism. Equality is thus interpreted in ways which buttress white supremacy by re-centering U.S. society's focus on the issues, interests, concerns, fears, anxieties, and resentments of whites.

Importantly, equality as *America's racist ideology* (Willhelm, 1973) has a long history in the Black radical tradition (Du Bois, 1918). "The preference is explicitly devoted to characteristics emanating solely from whites; under the banner of equality, white expectations are to be replicated by blacks competing with whites. What could be more racist?" (Willhelm, 1973, p. 146). By employing non-racial, colorblind tenets about human differences as atomistic, many white Americans are able to dismiss claims of racism and discrimination against People of Color (Frankenberg, 1997). As Bell (2003) explains, "Whites as the dominant group are less likely than People of Color to be aware of the hidden transcript [of racism]" (p. 5).

Aware that teachers typically do not enter the teaching profession to harm or push students of color out of the classroom, we are not suggesting that these or any other white students are morally bad people who should not become teachers, or at least not teachers of students from minoritized communities. Indeed, we posit that the mechanisms of racialized exclusions in schools have very little if anything to do with the isolated actions of individuals good or bad (Buendia, 2003). Notwithstanding, the teaching profession is overwhelmingly white. At the same time, the conditions of U.S. public schools and society are inscribed by White supremacy. For the democracy-racism connection to be interrupted in U.S. public schools and society, these future teachers and others require new ways of reasoning about race and equality. When Whiteness remains undisturbed, equality perpetuates inequality.

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PAUL R. CARR

AFTERWORD

To Right the Blight without White Is Not too Bright: Still *Seeking to Understand the Role of White People in a Racialized World*

INTRODUCTION

We're more than a decade and a half into the twenty-first century, and we're still facing visceral, far-reaching, and debilitating (sur)realities related to race, to skin color, and to the notion that we are somehow just simply without racial identity within a delusionary swamp of color-blindness. The proposition is quite simple: if race does not exist, then, clearly, racism does not (or, at the very least, should not) exist. Preaching color-blindness is an exercise in defusing a minefield that is everywhere, and where the technology can only detect but a fraction of the bombs that humans have planted in the soil. It would be nice to say that we live in color-blind societies because it is a noble gesture, but the evidence—especially the scientific and lived socio-cultural evidence—when it is mobilized, conceptualized, and disseminated, paints a different picture. To this end, Nicholas Hartlep and Cleveland Hayes have put together a wonderful book, which fills in a lot of the patchwork that helps further complete the tapestry of Whiteness, White power, and White privilege, presenting exceptional reflections, analyses, and insight into how race plays out, notably within the academy. With evidence all over the place that race matters, as Cornel West put it, why are there such varied, numerous, and compelling arguments to the contrary? Of course, it is easier—for Whites, in particular—to feign that race is not relevant, and to pretend that what has happened historically—including slavery, genocide, imperialism, empire-building, conflict, violence, discrimination, hatred, etc.—and what is *still* happening—including all of the stuff that already happened with a much more sophisticated, shinier veneer—is not a part of the real world. The point, quite simply, is that words, ideas, expressions, arguments, deconstructions, and, indeed, books—like this one—matter, and that undoing or, as the editors and other contributors contend, "unhooking" from Whiteness is a necessary, arduous, debilitating, and cathartic process.

Whiteness relates to power and privilege, to forced, cultivated, and complicit silence and ignorance, to precarious layers of perceived coincidental happenings, and to meaningless as well as monumental experiences that transform and shape the core of one's identity. Race can dictate where one lives, shops, entertains, and functions. Nevertheless, there is also evidence illustrating that progress has been

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made, and that realities that were once taboo, and even illegal in some quarters, such as inter-racial marriage, are now more visible and more widely accepted. However, socially constructed realities are highly complex, and there are many paradoxes, contradictions, and individual hardships imbued in hegemonic landscapes that preach that we are supposedly solely responsible for our own lived experiences. Thus, the overwhelmingly suffocating historical and contemporary bulldozer that pushes some people into groups—for example, racial/racialized groups—while others are considered, or consider themselves, simply neutral, normatively-structured individuals can never end up in a good place.

I have taught at three universities over the past dozen years—one in the U.S. for five years, one near Toronto, and now my present university in Quebec where the language of instruction is French—and I have often said to my students, when we reach the section of the sociology of education or foundations courses that relate to race and racism, that "it is possible to be White, and also to be decent, and that there are even some decent White people in my immediate family." The reaction, or lack thereof, is always the same, and takes one of several related forms: "Why is he telling us this?"; "Does he have a mental problem?"; "Why is he talking about White people?"; and/or "Is it too late to drop this course?" Of course, the statement is insane at some levels, but it is meant to make a very simple point: we live in a highly racialized world, and everyone understands that race does matter, even if we say it doesn't; and everyone knows that racialized people, apparently, belong to racialized groups, but White people are simply too diverse to be labeled as such, the argument goes. Thus, this highly informative book allows us to hear voices, read reflections, and work through how Whiteness is operationalized, how it is intertwined in the intricate world of university life, and how a part of the transformative, healing, action, and social justice process requires naming, interrogating, and working to counter Whiteness. Whiteness flows through the cognitive, social, political, economic, and educational veins of the societal blood system, and avoiding its dissection can be detrimental to the well-being of society.

I would like to briefly present seven components, or observations, that I believe are integral to the White power and privilege hammerlock on societies—and I purposely emphasize societies here as it is not only an American phenomenon—and then conclude with a presentation of a model that I developed for a research project entitled "Democracy, Political Literacy, and Transformative Education," re-positioning it to provide some food for thought on Whiteness. To conclude, I highlight and offer a few points on Whiteness and the academy.

A FEW COMPONENTS TO THE WHITENESS JIGSAW

My own sense of Whiteness is that it exists everywhere, at all times; it has pock-marked the consciousness and material conditions of the entire world, and it remains largely taboo in many mainstream, media, political, socio-cultural, and, sadly, academic circles. Yet there are also an untold number of actions, movements,

efforts, and mobilizations to demonstrate that there are other ways to live, seeking more humane, decent, and compassionate models aimed at deconstructing and countering Whiteness. The reality that these mainstream operators do not validate the existence of Whiteness does not invalidate, in my mind, its very existence. Understanding White power and privilege, therefore, requires multiple entry- and vantage-points, which this book effectively demonstrates, and also requires being open to the endless, dialectical interrogations and processes of reflection that can enable the development of a more just and decent society. All of these components are somehow interlinked and interwoven.

A first observation, or component, related to Whiteness that I would make is that the macro cannot be disconnected from the micro. These fundamental connections can help fill in the infinite blanks that cloud the mind, and they can also lead to concerted action, resistance, and emancipation. Especially in education, students should not be dissuaded from making coherent, critical linkages between social inequalities and global decision-making, for example. Decisions made to invade a country, for example, will lead to death, militarization, migration, environmental catastrophe, economic hardship, militaristic ideologies, xenophobia, and poverty, and the impact is not only one-way but also connects to average people in the United States and around the globe.

The second observation is that we are locked into a banker's vault with walls of surveillance and armed guards at the ready, forced to believe that neoliberalism is the only viable economic option. Any efforts at imagining alternative ways of organizing society are immediately quashed and ridiculed. The linkage between neoliberalism and Whiteness is strengthened by thriving levels of political literacy (more on democracy in the next section) and enables grand, triumphal measures to divide people. Gramsci's notion of *hegemony* and Marx's concept of *false consciousness* are indispensable here to better understand why people often militate against their own best interests. "People" here includes a majority, the masses; and not the elites, the major decision-makers, the royalty, and others within that sector who generally benefit from social division.

The third observation is that the cult of celebrity, especially as manufactured in and disseminated by the U.S., has a deleterious impact on bringing people together. Yet, there are examples of "stars" being role models, being able to connect with people, and I am not disputing the need for music, film, sports, entertainment, etc.; but I am questioning the disproportionate quantity and impact of U.S. content, influence, and political usurpation in a world with endless diversity, creativity, and wonderment. Justin Bieber has over 200 million followers on Twitter; the Kardashians are known around the world; when Celine Dion sings Adele's "Hello," this is front-page news, etc. What does it mean for the real lives and experiences of people, for employment, for education, for peace, for a life without violence and conflict to uncritically accept the role, the place, and the influence of celebrities, not to mention the problematic nature of showering so few with so much when so many have so little?

The fourth observation relates to the war industry. The development, manufacturing, testing, and sale of arms, bombs, tanks, missiles, and other weapons of mass or any destruction can only lead to death and killing. They are not intended for peace and harmony. Who is involved, and why, and why do the "stars" and, in general, the broader public not generally engage with these, literally, "life and death" issues? Is it because the "people" are too polite, or because they have been conditioned to not question, or because they will be punished if they question, or is it some other reason? There is a clear connection between who gets bombed and social inequalities in the U.S., for example, especially when one considers that insanely large sums of capital—especially from China—are required to underwrite such ventures. The racialization, and Whiteness, of war underpins the prison-industrial complex, the ideology that you need to simply "pull yourself up by the bootstraps and stop complaining," and the nebulous race relations that are cultivated as a result.

The fifth observation relates to how debate can be easily obfuscated and discarded as a simple White-Black binary. The President of the United States is African-American—although he is also the son of a White American, which is often understated—and Oprah and others have made it big; so what is the problem, some or many argue. But Whiteness affects everyone, and the "unhooking" process must, necessarily, include Aboriginal/Indigenous/First Nations peoples in addition to all others who have been afflicted by colonialism, imperialism, genocide, and the like. This is not to diminish the very real and entrenched anti-black racism in the U.S. and elsewhere. Importantly, Whites must also be involved and engaged in these political, social, and educational processes.

The sixth observation is that the U.S. is an Empire, even if the word, the concept, and the meaning are not generally thrown around within normative mainstream circles. Connected to all of the other points, being an Empire means the unquenchable thirst for foreign domination (some 900 military bases in over a hundred countries, consuming hundreds of billions of dollars each year), which leads to antipathy, hatred, and even violence toward the U.S., which then requires a redoubling of efforts to fight back. The point here is that race relations are not only harmed by this equation; they are integrally interwoven into the equation so that it becomes difficult, if not impossible, to undo it without a greater collective conscientization.

The seventh observation is that White people, like all people, are a complex ball of wax, so to speak. No one chooses his or her skin color at birth, and no one is born to hate. As alluded to earlier, many White people can be decent (yes, this is tongue in cheek!) but this is, as should be obvious, the same for all people and groups. As I have written elsewhere, if we wanted to end violence toward women, despite all of its cultural, economic, political, and social complexity, we would absolutely need to involve those predominantly engaged in the practice: men. And if we wanted to end racism, despite all of its cultural, economic, political, and social complexity, we would absolutely need to involve those predominantly engaged in the practice: White people. It's not enough to say the problem does not exist, and this book eloquently lays out how it does, indeed, exist.

ATTEMPTING TO RE-CONCEPTUALIZE WHITENESS THROUGH THICKER DEMOCRACY

As part of a research project entitled "Democracy, Political Literacy, and Transformative Education" (see www.education4democracy.net), which involves interrogating the perceptions, experiences, and perspectives of teacher-education students, educators, administrators, faculty, and civil society members in a number of countries, I have over the past several years developed, especially in collaboration with Gina Thésée, a conceptual model to better understand the meaning, the operationalization, and the potential for democracy in education and education for democracy. The model includes seven components—pedagogy, curriculum, institutional culture, educational policy, epistemology, leadership, and informal education—that, I believe, could be transposed to the Whiteness problematic, which I briefly present below. The notion is to attempt to frame and tackle Whiteness in a broad, systemic way within education, being open to fluid, inclusive, critical engagement.

Pedagogy: concerned principally with teaching, teaching methods, and what happens in the classroom; who teaches, how they are prepared and supported, and how they consider the meaning of education; since the vast majority of teachers in the U.S., Canada, and in Europe are White, and a growing percentage of students are not White, how Whiteness is considered, approached, dealt with, and addressed is of fundamental importance.

Curriculum: concerned principally with the content of what is taught and learned, and how this content is experienced in the classroom; how the formal curriculum is disseminated, interpreted, and evaluated in addition to the informal/hidden curriculum can influence the flow, dynamics, and socio-educational outcomes of the education experience; is there room within the formal curriculum to deconstruct, frame, and critique Whiteness, and how?

Educational policy: concerned principally with the polices that frame the educational experience, and how these policies are developed; who develops these policies, based on what, how the consultative process is operationalized, and the aims and goals of educational policy development should all be critiqued with a view to addressing White power and privilege.

Institutional culture: concerned principally with activities, attitudes, behaviors, and procedures that frame the educational experience, and what happens in the school and educational institutions; how equity, social justice, anti-racism, and other related measures are considered and operationalized will have a significant impact on White power and privilege.

Epistemology: concerned principally with how knowledge is constructed by students, educators, administrators, and others, and how this affects the development of the educational experience; how goals, measures, outcomes, and educational parameters are constructed, understood, and negotiated can have a significant impact on how Whiteness is infused into the mind and the educational mindset.

Leadership: concerned principally with administration, leadership, authority, and supervisors/supervision, and how these contribute to the educational experience; who the leaders are, how they are trained and supported, and what the mission, values, ambitions, ideologies, and visions are can greatly influence how Whiteness is considered and addressed.

Informal learning: concerned principally with what happens outside of the formal educational experience, and what the effect of the former is on the latter, and vice versa; valuing and relating to real-world and real-life realities that exit outside of the normative, hegemonic grasp of formal education is fundamental to addressing White power and privilege.

In our research project, we have found that to cultivate democracy in and through education, it is necessary to actually *do* democracy, to practice democracy, to engage with it, to have formal and informal measures, policies, actions, and fora, and to accept that democracy is not an end-point but rather a process. In relation to Whiteness, it would be important to equally cultivate spaces, voices, measures, supports, etc. in all aspects of the educational experience so as to attain greater levels of critical engagement and social justice. Education is the centerpiece to social change and agency, and without a meaningful, critical engagement in education, the capacity to mobilize efforts at the societal level will be diminished.

CONCLUSION

I would like to conclude by simply underscoring that this Afterword, *le mot de la fin*, is really just another layer, a humble attempt at continuing the dialog, the discussion, and the engagement with what it means to be part of humanity. Taking a position that only authentic, sincere, critical, and meaningful engagement can constructively help us—the entirety of societies—to move forward, is, I believe, the right thing to do. Racism is a learned behavior, not a natural, innate one, and education can greatly help us to cultivate a better and different way or set of ways of living together. This requires work, imagination, interaction, engagement, effort, and a re-thinking of the myriad aspects, components, factors, and conditions at both the macro and micro levels that impinge on and influence how we experience life. Education, in my mind, is the key ingredient to unlocking, and *unhooking*, the disenfranchised consciousness, and to cultivating a broader sense of what the human condition should be. However, this cannot be achieved through Polly-Annish declarations that are not followed up with structural change that aims to distribute power rather than concentrate it. Education is a social innovation and a social construction that determines the potential for social change, and Whiteness cannot but be infused in an educational enterprise that does not believe that it exists.

To conclude, to bring this piece full circle, it is worth commenting on the state of the academy today in relation to Whiteness. Despite there being more books and scholars unearthing Whiteness, it remains primarily an English-language phenomenon (my experience within the French-language sector would require

another book in itself), and is not widely accepted by mainstream governments, organizations, agencies, accreditation bodies and the like. Discussing power and privilege is not easy, nor comfortable, and including it within courses can often lead to a backlash, predominantly from White students. Faculty colleagues may also reject the notion for similar reasons but with more sophisticated arguments. "Their" lived experiences may not have validated that "they," themselves, were engaged in White power and privilege, and, it goes without saying, that "they" may have also faced considerable struggle and hardship. A quick look at the U.S. media and one can see African Americans being killed by the police every day, insanely high levels of incarceration for some racial minority groups, racialized residential segregation, and numerous examples of exclusion in the media, the judiciary, the economic elite, and at the political level, notwithstanding the President of the United States, who has faced an endless cavalcade of death threats, hatred, mocking, and contestation at every level, etc. Some people marvel at the world of "intellectuals," the 1% with doctorates, who, it is believed, lucidly and creatively work through the most difficult problems. And yet, the sickness of White power and privilege exists throughout the academy, passing judgement on tenure, course selection, performance evaluation, status, funding, and well-being. It is not only or all about Whiteness, but Whiteness is certainly a part of the social equation we have developed, and "unhooking" from it requires a range of efforts, actions, mobilizations, conscientizations, and a desire for a more decent society.

ABOUT THE CONTRIBUTORS

BOOK EDITORS

Nicholas D. Hartlep is currently an Assistant Professor of Educational Foundations at Illinois State University. Prior to that, he was an Advanced Opportunity Program Fellow at the University of Wisconsin-Milwaukee, an "Urban 13" University, where he earned a Ph.D. in the Social Foundations of Urban Education and was named an "Outstanding Doctoral Student." Dr. Hartlep also has a Master of Science degree in K–12 Education and a Bachelor of Science degree in Teaching, both conferred by Winona State University. As a former public school teacher he has taught in Rochester, Minnesota and Milwaukee, Wisconsin as well as abroad in Quito, Ecuador. Dr. Hartlep's research interests include urban in-service teachers' dispositions, the impact neoliberalism is having on schools and society, the model minority stereotype of Asians, and transracial adoption. His interest in transracial adoption stems from the fact that he was adopted from Seoul, South Korea when he was approximately 16 months old. In 2011, Dr. Hartlep received a scholarship from the Global Overseas Adoptees' Link (GOA'L) that allowed him to return to Korea to see where he was born. He received the University Research Initiative (URI) Award in 2015 from Illinois State University. In 2015 he received the Distinguished Young Alumni award from Winona State University, and in 2016 he was named an Upton Sinclair Award recipient. His scholarly books include *Going Public: Critical Race Theory & Issues of Social Justice* (2010), *The Model Minority Stereotype: Demystifying Asian American Success* (2013), *Unhooking from Whiteness: The Key to Dismantling Racism in the United States* (2013), *The Model Minority Stereotype Reader: Critical and Challenging Readings for the 21st Century* (2014), *Modern Societal Impacts of the Model Minority Stereotype* (2015), *The Assault on Communities of Color: Exploring the Realities of Race-Based Violence* (2015), *Killing the Model Minority Stereotype: Asian American Counterstories and Complicity* (2015), and *Critical Storytelling in Uncritical Times: Stories Disclosed in a Cultural Foundations of Education Course* (2015). You can follow his work on Twitter @nhartlep and at www.nicholashartlep.com

Cleveland Hayes is an Associate Professor of education in the College of Education and Organizational Leadership at the University of La Verne, La Verne, California. Dr. Hayes received his Ph.D. from the University of Utah in 2006. He was a middle school and high school science teacher for 12 years. At the University of La Verne, Dr. Hayes teaches secondary and elementary science methods in the Teacher Education program and Research Methods in the Education Management and Leadership Program. Dr. Hayes's research interest include the use of Critical Race Theory in Education, Historical and Contemporary Issues in Black Education including

the school-to-prison pipeline, Teaching and Learning in the Latinx Community, and Whiteness and the Intersections of Sexuality and Race. His scholarly books include *Unhooking from Whiteness: The Key to Dismantling Racism in the United States* (2013) and *The Assault on Communities of Color: Exploring the Realities of Race-Based Violence* (2015). Dr. Hayes's published research can be found in *Democracy and Education, Qualitative Studies in Education,* and *Gender and Education.*

COMMISSIONED COVER ARTIST

Tak Toyoshima is the creative director at the award-winning alternative newsweekly newspaper *DigBoston*. He is also the creator and illustrator of *Secret Asian Man*, a comic strip that started in 1999 that focuses on the divisive issues of race, gender, religion, politics, and anything else that cause us to be placed into identifiable groups.

CHAPTER CONTRIBUTORS

René Antrop-González is Dean and Professor of Urban Education at Metropolitan State University in St. Paul, Minnesota. His teaching area is second language education, and his research revolves around Latinx sociology of education, specifically the examination of the schooling experiences of high achieving Latinx students in urban secondary schools. Additionally, Antrop-González is interested in making sense of the schooling experiences of Latinx students without documentation. He is the author of *Schools as Radical Sanctuaries: Decolonizing Urban Education Through the Eyes of Youth of Color and their Teachers* (2011).

Paul R. Carr is a Professor in the Department of Education at the Université du Québec en Outaouais (UQO) in Gatineau, Canada. His research is broadly concerned with political sociology, with specific threads related to democracy, media literacy, peace studies, intercultural relations, and transformative change in education. He has co-edited fifteen books and is the author of *Does Your Vote Count? Critical Pedagogy and Democracy*. He has collaborated extensively with Darren E. Lund on Whiteness, and his co-edited, award-winning book *Revisiting the Great White North? Reframing Whiteness, Privilege, and Identity in Education* (2015) is now in its second edition. He is the Principal Investigator of a multi-year Social Science and Humanities Research Council of Canada (SSHRC) research project entitled "Democracy, Political Literacy, and Transformative Education" (www.education4democracy.net).

Antonio L. Ellis is an adjunct professor of Educational Foundations at the College of Charleston. In 2013 he earned his doctoral degree in Educational Leadership and Policy Studies from Howard University in Washington, D.C. His research primarily

advocates for persons with speech and language impediments. The second strand of his research acknowledges the academic legitimacy and quality of Historically Black Colleges and Universities (HBCUs). He is the editor of *Ed.D. Programs as Incubators for Social Justice Leadership* (2016).

Veronica Escoffery-Runnels is an Assistant Professor at the University of La Verne in the department of Advanced Studies and Human Development. She brings 19 years of experience in the PK–12 educational system addressing issues of psycho-educational assessment and advocacy in special education for youth in urban, suburban, and ethnically diverse settings. Dr. Escoffery-Runnels' research interests include pre-service training of school psychologists working with minority populations, cross-discipline collaboration, and parental empowerment in the acquisition and use of social/cultural capital.

Kenneth J. Fasching-Varner is the Shirley B. Barton Endowed Associate Professor of Education at Louisiana State University in Baton Rouge, Louisiana. Fasching-Varner's research centers on Critical Race Theory with considerations of White racial identity development, culturally relevant pedagogy, and considerations of equity and diversity in a variety of educational settings including physical and virtual PreK–12 and higher education contexts. He is the author/editor of nine books, most recently *The Assault on Communities of Color: Exploring the Realities of Race-Based Violence* (2015).

Brenda Juárez Harris is an independent scholar from Mobile, Alabama. She is a former K–12 private and public school classroom teacher. After completing her doctorate at the University of Utah in 2006, she has taught multicultural teacher education, social foundations, and gender studies courses in colleges of education and medicine and in departments of sociology in Utah, Alabama, and Massachusetts. Her research interests focus on documenting the teaching practices and perspectives of exemplary Black teachers of Black students in the U.S. South and on examining the ways gender, race, and socio-economic class are influenced by regional geographies of opportunity and history and the implications for education. Dr. Juárez Harris has published on topics of Spanish-English dual language education programs in public schools, social justice education, Whiteness in U.S. teacher education, the role of culture in successful teaching for Black students, and the trans-racial adoption of Black children by White parents. Her work has appeared in *The Journal of Black Studies, Democracy and Education, The Journal of Race, Ethnicity and Education,* and *The Urban Review.* She is co-author of *White Parents, Black Children: Understanding Adoption and Race* published in 2011 by Rowman & Littlefield. She is also a dedicated Alabama Crimson Tide football fan and weekend dj assistant mixing music and running the lights with her husband at community events.

Brandon O. Hensley is currently Visiting Professor and Coordinator of University Studies Assessment at Millikin University. He earned his Ph.D. at Illinois State University in Educational Administration and Foundations, with an emphasis in Cultural Foundations of Education. Brandon received his M.A. in Communication Studies from Eastern Illinois University. His research interests include critical communication pedagogy, neoliberalism, media criticism, intersectionality of hegemonic constructs, auto-methodologies in qualitative research and praxis, and the working conditions of contingent faculty. Brandon currently serves on the Associate Council of the Mid-Western Educational Research Association (MWERA). His recent published work has investigated income inequity in academe, hegemonic masculinity, student-faculty research collaborations, and critical storytelling as a method of inquiry. He is co-editor of *Critical Storytelling in Uncritical Times: Stories Disclosed in a Cultural Foundations Course* (2015).

Michael E. Jennings currently serves as an Associate Professor in the Department of Educational Leadership and Policy Studies (ELPS) and as an Associate Dean in the College of Education and Human Development (COEHD) at the University of Texas at San Antonio. His research focuses on (a) cultural and racial diversity in education, (b) critical race theory, and (c) narrative/autobiography in educational context.

Cheryl E. Matias is an Assistant Professor in the School of Education and Human Development (SEHD) at the University of Colorado Denver. She is also an affiliate faculty for the University of Colorado Denver's Social Science masters program and Freshmen Year Seminar Program. She is the faculty founder of Research Advocacy in Critical Education (R.A.C.E.), a collaborative think tank that brings together local community activists, educators, students, and community members in the pursuit for racial and social justice in education. Her research focuses on race and ethnic studies in education with a theoretical focus on critical race theory, critical whiteness studies, critical pedagogy, and feminism of color. Specifically, she uses a feminist of color approach to deconstruct the emotionality of whiteness in urban teaching and how it impacts urban education. Her other research interest is on motherscholarship and supporting women of color and motherscholars in the academy. A former K–12 teacher in both South Central, Los Angeles Unified School District and Bed-Stuy, New York City Department of Education, she earned her bachelor's degree in Cultural Communication from University of California San Diego, her teaching credential at San Diego State University, and her master's degree in Social and Multicultural Foundations at California State University, Long Beach. She earned her doctorate at UCLA with an emphasis in race and ethnic studies in education. She has delivered talks at the University of Washington, Seattle; University of New Mexico; Teachers College, Columbia University; University of Massachusetts, Amherst; University of Colorado, Boulder; Michigan State University, and many more. She was awarded the 2014 American Educational Research Association's Division K (Teacher Education)

Innovations in Research on Diversity in Teacher Education Award and the 2014 Colorado Rosa Parks Diversity Award. In 2015 she was awarded Researcher of the Year by the School of Education and Human Development at University of Colorado Denver, and she is the SEHD university-wide 2016 Research of the Year candidate. Some of her published work can be found in *Race, Ethnicity, and Education; Teacher Education Quarterly; Journal of Critical Thought and Praxis; Equity & Excellence in Education;* and *Multicultural Perspectives*. Recently, she finished her first solo-authored book, *Feeling White: Whiteness, Emotionality, and Education* (2016). She is a motherscholar of three (including twins), an avid Lakers fan and runner, and bachata ballroom dancer with her partner.

Rosa Mazurett-Boyle is a veteran K–12 teacher in the Rochester City School District where she works for the Department of World Languages. Her current research interests include Critical Race Mothering and Funds of Knowledge on teaching and learning. Mazurett-Boyle delivers workshops using Action Research methodology to educators seeking to understand real classroom issues. In the past four years she has led several initiatives to create culturally responsive curricula for the unique needs of urban World Language learners and heritage language students.

Christopher N. Smith is a Ph.D. Student in the Department of Sociology and Anthropology at Howard University. The concentrations of his study are Social Inequalities and Criminology. He ultimately seeks to develop research on the manner in which socio-economic inequalities impact the structure of romantic relationships and families within minority populations.

Darron T. Smith is an Assistant Professor at the University of Tennessee Health Science Center in the Department of Physician Assistant Studies. His background includes 15 years of medical experience with an attention to the underserved, specifically urban and Indian health populations. Dr. Smith's research interests span a myriad of topics including healthcare disparities, religious studies, race and sports, transracial adoption, and the black family. He is the co-author of *White Parents, Black Children: Experiencing Transracial Adoption* (2011) and is the co-editor of *Black and Mormon* (2004) and *The Impact of Social Factors on Health: A Critical Reader for the Physician Assistant* (2013). His most recent book is *When Race, Religion, and Sport Collide: Black Athletes at BYU and Beyond* (2015). He is a frequent political and cultural commentator for *Huffington Post* and *Your Black World* on various issues of U.S.-based oppression.

Suzanne SooHoo is a Professor in the College of Educational Studies and the endowed Hassinger Chair of Education. She is one of only 10 Asian American endowed chairs in the country. She is also the co-director of the Paulo Freire Democratic Project, co-editor of the journal *The Radical Imagine-Nation,* and an associate editor of *Video Journal of Education and Pedagogy*. She teaches courses in

critical pedagogy and in culturally responsive research methods, and she is co-editor of *Culturally Responsive Methodologies* (2013) and *Relational and Responsive Inclusion: Contexts for Becoming and Belonging* (2015). A former elementary school principal, Dr. SooHoo enjoys working in the community with partners in democratic civic engagement. Her current project with Padres Unidos represents over 1, 000 community workers in Santa Ana, California.

Matthew T. Witt is Professor of Public Administration at the University of La Verne. He teaches courses in urban politics and theory and in qualitative research methods. Dr. Witt is published in leading public administration journals examining how racism has affected public administration scholarship. He is a leading scholar of state crimes against democracy (SCADs), with work appearing in the journals *Public Administration Review*, *Public Integrity*, *Administration & Society*, and *American Behavioral Scientist*. He is co-editor of *State Crimes Against Democracy: Political Forensics in Public Affairs* (2012).

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