

The Permanence of Racism in Teacher Education

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Using the chronicles of three friends, this chapter presents a counterstory that sets the stage for the examination of racism in teacher education, within the United States of America, using critical race theory (CRT) as an analytical tool. The setting of these chronicles is during a time when postracial rhetoric in the United States was at its highest—just after the 2008 election of President Barack Obama. The three friends take the readers on a journey through their graduate experience in teacher education and into their first faculty position in teacher education. Their experiences, as students and junior faculty, are akin to what many faculty and students of color and their White allies experience daily in teacher education programs across the United States. The analysis of their chronicle, using CRT, reveals that postracial discourse has disguised racism and racial microaggression in teacher education. Racial microaggression is as pernicious as other forms of racism and, through its passive-aggressive orientation, validates institutional and individual lack of attention to issues of race.

THE AGE OF OBAMA: SITUATING THE CONTEXT OF THE CHRONICLE

This chapter presents the chronicle of three friends, Ebony, Jamal and Todd, who encountered pernicious forms of racism in their residential community. The encounters presented in this chronicle are akin to what many faculty, students of color, and their White allies experience in teacher education programs across the United States on a daily basis. Using this chronicle and critical race theory (CRT) as an analytical tool (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), we explore the permanence of racism (Dixson & Rousseau, 2006) to illuminate the ways in which it is manifested in teacher education programs.

Ladson-Billings and Tate (1995) introduced CRT to educational scholarship as an analytical tool for examining race, which they contended was undertheorized. In their foundational article, they suggested ways to apply CRT to understanding educational inequities. These suggestions include:

1. Racism as endemic and deeply ingrained in American life;
2. A reinterpretation of ineffective civil rights law;
3. Challenging claims of neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness and meritocracy; and
4. Whiteness as property, as posited by Harris, 1988 which included:
 - a. Right to disposition
 - b. Right to use and enjoy
 - c. Reputation and status property; and
 - d. Absolute right to exclude (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995, pp. 55–59)

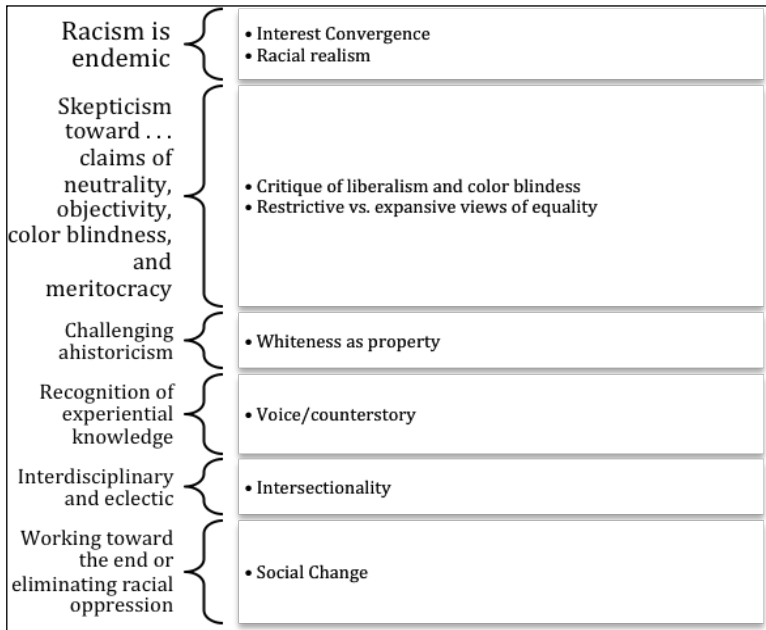
Because CRT was introduced to educational research, many scholars (Brayboy, 2005; Chapman, 2007; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Donnor, 2012; Horsford, 2009; Howard, 2008; Lynn & Parker, 2006; Parsons, Rhodes, & Brown, 2011; Reynolds, 2010; Stovall, 2004) have used it to examine the impact of race and racism on educational policies, practices, opportunities, and outcomes (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002).

Embedded in critical legal studies (CLS) and traditional civil rights scholarship (Harris, 1993), CRT, as the founders and major figures¹ asserted, was a way of studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012). In doing so, the following six tenets define CRT:

1. Recognizing that racism is endemic to American life;
2. Expressing skepticism toward dominant legal claims of neutrality, objectivity, color blindness, and meritocracy;
3. Challenging ahistoricism and insisting on a contextual/historical analysis of the law;
4. Insisting on [the] recognition of the experiential knowledge of people of color and our communities of origin in analyzing the law and society;
5. Interdisciplinary and eclectic; and
6. Working toward the end [or] eliminating racial oppression as part of the broader goal of ending all forms of oppression. (Matsuda, Lawrence, Delgado, & Crenshaw, 1993, pp. 6–7)

From these tenets emerged eight constructs, shown in Figure 1 alongside their associated tenets, that are readily visible within CRT educational scholarship. For this chapter, we use three constructs: voice/counterstory (Delgado, 1989), Whiteness as property (Harris, 1993), and restrictive versus expansive views of equality (Crenshaw, 1988) to highlight the subtle yet pernicious manifestations of racism in teacher education.

Figure 1. Tenets and constructs of critical race theory



The chronicle, our counterstory, functions as a noncoercive, fictional (Delgado, 1989) yet creative (Bell, 1992b) piece of scholarship that we use to “uncover and unmask . . . the normativity of Whiteness” (DeCuir & Dixson, 2004, p. 30) in teacher education. We are certain that the unmasked experiences in this chronicle are neither novel nor unique; scholars of color and White allies frequently face these subtle forms of racism (Solórzano & Ceja, 2000). Additionally, the examination of the chronicle reveals that racism, in this form, is as pernicious as other forms of racism and through its passive-aggressive orientation validates institutional and individual lack of attention or consciousness to issues of race.

Before introducing you to our storytellers, Ebony, Jamal and Todd, it is worth noting that this chronicle occurs in what we call the *new not-so-postracial 21st-century Obama era* (Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012). The demarcation of this era was the election and subsequent reelection of the first African American president of the United States of America—President Barack Hussein Obama. On the heels of the first election, the discourse regarding race and racism shifted as it had done just after the end of the civil rights movement (Doane, 2007), when the notion of color blindness was haute. Only this time, people were no longer professing that they no longer see color, but rather race had become a nonissue; America had become a postracial society. Given the experiences of Ebony, Jamal, Todd, and other scholars of color and White allies, we know that this notion of postraciality is a myth, a disguise, and a whitewashing of what is an endemic ill in the fabric of this country: racism. Our experiences as faculty in teacher education programs clearly suggest that racism and race are persistent issues that will plague our nation and educational institutions forever because, as Bell (1992a) asserted, “even . . . [H]erculean efforts we hail as successful will produce no more than temporary “peaks of progress,” short-lived victories that slide into irrelevance as racial patterns adapt in ways that maintain white dominance” (p. 373).

MOVING ON UP: OUR CHRONICLE

Ebony, Jamal, and Todd, friends and neighbors, had become concerned about the decline in the community in which they lived. They noticed changes in their community of Acorn Hills after the 2008 election of the first Black president, Barack H. Obama. Many of their neighbors stopped speaking to them, and others would often stare them down or begin whispering whenever they approached. Initially, Ebony did not think much of her neighbors not speaking to her because they rarely had conversations beyond the occasional greeting and small talk about

the weather. Ebony was among only a handful of people of color in the small community of Acorn Hills. It seemed to Ebony that despite her best efforts—despite maintaining a pristine yard of her house and even baking the neighbors her famous organic oatmeal cookies—they not only refused to warm up to Ebony but also seemed to get more hostile.

Similar to Ebony, many neighbors refused to acknowledge Jamal's presence, let alone engage in a conversation about anything other than the weather. At the annual spring gathering, Jamal noticed how talkative the residents were with one another, but they never seemed to include him in their conversations. It was as if he was invisible, even when the head of the neighborhood association welcomed him to the festivities in front of the other residents. It was as if she had to let the other neighbors know that he did belong here and that he was invited as someone who lived in the neighborhood, as opposed to a mere guest of a neighbor. Still, no one acknowledged nor spoke to Jamal. Jamal readily volunteered during then Senator Barack Obama's first presidential campaign. He helped register voters, attended campaign rallies, and passed out literature to educate the public. He even placed a coveted Obama for President sign in his window, as opposed to the front lawn. Many Obama for President signs were being stolen in the neighborhood. Jamal was proud of what was happening in the country, but he noticed the stares and strange looks he received whenever he wore Obama paraphernalia. He even considered toning down his public support because of the negative stares he received from those who lived in the neighborhood. Although no one said anything directly to him, many conversations seemed to stop abruptly when Jamal went for walks around the neighborhood or saw a neighbor in the local grocery store. Though you could not hear what was being said, the fact that Jamal was stared at until he passed by made the nature of conversation suspicious.

When Todd first moved into the neighborhood, the mostly White residents of the community were all too eager to befriend their new neighbor. Todd frequently kept his curtains closed, rarely interacted with neighbors, and most often spent free time at the few Black-owned residences in the community. Over time, as the rest of the residents better understood Todd and his political and social commitments, he too received the same cold shoulder that his friends Ebony and Jamal received. Not only had the behavior exhibited toward the three friends been particularly hostile, the White residents began to exclude them from the neighborhood decision-making process where all residents got to vote. When Ebony confronted this situation, one of the neighbors, Jilly Whitesoothe, said, "Ohh well we forgot to send it to you all. It looks like it just slipped through the cracks." In another instance, Todd

was told that he, Ebony, and Jamal should come to a meeting at 2 p.m., and when they arrived, it became apparent that the meeting had started much earlier. The neighborhood president Stephanie Papinski smirked when they walked in and said, "Well I guess you all value being a part of this neighborhood or you would have been here on time."

Shortly after Barack Obama was elected the first Black president, Todd was working out in the community fitness center and overheard a few neighbors lamenting about the election of a "Black man for the highest office in the land." That comment piqued his interest, so he asked, "What's wrong with electing a black man as president?" Victoria Barlow, a resident who once befriended Todd but was now very angry with him, snorted, "You should get checked for brain cancer or something, they're going to destroy our country, don't you get it?" "Yeah, we need to take back our country," screamed Robin Kaster, a self-described community leader, from across five treadmills. Shocked by their words and reaction to his question, Todd stopped moving and said, "Well, his election means that we can right many of the wrongs that have been done to people of color." Both Victoria and Robin looked at one another, rolled their eyes, grabbed their towels, and left. Todd eventually told Ebony and Jamal about the exchange, but neither was surprised. They sensed, after this meeting with Victoria and Robin, that their mere presence made the women uncomfortable.

Frustrated by their neighbors' growing disdain for them, Ebony, Jamal, and Todd began thinking about relocating to a place that was more diverse and welcoming than Acorn Hills. Their time in the community had run its natural progression, and it was really time for each of them to move to a new community to continue engaging in their work. Without telling one another, they visited new communities and were excited about leaving. As the trio prepared to move, their wise friend Addy Jones, who recently relocated to Acorn Hills, invited them over for dinner. She asked them if they were really ready to leave. Undoubtedly, Ebony, Jamal, and Todd emphatically said "Yes!" Addy's demeanor changed; she became very serious and gave them all an eerie look, saying, "You all know that I've lived in a few places and I'm here to tell you, it's the same EVERYWHERE! It's gotten even worse! Folks aren't hiding who they are. If they don't want you there, they will let you know in no uncertain terms." Yet, the three friends reassured Addy that their tours of their respective communities were much more welcoming, diverse, and open to energetic young professionals. Ebony, Jamal, and Todd had been welcomed with open arms in these new communities and promised great flexibility to be who they were and pursue their interests in a community of likeminded individuals. During their visits, they were even offered many lucrative

incentives, such as help with moving expenses, a range of programs and projects to participate in, and even money to travel to other communities each year to understand what other people throughout the nation were doing and experiencing.

A week after the dinner, the three friends left Acorn Hills, destined for what they thought were more welcoming communities. Ebony headed off to Buffalo Station, a predominantly Hispanic community that also included a few Black, several White, and a couple of international families. Jamal was bound for Rolling Brook, a predominantly White community where residents were kind and very welcoming. Todd set out for Silver City, a mixed Black and White community. All three communities were south of Acorn Hills.

On Ebony's arrival to Buffalo Station, the neighborhood welcoming committee greeted her with a box of their finest locally grown organic fruits and vegetables. Overwhelmed by the enthusiastic reception, Ebony was sure that her move was a good decision. As she continued to settle into her new home, she received a call from Martha Kasey, the community association leader, asking her to stop by the community center to pick up a copy of the expansion plan for the community. Martha indicated that the demand for homes in the community was growing, and they were preparing an expansion plan to submit to the city. She also told Ebony that Dorothy Opal recommended that she join the expansion committee because of her expertise in urban development. After speaking with Martha, Ebony started to question her decision to move to Buffalo Station because things were starting to feel eerily familiar. When Ebony came for the tour, her host, Billie Hernandez, told her about the expansion plan and told her not to get involved with that because it would place her at the center of association politics. However, during her visit, she had a chance to meet with Martha, and she offered her assistance anyway. At that time, Martha questioned Ebony about her academic and professional experience with land use and urban development and felt that she lacked the necessary experience for the project. Disappointed but not dejected, Ebony said okay and let it go. Later in the visit, she had an opportunity to meet another young community member, Dorothy Opal, who, like Ebony, worked in urban planning and development. They bonded over many of the commonalities in their background and of course learned much about one another from their differences. Dorothy turned out to be a great friend, similar to Todd and Jamal, whom Ebony was missing.

Ebony took a break from her unpacking and jogged over to the community center to pick up the expansion plan. While reviewing it, she was impressed with the way in which the association used a variety of city and

regional statistics to justify the need for the expansion. She was particularly delighted with the plan to take a proactive approach to ensuring that diverse families would be attracted and move to Buffalo Station. She continued reading the plan and noticed an inconsistency that she was sure was just an oversight. In the expansion plan, the committee indicated that there would be a significant rise in the number of school-age children in the community, which was expected given the plan to target young families for the community. Yet, the expansion plan did not include resources that would appeal to families with children; the plan did not include a park, called for the removal of the swimming pool, and, worst of all, did not include an elementary school. Again, convinced that this was just an oversight, Ebony planned to point it out at the next planning meeting. That would prove to be an eye-opening yet familiar experience for Ebony.

Martha called the expansion-planning meeting to order, and Ebony noticed that of the seven-member committee, only one was a person of color. She became even more curious and suspicious about why she was ultimately invited to join the committee after initially being told she did not qualify. Despite the lack of diversity (which did not bother her because she was used to being the only or one of two people of color on committees), she listened intently, hoping that someone else would point out the omission. After 45 minutes of listening to others praise the plan, Ebony decided that she needed to tell them what she noticed, given that no one else had mentioned it. She fought back the discomfort and nervousness rising in her throat and said, "I noticed something." She continued, "I see that we are justifying the expansion with statistics showing a rise in diverse families in the metropolitan area, and we also mention that we are going to focus our marketing to diverse families with young children, yet we are not building a park, and removing the swimming pool. Plus, there are no plans for the construction of a school." The members began flipping through their documents, apparently looking for the omission. No one spoke. Finally, Kevin Linderman said, "We need to use the land for the new homes, and that leaves no room for a park or a swimming pool, and there isn't enough money to fund the construction of a school, and none of us want our property taxes to increase to support a school." Ebony thought, *this wasn't a mistake*. She responded, "I see. It will be difficult to attract diverse families or any families to Buffalo Station if we do not have the resources that are useful to families." In the most condescending of tones, Kevin asked, "Well then, Ebony, what do you propose we cut in order to build this school?" Frustrated yet cool Ebony responded, "If we look at the proposed constructions on page 72, there are number of

modest single-family homes being proposed, but I also notice there is a 40,000-square-foot parking garage listed. All the current homes and proposed homes already have a garage, so we could change this item to an elementary school for the 300 elementary-age students who are expected to be a part of this community.” “Wait a minute!” Kevin shouted startling everyone in the room. “The garage was my idea, we need it to for community storage, among other things, and it stays! I have to sacrifice my ideas for these families? Now, I’m the one being excluded.” Seeing the tension rise in the room, Martha interjected with a chuckle and commented, “Oh, Kevin, my husband says the same thing, he thinks people are paying more attention to families instead of those of us who don’t have children. Okay, seeing that we have a stalemate, let’s present the proposal to the homeowner’s association for a vote.” With that, the meeting was adjourned, and everyone left.

The outcome of the meeting nauseated Ebony; she knew that if the homeowners did not read the proposal closely, they would unknowingly vote for this plan that used families to justify the need for the project yet would provide no resources or support for them. Ebony was further sickened when she learned, days later, that the homeowners would not receive the proposal to review prior to the association meeting and vote. Instead, Martha decided to present the proposal—of course, not all 250 pages—during the meeting and then call for a vote. Fortunately for Ebony, she was not the only member of the planning committee disturbed by this part of the plan. During the homeowners’ association meeting, two members of the planning committee pointed out the issue, and one homeowner made a motion for a complete review and discussion of the expansion plan. The homeowners approved the motion and set the date for another vote following a complete review of the plan. The meeting was adjourned and scheduled for the following week. Ultimately, the homeowners association approved the amended expansion plan, which included replacing the parking garage with an elementary school and renovating the current park, which included a new swimming pool to replace the old one. The revised expansion plan also included a small portion of land behind the proposed school site that would serve as both a community and school garden.

Jamal was eager to move to his new residence. Although the area was small and quaint, it was in proximity to some very large metropolitan areas that embraced diverse perspectives. The residents welcomed Jamal and continually said, “We are so glad you are here.” The residents continually marveled at Jamal’s articulation of his ideas as well as his ability to creatively express himself in manner that supported the vision of the community. Jamal, recounting previous experiences when he moved to

new neighborhoods, decided to observe his neighbors and their relationships to better understand his surroundings. They were very eager to talk to Jamal and supported his efforts to explore and meet with other residents in nearby cities. However, the neighbors did warn him that the community of Klayton, just north of Rolling Brook, was not tolerant, nor were they kind to anyone who was not White. Jamal noted that he would not visit Klayton under any circumstance.

During the first official neighborhood meeting, Jamal was asked to stand as the head of the neighborhood association publicly welcomed him and all other new residents to the community. Shortly after this official welcome, a group of neighbors did a presentation on the importance of developing diverse perspectives to engage the multifaceted world in which we live. Jamal was impressed that they went out of their way to acknowledge the importance of diversity and diverse perspectives. Spirited by this wonderful welcome, Jamal was ready to engage the community to learn about their plan to infuse diverse perspectives in their city training modules. Everything was well structured and designed to help residents succeed. However, there was something missing. There was no module that specifically spoke to or about diversity. Jamal became puzzled because at the neighborhood meeting, there was a whole presentation about diversity and diverse perspectives, yet the modules did not support this idea.

Jamal then visited the resident coordinator to ask where the diversity and diverse perspectives modules were in the city training modules. The resident coordinator informed Jamal, "One of the reasons we invited you to live here was to help us develop those modules." Jamal was not exactly easy with that considering he was the only person in the neighborhood expected to do that, but he felt it was necessary, so he began the task of understanding all the training modules and determining how they could be modified. He subsequently determined that it would be best to create a new module, as opposed to updating the other modules, to address the diverse needs and perspectives of the community.

Based on his previous experience as a community developer, Jamal felt that he had found the appropriate justification to create a new module that would serve the needs of the community. As he began talking about the need to develop and offer this module to the community residents, the leaders of the community unanimously said that the idea of a new diversity module was great but that they did not have room to require the residents to review another module. They suggested that he add it to a preexisting module. Understanding that he was only guaranteed to live in the community for one year, Jamal decided it was best to follow the orders he had been given by the community leaders.

As time passed, many of the residents stopped Jamal to tell him they heard he was doing great with his assigned modules, and they heard other residents and community members talk about how well he fit in the community. The community was so impressed that they asked Jamal to formally apply to become a permanent resident of the community. Jamal was flattered and agreed to do so. During the application meeting, a lead community member asked Jamal if he had engaged other community members. Before Jamal could answer, she noted how frequently she had seen Jamal talking to Rose, his African American neighbor. Jamal quickly responded that they lived next door to one another and that she was a great resource as he navigated the new neighborhood. They were satisfied with the response, but Jamal was bothered by the inquiry, especially knowing that no one ever asked when they (i.e., the White residents) would visit with one another on frequent occasions or talk about the joint vacations their families took.

Shortly after this meeting, Jamal was invited to become a permanent resident of the community, and he gladly accepted. At the start of the new year, Jamal received the prestigious neighbor of excellence award during the annual community meeting where the community leaders acknowledged new neighbors. As Jamal stepped forward to accept the award, there was an audible gasp from the neighbors. Some showed great appreciation and pride, whereas others just stared as if they were trying to figure out how Jamal, a new neighbor, had won this neighborhood award. Feeling the piercing glares of his neighbors, Jamal declined to speak when given the opportunity by the head of the neighborhood association. Jamal noticed that many neighbors made side comments about the award. Although their words indicated that they were proud that he won the award, their tone suggested that they were not sincere in their acknowledgment. This point was further proved when they questioned what Jamal was doing to deserve this award in conversations among themselves. Additionally, some told Jamal that they have lived in this neighborhood all their lives and had never received any kind of award.

The award caused the neighbors to become fascinated with Jamal, making him feel as though he were living in a fishbowl. He decided to pull his shades and keep his doors closed so that the watchful eyes of his neighbors could not document his every move. He was beginning to regret receiving the award because it made his existence in the neighborhood more uncomfortable as time passed. He even questioned the receipt of this award as a ploy to lure him in to the neighborhood permanently. At any rate, this award removed his focus from Jamal's passion regarding diversity because he was now required to focus all his attention on a special project that the community leader designed.

When Todd arrived in Silver City, all the neighbors appeared to greet him quite enthusiastically. Neighbors who had been in Silver City for a long time expressed interest in what Todd was doing. He was told how valuable his experiences were for the community, and within a couple of days, he was given significant leadership responsibilities in the community to prepare reports for the community council and to run a neighborhood association program. Todd was eager to have a good experience in Silver City, and he jumped in, making a bunch of changes to the program he was responsible for to better match demographic realities. Todd noticed that although the community touted inclusion and an appreciation and awareness of differences, interactions among residents were really segregated. Thus, one of the first changes involved moving away from a relationship with a private and essentially White-owned and White-operated community employment resource center. Todd noticed that the community employment resource center only interacted with White people for internships and job preparation even though many of the employment opportunities in the community involved serving the minority families. When Todd instituted a new policy that ended the relationship with White-run community centers and began to work directly with a diverse employment centers, Katrina Doubleday, the employment specialist in the community, was outraged and said, “Todd, you simply cannot do this. Our younger residents that participate in the employment training program are not ready to be around, you know, (lowers her voice) so many different people, they are not used to being around people so different from them. You are going to ruin what we have going on here.” Todd retorted to Katrina that when he was reviewing the program documentation they had sent to the community council for approval, they had said that residents participated in diverse programs and were committed to inclusion—it was why he moved here, after all—and that they had to start living that commitment. Over the next few weeks, Todd began to implement a commitment to the urban community and the diverse needs. Katrina and a few of her associates went to the community president, Duke Bullington, to complain that Todd was too new to be making changes and that they were fine with him quietly doing work that the community needed, but they would not stand for Todd destroying the peace they experienced with the way things were. Duke called Todd in and, using his usual southern charm, told Todd, “Look, a lot of people are not metropolitan like you and me, and even if it’s the right thing to do, you should just slow down and focus on doing the paperwork and enjoy a leadership position without really rustling any feathers.” Todd was dismayed at this conversation because before he moved to Silver City, Duke had been vocal that Todd was being welcomed

to the community particularly because of his commitments and expertise. Todd continued on with his work in spite of Katrina, Duke, and many of the other residents who, as time went on, grew to dislike not only Todd's loud vocal commitment to difference but also his actions to make his programs diverse and inclusive. As days turned to months, one by one his neighbors began talking to him less; they even removed a picture of Todd that was displayed at the community headquarters, which highlighted his work with diversity in the community. At neighborhood association meetings, the once friendly community revealed itself for what it was. The names of Black residents of the community were always invoked when it was self-serving to talk about diversity and inclusion, but they were not taken seriously. For example, one Black neighbor, Orlando Mitford, was appointed to a leadership position within the community; Duke would say at community meetings, "with Orlando on board we've got diversity covered," and White neighbors would talk under their breath about Orlando. One White neighbor, Holly Happy, even went up to Orlando and said, "You know he only appointed you because you are Black, not because you deserve to be in a leadership position—it must be nice to get things just because you're Black." Orlando and Todd had grown close and had conversations about the difficulty they were both experiencing and their frustration with the rhetoric of inclusion and the practices of exclusion in Silver City.

A few months had gone by, and the National Community Association of Committed Excellence (NCACE) was coming to do a visit to see if the community was doing what it said it was doing in order to maintain its "Great Place To Live" (GPTL) status afforded to communities found to be providing a good place to live. When the visit was announced, Holly, Katrina, and Duke were panicked. Not receiving the GPTL status would negatively impact the community and lower incentives for new residents, and it was viewed by the leadership council as unacceptable. Holly, Katrina, and Duke each reached out to Orlando, the other residents of color, and Todd. Holly, who had expressed outright disdain for Todd, said, "Look, I really need access to anything you have about your program because we have to try to show we are diverse." Duke talked to Todd and Orlando and said, "Now look here, I know things aren't always the way you want them, but it important you tell NCACE that we are diverse in our commitments and our approaches. If we don't get their accreditation, they may shut our community down, and you wouldn't want to be responsible for that, would you?" Katrina, on the other hand, gathered every photo of Black residents and copies of Black community programs and diverse employment opportunities and told Todd, Orlando, and the others to make posters about how happy the community was and what a

good job the community was doing in being diverse. Todd called Addy and said, “Addy, what the hell! This place is loco, what should I do?” Addy said, “I hate to tell you but I warned you and Ebony that no community in the U.S. is really going to be different. It is just too convenient to use difference for White people’s advantage but to never actually commit to it.” Todd realized that although he was frustrated in Silver City, it was likely to be the same story in every community.

Table 1. Metaphorical and Literal Chronicle Representations

Metaphorical Representations	Literal Representations
Ebony Brown	Vanessa, a Black female assistant professor of education at Buffalo Station.
Jamal Adams	Cory, a Black male assistant professor of education at Rolling Brook.
Todd Fairweather	Kenny, a privileged White male assistant professor of education at Silver City.
Acorn Hills	A teacher education program at a large research-focused university.
Acorn Hills neighbors	Represents the majority-White and -female teacher education professoriate.
Addy Jones	A Black female associate professor of education and mentor to Ebony, Jamal, and Todd.
Buffalo Station	A teacher education program in which Ebony is a faculty member.
Buffalo Station residents	Represents the teacher education professoriate of Buffalo Station, which is composed of primarily White faculty members with a number of Black and Hispanic faculty members.
Expansion planning commission	The committee assembled to draft a proposal for a new graduate teacher education program.
Expansion project	A proposed graduate teacher education program.
Targeted families	Generally represents the way in which program development and/or grant proposals attend to underrepresented or marginalized groups (i.e., Blacks, Hispanics, women, and people living in poverty) as justification for project approval but are subsequently ignored after approval and implementation of the project.
40,000 square foot garage	Represents unnecessary courses or pet projects of faculty members that add no substantive value to the overall program or the targeted populations.

Metaphorical Representations	Literal Representations
Elementary school	The one or two courses that specifically address issues of race and diversity, which are often the first to be eliminated from programs in an effort to keep credit hours low. Yet these courses address issues that are instrumental to the preparation of predominantly White middle-class preservice teachers to work with populations that differ from theirs.
Garden	This continues to be a metaphorical representation of the adoption of expansive views of equality (Crenshaw, 1988) across teacher education.
Rolling Brook	A teacher education program in which Jamal is a faculty member.
City Training Modules	Represents courses designed for preservice teachers.
Rose Johnson	A Black associate professor in Rolling Brook and a friend to Jamal.
Silver City	A teacher education program in which Todd is a faculty member.
Community Employment Resource Center	Local schools in Silver City that provide internships to preservice teachers.
Katrina Doubleday	Representative of clinical faculty who coordinate and supervise practica and student teaching experiences for teacher candidates.
Holly Happy	Representative of White tenured and tenure-track faculty generally, specifically those who targeted Todd for his commitments to diversity.
Duke Bullington	Representative of administration in the College of Education in Silver City.
Orlando Mitchford	A Black associate professor in Silver City and friend to Todd.
National Community Association of Committed Excellence (NCACE)	Representative of the National Council for the Accreditation of Teacher Education (NCATE) responsible for making accreditation visits.
“Great Place To Live” (GPTL)	Accreditation.

CRITICAL RACE THEORY AS AN ANALYTICAL TOOL

UNPACKING THE CHRONICLE

The endemic nature of racism in American life (Bell, 1992a; Dixon & Rousseau, 2006) leaves no doubt about the permanence of racism in teacher education. The literature regarding race and teacher education has repeatedly shown that preservice teachers, who are predominantly White middle-class females, are not overly enthusiastic about discussing issues of race (Cochran-Smith, 2000; Gay, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Solomona, Portelli, Daniels, & Campbell, 2005). In fact, Ullucci and Battey (2011) noted that preservice teachers resist conversations about race by using intellectual roadblocks such as *color blindness* (Gay, 2010) to squelch any discourse about equitable schooling practices. The 2008 election of President Barack Obama provided a new disguise for those who advocate for a color-blind approach to education and teacher preparation. His election made a focus on diversity—particularly race—unnecessary to some because his election signified that racism had disappeared (Simmons, Lewis, & Larson, 2011). This postracial rhetoric, however, is a disenfranchising strategy (Gay, 2010). Simply stated, President Obama's election created a postracial façade that preserves Whiteness as status and property (Harris, 1993) while continuing the subjugation of people of color (Crenshaw, 1988).

Whiteness as Property

Whiteness as property, as explicated by Harris (1993), is rooted in the historical context of the founding of the United States. By examining the emergence and evolution of Whiteness as property, Harris (1993) provided a construct, although theoretically complex (Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012), that is useful in understanding how racism perpetuates Whiteness as identity, status, and property through enactment of laws that preserve Whiteness while placing all “others” in a subordinated position. Harris (1993) posited,

Whiteness has functioned as self-identity in the domain of the intrinsic, personal, and psychological; as reputation in the interstices between internal and external identity; and, as a property in the extrinsic, public, and legal realms. . . . Whiteness at various times signified and is deployed as identity, status, and property, sometimes singularly, sometimes in tandem. (Harris, 1993, p. 1725)

Whiteness as identity conveys status that carries with it a set of assumptions, privileges, and benefits that non-Whites should not expect (Harris, 1993). Bell (1995) asserted that “white meant gaining access to a whole set of public and private privileges that materially and permanently guaranteed basic needs” (p. 906). Ironically, the history of the United States is replete with examples of non-White people who were able to pass for White, but as Whiteness evolved from identity to status to property, laws were enacted to clearly delineate not what Whiteness is but what it is not (Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012)—thus giving Whites the ability to exclude those who possess characteristics of what Whiteness is not. As we unpack our chronicle, it is important to frame our extraction of Whiteness as property with the following two ideas:

1. Because Whiteness is property, White academics have a right to protect their property, and two mechanisms by which to do this are to have a fluid definition of Whiteness (Fasching-Varner, 2009) that is defined only by other Whites (Harris, 1993) and to devalue or value Blackness much lower than Whiteness by ignoring or not acknowledging any qualities possessed by Black academics that are consistent with Whiteness; and
2. Whiteness serves not only as identity and status but also as a property right (Bell, 1995; Harris, 1993) that extends beyond an individual or group of White people to include institutional structures such as education, politics, religion, the presidency of the United States, and so on, which have been historically occupied by Whites.

Whiteness as Property and Our Chronicle

In the age of Obama, the value of Whiteness has increased, because the presidency of the United States of America, since the inception of the country, has always been reserved for Whites only. The election of President Obama signified a clear shift, at least superficially, of the status quo. In our teacher education program (Acorn Hills), we noticed drastic roll-backs, more aptly described as setbacks, as they related to addressing issues of race and diversity. For Vanessa and Cory, what was once a cordial and nonhostile environment became very cold and distant as classmates and professors awkwardly asked their opinions about the outcome of the 2008 election. Cory noticed that students and faculty avoided talking to him about the impending election, or they would just avoid talking to him altogether; even the students Cory taught carried on sidebar

conversations in class about the election. For Kenny, White professors and students literally stopped speaking to him, and when they did, it was to inform him that his close relationship with his Black female advisor made him untrustworthy. A faculty member, questioning why Kenny was so interested in race, being White, literally asked him if he had gone to the doctor to be checked for brain cancer.

Vanessa and Cory were accustomed to having to speak on behalf of *all* Black people when someone raised a question in their all-White classes. They were frequently asked questions that displayed stereotypical perspectives held by their White classmates. Kenny was not particularly used to the shunning of White people but also realized the pernicious nature of racism and that such behavior was a logical consequence of White fear. With the election of the first Black president, Vanessa, Cory, and Kenny had hoped things would be different, and it was difficult for either to hide their excitement. After all, this was historic! Electing the first Black president represented an opportunity to revalue, redefine, recast Blackness juxtaposed to Whiteness; no longer would Blackness carry such low value. Blackness might no longer signify “otherness,” as the highest position in the free world was held by a person of color (Crenshaw, 1988). Despite the 2008 and, subsequently, 2012 election outcomes, neither the image nor value of Blackness changed. And although Vanessa, Cory, and Kenny were hopeful, they quickly grew to doubt that the election of the first Black president would do much to redefine Blackness—and unfortunately, political history and current reality since the elections are replete with examples of how Blackness, particularly the office of the presidency, has been further subordinated.

Whiteness was also made manifest for Vanessa before and during the contentious expansion planning meeting. Vanessa was more than qualified and had experience to serve on the committee, and she literally experienced being denied and deemed unqualified to serve on teacher education committees. This rejection, however, came only after a thorough review of her graduate transcripts and curriculum vitae. Despite completing a rigorous academic course of study under internationally renowned scholars who engaged in work consistent with that of the committee, Vanessa was still deemed unqualified, less knowledgeable, and unfit to serve as a member of various teacher education (expansion planning) committee. This familiar rejection is a classic form of Whiteness as property. For her White colleagues, Vanessa did not fit the stereotypical, and normative, image of Blackness; instead, she exuded characteristics that are thought to be the property of Whites. Thus, to maintain the value of their Whiteness, Vanessa’s Blackness was devalued with the use of rejection on the basis of being unqualified for a position she was more

than capable of handling. The devaluation of Blackness was further exemplified through the exchange between Vanessa and Kevin during the planning meeting. His 40,000-square-foot idea, which is literally any pet project of a faculty member, had no legitimate place in the program being developed; yet, rather than include a structure (course) that supported the justification of the program, Kevin insisted that his program could not be taken out.

Cory experienced Whiteness through the maintenance of status quo policies and practices that did little to incorporate diverse perspectives to develop meaningful courses for teacher education candidates. The undercurrent theme was that it has always been done this way, so why change? Further, issues of diversity and multiculturalism were pushed to a singular class that was already overwhelmed by the amount of information that needed to be covered. When Cory approached various faculty members about the necessity to create a course that specifically dealt with diversity along racial, social, and economic lines, among others, he was greeted with a response that noted the importance of a course of this nature but how impossible it was to create a course like this because the program was already overloaded with other courses. There was a general devaluation of a course of this nature even though Cory's colleagues expressed the importance of creating such a course, in addition to it being his area of expertise.

Kenny had a much different experience because of his Whiteness (Harris, 1993). His Whiteness certainly granted him full and unlimited access to White privilege; it made him privy to the acts of subordination of Black students in the teacher education program, both in Acorn Hills and Silver City, which the students and faculty themselves could only suspect because those acts often spring from disguised unconscious racial attitudes (Lawrence, 1987). Despite Kenny's identity, he was keenly aware of and committed to, as Bell (1995) suggested, overthrowing will his racial privilege, which led to the revocation of the value of his Whiteness as long as he continued to express these commitments.

When arriving in Silver City and moving his preservice teacher preparation program to a school with a significant student of color population, he was instantly met with resistance by administration, clinical experiences, and faculty. Despite this resistance, Kenny was charged with program responsibilities consistent with tenured associate professors, and the message was clear: Work like a horse but stop talking. Within a week of arriving, he was made responsible for a professional accreditation report, asked to revise the program completely, and charged with contributing significantly to the NCATE accreditation visit. In this capacity, Kenny was literally told by an administrator, "I am not sure we can

put you in front of NCATE because we don't know what will come out of your mouth." When Kenny challenged the administrator, she said, "You are constantly trying to point out inconsistencies and what we need here is a single, positive, and committed message, can you handle that?" When Kenny pointed out that the accrediting organization should see what is actually in place to help the institution make progress moving beyond commitments to diversity and actually engage in behaviors that did not represent contradictions and hypocrisy, he was shut out from the conversation, his documents were used by others, and he was severely monitored during the NCATE visit to make sure he didn't say anything to embarrass the program. When Kenny pointed out the abusive and ignorant behavior of faculty, particularly in the context of how Orlando and other faculty of color were treated, he was shunned by faculty. In all these experiences, not displaying socially acceptable Whiteness threatened Kenny's ability to receive witnesses' property value, though he was always assured that if he just "calmed down and got with the program," he could have it back.

Restrictive Versus Expansive Views of Equality

Another important construct of CRT is the way in which equality is viewed. The emergence of CRT from critical legal studies and civil rights scholarship situates the theory in such a way that it has a commitment to being both critical and a vision of liberation (Harris, 1995), or, as Calmore (1992) asserted, critical race theorists embrace an antisubordination ideology. Considering the foundation of CRT and its aims, another important tenet involves the view of equality via antidiscrimination laws. Crenshaw (1988) defined the expansive view as

equality as a result [which] looks to real consequences for African-Americans. It interprets the objective of antidiscrimination law as the eradication of the substantive conditions of Black subordination and attempts to enlist the institutional power of the courts to further the national goal of eradicating the effects of racial oppression. (p. 1341)

Equality as a result, the expansive view of antidiscrimination law, acknowledges that racism, discrimination, and subjugation do not work in isolation, and as such, this view aims to engage with the courts to stop the conditions that perpetuate the subordination of Blacks (Crenshaw, 1988).

The restrictive view focuses on equality as a process (Crenshaw, 1988). In other words, rather than looking at past wrongs or injustices and their current manifestations, the restrictive view is future oriented and aims

to prevent any further wrongdoing (Crenshaw, 1988). This view allows, according to Fasching-Varner (2010), for the absolution of social policy that targets entire groups; instead, discrimination is a result of isolated acts targeted at individuals. An intriguing aspect of the restrictive view is linked to interest convergence—another tenet of CRT. Interest convergence indicates that racial equality for Blacks occurs when it converges with the interests of Whites (Bell, 1995). Thus, Whites often hold restrictive views of equality because the expansive view conflicts with their interests, yet the restrictive view allows racism to be masked by an attempt to depict an image of moving against racism without actually having to do so. So, as long as the interests of Blacks do not infringe on Whites' right to enjoyment, disposition, reputation, status, and property (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995), it will or can be acceptable.

Restrictive Versus Expansive Views and Our Chronicle

Buffalo Station, a small community nestled in a culturally and linguistically diverse metropolitan city, articulated and carried out what appeared to be a commitment to diversity by enthusiastically welcoming Ebony—a Black woman—into the community. This is very similar to the ways in which teacher education programs recruit and welcome faculty of color to their programs. Yet, like Ebony, on arrival, Black faculty often encounter instances in which their qualifications are questioned, deemed insufficient, and rendered unacceptable for certain positions or roles within teacher education. Such inquisition and rejection could create a sense of despair among subjugated faculty members who do not understand racial realism. For those of us who do recognize the subtle and pernicious workings of racism, we are free to “implement racial strategies that can bring fulfillment and even triumph” (Bell, 1992a, p. 374). Because the articulated commitment to diversity, which attracted Ebony to Buffalo Station, is not genuinely practiced, this action exemplifies the restrictive views of equality. Furthermore, if we consider the planning meeting in which Ebony voiced her concern about the plan failing to provide for the diverse families, as the plan indicated, we again see the restrictive view of equality in operation. When viewed through this particular lens, it is clear that those who promote a restrictive view have no desire to address how racism and inequality still function to further subordinate Blacks. Instead, they can bask in their perceived efforts and engage in celebratory self-praise that they are welcoming to *others* without really welcoming *others*.

The chronicle also uncovers another way in which the restrictive view of equality functions in tandem with interest convergence. Ebony was fully committed to moving away from Acorn Hills because she desired a place

that was diverse and welcoming. Buffalo Station needed another community member who possessed characteristics that could help diversify their community, although that need was never asserted, and Ebony fit the bill. She was well educated and had varied experiences across urban planning (urban K–12 education) and development (pre-teacher education); in other words, her invitation to join the community could be justified given the plans for the community. Ebony wanted to move, and Buffalo Station needed to appear to be vested in diversity; thus, she was invited and accepted—interest convergence. However, the restrictive view also illustrates how her expertise and experience were used for and against her, which, again, happens frequently in teacher education; faculty of color are recruited and hired based on their areas of expertise but are then prevented or prohibited from using that expertise in certain areas of teacher education—not because they lack the background, although that is a common explanation, but because at that point, interests no longer converge.

Further evidenced by the expansion plan, the restrictive view of equality, unmasked in the chronicle, shows the committee's awareness of the value of articulating a commitment to recruiting diverse families. This is consistent with the conceptual framework of many teacher education programs that specify that their mission is to prepare teacher candidates who embrace diversity; ironically, despite 18–30 years of cultural conditioning in which individuals learn that Whiteness has value, most teacher education programs have one or two multicultural courses (Ladson-Billings, 1999) that function to prepare teacher candidates to understand and value all types of diversity. Essentially, teacher education programs adopt what look to be expansive views of equality, but they are implemented in very restrictive ways that maintain White dominance (Bell, 1992a).

An expansive view of equality, in our chronicle, remains a metaphor. The community and school garden is that view because it functions to provide sustenance and learning opportunities to the entire community, particularly the residents of color. It is actually an anomaly in our chronicle; given the endemic nature of racism, it should not have happened because interests did not converge, and subordination certainly was not eradicated. After reading our chronicle, I suspect one could argue that replacing the 40,000-square-foot garage with a school is an expansive view. However, the literal representation for this chronicle has not quite played out. Yes, a program was developed; yes, diversity was used to justify the need for the program; and yes, originally there were no courses that addressed issues of race, diversity, or equity, but a compromise was made. So, at the time this chapter was drafted, this program had not begun, and recruiting for this program had not occurred. It will be interesting to see if and how this

articulated vision for diversity comes to fruition. In addition, will qualified Black faculty, like those portrayed by *Ebony*, have a role in the continued development and implementation of the program, or will they be used to go into those “diverse” communities to recruit students?

Cory thought that diversity was a significant mission for the college on his arrival. During a faculty meeting, there was an elaborate presentation on diverse perspectives in education. However, this presentation and subsequent conversations and initiatives were clear indications of restrictive versus expansive views of equality. Although the college attempted to address issues of diversity and the importance of diverse perspectives, it presented no actual outcomes of its efforts. Incidentally, there was a great deal of emphasis on developing an elective diversity course that education students would be recommended to take once it was approved. A great deal of planning went into the development of this course. Cory was even consulted before its submission for approval and even offered suggestions to make the course more substantive and directed toward teacher education students. However, the focus was to be on general diverse perspectives. The course was designed to meet the articulated goals expressed by the college to show how it would meet the needs of the diversity standard for teacher education candidates. However, the course was not approved and was essentially abandoned.

For Kenny, the expansive versus restrictive contradiction is at the heart of his experience in Silver City. When he interviewed for the position, he was assured that diversity and difference were important. They had access to his vitae and sample publications, and it was no secret that Kenny’s professional and personal commitments were to race and equity. In Acorn Hills, Kenny accepted that no one there may have known his commitments before he enrolled in the PhD program, but from his application letter, to job talk, to publications, it was clear when Kenny was interviewing who he was and what he would do. In fact, expansively, Kenny contributed positively to the profile of the institution. Kenny believes that they felt that hiring a White man with these commitments was the best of both worlds and that Kenny could be easily controlled through the property demands of Whiteness. What Kenny did not realize, though, is that any action to get the institution to live the expansive commitments in practice would be met with severe restrictive resistance. There really was no room in the institutional structure for someone like Kenny, and he was often touted as making faculty feel uncomfortable. Despite his academic productivity, his message was an assault to Whiteness from within—a traitor (Ignatiev, 1996). There was no desire for the program for which Kenny was responsible; it was just simply to market itself as being diverse, thereby highlighting the expansive/restrictive dilemma.

CONCLUDING THOUGHTS

The emergence of postracial discourse has done nothing more than provide a new (postracial) or not-so-new (color-blind) yet clever disguise for the racism that is endemic in American society (Bell, 1992b) and its institutions—education (Bell, 1995). It illustrates that despite the postracial rhetoric, teacher education has not made significant strides toward an expansive view of equality (Crenshaw, 1993). Instead, for some teacher education programs, there has been a move to use the postracial discourse to scale back or eliminate diversity offices (Fasching-Varner & Dodo Seriki, 2012), multicultural courses, or faculty whose scholarship and commitments speak against White privilege.

Further, our analysis of this chronicle depicts how racism remains endemic and significant (Bell, 1992a; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Tate, 1995) in teacher education programs; courses and the process of program development perpetuate Whiteness as property as White academics endeavor to preserve the value of their Whiteness while devaluing Blackness; expansive commitments are articulated through program development, conceptual frameworks, and the like but are often unrealized because they were never consistent with the value of Whiteness; and finally, the notion that American society is postracial only serves to dissociate acts of Black subordination—such as the profiling, tracking, and subsequent killing² of Black children in communities and schools—from the racism that is entrenched in both the minds of individuals and in social institutions. The restrictive view that perpetuates the value of Whiteness has and will continue to whitewash racism.

These examples speak to endemic nature of racism (Bell, 1992a) within our society, functioning as obstacles that faculty and students of color must learn to navigate. It also speaks to the need for teacher preparation programs to prepare candidates who understand these pernicious forms of racism, how they manifest in the classroom, and what they must do to dismantle them to effectively teach children. Teacher education programs and teacher educators should always strive to create a world that will be better in the future than it is today with regard to racism. However, how can this be accomplished if those who prepare teachers are oblivious to their own contributions to the maintenance of Whiteness as a property and restrictive versus expansive views of equality, among others, in teacher education programs? Although the response to this is simple, the implementation of practices that address racism in teacher education is complicated by individuals' perceptions of what it means to harbor biases based on race or to engage in racist behavior. Attending to racism requires a level of critical self-reflection (Howard, 2003),

self-awareness, and willingness to act. It also necessitates that one not be a by-stander in the face of racism.

Furthermore, teacher education programs and faculty must be willing to develop meaningful courses that challenge Whiteness as property as well as create opportunities for teacher candidates to experience working with and for populations that are different from them. In addition, teacher candidates, through their programs, must engage in critical self-reflection about their own identity and the identity of their potential students, and discuss and recognize how those identities converge within the classroom space. Finally, the challenging of racism, within teacher education, requires that faculty serve as exemplary critical self-reflective practitioners for their teacher candidates.

NOTES

1. The founding scholars, according to Bell (1995), are Derrick Bell, Richard Delgado, Charles Lawrence, Mari Matsuda, and Patricia Williams. Major figures include Alan Freeman, Kimberlé Crenshaw, and Angela Harris (Delgado & Stefancic, 2012).

2. The word *killing* in this context is used figuratively and literally; the literal meaning refers to the profiling, tracking, and shooting of a 17-year-old unarmed Black teenager, while figuratively it refers to the negative life trajectories resulting from educational profiling, tracking, and the subpar education experienced by many Black students.

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