There Is No Culturally Responsive Teaching Spoken Here: A Critical Race Perspective

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ABSTRACT

In this article, we are concerned with White racial domination as a process that occurs in teacher education and the ways it operates to hinder the preparation of teachers to effectively teach all students. Our purpose is to identify and highlight moments within processes of White racial domination when individuals and groups have and make choices to support rather than to challenge White supremacy. By highlighting and critically examining moments when White racial domination has been instantiated and recreated within our own experiences, we attempt to open up a venue for imagining and re-creating teacher education in ways that are not grounded in and dedicated to perpetuating White supremacy.

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In this paper, we are concerned with the crisis proportions and consequences of U.S. teacher preparation programs' failure to prepare teachers to effectively teach all students. Most teachers continue to enter public school classrooms unprepared "to effectively teach African American and other students of color" (Blanchett, 2006, p. 27); they begin teaching with little to no knowledge of themselves as racial beings or of social groups outside of their own and are unprepared to identify, implement, or assess culturally responsive teaching and learning strategies (Bell, L. A., 2002; Cochran-Smith, Davis, & Fries, 2004; Cross, 2005; Juárez, Smith, & Hayes, 2008).

Say It Loud[1]

Pointedly, the teaching force in the United States remains predominantly White, female, and monolingual (English) (National Summit on Diversity in the Teaching Force, 2002; Sleeter, 2001); teacher education in the United States is likewise a White world with an overwhelmingly White professoriate (Gordon, 2000; Juárez et al., 2008; National Center for Education Statistics, 2002). White educators, not insignificantly, tend to have negative views about racial differences and low academic and behavioral expectations for students of color (Barry & Lechner, 1995; Fuller, 1992; Terrell & Mark, 2000; Villegas & Lucas, 2002).

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Student populations in U.S. public school classrooms, in turn, are increasingly from backgrounds identified as culturally, linguistically, ethnically, religiously, economically, and otherwise socially diverse (Douglas Horsford; 2011; Juarez & Hayes, 2010). Researchers have documented that Black Americans and other students of color have been taught by teachers who would prefer not to teach them (Hayes, Juarez & Cross, in press; Juarez & Hayes, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2006; O' Connor, 2006), and the classrooms they inhabit more closely resemble containment pens than spaces of learning, freedom, dreams, and self-determination (Irvine, 1999; Lleras, 2008). Perhaps not surprisingly, the recent past has shown a disturbing, rapidly growing, and increasingly close connection between U.S. public schools serving communities identified as economically poor and racial minorities and U.S. prisons (Douglass Horsford, 2011; Meiners & Winn, 2010; Tulman & Weck, 2009).

We authors thus write informed by a strong sense of urgency and a need for a significant challenge to the traditional privileging of Whiteness, occasionally "peppered with some discussion of race or culture" (Cross, 2005, p. 266), in teacher preparation. We are not interested in the usual project in education and teacher education of helping students—or teachers, for that matter—to learn how to assimilate into and cope within the burning house of public schooling[2], as it currently exists in the United States (Douglas Horsford, 2011).

As we have noted elsewhere (Juárez & Hayes, 2010), and following Ladson-Billings (2005), the big house of teacher education is on fire and burning brightly; as DuBois wrote, "These super-men [and women] and world-mastering demi-gods [and teacher-educators] listened, however, to no low tongue of ours, even when we pointed silently to their feet of clay" (DuBois, 1920/1995, p. 456). Our focus in this paper centers on examining why there is no culturally responsive teaching and social justice spoken in many public schools and teacher preparation programs in the United States—particularly because ours is a nation that defines itself by the democratic ideals of equality, justice, and freedom and the necessity and consequences for this omission in education are so profound for all of us. Following Wright (1941, 1957), if Black Americans perish—or any of our other neighbors, families, and fellow citizens and human beings, for that matter—then America perishes, because our fates are deeply entwined.

As bell hooks (1995) asked, we too must ask ourselves *and* everyone else as well, "Where is the rage?" Where is the rage about the apartheid-like conditions in U.S. public schools (Kailin, 1999) with Latino and Black students, males in particular, pushed out of classrooms and into prison cells in profoundly disparate numbers (Johnson et al., 2001; Noguera, 2008)? Again, we must insist, where is the rage against these huge injustices? *Where is the rage?*

Drawing on Lorde's (1984) notion of anger as a legitimate response to racism and oppression and using a critical race theory (CRT) methodology of counter-storytelling (Love, 2004; Solorzano & Yosso, 2002), our purpose in this article is to identify and highlight moments within processes of White racial domination when individuals and groups have and make choices to support or challenge White supremacy, most often choosing to support rather than to confront and help to abolish Whiteness. Specifically, we use a representative dialogue and interaction between two teacher-educators about the business of preparing future teachers to illustrate how and why culturally responsive teaching is not spoken here in teacher education and how and why this outcome of failure is not inevitable or natural and thus can be interrupted and redirected.

As Malcolm X was known to frequently point out (Breitman, 1990), when people are sad, we usually don't do much more than cry over our condition; when we are angry, however, that is when we take action to bring about change. Anger is a tool that enables all those who yearn for social justice to recapture our human dignity and avoid falling into cynicism, even when confronted with the inescapable injustice and cruelty now unleashed under the banner of a "new world order" (Macedo, 2004, p. xi). For this reason, we then extend our counter-narrative by presenting one teacher-educator's response to and articulation of his right to be angry—"to feel a just ire," as Freire has said (1985, p. 58)—regarding this dialogue about and interaction around preparing future teachers. We use this response as a vehicle to begin identifying and examining possibilities and limitations for change in the conditions of contemporary teacher preparation programs.

In teacher education and elsewhere in U.S. society and its institutions past and present, the supremacy of Whiteness—that is to say, the systemic and historical privileging of Whites' collective interests, accomplishments, values, beliefs, and interests—doesn't just unfortunately or accidently happen, and it is no mere or innocent coincidence that it continues to reappear as if out of nowhere (as it appears to be natural and normal). As a group, "Whites recreate their own racial supremacy, despite good intentions" (Leonardo, 2005, p. 83). Defined as "a racialized social system that upholds, reifies, and reinforces the superiority of whites" (Leonardo, 2005, p. 127), White supremacy happens, very significantly, not *behind* the backs of Whites, but *off* the backs of individuals and communities of color. This happens as others (oftentimes, though not in every instance, White people) enact processes of White racial domination by drawing on and applying White institutional authority to act and make decisions in ways that support the continuing and systemic privileging of Whiteness in teacher education and other important public institutions (Gillborn, 2005). Put bluntly, not preparing teachers to effectively teach all students is an act of Whiteness, integral to the race-based system of White supremacy.

No More Silently Pointing to Clay Feet[3]

And yet, ironically, as teacher-educators, educators, policymakers, and other vested citizens and individuals, many of us continue to wonder why culturally responsive teaching and social justice endeavors are almost nonexistent in U.S. public schools (Gollnick, 1995; Merryfield, 2000), and most teachers continue to enter the classroom unprepared and unable to effectively teach all students (Bell, L. A., 2002; Fuller, 1992; Hollins & Torres-Guzman, 2005). We find this kind of wondering in teacher education to be disingenuous and dangerous. We believe that, collectively, we in teacher education already know what must be done to prepare teachers to

effectively teach all students—although most of us, as Wright's (1957) suggestion stands more than half a century after he first voiced it, "would rather die than do it" (p. xvi). Indeed, there have always been teachers who have been successful in teaching the so-called hard to reach and teach children, and there is a whole body of research that has documented exactly what they do and why they do it that way (Foster, 1997; Hilliard, 1997; McCullough-Garrett, 1993; Siddle Walker, 2001).

There is, accordingly, no reason other than the reason of White supremacy that teachers continue to exit their teacher preparation programs not prepared to effectively teach all children. And this reason is unacceptable and must be interrupted and redirected within the daily business of teacher education in the United States. We add our voices to those of others who have paved the way for us in teacher education by speaking out loudly and boldly regarding the Whiteness of teacher preparation (Delpit, 1996, 2006; Ladson-Billings, 2005). We attempt to highlight moments of choice within the daily business of preparing teachers when people most often choose Whiteness and yet could have chosen differently; that is to say, they were presented with the opportunity to challenge the historical privileging of Whiteness in teacher education and chose not to challenge. We simultaneously highlight the other side of these choices that privilege Whiteness—the consequences and effects, the impacts and costs on people of color.

Very importantly, our intent is not to blame or indict White, or any other, people and their actions and choices—we ourselves have had experience with these kinds of accusations leveled against us (Juárez & Hayes, under review) and would not want to do likewise. It is just as much not our intent to offend or hurt anyone's delicate[4] sensibilities or feelings. We do want to demystify why culturally responsive teaching and social justice are not happening in education. As Malcolm X did, we posit that history is not hate and neither are speaking out against injustices and calling for equity and freedom for all (Cone, 2004). The damages and consequences of the schools-to-prison pipeline in our society (and world) are far too high for both all of us and any of us, and thus we can no longer afford to point silently to the feet of clay around us, our own and those of others.

The following composite conversation between two teacher-educators—one tenured, one not, one White, one Black, one female, one male—is representative of and helps to illustrate the ways individuals and groups daily help to enact processes of White racial domination within U.S. teacher-preparation programs to thereby ensure that there is no social justice.

Two Teacher-Educators on Teaching Strategies and Culture: A Conversation

Setting: Within the hallways of a predominantly White college of education and teacher preparation program.

Characters: Ann[5], a department chair, and Malik, a teacher-educator.

Ann (from her office): Malik, I need to see you.

Malik: What is this about, Ann? Am I in trouble again?

Ann: Of course not. I need to talk to you about some of the students' concerns. A group of students came to talk about me about your class. They feel like they are not getting the strategies they need [to teach science, for example].

Malik: This is not about the strategies the students need; these students are upset because they think I am spending too much time on culturally responsive teaching.

Ann: Well, Malik, your class is not a class on culturally responsive teaching.

Malik: Well, Ann, you are correct. But the two go hand and hand, especially if these students are going to be teachers teaching in Southern California. Do these students know that Black and Latino males in particular have the highest drop-out rates in the country? This is very important. Also, when I ask the students what culturally responsive teaching is, not one of them knows what the term means or has heard of it. Culturally responsive teaching is an approach to teaching they should be using regardless of what their content area is. As educators, we cannot ignore the facts of what is happening in schools. Many scholars have established that Latinos and Black males have a far greater chance of going to jail than going to college. In my mind, that is what these future teachers, our students, should be worried about. This is not a class on how to teach but on how to think about teaching—they will be educating their students to do what for whom?

Malik left Ann's office to print his syllabus to show her. It was as if he needed to prove to Ann that culturally responsive teaching is embedded in his content and that he is still teaching the material students need in order to be successful in their first years of teaching *because* it is not possible talk about teaching without talking about race and other social differences. Differences make a difference in people's everyday lives and the opportunities they have access to, with Whites benefiting collectively from the existing racial hierarchy and at the expense of people of color (Leonardo, 2005). Content methods must be delivered, therefore, in culturally responsive ways; they must be one and the same.

Later this same day, Malik logged on to the college's Blackboard system to check the responses that his students had been assigned to complete regarding the class's discussion of social justice and culturally responsive teaching in science education. One of the students who had complained to the department about Malik had posted the following response:

I am going to be a PE teacher. Yes, culturally relevant pedagogy is important to this content area. Yes, I need to be culturally aware and fair. Yes, I need to consider all students' cultures, races, ethnicities, gender, etc., etc., etc. At what point can we all just drop the "you are a different color crap"?

What this student failed to realize is that, being White, she has the option to "just drop the different color crap" at any time should they tire of it, wish to, and feel like it. Students of color in K–12 U.S. public education however, do not have this option.

The Ending of Too Many Stories in Teacher Education: White Supremacy Newly Refreshed

The earlier story ended with a letter of formal reprimand in Malik's personnel file and the college administration verbally chastising Malik for sending an email to all of his students in response to the "different color crap" message. At the very moment the (White) administration decided to not only affirm the student's perspective of but also discipline Malik for challenging this color-blind interpretation, White supremacy was consciously and actively, even aggressively, protected and perpetuated through the actions, decisions, and interactions of individuals and groups. All of the individuals and groups involved in this scenario, representative of daily operations in teacher education across the United States, were presented with choices for or against Whiteness. Malik alone chose to challenge Whiteness while his colleagues made decisions and acted to help support, protect, and renew the Whiteness of teacher education. In that moment they also became representative of how White racial domination operates on the ground in the everyday preparation of our future teachers.

Significantly, we are not trying to suggest that Malik is the hero, the lone warrior going against the fire-breathing, bad dragon of Whiteness. Instead, we are suggesting that the privileging of Whiteness in teacher education is not a natural or a foregone conclusion simply because it is historically embedded within teacher education. Individuals and groups daily make choices for or against Whiteness as they go about their work and interactions with others. There was nothing coincidental about the choices and interactions that Ann and the other administrators in this college of education enacted or about the consequences that Malik experienced as a result of how individuals and groups, all White in this context, acted to maintain and further the supremacy of Whiteness.

Malik paid a high personal and professional price in his department for standing alone and making decisions against Whiteness in several different situations. Through official letters of reprimand, being put on probation, and many informal, daily micro-aggressions from colleagues that subtly and not so subtly let him know that he was out of line with college expectations, he was sanctioned and disciplined. Individuals and groups in authority over him and as his peers intended to push him toward conforming to and colluding with the existing dominance of Whiteness, or risk losing his job. To further ensure Malik's compliance with Whiteness, an official committee of three "helpers," all of whom were senior members of the faculty, was organized and tasked with "helping" Malik overcome his problematic "disposition" and thus get along with colleagues and students more harmoniously—within a context of White dominance and superiority. Meeting with Malik regularly over time, this helping committee was specifically assigned to help Malik learn to be less confrontational and to communicate "better" with his peers and students, to have compassion and respect for others, and to ensure that course delivery was aligned with the syllabus (Letter of Review from Departmental Committee to the Dean's Office, October 26, 2009). The following is a quote explaining the charge of his helping committee and is taken from an official letter Malik received from his college's administration:

> *You were selected to work with Malik because the college feels his passion for social justice makes him too confrontational or impatient with others' development. You were selected because you are known to be passionate about the topic and able to communicate in ways that others can hear (Dean's Conversation with Malik's Helping Committee, November 10, 2009).*

More directly, Malik's helping committee was expected to tame Malik into a well-behaved racial minority, one who could and would get along nicely within a context of Whiteness and posed no further threats to its dominance, speaking, seeing, and hearing no race (Leonardo, 2005).

Culturally Responsive Teaching, Social Justice, and the White World of Teacher Education

To successfully teach *all* students, not just those who most closely reflect U.S. society's White mainstream, teachers must have the knowledge, disposition, and skills to effectively implement and assess a culturally responsive pedagogy (Gay, 2000; Ladson-Billings, 1999; Ware, 2006). Following Ladson-Billings (1994) and others (Foster, 1997; Irvine, 2003; Villegas & Lucas, 2002), we define a culturally responsive pedagogy as an approach to teaching and learning that addresses the sociopolitical context of White supremacy within education and society over time while simultaneously fostering students' abilities to achieve high levels of academic success and cultural competence.

Teachers who approach teaching and learning with a culturally responsive pedagogy are both warm and demanding; they are "warm demanders" (Ware, 2006). Warm demander teachers, always conscious of historical context, view teaching as a political, not a neutral, act. They orient their teaching toward social-justice ends. For us, social justice in education refers to a vision of schools and society in which the distribution of learning opportunities and resources are equitable, and all students are recognized, are physically and psychologically safe, and are enabled to fully participate (Bell, L.A., 2002; Noguera, 2003; Darling-Hammond, 2004; Pearl & Pryor, 2005).

The need for all teachers to be prepared to effectively teach all students can hardly be understated; it is now a demographic imperative (Banks, 1991). Unfortunately, however, "culture is [a] variable that is often overlooked as a function of student success" (Ware, 2006, p. 428). At the same time, the privileging of White interests, values, experiences, and beliefs, i.e., the Whiteness of teacher education is underscored by the emergence and existence of conversations about and calls for multiculturalism in education and teacher preparation programs. In rare instances, teacher preparation programs include a study of Whiteness and emphasize systemic racism instead of cultural exoticism. "But in far too many others, rampant hypocrisy abounds. The language of programs includes social justice and multiculturalism and diversity while the ideology, values and practices are assuredly reinscribing White privilege, power and racism" (Cross, 2005, p. 266).

Public schools play a primary role in daily re-creating and perpetuating U.S. society's tenacious racial hierarchy; whether consciously or not, teachers who are not prepared to teach all

children do necessarily contribute to maintaining the existing racial status quo of White over Black and other communities of color.[6] Conditions in contemporary U.S. public schools are nearing apartheid-like status with a deeply embedded, historical, and perniciously expanding race-based gap between the haves and the have-nots. "To be born Black within the US [still] means to be disproportionately represented among the poor, the incarcerated, the unemployed, the sick, the under-educated and under-nourished; and, amongst those awaiting state-sanctioned execution on death row" (Joseph, 2001, p. 54). No longer is it acceptable, therefore—indeed, if it ever was—for teacher preparation programs to keep proclaiming their own report cards as A+ in preparing future teachers for working in a culturally diverse society and sailing through their NCATE[7] accreditation reviews largely unimpeded (Gollnick, 1995; Juárez & Hayes, 2010) while continuing to graduate teachers "with many of their prior negative perceptions of "Blackness" [and other forms of difference] and their prejudice, racism, and sense of entitlement regarding White privilege intact and completely unchallenged" (Blanchett, 2006, p. 27).

How to Read this Essay: The Uses of Counter-Narratives in the Struggle against Whiteness

Following Thompson (2003), we put Whiteness at the center of our examination generally of the Whiteness of U.S. teacher education and specifically of Malik's professional experiences as a teacher-educator of social justice. For the purposes of this paper, Whiteness is defined as an identity that is neither problematized nor particularized within discourses on race because it assumes a status of normalcy (Chaisson, 2004; DeCuir & Dixson, 2004; Tate, 2003). Ann's decision to support the White students who questioned Malik's pedagogy legitimatizes, as we have noted earlier, the Whiteness of teacher education, as does the helping committee Malik was assigned to because he challenged Whiteness. Ann's decision and the college's action are examples of moments when processes of White racial domination were enacted by individuals and groups. These moments of enacting White racial domination together helped both to render Whiteness legitimate and normal and to buttress and perpetuate it.

Malik's counter-narrative, as presented earlier, is a composite story of actual characters and events that represents a particular kind of experience common to and recognized by many scholars of color within higher education. Counter-stories in academia such as Malik's challenge White supremacy by providing alternative interpretations or understandings of social scenarios, arrangements, experiences, and outcomes regarding individuals and communities of color. They also create a space for faculty of color to express their personal and lived experiences of racial mistreatment in the academy, especially if those experiences are counter to the White mainstream perceptions of equality, social justice, and academic freedom as rights to be protected by Whites and to be earned by people of color. Malik's story in the context of this article aims to expose and challenge the majoritarian stories of White privilege in teacher education and the larger U.S. society (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Dixson & Rousseau, 2005; Marx, 2006). Malik's counter-story challenges the Whiteness of teacher education by helping us to better understand why there is no culturally responsive teaching spoken here. It is through the details and context of Malik's narrative that moments of choice and conflict become visible. By exposing and highlighting these moments of choice, it becomes possible for us to consider both the limitations and the possibilities of choices and then actions.

CRT in Education

Like Knaus (2009), we apply CRT for the purpose of developing the voices and narratives that challenge racism and the structures of oppression. Tate (1997) asked 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) stated 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) defined 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 five tenets to guide CRT research, all of which were 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) argued 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) described the "valorization of whiteness as treasured property in a society structured on racial caste" (p. 277). Harris also argued that Whiteness confers tangible and economically valuable benefits, and it is 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, 1993; 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, neutrality, objectivity, color-blindness, 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 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 otherwise raced-only people.

CRT has emerged as a theoretical and methodological instrument that has been useful to centering education research on race and racism. CRT scholars center the experiential knowledge of people 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, 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 counter-stories 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 toward social justice as a lived reality for all.

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).

Whiteness, Power, and Knowledge Practices

How does the racial power of Whiteness enable teacher-educators individually and collectively to talk about effectively preparing future teachers and about social justice in education while simultaneously to act in ways that ensure just the opposite—that educational equity is never realized regardless of good intentions or great efforts? Whiteness, as a sense of self based on the privileging of interests, values, and beliefs associated with Whites as the one human normal (Sullivan, 2006; Trepagnier, 2006; Weedon, 1999), provides individuals positioned as White with a collectively held racial epistemology, or way of interpreting the world. This racial epistemology of Whiteness as knowledge is grounded in a history of practiced violence and has been used to maintain White racial dominance and superiority (Bonilla-Silva, 2003; Goldberg, 1993; Jordan, 1974; Mills, 1997). Drawing on this historical foundation of privileging Whiteness, Whites use personal understandings of the world as a lens to make sense of what is happening (Jensen, 2005; Marable, 1993, 1994; Merelman, 1992).

There are consequences to Whiteness as racial knowledge. Cone (2004) explained, "The quality of White life is hardly ever affected by what people of color think. However, everything Whites think and do impact profoundly the lives of people of color" (p. 144). As the dominant group in U.S. society and in control of society's institutions for generating and policing cultural meanings, Whites have historically imposed and privileged perspectives upon society as *the* viewpoint, *the* right way to understand that which is knowledge and is human (Douglass, 1852/1972; Feagin, 2006; Frederickson, 2002; Harris, 1992; Morgan, 1975; Rose, 1989; Wise, 2009).

More specifically, Whiteness is "the unmarked category against which difference is constructed" (Lipsitz, 2006, p.1). It is in the moment of differentiation, when the privileging of Whiteness as knowledge is applied, that differences (from Whiteness) emerge and are racially marked as not White. "To be an 'all-American' means, by definition, *not* to be an Asian American, Pacific American, American Indian, Latino, Arab American or African-American" (Marable, 1993, p. 113).

To act on Whiteness, then, is to act on racial knowledge. Individuals use power to act on knowledge. To act on Whiteness as racial knowledge is therefore an act of power. Following Foucault (1972, 1979, 1980), power is productive; it operates at the level of the social body guiding and influencing choices.

There is evidence that the racial power of Whiteness guides the activity and interactions of teacher educators within U.S. teacher education by telling them what to see and not to see and what is and is not reasonable (Franklin, 1999; Gore, 1998; Popkewitz & Fendler, 1999). As the normative standard, Whiteness rationalizes typical practices in teacher education wherein White professors assign readings by White scholars who represent people of color and send future teachers to observe in classrooms serving culturally diverse students without addressing unequal power differentials in ability to define reality thus naturalizing race and objectifying individuals targeted as objects of observation (Cross, 2005; Ladson-Billings, 2005; Sleeter, 2001).

Whiteness remains invisible while those racially marked as other than White are rendered visible as culturally diverse with special needs separate from the normative standard needs of Whites (Bhaba, 1989; Coates, 2008; Love, 2004). The invisibility of Whiteness as racial knowledge is exposed only through efforts to situate this racial knowledge as a particular kind of racial knowledge. Whiteness as racial power operates at the ground level of everyday practices to enable teacher educators not to see; in other words, they do see yet work very hard explicitly and purposefully not to see. Well-described and well-documented (Bell, L. A., 2002; Gordon, 1994, 2005; Thompson, 2003), this not-seeing in U.S. teacher education is not an inability to see but a learned, chosen not-seeing—"A matter of the construction of their *inner* eyes, those eyes with which they look through their physical eyes upon reality" (Ellison, 1972, p. 3).

However, and this is very important, the obstruction of culturally responsive teaching and social justice in teacher education requires no race hate or racial conspiracy of Whites against racial minorities (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Leonardo, 2005; Liston & Zeichner, 1991; Martin, 1995, 2001). The daily business of teacher preparation and schooling is, rather, already set up to perpetuate the systemic privileging of Whiteness in U.S. society (Bell, L. A., 2002; Britzman, 1991; Schick, 2000; Butler & Scott, 1992). The perpetuation of Whiteness in U.S. society and its educational institutions requires only business as usual (Marable, 1993; Moreno, 1999; Smith, 2004; Spring, 2001).

As King (2005) has noted, "The abysmal state of education for students of color in the United States is an inhumane situation that calls into question the values and pronouncements of Western 'civilization'" (p. 3). Yet, in the United States, teacher preparation

programs have never been set up to prepare future teachers for social justice in education or culturally responsive teaching. This is, accordingly, a system success, not unreasonable, unexpected, accidental, or surprising institutional disappointments or aberrations. Barriers and obstacles are deliberately set to derail and sabotage educational social justice—"too much schooling, too little education" (Shujaa, 1993).

Exploring the Uses of Anger as Healthy Response to White Supremacy

As Malik's counter-narrative illustrates, and as we have argued in preceding paragraphs, the reason why there is no culturally responsive teaching spoken in Malik's department is due to the clear decisions by Ann, the program chair, others in the administration, and Malik's helping committee to silence the social justice–oriented race talk that Malik attempted to introduce both in his teaching and within interactions with his colleagues; in this way, they further protect and privilege the Whiteness of teacher education. Culturally responsive teaching and social justice is not spoken here because Ann and others continue to invoke and apply their institutional authority to justify Whiteness in teacher education, unwilling to recognize Malik and his knowledge as legitimate, appropriate, and critical to him, to his students who are future teachers, and to others. They are unwilling to recognize that Malik and others racially marked as Other (than White) attempt to successfully navigate a society steeped in White-over-Other racial subordination.

Malik is frustrated and angered by the events and conditions that (regularly) occur with his work context. Malik is silenced as a result of becoming a target of and being subjected to processes of White racial domination enacted by those around him whom he felt were supposed to be at minimum his collaborative partners in preparing future teachers for successfully teaching all students. Malik is not allowed to respond to those representing and protecting Whiteness or against White supremacy.

Malik is aware that Ann considers herself to be a very liberal and progressive person and teacher-educator. Malik also knows that Ann and many White liberals believe strongly in and see themselves as fiercely adhering to the apparently neutral and universal principles of color-blindness, meritocracy, and equality for all. Critical race theory (CRT) scholars argue that holding on to a color-blind framework allows people to address only the egregious forms of racism—being blind to color allowed Ann to dismiss and sanction not only Malik but also the very knowledge of culturally responsive teaching and social justice that is needed to transform the Whiteness of education. Only aggressive, color-conscious efforts to change the way things are done in education and elsewhere do much to ameliorate misery inflicted on people of color by White racism. And in the case of this paper, the lack of race-conscious efforts literally sabotages and prevents culturally responsive teaching and social justice from being spoken here—this is why Malik is angry; this is the source of Malik's frustration (Delgado & Stefancic, 2001; Tate, 1997).

Malik's anger is not necessarily a bad or negative thing. Anger can instead be a moving-forward force; the energy of anger compels individuals out of our comfort toward activity—activity that can be channeled toward productive ends. Anger establishes an assertive presence and force that refutes the dominant White mainstream's denial and evasion of race-based inequalities while simultaneously insisting on the legitimacy and humanity, thus visibility, of those targeted by White racial domination, including their experiences and knowledge. As hooks (1995) has explained, consequently, "Rage is a potentially healthy, potentially healing response to oppression and exploitation" (p. 12).

When directed toward productive, democratic ends, anger becomes a passion for justice that can be applied to confront and struggle against White supremacy. As a legitimate response to processes of White racial domination, anger illuminates and thereby helps us to identify and expose the moments wherein institutional power is linked with denial, avoidance, minimization, and other mechanisms of White racial knowledge to silence any questioning of the existing racial hierarchy in teacher education and elsewhere in U.S. society.

Following Lorde (1984) and hooks (1995), we explore in subsequent paragraphs the productive uses of anger by lifting the silence that processes of White racial domination have imposed on Malik, if only metaphorically and for a moment, and creating a space and a way for Malik to respond to and talk back to the representative individuals and conditions of White supremacy in teacher education. More precisely, we offer points that are modeled after and use Camper's (1994) style of incisive brevity to spotlight the actions and presumptions that have given rise to anger as a legitimate but most often repressed 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 Baldwin (1959/1985) noted some time ago, although White people will usually say that current race relations are good, it is always extremely difficult to find a person of color who agrees 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). The time has come for Malik to have an opportunity to talk back to Whiteness.

Malik is thus the one speaking in the follow-up we have created; his voice is the one that is articulated and heard through the print. The other part of the dialogue is based on the traditions of Whiteness in teacher education and is present through its absence—like a telephone conversation being overheard. Only one side of the conversation is audible, and therefore represented in print in upcoming paragraphs, while the other side of the conversation has to be ascertained (by the readers, who are overhearing).

Each of Malik's responses and points in the following functions as a challenge to the White supremacy in teacher education. By identifying and exposing the privileging of Whiteness embedded within daily interactions and practices in many teacher preparation programs, Malik's half of the conversation challenges White supremacy's ability and authority to foster and protect the supposedly

color-blind, race-neutral talk of "when can we drop all this different kind of color crap?" The points made through Malik are drawn from our own experiential knowledge as researchers and teacher-educators and from the literature on faculty of color in academia and teacher education, and they are based on Malik's experiences expressed within his counter-narrative earlier in the paper.

As we have argued earlier, it is no mystery as to why most teachers continue to enter the classroom unprepared to successfully teach all students. There is something clearly wrong in teacher education when most students of color are still taught today by teachers who would prefer not to teach them. Through the subsequent paragraphs, we see even more clearly why and how actively and aggressively Whiteness is protected to ensure that no social justice is spoken here, in teacher education.

Anger and Rage Often Repressed Now Expressed: Telling the Naked Truth, Keeping it Real

Most teacher preparation programs self-evaluate as A+, ahead of the curve, premier, and cutting edge in their accomplishments with preparing future teachers for today's classrooms. Yet social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here. Programs proudly point to traditions of inclusion and democratic education in their university, college, and department while their syllabi, teaching practices, and curricula are indicative of education that is by, for, and about White people. Democratic education is most often education that is democratic for people historically identified as White and that is violent, both symbolically and physically, for everyone else. As Don L. Lee (1967) explained in his poem "Education," "My teacher's wisdom forever grows, / He taught me things every [student] will know; / how to steal, appeal, and accept most things against my will. / All these acts take as facts, / The mistake was made in teaching me / How not to be BLACK" (p. 201).

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching are not spoken here when programs emphatically insist that they are and always have been integrated, though they just unveiled their 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 (all) are premier, 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 teacher preparation programs and institutions are racist. Consequently, as W. E. B. DuBois (1920) well knew:

> *My 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)*

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when teacher education programs forcefully tell the faculty that diversity is the way they are going, like it or not, and then briskly skim over and casually dismiss questions about why they have no courses on the history of Black, American Indian, or Latino education, for example, given the demographics of surrounding communities. Pointedly, to be culturally illiterate does not mean that we do not know how to be nice, or at least tolerantly polite, to those with phenotypical features different from our own. Few things in the world are more dangerous than sincere ignorance and conscientious stupidity, to paraphrase Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. (Cone, 2004).

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when teacher education programs continue to put together diversity hiring committees and then ask those committees if their members know any potential applicants of color who teach just science or just literacy methods, not all that political business because we all get tired of White-people bashing. Yes, they "want very much to have 'a' black person in 'their' department as long as that person thinks and acts like them, shares their values and beliefs, is in no way different" (hooks, 1989, p. 113). Nothing new here, Whites have been deciding for the past 500 years what kind and how much "diversity" will be tolerated.

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when White teacher education faculty members and White students are offended by the speed with which their university brings in 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, 1959/1985). After 244 years of slavery, 100 years of lynching, and 40-odd years of formally fighting civil rights, we are moving too fast for whom, exactly? And why is it White people who always decide how fast we should be going?

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when 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. People 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 feelings being hurt: genocide and enslavement and today's mass incarceration and school failure.

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when there is an insistence on ending the meeting, the seminar, and the semester on a positive note without subjecting the school to any further confrontations over diversity. Self-proclaimed liberal faculty do not enjoy being called a racist all the time. But unlike those faculty members, Black students cannot just decide that today is not a good day to be Black at school and not be.

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when many teacher education programs think they are "doing diversity" by inviting White colleagues to share what they learned on their (field) trips to Peru

or Madagascar. Taking their bodies into spaces of the Other and coming back to tell about it does not make them experts on diversity or culture—it makes them people who love to visit the margins of Whiteness and then return to talk about exotic-ness. It makes no difference that a White person's best friend growing up was American Indian, or that that another lived in Indonesia for so many years, unless and until they are able to locate themselves as primary beneficiaries of White supremacy and the globalization of capital. Do we as teacher-educators really think it matters whether or not we require our students to do a practicum or an internship in Mexico, on the reservation, or in Mississippi, when neither we nor they know how to unpack our collective "first world" White privileges to understand that the "problems" we see in the Other's 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?

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when teacher education programs indignantly protest, saying, we have made so much progress, just look at the city's Black and Latino leaders, charging faculty of color with reverse racism; when they say they deliberately and explicitly put the perspectives and experiences of racialized people at the center of research, teaching, and everything else they do in the university, in the community, and at home. In reality, we have made "progress" because a "few well-screened, well-scrubbed Negroes have been allowed into previously all-White classrooms" (Lomax, cited in Westin, 1964, p. 22). Faculty members of color are sitting in meetings where all participants are White except for the token few people of color, who are the untenured junior faculty—yet they 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 White people pull out the knife they stabbed people of color with. Indeed, it is not progress until White people admit that it was they who did the stabbing in the first place.

Social justice and culturally responsive teaching in teacher education are not spoken here when teacher education programs are astonished, even outraged, that faculty members of color had the audacity to question and criticize the many efforts of and awards for the White liberals who are helping the racialized Other and working in the racialized Other's neighborhoods and schools. Why should Whites have to keep proving that they are the "good" whites who "get it"? *Well-behaved* (Juárez & Hayes, 2009) people of color do indeed serve as a marvelous means of helping White people fulfill the obligation of nobility to the ignoble (DuBois,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. (DuBois, 1920, cited in Lewis, 1995, p. 455)*

Too Angry, Too Radical, and Too Loud for Whom: A Critical Race Perspective on Why No Social Justice or Culturally Responsive Teaching Are Spoken Here

From a CRT perspective, there are several key factors that come together to ensure that no social justice or culturally responsive teaching are spoken here. Teacher education wants diversity, yes—but only certain, tame forms. As we have noted, Malik was actively and directly encouraged to position himself in alignment with rather than against the Whiteness of teacher education—to get along better within its confines. His department and college want Malik as their colleague as long as he doesn't talk or act too angry, too radical, or too loud, and most certainly does not do so against Whiteness (Hayes & Juárez, 2009). Put simply, they want a racial minority who has been domesticated and tamed, a well-behaved and good minority.

Indeed, Malik's department feels he is too passionate about this topic of social justice, which they feel makes him inflexible and not very open to hearing other perspectives (that are more aligned with Whiteness). As Dixson and Fasching-Varner (2009) argued, Whites often attempt to determine what kind of Blackness and other forms of difference are acceptable [to society], how that Blackness and difference should be expressed, and how one's differences get one disqualified or excluded from Whiteness.

Outside of his protest, Malik is not allowed to enact any other kind of Blackness either. Malik's helping committee worked to distance him from his Blackness in order for him to be included in Whiteness—the school wants a Black body, but not one that expresses too much Blackness. As Dixson and Fasching-Varner (2009) likewise argued, Whiteness in colleges of education attempt 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. And, still, we wonder why there is no culturally responsive teaching or social justice spoken here.

The failure of Malik's helping committee is also key to understanding the persistent Whiteness of teacher education. Malik's helping committee never addressed the overrepresentation of Black and Latino males in special education. They likewise never addressed the isolation and removal of Black and Latino males who are perceived as discipline problems. Consequently, Malik's helping committee was not able to entertain, let alone address, the matter of the prison pipeline that continues to plague Black and Latino males in particular (Douglas Horsford, 2011; Juárez & Hayes, 2010, Noguera, 2008).

The failure of Malik's helping committee ensures that there is no culturally responsive teaching spoken here, in Malik's college of education. While there is a constant assault on Black and Latino males in American schools, Malik's helping committee was more concerned with his interactions with colleagues (though they too should be angry about the state affairs in public schools in this country!). Preservice teacher education programs consistently articulate commitments to fairness, equity, and diversity, yet as we see with Malik's helping committee, his department does not bear out these articulated commitments (Fasching-Varner, 2009). And

we still wonder why there is no culturally responsive teaching or social justice spoken here.

In this paper, we have used the counter-storytelling tradition of CRT by drawing on our professional experiences to expose how Whiteness as the normative standard is enacted or operationalized on the ground within U.S. teacher preparation programs and used to interrupt social justice and culturally responsive teaching endeavors. As Cone (2004) has noted, Whites do not talk about race and racism because Whites don't have to: Whites use their racial power to ensure that they don't have to talk about race and racism. When matters of race and culture are pushed to the unavoidable center of White attention, Whites use institutional authority to discipline and sanction those who do not conform to the silence around Whiteness as the normative standard—an example of racial power being deliberately enacted to reestablish and fortify Whiteness. Whites choose textbooks and other content that allow society to remain silent and misinformed about issues of race and racism. Whites make sure that most of the people around them are other Whites or those who are most closely conforming to dominant White discourses. Whites use institutional authority to reprimand through evaluations and other institutional forms of sanctioning or punishment anyone who presumes to talk too loudly or vigorously about race and racism.

Can We Talk about Culturally Responsive Teaching? Lessons about the Racial Power of Whiteness

Using the tenets of CRT to consider and learn from Malik's counter-narrative (Aguirre-Muñoz, 2000; Dixson & Rousseau, 2006), we identify several lessons that we feel are critical to fostering social justice in teacher preparation programs in the future. First, teacher education programs need to understand that racism is an endemic part of American society. The problem with the racial power of Whiteness is the ability to deny issues of race and racism and the consistent practice of refusing to consider the everyday realities of race and racism. To recognize racism's pervasiveness requires Whites to face personal racist behavior and to name the contours of racism (Bergerson, 2003; Dei, Karumanchery, & Karumanchery-Luik, 2007; Gillborn, 2005).

Second, teacher education programs need to understand that they cannot practice true color-blindness; in fact, color-blindness is not an appropriate ideal for social justice. According to Bergerson (2003), Whites attribute negative stereotypes to racial minorities while at the same time espousing opposition to blatant racism. Only in a racist society would it be a good thing not to see what we do see. Furthermore, when White liberals fail to understand how they can 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, teacher education programs need to 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. The hard work of some pays off more than the hard work of others. Merit operates under the burden of racism; racism thus limits the applicability of merit to people of color (Bergerson, 2003).

Fourth, teacher education programs need to understand the role that experiential knowledge plays in the discourses of people of color. When teacher education programs are unwilling to recognize the knowledge of students of color as legitimate, appropriate, and critical to the way those students navigate in a society grounded in racial subordination, they deny the humanity of and thus silence and constrain these students, regardless of their democratic intentions. This posturing toward democratic inclusion is what Hytten and Warren (2003) call appeals to authenticity. In their model, when White faculty cite their own experiences to counter or contradict non-White voices, this serves as a means to undermine the experiences of people of color and make them appear as less valid and useful.

Last, teacher education programs need 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 the racial Other is measured. Whiteness serves to make this Other less privileged, less powerful, and less legitimate. Until the racial power of Whiteness is not only recognized but also explicitly addressed in U.S. teacher education programs, it is highly unlikely that the democratic intentions of educational equity and social justice will be realized in the classroom.

Choosing Differently: Making Choices against Whiteness

As we think about our experiences as teacher-educators, we conclude that new teachers continue to enter the classroom unprepared to teach all students not because White teacher-educators don't like or care about students of color but because of ways the racial power of Whiteness structures activity within teacher education programs. We feel that it is largely irrelevant that teacher-educators are most often kind, dedicated, upstanding, and nice people, because niceness and goodness have little, if anything, to do with the knowledge that guides the teacher-educators' interactions and activities as they go about the business of preparing future teachers for democratic education.

We posit that the racial power of Whiteness must be considered and addressed explicitly within the context of preparing future teachers to realize social justice in the classroom, because the sabotaging, silencing, and gagging of social justice in the classroom is otherwise unlikely to be interrupted. We hope that by sharing Malik's experience as a teacher-educator through his brief but powerful counter-narrative, others will be encouraged to take up "the open secret [of White racism] in America" (Feagin et al., 2001, p. 89) in search of ways to reconfigure the power of historically White teacher education so culturally responsive teaching will finally be spoken here. We hope that by viewing examples of moments in our experiences when opportunities emerged to choose to enact or challenge, the possibilities for making choices differently were exposed. Individuals make choices about Whiteness and social justice in teacher education. Moving away from tacit complicity with Whiteness to explicit choices against it, we believe that it is not only possible and but urgently necessary for

teacher-educators, and all individuals, to make choices against the racial power of Whiteness for social justice in education to be spoken here.

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Notes

1. We draw the phrase say it loud from James Brown's famous words, "I'm Black and I'm proud' and from the title of editors Catherine Ellis and Stephen Drury Smith's book, as well as from the long tradition within the Black freedom struggle of using impassioned and eloquent words to call out loudly the existence of inequities within a dominant social system in the United States that insists on minimizing or ignoring them.
2. This is a point adapted from James Baldwin's reference in *The Fire Next Time* to U.S. public schooling as a burning house and his question as to why he would want to be assimilated into an institution that is not functioning properly or in ways that are healthy for individuals.
3. This is a reference to the words of W. E. B. DuBois in *Darkwater: Voices from within the Veil*.
4. This reference to delicate feelings reaches back to the writings of White abolitionists such as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips, who were more interested in abolishing the foundations of chattel slavery than in being considered respectable by their contemporaries. See Olson (2004) in references.
5. Ann and Malik are pseudonyms. The events of the composite story actually happened, but we use pseudonyms to protect Malik, an untenured faculty member in his college.
6. Like Maya Angelou (1993), notably, when we (this paper's authors) speak of Blacks and Blackness, we are always talking about the human condition—about what we as a human family of all backgrounds can endure, dream, fail at, and survive. We are not, therefore, trying to suggest that Black experiences have been or are the most important in U.S. or world history. We are also not trying to collapse all the various identities of the diaspora, for example, that are often named as Black into one uniform African American (male) essence. We use the terms *African American* and *Black* against this variegated background that is created and racially marked as Black by Whiteness. African Americans are the faces at the bottom of the well in U.S. society, to use DuBois's term (Bell, D., 1992), a group within our society that has unceasingly and stridently called for social justice and democratic ideals as lived realities for all—not for just White folk. Black folk, accordingly, as Wright (1957) has explained, are a mirror of all the manifold experiences of America—the experiences of all communities in the United States over time despite the differences and uniqueness of each individual and group experience.
7. NCATE, the National Council for Accreditation of Teacher Education, attempts to help establish high teacher quality through processes of accrediting schools of education and other agencies that prepare teachers for state licensure. An agency's failure to become NCATE accredited may lead to negative consequences for teachers who exit its program.