

A LATINA CRITICAL RACE STUDY OF EMBODIED “NICE” WHITE SUPREMACY IN
TEACHER EDUCATION AND RESEARCHER PREPARATION

By

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To my husband, Victor G. Tarver. For everything.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	<u>page</u>
ACKNOWLEDGMENTS	4
LIST OF FIGURES	8
ABSTRACT	9
CHAPTER	
1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM.....	10
The Problem: White Supremacy.....	10
White Supremacy in Educational Research	11
White Supremacy in White Bodies	14
Purpose of the Study/ Research Questions	15
Significance of the Study.....	17
Definition of Terms	19
Organization of the Study.....	22
2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE	24
“I am NOT a Racist”: White Supremacy.....	26
“I am telling their story”: Embodied (nature of) Research and Scholarship	31
“We really need to keep having conversations about race”: Embodied White Supremacy ...	34
Embodied White Supremacy in Teacher Education and Educational Research	39
In Closing.....	41
3 METHODOLOGY	43
The Researcher’s Positioning	44
Epistemology: Endarkened Epistemology of a Brown Body.....	47
Theoretical Framework(s): LatCrit.....	51
Methodological Approach: Anzaldúan Path of Conocimiento.....	56
Testimonio.....	64
Study Contexts.....	65
Conclusion, Implications, Possibilities.....	66
4 WHAT DOES WHITE SUPREMACY LOOK LIKE?.....	68
Data Collection	68
Data Analysis.....	70
Theoretical Framework.....	72
Findings: What does White Supremacy Look Like?.....	73
Unchecked White Supremacy Allowed Whites to, Unproblematically, Study and Speak for People of Color.....	74

Whites Appeared to Feel Entitled, Justified, and Empowered to Express (or Abstain from Expressing) Themselves When Discussing Their White Identity or White Supremacy.....	77
White Denial Takes Four Forms in the Study Contexts.....	79
Discussion.....	89
Doctoral Classrooms are Optimized for White Comfort.....	89
White supremacy materializes in whites as an emotional or bodily response to the traumatic injury caused by being white in a white supremacist society.	90
The Greatest Barrier to White People Healing the Wound of White Supremacy is White Denial.	92
Transition.....	94
5 WHAT DOES WHITE SUPREMACY FEEL LIKE FOR AN HONORARY WHITE?	95
Introduction.....	95
Analytical Tool: The Mestiza Way, El Camino de la Mestiza	96
Latin American Racism Comes to the U.S.: Who is an “Honorary White”?	98
;A Word of Caution Regarding G(r)azing upon Experiences of Color!	101
Findings: What does white supremacy feel like?	102
Double Denial: Now you see it/ now you don’t.....	102
Shame/ Exhilaration at Passing/ Caretaking.....	105
Overwhelming Racial Battle Fatigue—rage of a colored doc student.	107
Distrust in Sharing “Colored” Feelings	108
Distrust in Teacher Education	109
Compulsion To Warn Melanin-Rich Others	112
Discussion.....	114
6 CONCLUSION.....	119
2014←→1641	119
Review of the Study.....	120
Ontology of the Body	120
Palliative Methodology: The Way Through.....	121
Changing the Face of White Supremacy	123
Summary of the Study	124
Denial	124
Body	125
Implications: What Must Be Done	125
Start Your Curriculum with and Focus on Cause not Effects.	126
Do not Contribute to the Obsession of Studying White Supremacy’s Victims.	129
Sustain a practice of spiritual, emotional, and physical health.....	129
Consider Yourself a Facilitator.	130
This Is How We End Things	131
Coda: This Is the What	133

APPENDIX

A	SOCIO-HISTORICAL ITERATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACY	136
B	ANZALDÚA’S PATH OF CONOCIMIENTO	139
C	DATA NOTES SAMPLE.....	140
	REFERENCES	141
	BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH	157

LIST OF FIGURES

<u>Figure</u>	<u>page</u>
2-1 How white supremacy produces data, scholarship, and teacher socialization.....	42
3-1 A conceptual map of the interplay of epistemology, theoretical framework, methodological research approach, and methods	47
4-1 The ephemerality of white evasion becomes solid as white supremacy.....	87
5-1 The Now you see it/ Now you don't see it phenomenon	103
6-1 How white supremacy and education funnel into the school-to-prison pipeline.....	133

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White supremacy is a tangible and global force that infects all avenues and interstices of humanity. It is the paradigmatic foundation of all U.S. institutions from the country’s colonial beginnings to the present moment upon us. White supremacy, alternately referred to as white domination, defines all social relationships in the U.S. and thereby comprises the manner in which those relations translate into and generate its institutions. Education, as the institution responsible for the macro-socialization of our society, promulgates white supremacy. Using a teacher education and researcher preparation program as its larger context, this study uncovers the manner in which “nice” white supremacy is perpetrated through bodies—white and almost white—in a systematic fashion. Invoking Latina Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) and Gloria Anzaldúa’s Path of Conocimiento as a methodological framework, this project reveals the character of embodied white supremacy.

CHAPTER 1
STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

If you do not understand White Supremacy (Racism)—what it is and how it works—everything else that you understand, will only confuse you.

–Neely Fuller, Jr.

The United Independent Compensatory Code System Concept a textbook/workbook for Thought, Speech and/or Action for Victims of Racism (white supremacy)

The Problem: White Supremacy

White supremacy is a tangible and global force that infects all avenues and interstices of humanity. It is the paradigmatic foundation of all U.S. institutions from the country’s colonial beginnings to the present moment upon us (Du Bois, 1920; Feagin, 2010; Harris, 1993; Rabaka, 2007). White supremacy, alternately referred to as white domination, defines all social relationships in the U.S. and thereby comprises the manner in which those relations translate into and generate its institutions. It is worth quoting Education scholar Zeus Leonardo’s (2004) articulation of this phenomenon:

Domination is a relation of power that subjects enter into and is forged in the historical process. It does not form out of random acts of hatred...but rather out of a patterned and enduring treatment of social groups. Ultimately, it is secured through a series of actions, the ontological meaning of which is not always transparent to its subjects and objects. When early Americans...drafted the Constitution, they proclaimed that people were created equal. Of course, slavery, patriarchy, and industrial capitalism were inscribing forces surrounding their discourse of freedom. In short “humanity” meant male, white, and propertied. For this reason, any of their claims to universal humanity were betrayed by the inhumanity and violation of the “inalienable rights” of people of color, women, and the working class. In this case, [white] domination [or supremacy] means that the referents of discourse are particulars dressed up as universals, of the white race speaking for the human race. (p. 139)

White supremacy is a paradigm that blights every sector of our collective socio-political universe and yet appears to feign invisibility to most of its benefactors. Harris (1993), however, characterizes the monolith of white supremacy and domination as a “property right” that whites

have historically protected with great vehemence because of the, echoing Du Bois, “public and psychological wages” (p. 1741) rendered to whites as a result of their identification and skin pigment. These wages are characterized in the more benevolent-sounding “privilege” language oft-heard in teacher education classrooms (McIntosh, 1988). This language obfuscates the realities of white supremacy by upholding white innocence and white alibis thereby maintaining the confusion often encountered in teacher education classrooms (Chubbuck, 2004; Cross, 2005; Leonardo, 2002).

White Supremacy in Educational Research

Leveling a critique upon schooling regarding what conditions should be in place to ameliorate the institutionalized dehumanization and incarceration (à la pipeline to prison) of a multitude of African American, Latin@¹, African Caribbean, and other students of color is not my purpose here. To continue to focus on the “victims” of the centuries-long heresy of institutionalized white supremacy without looking at its beneficiaries exhausts my resources. What Bonilla-Silva (2010) rightly calls, “racism without racists” prevails in K-12 schools and historically white colleges and universities (HWCUs). No amount of diversity initiatives, minority scholarships, or special “grant-funded” projects to help black and brown students (of which I am one) will sufficiently destabilize the dehumanizing effects of white supremacy on people of color (Bell, 1992b). White supremacy, its adherents, and its benefactors require attention by using “an analytics of color” (Z. Leonardo, personal communication, April, 10, 2011). This is thought of as flipping the colonial gaze whereby white supremacy is seen through “colored” eyes. Seeing white supremacy through an analytics of color rather than white or

¹ I borrow the convention of spelling “Latino/a” as “Latin@” from: Jiménez, R. M., & Flores, J. (2010). *The Afro-Latin@ reader: history and culture in the United States*. Durham: Duke University Press.

colonizer eyes has primacy in this project as means to curtail white supremacy's power. Indeed, in a U.S. context, the historical record shows that people of color have been critiquing and evaluating white supremacy for centuries (Douglass & Stauffer, 2003; hooks, 2009). It is time for white supremacy to be placed "under the microscope", as it were, in formalized discourse. It is equally vital to recognize that prior to the contemporary iteration of "whiteness studies" scholars of color have acted as experts in white supremacy.

What continues to be burdensome is the persistence with which white researchers pursue financial support to "study" children and communities of color without alluding to the capital, wealth, or property that accompanies their own white racial identity (Harris, 1993). Because of whites' unchallenged racial-historical privilege, they are not beholden to the authority of the communities they study and are also prone to receive "expert status" of communities of color. Further, these studies do not implicate white supremacy or its beneficiaries; rather, they reify inferiority tropes with unrepresented views of the victim without the oppressor in view (Leonardo, 2004; McWhorter, 2005). Whites become the absent signifier. In other words, white researchers will study and thereby foreground the effects of white supremacy's centuries-old legacy—economic poverty, sub-standard housing, the persistence of being left behind in a whitestream educational system—rather than place white supremacy's beneficiaries or the effect of being a beneficiary in the foreground—the ability to commit crimes without legal consequence, the ability to expect safety in one's socio-political environment, the ability to see yourself reflected in the power structure. White researchers are systemically empowered to study the "victims" of a structure in which, from the outset, they are victimizers. They study racism's effects and absent themselves from complicity in its cause (Ladson-Billings, 2012; Zuberi, 2008). That is white supremacy.

It is akin to pumping money, energy, and emphasis into studying, probing, and prodding *victims* of domestic violence, using the parochial term, “battered spouses”, who tend to be women, without probing equally how a sexist culture supports spousal violence—specifically violence against women and children by men. Just as there can be no “abuse” without an abuser, there can be no “racism” or “white supremacy” without “racists” and “white supremacists.” As Bonilla-Silva (2010) articulates, racism has changed its face. The utterance of slurs, for example, is now considered pariah-like behavior, yet the institutionalization of white supremacy endures and wreaks havoc in the material, physical, emotional, and intellectual lives of people of color.

This project endeavors to correct the educational research lens by focusing on the absent yet ever-present oppressor haunting tropes of “underserved”, “poor”, “urban”, “minority”, “reduced-lunch”, “low-income”, “of poverty”, “undocumented”, “illegal”, “English language learning”, and “diverse” or “culturally different” students. The preceding adjectives appear endlessly in the education literature without ever mentioning the absented “other.” For example, who is “overserved” then? Who is “suburban”? Who is the “majority”? Who pays “non-reduced” lunch prices? Who is “high-income”? Who is “of the wealthy”? Who is “not undocumented”? Or to clarify the latter, who is not apt to be stopped by a law enforcement official based on their phenotypic appearance to check citizenship status regardless of their ancestors’ presence predating European contact in this country? Who possesses complete legal rights to citizenship due to nativist laws and lack of felon-status? Who is not “learning English”? And, finally, who might a person be “diverse” or “different” from? White racial identity is the determining axis by which every other human being is measured; white supremacy is the system which allows this measurement to occur. I am concerned that both white racial identity and

white supremacy have not attained a greater focus in the study of teacher education practices and education broadly. This project offers a reprieve.

For too long, educational research has been, and continues to be, conducted by a preponderance of white people who gaze upon the experiences of people of color—specifically Latin@ and African descended students. This tradition of gazing upon the colonized finds its roots in the first forays of social science research (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) as well as U.S. and European colonization efforts in Asia and Africa (McKlintock, 1995; Pratt, 1992). The focus upon peoples of color (those I will frequently refer to as “melanin-rich”) without equal if not more emphasis upon the perpetrators and beneficiaries of a colonial and white supremacist paradigm replicates the domination of children and communities of color writ large. This project aspires to alter this continued injustice.

White Supremacy in White Bodies

White supremacy forms a complex and inextricable web of bodies acting within institutions that creates what is referred to as structural or systemic racism (Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Feagin, 2006). In other words, white supremacy as a socio-political reality that exerts its force upon people of color in U.S. society does so through bodies inscribed as “white.” To understand white supremacy’s reign (Hook, 2006), it is imperative to consider how white supremacy is enacted through white bodies. The investment of whiteness as property within a white body and buttressed by a social-political context, which includes white supremacist institutions, acts as a feedback loop to the white body itself (Ahmed, 2007; Harris, 1993; Staudigl, 2011). White supremacy is a force that acts through the body and outside of the body. To clarify the point, Ahmed (2007) informs us that:

Colonialism makes the world “white”, which is of course a world “ready” for certain kinds of bodies, as a world that puts certain objects within their reach. Bodies remember such histories, even when we forget them. Such histories, we might say surface on the body, or even shape how bodies surface. Race then does become a social as well as bodily given, or what we *receive* from others as an inheritance of this history. (pp. 153-154)

White supremacy is an emotional and bodily experience that white people feel the benefits of and from which people of color suffer (Harris, 1993; Hook, 2005; Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013). The affect or emotions that give rise to and are created by white supremacy, then, actualize socio-political realities that we all must abide by. Whiteness, or white domination, is not *just* a discursive construct nor is it *just* a socio-political reality for white persons; it is an embodied, affective, and lived reality for its beneficiaries —white people.

Purpose of the Study/ Research Questions

White supremacy is an embodied and emotional (or affective) experience that cannot be understood, lessened, or ameliorated through conversation or through one’s cognitive faculty alone. The severe dehumanization that is white supremacy occurs because of a consistent and systematic indoctrination program that begins from birth. Thus, people’s “views” or “opinions” are deeply rooted in a largely unconscious racial socialization process. Because white supremacy begins and ends in people’s bodies, its examination must also be situated in the body. This study aims to reveal how white supremacy looks and feels.

An objective of this study is also to right the wrong of the unproblematized white gaze upon people of color through the examination of white supremacy as a socio-political reality. I accomplish this largely through the methodological approach: an endarkened epistemology that calls for the invocation of the “I”, researcher-of-color as subject, and those with white power as the object. This socio-political reality will be distilled and articulated through the particular

context of a brown body—mine. Two research questions guide this study. The first is, “What does white supremacy look like as an embodied, socio-political, and material reality?” and the second is, “How does white supremacy feel as an embodied, socio-political, and material reality?” The methodological approach is Gloria Anzaldua’s Path of Conocimiento. Through this approach, I rest upon ontological monism, the view that contrasts dualism by stating that all matter and phenomena spring from the same source, and an epistemology of the brown body, which situates knowledge in the colonized body of color, with Latin@ Critical Race Theory or LatCrit as my primary theoretical framework. This methodological approach is best presented in the form of a testimonio because it invokes the first person voice of the researcher/ subject, me, while also enabling me to speak as a socio-political subject with a particular subject position.

The research questions are purposely open-ended with a focus on the sensory verbs. At every turn, I seek to install the body as the site of knowing where legitimized academic tropes would seek to erase it. Thusly, “seeing” and “feeling” could easily be replaced with “smelling”, “tasting”, or “hearing”.

This project seeks to balance an extant methodological imbalance. An exorbitant amount of time is spent g(r)azing upon and consuming communities of color (hooks, 1992). Though we may commit to resisting hegemonic white supremacy, researchers of color are indoctrinated into this colonial gaze (Choi, 2008; Reyes, 2008; Villenas, 1996). This is because white supremacy infects people of color required to enact research in historically white spaces. Our internalized racism can lead both to professional success and to personal pain. The complexity derived from how researchers of color navigate these white pl(sp)aces is explored in this project.

Researchers study the pipeline to prison in schools without simultaneously revealing the crime of those who benefit from tracking (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron,

2014). Were research truly equitable it would look at the manner in which white bodies ascend the prison-to-education pipeline in direct proportion to the descent of brown and black bodies upon the same pipeline. Current educational research focuses upon the latter rather than the former. This provides a unilateral rather than complete view of this socio-political travesty, the incongruity of which lies in the fact that if these researchers have children, it is likely the children are implicated in the ascending portion of the pipeline due to their socio-racio-economic location. Despite the racial complicity of white parents and students, financial support is provided to these researcher parents to study those who descend the pipeline. The time has come to bring a panoramic view to the complicity of white supremacy for its amelioration.

With this dissertation, I do not pretend to enlighten or revolutionize the field of education; as Tupac (1993) cautions, “it’s a set up”, meaning education from its inception does the work of sorting or tracking humans into their socio-racio-political spaces. My hope, instead, is to reveal socio-political truths that envelope educational realities for students of color through my own testimonio. Not feeling alone has been the greatest gift I have received in navigating the educational literature from which I will draw for this project. I yearn to augment the literature for that end—a hand that reaches out.

Significance of the Study

A couple of years ago, I attended a school-to-prison pipeline town hall meeting regarding the epidemic incarceration of children in the state of Florida. A white colleague in the audience approached me as the meeting ended. I knew she was studying black men and their schooling experiences and asked what she noticed about the many pictures that were shown during the meeting. There were multiple photos of children, mostly of color, in prison garb and in jail cells. I recall hoping that she might see how her project like so many other school-to-prison projects

reinstalled the white person's gaze as the consumer of black and brown suffering. She did not make this connection.

“Research” and colonialism have been holding hands since they were born (McClintock, 1995; Melville, 1996; Pratt, 1992). The white person gazing upon the body of color in an effort to tame, understand, and own it—especially after the absented white enslaver has made “contact”—is the foundation of this nation's creation (Feagin, 2006; Morrison, 1992; Postma, 2005; Zinn, 2008). The above story is an example of where these two—white supremacy and educational research—meet.

Given the overwhelmingly white-raced teacher education force in universities (Ladson-Billings, 2005), it becomes easy to see how white supremacy and educational research are tautologically bound within a white supremacist cycle. If accrediting bodies and university systems are predominantly white, there is rarely a reason for teacher education to produce non-white supremacist socialization practices. The significance of this study lies primarily in its approach to how the academy, generally, and the fields of educational research and teacher education, specifically 1) see white supremacy, 2) conceive its dissolution, and most importantly, 3) conceptualize *where* white supremacy lives. (A common knee-jerk reaction to the latter is often, “Surely, it lives *out* there and not here, in me.) The orthodoxy in some academic literature but also in the popular imagination is that white supremacy requires a “conversation” (Tatum, 1997). The subtext might be understood to suggest that if we could just have an “open dialogue,” we would solve the stealth of white supremacy's reign in the United States. This project examines the embodied nature of white supremacy and its unfortunate effects.

People of color have been long assayed because systemic racism and white supremacy have identified “us” as the problem (Du Bois, 1903/1996). Scholars of color have known

differently for centuries (Bell, 1992; Du Bois, 1920; hooks, 2009; Miller, 1897). Some teacher education scholars have found that, while it is certainly useful to note classroom interactions and invoke future teachers to reflect on their professional identity, it is imperative to require white students to deeply excavate who they are as white persons (Chubbuck, 2004; Cross, 2005; Pennington & Brock, 2012). As Cross (2005) implores, this excavation should include a strong education in how white supremacy is promulgated institutionally in the U.S. and the history that has created the present moment. She further asserts that “cultural and educational foundations knowledge [be restored to] equal importance as methods to denote that they are symbiotic in preparing teachers” (p. 272). Because of what the process of uncovering racial identity entails, scholars have consistently found that teaching and learning about white supremacy is marginally cognitive; more important are the emotional responses and physical sensations (Buchler, Ruggles Gere, Dallavis & Shaw Haviland, 2009; Chubbuck, 2004; Marbley, Bonner, II, McKisick, Henfield & Watts, 2007; Page, 2009; Pennington & Brock, 2012). This requires white teacher educators to do this work themselves in an effort to foster self-awareness and become conversant about the embodiment of white supremacy to support teacher education students of color and not of color equally (Applebaum, 2008; Galman, S., Pica-Smith, C., & Rosenberger, C., 2010; Pennington, J. L., & Brock, C. H., 2012).

Definition of Terms

Apartheid: Borrowing the term from the South African context of oppression, it refers to, “not only...the physical separation imposed by the white population, but also...the subordination and marginalization of the cultural norms, values, and knowledge of the non-white majority” (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002, p. 169).

Education: An institution that in its whitestream (Urrieta & Villenas, 2013) iteration is primary in sending children of color to prison (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron, 2014; Raible & Izirray, 2010) to ensure there is a healthy number of inmates to serve the prison education complex. It has historically segregated white students from students of color to provide the best economic opportunities for whites without competition from people of color (Anyon, 1980; Baker, 2001; Deschenes, Cuban & Tyack, 2001; Tyack, 1973;). This iteration has caused terror and suffering for children of color for decades (Caron, 2011; Dumas, 2014; Macedo, 2000).

Embodiment: An ameliorative reaction by theorists and researchers to a Platonic “epistemological mistake” (Ephraim, 2008). This mistake bifurcates the body and matter from a presumed abstract ideal. Embodiment privileges the body as a site of knowing in the research process. This prioritizing of the body as a site of knowing foregrounds bodily experiences as providing information that strengthens rather than interferes with knowledge production (Magnat, 2011; Pillow, 2003; Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham & Cochrane, 2009)

Epistemology: The locus of where humans come to know and create “knowledge”. Commonly referred to as how we come to know what we know, epistemology is clearly explicated as, “the underlying understanding of the nature of reality and the forms of discourse one employs to construct realities” (Dillard, 2000, p. 661). It is created in the body (Cruz, 2001), through cultural intuition (Castillo-Montoya & Torres-Guzmán, 2012; Delgado Bernal, 1998), and drawn from various funds of knowledge that include spirituality, bilingualism, and raced identities (Calderón, Delgado Bernal, Pérez Huber, Malagón & Vélez, 2012; Delgado Bernal, 2002; Hurtado, 2003).

Genocide: White supremacy's favored tool of aggression. One may be reminded of Hitler's "The Final Solution". As Mills (1997) asserts:

Global white supremacy (required) the genocide of Native Americans in two continents . . . the punitive colonial wars in Africa, Asia, and the Pacific; the incredible body counts of slaving expeditions, the Middle Passage, 'seasoning,' and slavery itself; the state-supported seizure of lands and imposition of regimes of forced labor. (p. 83)

It continues in the present historical moment with the record incarceration of men of color in the U.S. prison system (Alexander, 2010) and "death by education" (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron, 2014, p. 410).

Logocentric: A predecessor to Derrida's phallogocentrism, it privileges a Western episteme and its illusion of rationality, empiricism, and positivism. Stemming from the Greek, Logos, which is a speech act that creates and defines (Derrida, 1976), it has come to mean privileging western notions of logic and reason. These constructs have been the slippery and destructive slope upon which colonialism and the subjugation of people has been built (Ani, 1994). Logocentrism cannot exist without ontological dualism.

Melanin: Melanin is the pigment produced in human skin by groups of cells known as melanocytes. Skin tone variation occurs with varying melanocytic frequency of expression and therefore "greater or lesser concentration" in the skin. Retrieved on July 31, 2014:

<http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Melanin>

Ontology: Occurs alongside epistemology as a corollary that births the theoretical framework. It can best be described as, "A certain way of understanding what is (ontology) . . . [versus] what it means to know (epistemology)" (Crotty, 1998, p. 10).

Ontological Dualism: Upholds the belief or thought system that posits that there is an inherent, foundational "split" upon which all that exists is predicated. This ontology carries

within it such bifurcations as “good/bad”, “white/ black”, and “male/ female”; it typically privileges the first term rendering the second as its bipolar opposite, hence bad. As ontology is the study of being, this dualism is profoundly embedded in the “is-ness” of all that is. This “is” includes phenomena, persons, thoughts, and ideas. This dualism lies at the core of the separateness that creates the divisions between people (Tarver, 2015/2009).

Ontological Monism: This ontology is most compatible with holistic epistemologies and embodied/ relational understandings of material realities. It does not subscribe to the dualistic split between “knowers” and what is known (Jackson, 2008).

Research: The primary mode of inquiry within legitimized bodies of power/ knowledge (Foucault, 1980). These bodies include universities, governments, social and accrediting institutions. Social science research, from which this project is an outgrowth and against which it argues, springs from eugenics (Zuberi, 2008). Educational research, specifically, finds its roots firmly planted in the eugenics movement (Ladson-Billings, 2012). Given the preponderance of negative racially-reifying tropes on the behalf of many white researchers, it is safe to assert that some educational research acts as a modern day eugenics research. Unfortunately, all educational research projects are implicated in this web of violence (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron, 2014). Despite its desire to be otherwise, this dissertation project is implicated as well.

Theoretical Framework: The structure that contains, underlies, and guides the direction of this project.

Organization of the Study

This dissertation opens with a statement of the problem-- white supremacy-- and its comprehensive reach in the socio-political landscape. Though broad in its reach, Chapter 1 seeks

to illustrate the magnitude of white supremacy in the context of teacher education and educational research. Chapter 2 follows with a review of three distinct and overlapping bodies of literature in which I situate the project. Chapter 3 lays out the project's methodology. I develop Chapter 3 by beginning with the ontology from which this project springs through its epistemological investment, its theoretical framework, and the methodological approach that envelops and includes data identification, collection, and analysis techniques. Chapter 4 is the first of two findings chapters and answers the first research question. From the outset of Chapter 4, I restate what comprises the data and the manner in which the data were identified and collected. Chapter 5, which answers the second research question, comprises my findings and assertions based upon how I, the researcher, experience how white supremacy feels in my own body. In Chapters 4 and 5, I describe the analyses that produced the findings. Chapter 6 draws the project to a close. In it, I review the study and end with implications for potential stakeholders with specific recommendations that might benefit each group.

CHAPTER 2 REVIEW OF THE LITERATURE

The creation of the nation known as the United States wrests firmly upon white supremacy. It is white supremacy that gave the United States the land upon which it locates itself, and it is white supremacy that provided the centuries of stolen labor—the transatlantic slave trade found in the Caribbean and North America—that built its fortunes. White supremacy has also ensured the maintenance of whites’ entitlement to the proliferation of these fortunes. Further, white supremacy ensures that only whites are given fully “human” status in the contemporary United States. White supremacy, it has been said, is as normal as apple pie. Its fruition persists despite vehement protestations that usually result from a lack of historical knowledge and the trauma of being white or benefitting from being white-like.

How does white supremacy become normal? What conditions must exist for white supremacy to flourish? This project aspires to shed some light on these questions, or at the very least, provide some untapped perspective on them. The good news is that this project stands in a long line of efforts to provide a cogent exposition of white supremacy. It benefits from the work of the American Negro Academy’s Occasional Papers, as early as 1897, through scholarship that has yet to be published. In my frequent literature searches, I find no shortage of scholarship on white supremacy. As a researcher of color, I can say this: The deeper you go, the bleaker it is. It is one thing to tolerate the daily ignorance, insensitivity, and microaggressions that comprise the lived experience of an academic of color (Solórzano, 1998). It is quite another to learn of the genocidal legacy that persists with which one must “stay calm” in the company of the presumed innocent as they take their time to “unpack their privilege”. Meanwhile, I have to worry if my husband will come home today dare he exhibit the slightest provocation to elicit white violence,

such as walking too fast, appearing angry, or simply trying to breathe. This is not a new situation. This is as it has been since African persons were forcibly brought to this continent.² However, white supremacy's persistence relies on the demonic twins of its normalization and the obfuscation of its existence. This project hopes to reveal how this normalization and obfuscation materialize.

This project is positioned within three distinct yet overlapping bodies of literature. I take the liberty of erecting subject boundaries that intersect varying extant "literatures". I do so in the spirit of Foucault's (1980) *Power/ Knowledge* thesis, which states that disciplinary boundaries are products of historical events that give rise to discourses that form social institutions. So-called boundaries, therefore, are ephemeral products created by those who held political, hence naming, power.

The first body of literature to consider is the white supremacy literature, which spans, but is not limited to, educational research, educational philosophy, cultural/ ethnic/ race studies, teacher education, and legal scholarship. This literature articulates the various facets that comprise white supremacy, the historical circumstances which have sustained white supremacy, and the manner in which systemic circumstances are deployed through individual people's attitudes and behaviors. The second body of literature includes cross-disciplinary studies of embodied research and scholarship, that is, the role the researcher's body plays in the research process. These sets of literature provided the foundation for the project and guided its implementation.

² It is important to note that some history scholars have asserted that explorers from the African continent are believed to have traveled and stayed in the "Pre-columbian Americas" well before the Middle Passage. For more information, see Van Sertima, I. (1976). *They came before Columbus*. New York: Random House.

These literatures then combine to fashion the third, and final, body—the embodied white supremacy literature. This body makes use of work in teacher education, counselor education, educational studies, higher education, philosophy, sociology, and qualitative studies in education. It examines the experience of whites confronting their racism and their ensuing emotional and physical responses. It reveals the various experiences of people of color contending with white supremacy and its emotional/ physical burden. Finally, it alludes to the manner in which white supremacy socializes whites into deploying the white supremacist actions as a direct result of the aforementioned emotional and physical responses.

These literatures share a common feature. They strive to expose a maligned subject that envelops and intertwines all aspects of socio-cultural and economic livelihoods—people lose life and gain livelihoods because of white supremacy, and yet it succeeds at being a subject that few will mention explicitly. Indeed, as this project will demonstrate, it is this very collective silence that marginalizes white supremacy as a subject of importance and, paradoxically, gives it monumental power.

“I am NOT a Racist”: White Supremacy

It is critical to put the words, “whiteness” and, specifically, critical whiteness, to sleep (Leonardo, 2004). With the exception of quotations from the work of others, this dissertation uses the terms “white supremacy” and “white racial identity”—sometimes interchangeably, sometimes not—rather than the more comforting (to whites) and therefore obfuscating, “whiteness”. As Ahmed (2004) intones:

The ‘critical’ in ‘critical whiteness studies’ cannot guarantee that it will have effects that are critical, in the sense of challenging relations of power that remain concealed as institutional norms or givens. (p.3)

She, further declares that the study of “whiteness” is, “part of a broader shift towards what we would call a politics of declaration, in which institutions as well as individuals ‘admit’ to forms of bad practice, in which the ‘admission’ itself becomes seen as good practice” (p. 3). Teacher education tends to use the term “whiteness” (Chubbuk, 2004; Page, 2009) over the more potent words, “white supremacy”, thereby committing the misdemeanor that Ahmed (2004) warns against in the above quotes.

The term “whiteness” suffers from multiple dangers. The first of these is sanitization of language. Due to the U.S. history of white terror performed by avowed white supremacist groups, the moniker “white supremacy” carries KKK-type organizations and their ilk in the popular imaginary. This allows for the erroneous bifurcation of the “good” versus the “bad” whites. The thinking might go something like, “Well, I am a white person who engages in anti-racist work (in some capacity) and I am working hard to foster self-awareness of my own *whiteness*. I am critical of it.” As Hughey (2010) and Thompson (2003) suggest, “anti-racist” whites engage in this common fallacy. “Good” and “bad” whites often look very similar upon closer examination (Hughey, 2010). Whiteness acts as a term that protects whites from calling proper attention to and noting the pathology of white supremacy.

The second danger is the worrisome trend since the late 1990s in which white scholars took up the mantle of studying whiteness as a valid topic of study. Forget for a moment that scholars of color had been studying white supremacy for more than a hundred years (Douglass, 2003/1855; Dubois, 1917; Ellis, 1917; Walker, 1995/1829; Wright, 1957); the apparent legitimization of the field took place upon whites’ decision to study “whiteness”. It has been suggested that the danger of the overwhelming white presence in whiteness studies is the inevitable narcissism that can result (Ahmed, 2004; Hill, 1998; Leonardo, 2002; 2004).

Whiteness, then, becomes a thing in which whites can be recognized for their proficiency. Noting how “white” one is can lead into claims of expertise (and sometimes humor). By making the shift to calling “whiteness” by its actual name, “white supremacy”, we accurately shift the conversation to treating it as the socio-political sickness that it is (Ellis, 1917; Perez Huber, Benavides Lopez, Malagon, Velez & Solórzano, 2008; Skillings & Dobbins, 1991; Smith, A.; 1994). Whiteness would cease to devolve into an identity that one woefully attempts to destabilize or disturb. Instead, it could be conceived, appropriately, as a psychosomatic pathology (Skillings & Dobbins, 1991) that has reigned with terror for centuries on the North and South American continent and its adjacent islands.

Furthermore, whiteness is not comparable to Blackness or Brownness³. Black and Brown articulations and reclamations arise as a healthful response in the face of white supremacy’s persistence. McWhorter (2008) reminds us, through her genealogical analysis, that white is not an identity but rather, like rape, was used as a tool and a justification for power and conquest. Conversely, Black and Brown pride is a response to centuries of power, conquest, and socio-political degradation.

White supremacy—or white—is not an ethnic identity to celebrate. White, quoting Paul Mooney, a social critic and comedian, is “the complexion for the protection”. White racial identity offers an invaluable economic and social emotional benefit to its owner (Harris, 1993). White shifts over time, but always seeks to single out those who are not protected (Leonardo,

³ Please note that with the exception of capitalizing at the beginning of a sentence, the words, “white” or “whiteness” are purposely not capitalized whereas Black and Brown are. This is reparative grammar for impositions made by white supremacy. There is an academic precedent in the work of feminist Mary Daly for balancing patriarchal linguistic impositions. See Daly, M., & Caputi, J. (1987). *Websters' first new intergalactic wickedary of the English language*. Boston: Beacon Press.

2002; 2004; Roediger, 2002). This lack of protection leads to the incarceration, punitive discipline, and murder of black and brown people in a systematic and regimented manner.

As Appendix A attests, there is no end to the manner in which specific and traceable historical events have systemically produced the outcomes referred to as privilege that would more aptly be identified as “goods” obtained by systematic rape, genocide, and terror (Feagin, 2006; Loewen, 1996). While histories are assuredly complex, there is overwhelming evidence that the aforementioned acts form an unholy trinity of the American way (Zinn, 2008). One could easily substitute “American” for the words “imperial” or “colonial”. What does not change and must be examined, probed, and exhausted is the continued dehumanization this legacy perpetuates in people’s contemporary material realities.

As opposed to being an aberration of a distant past from which whites and the United States, in general, can divest itself, white supremacy continues to legislate the contemporary political and educational landscape (Feagin, 2006; Rabaka, 2007). Some overt examples that attest to this reality include racial segregation in schooling, the overrepresentation of people of color in prison, and the overwhelming majority of whites who have inherited wealth and land from the stolen labor and lands of Africans and Native Peoples in the U.S. (Alexander, 2010; Bell, 2004; Lui, Robles, Leondar-Wright, Brewer & Adamson, 2006). A persistent marker of white supremacy is its ability to subsume those it needs in its ranks to become more powerful. In other words, whenever white supremacy or domination falters or perceives a dearth of adherents, it mines an immigrant population for more “members”—no matter how tenuous that membership may actually be (Leonardo, 2002; Roediger, 2002).

White identity or racial identity, generally, would benefit from a genealogy of its existence (Foucault, 1994) as McWhorter (2005) suggests to better understand the pressing question that

often rests on our tongues, “How did we get here?” Citing Foucault’s examination of texts written by scientists (later to become eugenicists), she notes that the discourse of race progressed from dealing with “lineage, language, and tradition” (p. 540) in the 17th century to a morphological discussion in the 18th century which characterized racial differences as biological. Completing this progression in the 19th century were the “developmental” discourses of race which extended into the 20th century and whose legacy is replicated today in what passes for educational scholarship. McWhorter (2005) explains:

By the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, the term “race” had little or no meaning beyond that which it took from the developmental discourses. Within discourses and practices of normalization, race became a special kind of abnormality. It is here, in this transformation of race from morphological to developmental category, that we see the rise of whiteness as the norm of health and functionality, with red, black, yellow, and brown peoples construed as less well developed or evolved, nearer to nature and savagery, and requiring careful monitoring and management lest they endanger the productive white population. (p. 543)

This trajectory of race knowledge management offers us a potential window into how the foundation of scientific white supremacy and domination was built. Rabaka (2007) reminds us, “White rights are intimately intertwined with the denial of black [and brown, red, yellow] rights...Or, to put it another way, white personhood is inextricable from black subpersonhood” (p. 10). Many have also attested that the root of white supremacy is the dehumanization of the majority of the world’s people (Ani, 1994; Cress Welsing, 1991).

White supremacy, at its root, is the belief that white people, white ways of knowing, white culture, and white institutions are superior (also referred to as “the norm”) and that all other persons, ways of knowing, cultures, and institutions, which comprise the majority of the world, are inferior (Wynter, 2003). It is imperative, then, that white supremacy theorists and researchers pick up the genealogical and theoretical efforts mentioned above and forge these

assertions into the prolonged study of how individual bodies legislate, create, and promulgate the oppression of those who would fall to the bottom of white supremacy's well (Bell, 1992a).

“I am telling their story”: Embodied (nature of) Research and Scholarship

The above quote was spoken by a white dissertation student regarding her Black male research participants. A good bit of scholarship argues against the violent mistakes, exemplified in the introductory quote, made by white researchers in the contemporary social science research landscape (Delgado Bernal, 1998; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Staudigl, 2011; Zuberi, 2008). To the point, Thompson (2003) asserts, “White liberal framings, while less likely to demonize people of color, often treat nonwhites as ‘interested parties,’ so that white actions stand out as those of disinterested, citizen-minded individuals” (p. 18). Indeed, as Chapter 3 will elaborate, this deeply problematic and colonialist mindset is precisely the foundation upon which all social science research historically stems—the “report” about them through their “lens”.

Embodied researchers seek to right this mistake through the close examination of the manner in which their embodied experience interfaces with, and creates, data in qualitative research. The central claim of these researchers is that it is imperative to understand that human bodies are generating an intersubjective experience, an experience in which humans possess a subjectivity interacting with other subjectivities, whereby the barrier often perceived to exist between researched and researcher is artificially conceived (Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham & Cochrane, 2009; Todres, 2008a; 2008b). Regardless of whether researchers have access to this awareness, their bodies act as a central guide to what becomes legitimized knowledge. As Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham and Cochrane (2009) report, “In being an embodied researcher, Sheryl cannot ‘silence’ her Whiteness, for it is her Whiteness that she is confronted with amidst a mainly non-White group. . . . Sheryl’s race, age, and the status of her (white) body mediate her

presence” (p. 1646). The problem lies in researchers’ disavowal of the centrality of their bodies and the claim that their “minds” clearly see and effectively gather and interpret data.

What has come to be referred to as the Western episteme or Western epistemology is predicated upon the fundamental error of ontological dualism. This dualism that finds its origins in Pre-Socratic philosophy but appears to have come to fruition in the historical record in the writings of Plato is the idea that all matter and abstract phenomena exist within a fundamental bifurcation in which there are two opposing poles—good/bad, black/white, love/hate—that comprise them. The worst of these bifurcations, which have been identified as causing the most profound harm to living organisms on the planet, is that of matter/ spirit (Ani, 1994; Sjöö & Mor, 1991). This ontological problem, alternately referred to as an “epistemological mistake” (Ephraim, 2008), is the onto-/epistemological “soup” or solution within which white supremacy arises and flourishes. To extend this idea of a solution or “soup”, Rebaka (2007) declares that, “White supremacy serves as the glue that connects and combines racism to colonialism, and racism to capitalism.” Capitalism and colonialism, then, arise from the solution of white supremacy which arose from ontological dualism.

Returning to ontological considerations, the despiritualization of matter allows for the bifurcation of human/ not human which renders some humans as not-human and, therefore, without value. Those that do attain “human” status are able to conquer and enslave people (Wynter, 2003). Zinn (2005) cites primary source data by Bartolomé de las Casas who recorded how the conquerors:

thought nothing of knifing Indians by tens and twenties and of cutting slices off them to test the sharpness of their blades...two of these so-called Christians met two Indian boys one day, each carrying a parrot; they took the parrots and for fun beheaded the boys (p. 6).

It is easy to shudder and condemn the aforementioned actions as unconscionable and unforgiveable. Yet, actions of this very nature occur today in our prisons in which the preponderance of the incarcerated are people of color—black and brown men, specifically. The actions in Leonardo’s list are historical incidents born from an ontological condition we are living right now.

The matter/ spirit split gives rise to the human/ other split, where all humans are not relegated to human status (Wynter, 2003), and the body/ mind split. Researchers who subscribe to the mind/body split wrongly believe that they are an objective presence (even amid claims of subjectivity!) that can rightfully “study” people and/or phenomena. They then feel entitled to report what they have “seen”, make legitimized claims, and expect that this information will enter a collective running document of legitimation known as the “literature”. The problem lies in the legitimation accorded this information *and* the ability “researchers” are given to probe and sometimes kill humans and other organisms.

Embodied researchers have not only claimed the above meta/physical impossibility as the gravest problem in human research, they also have begun to explore how to openly insert their experience as researchers in their research. Specifically, they explore what is happening in their *bodies* (Giardina & Newman, 2011; Pagis, 2009; Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham & Cochrane, 2009; Todres, 2008a). These researchers’ efforts to reveal the importance of engaging the body as a researcher serve as an attempt to debunk the outmoded, yet sometimes stubbornly held Cartesian/ Platonic claims that researchers’ heads-without-bodies are conducting research.

The role of the body in scholarly pursuits is beginning to gain traction. Educational researchers—both white and researchers of color who recognize relative privilege—recognize the power with which their sensate lived experience affects their research enterprise (Choi, 2008;

Galman, S., Pica-Smith & Rosenberger, 2010). From their choice of research project, to the manner in which the research is executed, to the information the research produces, every aspect of a research project begins and ends with the researcher. Even collaborative claims of researcher and participant are suspect when the researcher is the final authority on what is produced (Sharma, Reimer-Kirkham & Cochrane, 2009). Racism is an organizing feature of white racial identity (Bonilla-Silva, 2010a). Because educational researchers are not held accountable for their embodied states, a white researcher can be unequivocally racist and “study” people of color without any accountability to the communities they choose to study. White researchers, if they follow protocols based on “white logic” (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008), are guaranteed *carte blanche* access to communities of color. As though whites’ peculiar fascination with either probing or saving people of color had no historical precedence or antecedent (King, 1991), white academics are praised for this interest. Their opinions are, also, given greater authority than those of color because 1) they are white, and 2) it is assumed that whites can claim “objectivity” about race (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Leonardo, 2004; Thompson, 2003).

“We really need to keep having conversations about race”: Embodied White Supremacy

The conventional realms of scholarship in which this project may find itself—educational research and teacher education— suffers from a profound split from the body. As Locke (1993) asserted more than 20 years ago, “Conceptual approaches to the body have tried to overcome a radical separation of knowledge and practice largely through decentering the cognitive construction of knowledge.” (p. 136). This journey still has a long road to travel and, still, has yet to reach all social sciences. Using the body as a “site of knowing” for the researcher is encapsulated in Todres’ (2008a) articulation of “embodied relational understanding” in which he calls for researchers to interface with their research (and “subjects” especially) through their

bodies. He suggests that researchers call upon “ongoing personal resources that are experiential and preconceptual, that are located in the way the body knows, where language is never alone and always mixed with what is more than language” (Todres, 2008a, p. 1573). It is incumbent upon teacher education and educational research to heed this suggestion as a productive site from whence to begin the disentanglement of embodied white supremacy.

There are countless calls to “open” or continue having the conversation about race. Conversations about race and white supremacy in multiracial settings are typically created to serve the white students. In other words, the conversations happen on the white people’s terms at the peril of people of color’s sense of safety and emotional well-being. The emotions of the white students are prioritized; students of color are left to self-soothe any injury; no growth occurs (Leonardo, 2002, 2004; Leonardo & Porter, 2010).

The primary motivation given to converse about white supremacy is that it grows powerful in silence. Perhaps, we are a culture that is so very much under the spell of Freud’s “talking cure” hegemony that we believe talking about an ill will make it go away. The problem is that the conversation rarely implicates white supremacy as the culprit of “racism”. In its stead, one hears only the word “racism”, which inevitably devolves into assertions about the “equality” of “races,” forever cementing the concretization of race as a biological given in which we should all be treated “equally” (DiAngelo, 2011).

In their research on white future teachers, Solomon, Portelli, Daniel and Campbell (2005) observed:

The continued failure to implicate whiteness in discussions of societal change enables the teacher candidates to effectively remove themselves from the change process, thereby re-entrenching the normalcy and centrality of whiteness and white reality systems (p. 159).

This failure leads often to potent impressions of violent victimization for being white (Cabrera, 2014; DiAngelo & Sensoy, 2014; Picower, 2009) and the impulse of whites to isolate racially (Bonilla-Silva, Goar & Embrick, 2006). Opening a multiracial “dialogue” with a discussion of white supremacy, the root culprit in the entrenchment of hegemonic “white reality systems” and the oppression of people of color, is rarely offered as solution. This defies logic given that white supremacy is precisely the culprit of the inequities whites proclaim to want to nullify. However, a discussion that foregrounds white supremacy as the offender puts the onus of white supremacy on whites. The admission of white supremacy can be liberating for whites (Sue, 2003). Even the current President of the U.S., in a speech remarking upon the acquittal of a non-black individual’s murder of a black child, stated the futility of “conversations” about race (Obama, 2013). Such a remark by the president seems especially poignant in the face of the continued killing of young black men in our country. That is, talking about race has not lessened white supremacy’s stranglehold upon the populace. Despite many conversations, the genocide of black men in this country persists at the hands of whites (Curry, in press; Feagin, 2006).

The violence that both causes and is caused by white supremacy is great. It is helpful to begin to consider in a piecemeal fashion possible explanations for how something as horrifying as white supremacy can exist. White supremacy has been likened by some to a traumatic injury for which whites incur devastating costs (Berry, 2010; Jackson, 2011; L.E. Smith, 1994).

Building upon the articulations of these assertions along with the literature on social trauma, I locate this study of bystanders of social and private atrocities. Examples of the former would be the African American and Jewish holocaust while an example of the latter would be violence within people’s homes.

White supremacy is a traumatic injury that lives in the body and cannot be destabilized by merely talking (Levine, 2006). As with other unresolved traumatic injuries (Ogden, Minton & Pain, 2006), it is a lived and embodied experience that appears to thwart white identified subjects in multiple ways. These include whites' "desocialization" (Staudigl, 2011), whereby the further they are socialized into their racial identity the further removed they are from the rest of humanity, the pathology of projected fear that leads to residential segregation (Bonilla-Silva, 2006; La Paperson, 2010), the insistence of racially-isolated schooling for white children forcing children of color into apartheid schooling conditions (Brantlinger, 2003; Deschenes, Cuban & Tyack, 2001; Donato, 1999), and killing people of color without legal consequence.

White supremacy wreaks havoc over whites' overall health.⁴ However, the longitudinal and intergenerational injury that white supremacy causes whites—and non-whites who benefit by colluding with white supremacy—is less readily discussed. Yet, this injury and its apparent denial or obfuscation continues to make white supremacy the interminable force that it is in our lived world. This injury is the result of the trauma of white supremacy

Trauma does its best work in secret (Herman, 1992). Therefore, it would make sense to call for the continued conversation that puts white supremacy "on display" or on notice. However, the problem with this approach is the aforementioned one of white supremacy's embodied nature and also that "conversations" are had on whites' terms (Burbules, 2000; Leonardo & Porter, 2010; Ellsworth, 1989). These conversations are largely injurious to people of color who are required to hear those who are still living in their disease—white supremacy (Takimoto Amos, 2010). The conversations are rarely reported by people of color as being

⁴ I would remind the reader that the intention here is not to neglect the genocide of people of color. It is, however, to highlight the cost of those who benefit from and perpetuate this genocide. Revisit the Appendix for a modicum of the indignities suffered by people of color in the U.S.

helpful or productive (Porter & Leonardo, 2010) but rather generate a sense of greater outrage whereby white people vent their “dysconscious” (King, 1991) racism, as it were. Multiracial initiatives and coalitions, aware of this reification of white supremacy in “race” conversations, have relegated appointed whites to “deal with” whites disease and/or take them out of the room to protect people of color from the continued verbal abuse of racist behavior and speech.

Judith Herman (1992) wrote her seminal book on trauma and recovery in an effort to give people tools to understand PTSD and the importance of speaking the atrocities aloud. The difficulty with white supremacy is that this is the traumatic injury that results from *oppressing* others rather than being oppressed (Jackson, 2011). It is true, however, that one can be oppressed in other areas of one’s life and still be a white supremacist. This is the common plight of the poor white man or the middle/upper/ poor white woman. In fact, the poor whites’ virulent exclamations of white racial pride, supremacy, and accompanying violent acts stem from a peculiar blend of internalized oppression and privilege that is paramount to understanding the socio-political history of the South (L.E. Smith, 1994).

The persistence of white racial identity and its defining supremacy presents exhausting challenges for teacher educators and teachers of future researchers. Teacher education researchers report the dearth of faculty of color and students of color in their ranks (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Solórzano, 1998), making monumental the job of preparing those who will work with majority minoritized-people (people of color). Due to this dearth and white supremacy’s emotional and physical nature, it is incumbent upon teacher education programs to provide dedicated and competent faculty-guides to move teacher education candidates forward in the process of disentangling white supremacy.

Some scholars have begun the long overdue assessment of white supremacy as a force that resides in the bodies of whites and those who benefit from white supremacy (Ahmed, 2007; Buchler, Ruggles Gere, Dallavis & Shaw Haviland, 2009; Hook, 2005; 2008; Leonardo & Zemblyas, 2013). Some have referred to this embodiment as a “desocialization” (Staudigl, 2011) process such that a human being is dehumanized through the process of becoming a white person in a white supremacist society. That is, white supremacy acts as a dehumanizing agent in the formation of a white person’s racial identity. The more entrenched they become in their identity as a white person the greater white supremacist dehumanization becomes. Others have chosen to use the terms “addiction” (Dr. X, 2008) and “disease” (Skillings & Dobbins, 1991; Perez Huber, Benavides Lopez, Malagon, Velez & Solórzano, 2008). These characterizations all hinge upon a profound decoupling of the “human” in the white person. The idea behind them is that the process of desocialization can then lead to a concretized condition in which a person exhibits what might be described as an addiction or disease—something which must be named so that it can then be healed.

Embodied White Supremacy in Teacher Education and Educational Research

The teacher education literature repeatedly refers to the demographic divide that haunts its ranks (Banks et al., 2005). This divide consists of the preponderance of white, often middle-class, women in teacher education (students and faculty) and the steady increase of students of color, comprising the majority of students (Galman, et al., 2010). The cause for alarm is the “disconnect” white teachers feel with their students and their inability to teach students of color effectively. This negatively affects the students who then, because of this disconnect, experience a lack of connection with their teachers and, by extension, their schools (Cammarota & Romero, 2006; Irizarry, 2011).

White supremacy in teacher education is embedded in the bodies of teacher educators and their students (Buchler, Ruggles Gere, Dallavis & Shaw Haviland, 2009; Hook, 2006). There is deeply sustained emotional content within those bodies including grief, shame, sadness, guilt, anger/ denial, or complete disavowal (Page, 2009). Unfortunately, teacher education does very little to assail the replication of white supremacy in their students' educational experiences; in fact, white supremacy is actually reinforced in teacher education programs (Cross, 2005).

Multicultural educators (Banks et al., 2005; Ladson-Billings, 1995) have invested considerable effort to create a scholarship that identifies "culturally relevant" practices in which white teachers can learn about their students' "culture" (culture never refers to white culture) so they can become conversant in that culture and make curricular adjustments that are culturally relevant. Educational researchers can better serve the "cause" by requiring white teacher education students and their educators to ask themselves, "Who are you as a white person?" "What is it to be a white person in the U.S." (Picower, 2009; Todd & Abrams, 2011)?

Embodied white supremacy advances the self-reflective work done by researchers and educational researchers. This work is often done in the form of autoethnography (Hughes, Pennington & Makris, 2012; Starr, 2010), self-study (Galman, Pica-Smith & Rosenberger, 2010), or a hybrid of self-study and autoethnography (Pennington & Brock, 2012). While this work can lead to insights about affective and somatic states, the body as the primary site of white supremacy's power is not invoked. This project asserts that this is the beginning and ending locus of white supremacy's wrath with the assistance of external socio-political institutions that empower its embodiment (Foucault, 1977; Hook, 2006; Leonardo & Zembylas, 2013; Staudigl, 2011).

In Closing

These literatures trace their limitations in their treatment of the problem's scope. They expose a facet of white supremacy yet neglect to provide an accurate picture of white supremacy's totality—its embodied and social nature. The white supremacy literature advances the study of the socio-historical circumstances that have sedimented white supremacy into the monolith we face. It fails, however, to account for the particularities that comprise its microcosmic deployment. The embodied research/ teacher education literature preoccupies itself with the indistinguishable role that the researcher or teacher educator's body plays in their practice. It is impossible to be a researcher without a body. The body drives practice. This axiom leads to and ends with the inextricability of white supremacy and the bodies that deploy it. Intoning Bonilla-Silva's (2010) assertion of the impossibility of having "racism without racists," the literature of embodied white supremacy largely concedes the particular and embedded nature of white supremacy but does not explicitly link these particularities to a macro-political and historical moment. My research questions embody the bridge to these oft-characterized disparate dimensions. The figure below (fig. 1) illustrates the process through which white supremacy and its embodied nature generate data for research, its scholarship product, and the indoctrination of teacher socialization. That is, white supremacy, the bodies through which white supremacy is deployed in the world which produces, then, the embodied nature of white supremacy, generates (what we call) data, scholarship, and teacher socialization. The data observed, the scholarship that is produced, and the process of teacher socialization are comprised of embodied white supremacy.

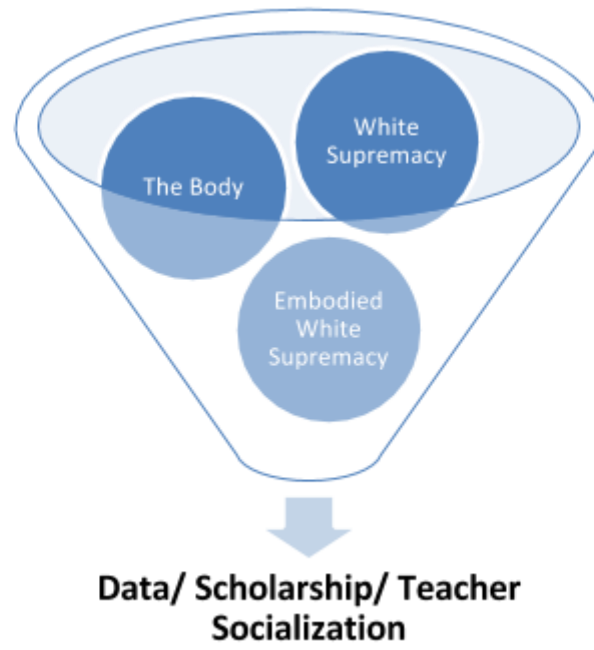


Figure 2-1. How white supremacy produces data, scholarship, and teacher socialization.

CHAPTER 3 METHODOLOGY

There is a dearth of teacher education research that focuses on the embodiment of white supremacy. To penetrate the nuances of white supremacy as an embodied, socio-political, and material reality requires a research question, research methodology, and a means of analysis that can reach into facets of white supremacy that have yet to be excavated in a teacher education and educational research context.

Denzin and Lincoln (2011), in the most recent edition of *The Handbook of Qualitative Research*, characterize the researcher as a “bricoleur and quilt maker” (p. 4). They elaborate by saying:

The qualitative-researcher-as-bricoleur or a maker of quilts uses the aesthetic and material tools of his or her craft, deploying whatever strategies, methods, or empirical materials are at hand. If new tools or techniques have to be invented or pieced together, then the researcher will do this. The choice of which interpretive practices to employ is not necessarily set in advance. (p. 4)

Denzin and Lincoln’s (2011) characterization of the qualitative researcher as bricoleur opens up the possibility for dynamism and change in the research process. It also fortifies the forthcoming methodological choices. The literature excavated for this project suggests that choices are “pieces” not yet strung together in any previous project. My methodological approach and its pursuant theoretical framework, epistemological derivation, data collection and analysis method allowed this project to live and breathe as it unfolded. This project’s objective is to examine and reveal what white supremacy as a socio-political reality feels and looks like. This socio-political reality will be distilled and articulated through the particular context of a brown body—mine. The study’s context is the doctoral program for teacher education researcher preparation in which I have worked since 2009. As has been discussed, white supremacy remains

underrepresented in the educational research literature as an embodied actuality in the lives of persons who both benefit and suffer from its presence. To ameliorate this absence in the literature, I invoke Gloria Anzaldúa's seven stages of Conocimiento or the Path of Conocimiento as a research approach and testimonio as a methodological tool to examine the combined query, "What does white supremacy look and feel like as an embodied, socio-political, and material reality?" An endarkened epistemology of a brown body as well as Latino Critical Theory (LatCrit) serve as the frameworks in which the Anzaldúan Path of Conocimiento's methodological approach produces the testimonio as dissertation.

The remaining sections of this narrative are organized as follows. I open with a positioning statement (vital to any research endeavor) by offering three key historical moments and identities that act as important points of entry to this project. I follow with elaborations of this project's epistemological substance, its theoretical framework, an elaboration of the methodological approach, and a detailed account of what testimonio is and how it works as a productive dissertation format.

The Researcher's Positioning

It is negligent and unethical to describe a methodology without acknowledging that the researcher is an inextricable part of the methodology (Cruz, 2001; Solórzano & Yosso, 2002; Villenas, 1996). Before becoming a classroom teacher and then a doctoral student in Education, I was a graduate student in the Humanities. My scholarly interest at that time lay primarily in the work of Jacques Derrida, Judith Butler, and Michel Foucault. While different from each other, they are generally considered to be post-structuralists. My master's thesis "linked up" these scholars with the work of Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) and Richard Rodríguez (1982; 2002) whose work articulates differing experiences of "Latinness" and "Brownness"—two constructs with

which I identify (Caron, 2007). Foucault (1980; 1988; 1995) critiqued the processes that gave rise to the discursive legitimation of such subjects as medicine, psychology, prisons, and education. He implicates the social sciences in general citing these legitimizing maneuvers as leading to practices of domination that consistently oppress the poor. His scholarship in the connections between the disciplinary agendas of prisons and schools stood in the forefront of my mind as I entered the K-12 classroom as a teacher.

Teaching almost exclusively Caribbean-descended students, who mirror my own family of origin and all of our resplendent shades, in a dropout/ “pushout” (Luna & Tijerina Revilla, 2013) prevention track created a unique teaching experience. The range of reading levels was staggering, representing third through eleventh grade. What, however, did every participant in the class (teacher included) have in common? Non-anglo surnames and/or melanin-rich skin contrasted my students from their white counterparts in the non-dropout prevention classes.

Solórzano and Yosso (2002) assert:

Methodologies that dismiss or decenter racism and its intersections with other forms of subordination omit and distort the experiences of those whose lives are daily affected by racism. (pp. 31-32)

It is imperative that this assertion, which was published 13 years ago be carved above every educational researcher’s office door. Given the degree to which race figures into educational experience and outcome, race should be primary in educational research (Ladson-Billings, 2012).

As a Master’s student, “I came to theory desperate, wanting to comprehend—to grasp what was happening around and within me...I saw in theory then a location for healing” (hooks, 1994, p. 59). I found explanations for what had rumbled within my psyche as profound injustices. As a classroom teacher, I was staggered by the visceral awareness that, like me, my students were casualties of an at-risk colonial and white supremacist institution which

historically and presently attends to white students over students of color. Then as a doctoral student, I learned how doctoral preparation strengthens white supremacist practices through the surveillance of children and communities of color for financial and professional gain without the surveillance of whites in power and the practices which maintain (or increase) that power. Indeed, teacher education, one could argue, professionally prepares students in the practice of white supremacy under the auspices of “helping” their students and communities of color (Cross, 2005). Social research and, by extension, educational research continues to advance its colonial legacy of white supremacy (Leonardo & Hunter, 2007; Rosaldo, 1989; Smith, 1999; Villenas, 1996). It is these subjectivizing experiences and their resultant positionalities that inform and generate the methodological choices herein. Figure 2-2 is a conceptual map of the interplay among epistemology, theoretical framework, methodological research approach, and methods in the study designed to answer the questions, “What does white supremacy look like?” and “What does white supremacy feel like?”



Figure 3-1. A conceptual map of the interplay of epistemology, theoretical framework, methodological research approach, and methods

Epistemology: Endarkened Epistemology of a Brown Body

This project yearns to sink into and reveal the embodied nature of a socio-political reality. Thus, it necessitates an epistemology, or a “how” of knowing, steeped in the flesh and corporeal mind-body. As Dumas (2014) establishes in his study of the suffering of African American persons who bore the ill effects of school desegregation, research needs, “to capture how suffering is felt in the flesh” (p. 2). Lock (1993) corroborates this claim suggesting, “Ethnographic accounts in which olfaction, taste, sound and touch take center stage have opened up new horizons, with great potential for a politics of aesthetics grounded in felt experience” (p.

139). The body as an arbiter of knowing predates philosophical traditions that would eventually negate the body (Daly, 1992; Eisler, 1987; 1996). Many have returned to and reclaimed the body as an epistemological source in educational research (Cruz, 2001; Dillard, 2000; Hurtado, 2003).

Cynthia Dillard's (2000) seminal work implores the educational research community to step outside of its oppressive and unquestioned western epistemological commitments when daring to "study" communities of color by "asking for new ways of looking into the reality of others that opens our own lives to view- and that makes us accountable to the people whom we study, and their interests and needs" (p.662). To that end, she contributes her introduction of an "endarkened feminist epistemology" as a response to the previous provocation that researchers, "seek to examine the origins of such knowledge constructions of how reality is known" (p. 662). An endarkened epistemology requires that a person of color's body and the socio-political and historical processes that have borne that body act as the epistemological authority by which a person comes to know the world and her or his lived reality. Recognizing the obligation to communities of color, the epistemologies generated by these communities, and the verity that "all research is a social construction and a cultural endeavor" (Dillard, 2000, p.662), an endarkened epistemology of the body is a responsible and precise choice.

Anzaldúa's (1983) formulation of "El Mundo Zurdo" (p. 208) has been used by Chicana feminist education researchers since the publication of Delgado Bernal's (1998) seminal piece, "Using a Chicana feminist epistemology in educational research" (Calderón, Delgado Bernal, Pérez Huber, Malagón & Vélez, 2012). Anzaldúa (1983) characterizes this "left-handed world" (p. 196) as one in which all people live together with reverence and empathy albeit without a complete understanding of one another's concomitant realities. It requires that one's

theorizations of one's own flesh be embraced and whole. El Mundo Zurdo is the decolonizing move in that a woman of color, this one, can dare to envision a world in which her blend of color and its accompanying truths can be accepted not vilified, considered not abandoned, and, perhaps, heard and not ignored.

An epistemology of a brown body claims mestizaje, a mixture of the native, the African, the Spanish European (in this case), by celebrating an ambiguous body that, "has no country" and whose work "is to break down the subject-object duality that keeps her prisoner . . . to show in the flesh . . . how duality is transcended" (Anzaldúa, 1983, p. 80). In a characterization of the Borderlands, Anzaldúa roars:

To live in the Borderlands means you are neither hispana india negra Española; Mi gabacha, eres mestiza, mulata, half-breed; Caught in the crossfire between camps; While carrying all five races on your back; Not knowing which side to turn to, run from. (p. 194)

This verse offers a look into the manner in which a black-white paradigm of race and the overwhelming white supremacy of a HWCU serve to instantiate what an ambiguously raced Latina might experience in a college or department with a virtual omnipresence of white faculty and students. Inevitably, tools to cope and navigate such a terrain become essential for survival.

Sandoval's (1991) Theory of Oppositional Consciousness is one such tool. Born out of a need to speak back to "hegemonic feminists" or white feminists, oppositional consciousness is simplified by Hurtado (cited in Sandoval) when she declares, "by the time women of color reach adulthood, we have developed informal political skills to deal with State intervention. . . more like urban guerrillas trained through everyday battle with the state apparatus" (p.14). A doctoral program at a state HWCU performs as a template of the "State". Therefore, it is fitting that Sandoval's (1991) theory summons the state as an entity of oppression for women of color as the

doctoral program, without an aggressive plan to actively fight white supremacy in its halls, inevitably, deploys it. People of color in the institution remain its victims.

Du Bois' (1903) words still resonate with many of color who would claim "double consciousness" as a state of being. He articulates the role of white supremacy in the subjectivization of the African American citizen and, I take the liberty of suggesting, by extension, people of color generally:

This sense of always looking at one's self through the eyes of others, of measuring one's soul by the tape of the world that looks on in amused contempt and pity. One ever feels his [her] two-ness . . . two souls, two thoughts, two unreconciled strivings; two warring ideals in one dark body, whose dogged strength alone keeps it from being torn asunder. (p. 615)

While it is a specious generalization to presume that all persons of color in all time periods would share the same socio-racial political reality, Du Bois' Theory of Double Consciousness continues its resonance in the lives of people of color. I employ this construct as a means to identify the data prior to my first analysis. That is, I invoke Du Bois' theory as a means to identify appropriate data for analyses. By allowing all aspects of my own double consciousness to filter through my researcher-body, I accommodated a thicker and deeper data set. I brought all of myself to the exercise of identifying what would "count" as data. For example, there was always an acute difference between the sorts of conversations we had about white people in my home and the white "ways" on the outside. In fact, I was explicitly taught to not confuse the two realms. The lesson was clear: Whites do not know they are white or even what that means. Do not be the one to tell them. It would only harm me. These were the subconscious lessons of my childhood. The doctoral program was my first experience in interracial dialogue about race, and it broke this rule of survival. I was propelled to take the plunge and risk my safety for the sake of the students I had taught and the many I had not. Seeing the degree to which black and brown

children become victims of the white supremacist educational pipeline made the price worthwhile at the time.

Du Bois' theory has been in my lexicon for some time; he gives words to what is real and lived in my life. It is theory in the flesh. Du Bois created the foundation upon which all post-colonial scholars and scholars of colorized epistemologies have drawn. His body of work in the field of global and domestic white supremacy and the racial realities of African Americans is unsurpassed today.

In past projects, I have contextualized pan-ethnic identity formation, Latin@s generally and my own specifically, as an embodied reality in which ethnicity, primary language, family/ country of origin, and racial formation fuse in an ephemeral soup of daily living (Caron, 2007). I refer to this concept as "Borderlands Residence" in this project. This project distinguishes itself in its emphasis on a particular educational experience and, quite possibly, the educational experiences writ large of racialized brown bodies. It aims to act as a productive addition to the existing educational literature that exercises the epistemology of a brown body by looking specifically at white supremacy as a socio-political reality. In conjunction with the epistemological concepts outlined, this project benefits from a theoretical framework which speaks to the myriad domestic (U.S.) racial realities of Latin@s. LatCrit, paying a great debt to Critical Race Theory (CRT) and its founders, borrows from and supplements the rigorous foundation laid by CRT to theorize the lived experience of people of color in a white supremacist nation. The following section articulates the manner in which I will use LatCrit by way of CRT.

Theoretical Framework(s): LatCrit

While my dissertation project aspires to result in a larger theorization as it "theorizes(s) . . . through testimonio" (Acevedo, 2001, p. 8), I capitalize upon the fertile possibilities Latin@

Critical Theory (heretofore referred to as LatCrit) offers educational research and teacher education. I introduce Critical Race Theory and its basic tenets within the field of Education and then elucidate how the multidimensionality of LatCrit provides an appropriate theoretical lens for this research project and its researcher.

Derrick Bell (1992), often referred to as the grandfather of the CRT movement, traces his articulation of Racial Realism to Legal Realism, a movement which arose in the early twentieth century to challenge the “classical structure of law as a formal group of common-law rules that, if properly applied to any given situation, lead to a right—and therefore just—result” (p. 364). By focusing on the “function of law” over “the abstract conceptualization” (Bell, 1992, p. 366) of the law, Legal Realists demonstrated how the law in its purest expression could counteract or neutralize the very effect it might have been intended to produce. As an example, Bell (1992) provides the now infamous case of *Regents of the University of California v. Bakke* in which white students subverted the original intent of civil rights initiatives, which was to unsettle the imbalance of institutionalized racist practices in the admittance of college students, by claiming discrimination based on their white racial identity. It was effectively argued based on an “abstract” reading of the law that white students were victims of a racism incurred from a law created to open the door for students of color to be admitted to universities in California.

Racial Realism requires that rather than entertain the illusion that racism will end, we accept its deeply embedded nature in the fabric of the United States thereby allowing for a productive use of people’s of color energies to procure resources and advantages in the world, as it is. As Bell (1992b) proclaims:

Black people (and other people of color) will never gain full equality in this country. Even those herculean 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. This is a hard-to-accept fact that all history verifies. We must acknowledge it and move on to adopt policies based on what I call: “Racial Realism.” This mind-set or philosophy requires us to acknowledge the permanence of our subordinate status. That acknowledgement enables us to avoid despair, and frees us to imagine and implement strategies that can bring fulfillment even triumph. (p. 373)

Racial Realism is not without its critics as Delgado (1992), another CRT scholar, acknowledges. However, it is compelling and comes from the mind of a veteran civil rights attorney who worked on the landmark *Brown* case.

As a woman, student, teacher, and imminent researcher of color, Racial Realism provides an intellectual and embodied sense of relief for it sets a constructive direction in which to strive through scholarship. This project’s original title, “Harrass(in’) White Supremacy: Un teacher/researcher’s LatCrit testimonio de conocimiento through the body,” borrows from Bell’s Racial Realism in its recognition that while racism cannot be “eliminated” (Solórzano & Yosso, 2002, p. 26), it can be messed with, spoiled, and untidied. Racial Realism encapsulates the heart of this project’s intent.

CRT in Education. Almost twenty years ago, the educational research community had the opportunity to learn of Critical Race Theory’s potential through Ladson-Billings and Tate’s (2006) seminal piece originally published in *Teachers College Record*, “Toward a Critical Race Theory in Education”. In the article, they make three assertions upon which Critical Race Theory (heretofore referred to as CRT) rests. They are:

1. Race continues to be a significant factor in determining inequity in the U.S.
2. U.S. society is based on property rights.
3. The intersection of race and property creates an analytic tool through which we can understand social (and, consequently, school) inequity. (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006, p. 12)

These tenets exemplify the “endemic and ingrained” (Ladson-Billings & Tate, 2006, p. 18) nature of racism in the United States. This systemic racism emerges in all facets of K-12 schooling and university education in the U.S. Many scholars have written about and detailed the overt racism experienced in academic institutions (Acevedo, 2001; Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002; Huckaby, 2006; Ladson-Billings & Donner, 2005; Solórzano & Yosso, 2001). Their work creates the possibility of disentangling the racial actualities in spaces that purport to be equalizing spaces into which racism does not seep. Indeed, Gildersleeve, Croom, and Vasquez (2011) particularize the experiences of African American and Latin@ doctoral students using CRT as a theoretical foundation to expose the socio-political macro-realities of the academic pipeline. Among myriad staggering figures, they reveal that in 2007, “only 6% of doctoral degrees were awarded to black students and only 3% to Latina/o students” (Gildersleeve, Croom & Vasquez, 2011, p. 93). Thusly, CRT provides an effective theoretical understanding through which to observe white supremacy in an educational setting. For the purpose of this project, my gaze focuses on the setting of doctoral education, specifically.

A huge piece of CRT is the tradition of counter-storytelling. In my project, and in other works previously cited in this narrative, testimonio resides in this tradition by way of Latin America. LatCrit/ CRT Education scholars Solorzano and Yosso (2001) assert that endemic to CRT’s custom of storytelling are five themes: “1: The centrality of race and racism and their intersectionality with other forms of subordination, 2: The challenge to dominant ideology, 3: The commitment to social justice, 4: The centrality of experiential knowledge, 5: The transdisciplinary perspective” (pp. 472-473). These themes anchor the theoretical commitments of this project.

LatCrit, born from CRT and nestled within the epistemological investments of an endarkened epistemology of the brown body, delves into the interstices of the material and social realities of Latin@s in the United States. Challenging the “U.S. Black-White (racial) paradigm” (Trucios-Haynes, 2001, p. 2) which pervades white supremacy’s racial hierarchy, LatCrit destabilizes the notion of a fixed identity by introducing the multidimensionalities of Latin@ socio-political realities. They include “intra-Latina/o differences based in class, nationality, religion, immigration status . . . inter-group sense of difference based on other identity constructs, including geography, race, gender, sexuality” (Bender & Valdes, 2012, p. 310). The university that I attended for my doctoral program is a HWCU in a southern city that actively exemplifies the black-white racial paradigm and, thusly, omits the multidimensional racial experience of Latin@s.

While the history of Latin@s clearly delineates a need for inclusion in civil rights measures, historically, their indeterminate racial status has rendered Latin@s invisible and, therefore, disqualified from these measures (Delgado, 2004; Trucios-Haynes, 2001). That is, Latin@s are frequently victims of U.S. white supremacy with little legal recourse due to their indeterminate racial status within the black-white racial paradigm—not black and, certainly, not white. Accordingly, there have been grave educational implications for Latin@ students in the U.S. Though language learning is the oft-cited “need” of Latin@s, this assertion is short-sighted and makes the socio-political realities and needs of Latin@ students unseen, misunderstood, and therefore, unaddressed. Accordingly, LatCrit, as a lens that addresses the complex (and often schizophrenic) racial reality of Latin@s, provides this Latina researcher an adequate framework through which to examine white supremacy as a complex, defining, and over-arching phenomenon in predominantly white educational settings. The breadth of a LatCrit framework

maximizes the ability of this project to produce constructive findings that will hopefully enrich the existing literature.

Methodological Approach: Anzaldúan Path of Conocimiento

Michael Crotty (1998) maintains that research methodology is a “strategy, plan of action, process or design lying behind the choice and use of particular methods linking the choice and use of methods to the desired outcomes” (p. 3). This project adopts a methodology that effectively combines the epistemology, theoretical framework, and the ensuing methods.

Toward that end, Gloria Anzaldúa’s (2002) Path of Conocimiento⁵ captures the methodological ambition of this project by offering seven stages of coming to know white supremacy as an embodied socio-political reality in the life of a brown-bodied Latina enduring doctoral education at a HWCU. Combining the endarkened epistemology of a brown body with LatCrit, the Anzaldúan Path of Conocimiento provides this approach with the theoretical and epistemological resources to buttress the stages’ actions.

Anzaldúa (2002) characterizes the approach as follows (numbering not in original quote):

Conocimiento comes from 1) opening all your senses, 2) consciously inhabiting your body and 3) decoding its symptoms 4) attention is multileveled and includes 5) your surroundings, 6) bodily sensations and 7) responses, 8) intuitive takes, 9) emotional reactions to other people and 10) theirs to you, and, most important, 11) the images your imagination creates. (p. 542)

Meshing with St. Pierre’s (1997) characterization of data as “transgressive”, the Path of Conocimiento presents a fitting methodology for the nature of the project’s goal. Anzaldúa’s Path of Conocimiento is a methodology which can make room for data that may arise at various methodological stages thereby tolerating “transgressive data” (St. Pierre, 1997) that defy the comfort zones of western epistemological locations of knowing (Cruz, 2001, Dillard, 2000).

⁵ Translation to English: Knowledge, “coming to know”, consciousness

These data are worrisome. The vulnerability they caused and the “opening” of my senses was more often than not simply too much to bear. Despite my desire to “get this done” (after all, it is a dissertation project. To some degree, do not the pressures to complete it make completion the gold standard of its quality?), it proved to be a process that took longer than I expected and was more laborious than if I had chosen a more removed, less embodied data collection process. “Why didn’t I choose a more conventional project?” I lamented throughout the collection phase. Admittedly, the impetus to endure this project felt like it came from outside of me rather than from within. To clarify, it felt less intrinsically motivated and more like a project that I had to do due to its systemic nature.

While I kept a written record of the data, I was open to data spilling off the page. Committee members and I were prepared to hold a space for the data to emerge however they needed to. I woke up the majority of the days through the collection phase, looked at my artifacts, and just wrote. Some of the narrative is cohesive and, at other times, it appears disjointed. For example, I perfunctorily narrated an event and then began to report an emotional state that seized me while I am reporting the event. It was not uncommon for me to re-read during an analysis phase and remark aloud, “This is weird.” Sometimes it was. And other times, I saw a seamless pattern of “data” that had been waiting to be expressed for four years.

The 69 page record of resultant data appeared to move from seemingly detached observations to visceral sensory memories of the study contexts. Spillage of data outside of the specific three chosen study contexts manifested only in direct consequence, often, to the artifacts belonging to the chosen three contexts. An interesting example for which a portion is available in Appendix C occurred toward the middle of the collection process. In this example, a series of directives emerged in which I begin to craft “tenets” to help future doctoral students of color

should they find themselves in a similar predicament as I found myself: A student of color in an HWCU that lacks a conscientiousness about being an HWCU and the implications for oppressive conditions that can ensue. The quality of the directives was less interesting (though, one can certainly find them useful, thought-provoking, or helpful) than was the question of where and why they appear in the data notes (the record of my data).

While these questions (where and why?) fall outside of the official analysis conducted, I opine that collecting these data was a lot of emotional work. It was work that I found infinitely more laborious than more traditional qualitative data collecting or analyzing I had done on projects. It felt like the project “owned” me rather than vice versa. I had opened floodgates of emotions and raw data happened. The first two data points, 1) opening all your senses, 2) consciously inhabiting your body, were exhausting as they caused me to remember painful experiences through the program I would just as easily forget. In fact, I had forgotten them. Yet, decoding my body’s symptoms forced me to consciously connect my symptoms to oppressive circumstances. This proved the greatest challenge as I resisted a sense of overt powerlessness. However, once I moved into accepting the powerlessness, my attention became multileveled and I was able to use these intuitive takes and the images my imagination created as a service. At that point, the data became a stream of ideas that I hoped would serve those who came after me.

Were the data a service? Were the data the act of coming to attention in one’s body, my body? Were the data these intuitive takes? The answer, which the Path of Conocimiento offers and upholds my project, is yes. The heart of this project implores us to blast open the doors of data. This project capitalizes upon our ability to entertain the idea that data are everywhere because information is everywhere and is hardly limited to a number or a word.

The Stages

My articulation of each stage accompanies a particular epistemological concept that I found useful for each stage. Appendix B illustrates how this functioned graphically. I invoked these concepts as epistemological “guides”. I likened them to a conceptual presence that sat on my shoulder as I pursued each stage of the Path. Whereas aspects of my chosen theoretical framework acted a “tool” or “device” thereby acting in a mechanical, but no less important, way, epistemological tools captured a spirit and felt more influential in steering me through the process.

In an effort to answer the two research questions industriously, this Path’s seven stages, while occasionally overlapping and not proceeding in a linear fashion, delivered a certain methodological robustness not often found in other qualitative approaches (see Figure 2). Rather than resting upon conventional standards of efficacy, which are largely predicated upon a eurocentric episteme that privileges a “neck up” or cognitive approach, the Path of Conocimiento requires the researcher to involve the entire body (which includes the cognitive) and invokes the “spiritual”, a realm often neglected entirely. What follows is a sketch of each stage in this path.

The seven stages begin with the rupture or *arrebato* signifying a grand seismic shift that can feel unusually destabilizing, yet it is a required stage to facilitate seeing accurately what is and, potentially, healing from its effects. In this case, the “seeing” applies to seeing white supremacy. Invoking a Duboisian Double Consciousness (Du Bois, 1903) as an epistemological filter to enhance what my pre-existing filter had not previously allowed me to see, I gathered and sifted through the materials from each of the three study contexts⁶ and determined what material

⁶ Described below in section titled “Study Contexts”

would supply me with the impetus to produce strong data. This double consciousness helped me recognize what would provoke the data.

The next stage, *nepantla*, consists of being caught between worlds, a liminal state—not quite here, not quite there. Upon completing the necessary sifting of resources, I relied on Sandoval’s (1991) Theory of Oppositional Consciousness as a tool to understand the challenges I faced and had previously misunderstood regarding my doctoral socialization in a HWCU as a woman of color. Sandoval’s (1991) provocation of the white feminist movement to look at its white supremacy, which reinscribes white feminists into the role of oppressor despite their claims of oppression, provided a multi-faceted device through which to understand small and large resistances, my own and others’, in the study contexts. These “resistances” undermined any racial damage the study contexts might have caused me (Rodriguez, 2011). The Theory of Oppositional Consciousness also proved useful in scrutinizing the feminization of the field of education alongside an overwhelmingly white (female) presence represented in my doctoral experience. I use writing in the form of narrative inquiry (Richardson & St. Pierre, 2005) to produce the deep data⁷ in this collection stage. The devastating stage of “the Coatlicue state” plunged me into the data thereby leading to further knowing and disturbing notions in the study context. Anzaldúa (2002) advises, “You thought you’d wandered off the path of *conocimiento*, but this detour is part of the path” (p. 554). Towards that end, I asked the question, “What does white supremacy look like?”

Anzaldúa’s (1983) *El Mundo Zurdo* evokes the hybrid potential of scholarship and people in its appeal to create a world that fits us all. It compels us to look beyond the fallacy of

⁷ “deep data” here refers to the 11 domains of data mentioned in the opening of this section in accordance with Anzaldúa’s (2002) characterization.

disciplinary walls and make connections across and beyond “disciplines” to infuse the collective’s consciousness with new and robust knowledge. This project instantiates this appeal. White supremacy as an embodied phenomenon is traumatic for both beneficiaries and victims, though quite differently. Further, social trauma and its denial are cited as the very phenomena that allow atrocities and dehumanizations to occur without end (Cohen, 2001; Zerubavel, 2006). This literature looks at the Jewish Holocaust as a historical example of how social denial and trauma unfold. The manner in which whites and predominantly white institutions acted as bystanders of the African American Holocaust of the U.S., the subsequent African American genocide, and its concurrent apartheid have yet to be fully explored. Much of the “resistance” of white students and faculty and claims of “white ignorance” which appear in the teacher education literature, I suspect can be better understood through the study of bystanders of other social atrocities (Leonardo, 2004).

The fourth stage, *el compromiso* or the “crossing and conversion”, forced me, as the researcher, to cross from the underworld of merely observing the “other” to the outerworld of locating myself in my observations. Scholarship entreats us to make connections that have yet to be made thereby building upon what has been done in the past. Thinking about the particularities of white supremacy in my home cultures—Puerto Rican, Cuban, and Haitian, a Caribbeanization of race characterizes the manner in which I came to learn and suffer from white supremacy. Adding to home milieu, the strain of white supremacy articulated through the U.S. context allows for a deeper nosedive into my lived political reality. Considering a larger educational biography as a brown body attending other historically white school settings may offer a comprehensive and developmental view of the manner in which white supremacy is/ was deployed in the lives of children of color at the K-12 level. This story of the particular socio-

historical context in which I grew does not appear in the literature. I reanalyzed the data with the aforementioned history and particularities at the forefront and used the second research question, “What does white supremacy feel like?” as my springboard.

The fifth stage of, “Putting Coyolxauhqui together” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 558) and the sixth stage that produces the “blow up” or “clash of realities” (p. 563) occur in partnership with each other. Despite all data stemming from one researcher’s body, there are various streams of data. They might inhabit different spaces while simultaneously informing the other. To that end, there is both conceptual overlap and divergence.

The fifth stage of creating “new and collective ‘stories’” (p. 558) compelled the writing of the first findings in Chapter 4. In these findings, I “reenvision the map of the known world” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 545). By writing what became Chapter 4 of this dissertation, I engage in the work of “sharing with others” as this stage calls for. I shed the identity of the lone researcher, and locate myself within collective. What was once a personal or individual journey now transforms into a collective journey. I relied on the formulation of my theoretical construct, “Borderlands Residence” (Caron, 2007) and Moraga and Anzaldúa’s (1983) “Theory in the Flesh” to use the particularities of my experience as an opportunity to theorize generally.

“Borderlands Residence” (Caron, 2007) suggests that the liminal or ephemeral locations of those who defy any pole of a polarity, be it the black-white racial paradigm or other constructed binary, can find solace or set up residence within that liminal space. Indeed, the borderlands or border suggests a transition to or a boundary intended for passage beyond its confines. It acts as a stable or fixed location within which one can comfortably reside. This is a lived or in-the-flesh experience for many. The data produced an embodied understanding of the pathology of white supremacy through white behavior and how a person of color internalizes it.

This “clash” with others’ “realities” in “the blow-up” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 563) or sixth stage in which I, as a researcher of color, interfaced with my socio-political reality in the face of others’ white supremacy moved the project into Anzaldúa’s (1983) *Mundo Zurdo*, a world that, “necessitates our willingness to work with those people who would (and would not) feel at home (with)...the colored, the queer, the poor, the female, the physically challenged” (p. 196). Feeling at home in the Borderlands Residence, I stepped into *el Mundo Zurdo* and recognized how white supremacy oppresses me and, inevitably, how I have oppressed others by selling out myself and my own. I submitted to the “blow-up” of my internal and external world.

Not without the battle scars that indicate a warrior’s journey, the seventh stage of “shifting realities...or spiritual activism” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 568) entailed recognizing the transcendent potential of the work. Retaining the epistemological investments within which I reside, this project will hopefully influence multiple spheres of existence—the intra-personal, the somatic, the inter-personal, the academic, and the spiritual. In an effort to exemplify this Anzaldúan methodology, I have chosen *testimonio* as the format for this dissertation’s written product. Maintaining a commitment to personal (physical, emotional, intellectual, and spiritual) health is tantamount to the receipt of the PhD degree for which this dissertation will ensure completion. The goal of this project is to examine and reveal what white supremacy as a socio-political reality feels and looks like as distilled and articulated through a brown body. Citing my theory of Borderlands Residence (Caron, 2007) as a technique for living in *El Mundo Zurdo* and, consequently, becoming a part of *la raza cosmica*, the cosmic race, in which all are humanized, white supremacy’s grip loosens. Our humanity is the end game for this project.

Testimonio

Testimonio is a Latin American narrative form. It is a form of “counter-storytelling” (Sòlorzano & Yosso, 2002 p. 26) foregrounding the silenced, the marginalized, and/ or the subaltern voice. It seeks to tell truths for political liberation and sovereignty. Testimonio is not purely autobiographical nor does it strive to report in impeccable detail one’s experience. Rather, it aims to bring to light what can potentially be the story of many people bound by a common social or political experience. In fact, some have mistakenly dismissed it as an “illegitimate” form of research for its lack of impeccable or unsullied truths (Beverley, 2005). Again, testimonios seek not to tell a particular person’s story but rather shed light on the larger voice of the subaltern experience (Beverley, 2004).

Many educational researchers now embrace testimonio as a valid methodological tool (Alarcón, Cruz, Guardia Jackson, Preto & Rodriguez-Arroyo, 2011; Blackmer Reyes & Curry Rodriguez, 2012; Castillo-Montoya & Torres-Guzman, 2012; Chávez, 2012; Delgado Bernal, Burciaga & Flores Carmona, 2012; Espino, Vega, Rendón, Ranero & Muñiz, 2012; Pérez Huber, 2008; 2009; 2010; Prieto & Villenas, 2012; Saavedra & Salazar Pérez, 2012; Urrieta & Villenas, 2013). Equity & Excellence in Education, published by Routledge, a “highly-esteemed” academic publisher, devoted an entire issue in 2012 to Chicana and Latina testimonios. In the issue, numerous Latina academics evaluate their experience in academia as graduate students, full professors, newly tenured faculty, and mid-level/associate professors. As the guest editors outline in their introduction to the issue:

Testimonio is both product and process. While the methodological strategy of testimonio is by no means limited to the research conducted by or with Chicana/ Latinas, the ways in which it has been articulated and enacted by these scholars mirror a sensibility that allows the mind, body, and spirit to be equally valuable sources of knowledge and embrace the engagement of social transformation. The

methodological concerns of testimonio are often around giving voice to silences, representing the other, reclaiming authority to narrate, and disentangling questions surrounding legitimate truth. (Delgado Bernal, Burciaga & Flores Carmona, 2012, p. 365)

Thus, testimonio arises as a form of writing which allows for the multiplicity of knowledge sites this project aspires to touch. Due to the multisensory nature of the socio-political reality of embodied white supremacy, this project requires a narrative form that allows for the integration of all pathways of knowledge to answer the research questions. Testimonio provides the vehicle to comprehensively answer the research questions. An added and unanticipated outcome of this project was my personal and professional empowerment (Castillo-Montoya & Torres-Guzmán, 2012).

Study Contexts

The macro-context of this study is my cognitive and embodied educational experience as a doctoral student at a historically white college or university. The University of Florida, the HWCU I have attended through my doctoral program, is located in Gainesville, Florida. While the city is often cited as a liberal enclave surrounded by more politically conservative townships, it is a highly segregated city, reflected in housing and schooling, with the majority of its African American constituents residing on one “side” and its white constituents on another. It has a long and contemporary history of Apartheid, ethnic cleansing, legal dehumanization, and de facto dehumanization of its African American citizens (Caron, 2011). The university and its institutional history are complicit and implicated in this regional history (Clawson, 2011). The racial makeup of the city is predominately black and white. Thusly, it is deeply ensconced in the black-white paradigm of racialization. Accordingly, my racial and ethnic identity were frequently rendered invisible and/ or delegitimized.

While it is tempting to go to some length to further contextualize the university or city in which the university resides, I resist the temptation here. The imperative I seek to communicate in this project is that white supremacy is global and national; wherever there are white/almost-white bodies there is white supremacy. The South and the University of Florida, in particular, have a harrowing history of racial apartheid and terror. It is also true that there is a record of slavery at Ivy League institutions in the North (Wilder, 2013). The myriad attempts to remedy these histories and the concomitant contemporary iterations through diversity initiatives and minority affairs division are additive vestments to the monolith of white supremacy. In other words, these attempts continue to work within a white supremacist system that will always serve white supremacy first.

Three contexts will be considered for the study. Two of them are events and one is a relationship. These contexts have been chosen because they contain rich and relevant catalysts to data. The first is a course taken in my second semester of study in the doctoral program; it marks the pivotal moment in which I realized white supremacy was the never-spoken culprit guiding the curriculum and its treatment of the subject of “race” and “racism”. The second context will be a sometimes collegial, sometimes tense friendship that developed with a white peer with whom white supremacy and race were sources of interpersonal stress. Third will be my oral qualifying exam experience. The events span widely on the timeline of my doctoral trajectory making these appropriate constructs for this study.

Conclusion, Implications, Possibilities

Academia is in severe epistemological trouble (Battiste, 2004; Ladson-Billings & Donner, 2005; Pizarro, 1998). If it has any hope of surviving as a relevant institution for all people, it must begin the work of divesting itself from its racist, homophobic/ heterosexist, classist, and

colonial legacy (Sefa Dei & Asgharzadeh, 2001). To that end, academics of color have begun the courageous work of infusing the academy with “the insurrection of subjugated knowledges” (Foucault, 1980, p. 81). They analyze the manner in which the academy is stifling, racist, and/or colonial in its orientation while also demonstrating why this work is important to begin the long journey of “endarkening” (Dillard, 2000) and colorizing the academy (Delgado Bernal & Villalpando, 2002). Included in the journey must be the incorporation of epistemologies and, by extension, methodologies of color into its corpus of what is considered legitimate knowledge. Testimonio, in conjunction with a LatCrit theoretical framework and the Path of Conocimiento are instances of such methodologies and frameworks. Testimonio supplants an expert as the representative for the voiceless and allows the traditionally marginalized person to speak on his or her behalf as a personal and political act (Beverley, 2004, 2005).

CHAPTER 4 WHAT DOES WHITE SUPREMACY LOOK LIKE?

Seeing what is unpleasant, at best, and unspeakable, at worst, requires nuanced tools and methods. This chapter arises from a data collection and data analysis process that honors the methodological commitments of an endarkened epistemology of a Brown body and Latino Critical Race Theory (LatCrit) as outlined in Chapter 3. These commitments invoke theoretical devices within a LatCrit framework to understand what the findings revealed. Epistemological concepts articulated herein inform how I know thereby dictating how I collected data, analyzed the data, interpreted findings, and made claims based on the findings. A metaphor to illustrate this is that the epistemological concepts are my vision-guides and the theoretical framework is my cognitive schema—the framework within which the new knowledge resides.

This chapter answers the first of two research questions the dissertation project investigates: What does white supremacy look like to a Brown, bilingual, and first generation Latina? Chapter 5 will investigate the second question, “How does white supremacy feel to a Brown, bilingual, and first generation Latina?” Chapter 6 will review the study and posit its implications.

Data Collection

The collection phase that informs this chapter traverses the first Arrebato phase through the second Nepantla/ Liminal phase of the methodological structure described in Chapter 3. I excavated material artifacts in the form of my online posts and assignments for class, entries from my daily journal, and iterations of my qualifying exams that fit within the three chosen study contexts—a collegial friendship with a fellow doctoral student, a course from my second

semester in the PhD program, and my qualifying examination experience. In (re-)reading this material I collected the data that arose in my body. As a reminder, the data are comprised of:

1) opening all your senses, 2) consciously inhabiting your body and 3) decoding its symptoms 4) attention is multileveled and includes 5) your surroundings, 6) bodily sensations and 7) responses, 8) intuitive takes, 9) emotional reactions to other people and 10) theirs to you, and, most important, 11) the images your imagination creates. (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 542)

This process spanned seven weeks during which I maintained a written record of my data which included embodied and sensory knowing consistent with the stated epistemological framework.

It is important to note that the data record references multiple instances of bodily symptoms, which include nausea, exhaustion, and anger.

Du Bois' theory of double consciousness and Sandoval's theory of oppositional consciousness provided the epistemological terra firma from which to identify and then analyze the data. In mining a written record of the data, Du Bois' (2003/1903) double consciousness allowed me to "see" in a way that, potentially, only a person of color can see. Echoing his "always looking at one self through the eyes of others" (Du Bois, 2003/1903, p. 9) combined with lifting the veil of white supremacy to "see these souls undressed and from the back and side...to see the working of their entrails," (Du Bois, 1920 p. 29), I was able to see a picture of the Other, white supremacists. In a move that perhaps combines Sandoval's (1991) and Dubois' articulation, despite being classed as an Other in the U.S. landscape, I located a perspective to "see" that which is deemed normal as Other—white supremacy—in a manner that opposes its normalcy.

Sandoval's (1991) oppositional consciousness enabled me to recognize and understand the manner in which I navigated white supremacy in the study contexts. It gave me not only the tools but empowered me to understand how I sought to remain healthy (i.e., keep my spirit

intact) in the face of such odds. Sandoval (1991) articulates four tactical “enactments” (p. xx) of oppositional consciousness. They are “equal rights”, “revolutionary”, “supremacism”, and “separatism” (pp. 12-13). The “equal rights” conceives of the world as all beings being inherently equal who should thus demand this treatment from the socio-political context in which they live. This could be thought of as the ideological foundation of identity politics and organization. A “revolutionary” enactment occurs when “the subordinated group claim their differences from those in power and call for a social transformation that will accommodate and legitimate those differences.” (Sandoval, 1991, p.12). “Supremacism” rests upon the acceptance that the oppressed group is superior from an “evolutionary” standpoint than the group in power placing the group in a position to best lead the combined group comprised by all. In other words, a helpful way to potentially understand Sandoval’s articulation of separatism, as with all facets of oppositional consciousness, is to think of it as a mechanism that ensures self-preservation of the group. Each facet of oppositional consciousness intends to strengthen its oppressed constituents in their work toward liberatory scholarship and activism. “Separatism” resides firmly in the belief that the most effective political organization can come from completely separating from the empowered group to foster internal strength of the oppressed. The separated oppressed group seeks no leadership nor participation in the larger society. These enactments, in no particular order, served as an epistemological ground through which I came to know or understand the data as a person of color.

Data Analysis

The analysis tool which produced the findings for Chapter 4 is best described as entering the Coatlicue State (Anzaldúa, 1987). By plummeting into the depths of my embodied being, I allowed “‘knowing’ (to be)...painful because after ‘it’ happens I can’t stay in the same place and

be comfortable, I am no longer the same person I was before” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p.48).

Immersing myself in the data guided by the character of Coatlicue which might be conceived as an embodied and unrelenting “second sight” (Du Bois, 2003/1903), brought me into a difficult abeyance with my data. As Anzaldúa (2002) intones, “Overwhelmed, you shield yourself with ignorance, blanking out what you don’t want to see. Yet you feel you’re incubating some knowledge that could spring into life like a childhood monster if you paid it the slightest attention” (p. 551). Forced to confront the data in this manner, I allowed my analysis to guide me regardless of the difficult truths it uncovered. Recalling that the data included “intuitive takes” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 542), others’ emotional reactions to me, and most notably, images my imagination created, it seems understandable that literature revolving around the Jewish holocaust might appear. That is, I allowed myself to stay open to whatever came my way in the form of resonant historical literature or other information to which I had been exposed.

While reading the written record of my data through a Coatlicue analysis, I suspended what I had thought the data might suggest and, instead, attended to the physical symptoms (see point #3 above) I experienced as I read. I noted cognitive insights riding beside bodily symptoms. In a peculiar parallel with the written data and cited through the collection process, I felt tired, nauseous, and angry as I analyzed. I found it increasingly difficult to “see” and “feel” what I was seeing and feeling. I noted a compulsion to want to deny what the data were divulging and exposing. This was the more difficult of the analytical processes I endured with the data. Noting these challenges, however, put me into a greater proximity and intimacy with the data. In other words, as I recorded the findings through the Coatlicue State analysis, I felt these findings symptomatically mirrored in my own body. Feeling them in my body gave the

findings greater credence in answering my research question (Cruz, 2001; Dillard, 2000; Hurtado, 2003).

Coatlicue State analysis for this study, then, required me as the researcher to:

- Surrender to any struggle that I may experience with what the data revealed
- Acknowledge that knowledge can be painful, despite the gift of knowledge production
- Suspend dualistic thinking as Anzaldua (1987) intones, “Coatlicue depicts the contradictory” (p. 47).
- Make unforeseen connections across disciplines that have not been made.

Theoretical Framework

I invoke two theoretical devices found in LatCrit’s framework for research in education. The first theoretical device is one of the five themes that Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001), among others, posit as capturing a uniquely LatCrit framework. The first of these themes highlights, “the centrality of race and racism and (its) intersectionality with other forms of subordination” (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 312). The second theoretical device I use stands as one of LatCrit’s, “‘non-negotiable’ values” (Bender & Valdes, 2012, p. 305): anti-subordination.

The first device—the centrality of racism and its intersectional nature—acknowledges the comprehensive nature of white supremacy’s tentacles. Racism or white supremacy is a force that involves every human being in the U.S. from the private sphere to the public sphere. White supremacy, or racism, comprises the “founding” of this nation and every socio-political institution hereafter through the contemporary moment in the United States (Bell, 1992a; 1992b; Feagin, 2006; 2010; Zinn, 2008). Thusly, not only does white supremacy dovetail with other oppressions such as classism, genderism, and heterosexism, it also acts as a central force through which other oppressions are enacted. To this end, it works through individual bodies, small organizations of bodies (e.g., families) and at the macro level in the larger society and culture.

The second theoretical device, the value of anti-subordination, seeks “to ameliorate historical patterns of subjugation” (Bender & Valdes, 2012, p. 305) through educational insurrection. This insurrection takes place through reversing the colonial gaze, as it were, by subjecting white objects to Brown examination through an “analytics of color” (Leonardo, personal communication, April, 10, 2011). As hooks (1992) reminds us, the oppositional gaze, “defiantly declare(s): ‘Not only will I stare, I want my look to change reality.’ Even in the worst circumstances of domination, the ability to manipulate one’s gaze in the face of structures of domination that would contain it, opens up the possibility of agency” (p. 116). While I cannot attest to the probability of such a hope, I find comfort in hooks’ belief in such a possibility.

Findings: What does White Supremacy Look Like?

The work of Cohen (2001) and Zerabuev (2006) has been instrumental in my sense making in the analysis of these data. Some teacher education researchers acknowledge that there is a somatic-emotional component to the reactions white teacher education candidates exhibit when forced to confront white racial identity and its pursuant components of domination (Pennington & Brock 2012). While the critical race theory literature identifies the socio-political histories and mechanisms that force white supremacy’s permanence, it is the literature of social trauma, specifically, the studies involving the “passive bystanders” of human atrocities, from which I gleaned profound insights into the actualities of whites’ experiences in a white supremacist context. My analysis produced the following findings:

- 1) Unchecked white supremacy allowed whites to, unproblematically, study and speak for people of color.

- 2) Whites appear to feel entitled, justified, and empowered to express (or, if they choose, abstain from expressing) themselves when discussing their white identity or white supremacy.
- 3) White Denial takes four forms in the study contexts.
 - a. White Superiority
 - b. White illusions of ignorance/ innocence
 - c. White fragility
 - d. White evasion

These findings will be elaborated upon in the text that follows.

Unchecked White Supremacy Allowed Whites to, Unproblematically, Study and Speak for People of Color.

“White teacher implores before exercise: ‘Once you’ve reached this ‘level’, all placements are the same. That is, the injustices have leveled for everyone.’ Hooray! I never have to be a ‘token’ again and departments can quit decrying a lack of faculty of color because they (white dominated departments in academia) now see us all as human”—data notes.

[This illustrates how a white person lacked understanding of white supremacy in privileged spaces, such as academia, and made pedagogical decisions based on this error].

Throughout the study contexts, the data revealed that there was no discussion that education PhD programs or educational research subscribe to “white ways/ white logic” (Zuberi & Bonilla-Silva, 2008). In fact, despite the overwhelming data that education’s greatest victims were melanin-richer⁸ students and communities, being a white researcher or teacher educator did not emerge as a topic of importance. White racial identity was not problematized nor wrestled with as the cause of “hysterical” reactions to a colonial critique of educational research. These

⁸ For rhetorical ease and anti-subordinate decentering, I use the terms “melanin-rich” to refer to persons of color and “melanin-poor” refers to persons not of color.

reactions are often referred to as “resistance” in the teacher education literature, as a liability in becoming educational researchers, or as a challenge to professional efficacy as future teacher educators.

The lack of historicization of white supremacy and white racial identity cloaked each decolonized context of this study. Despite my push to consider decolonial critiques of educational research and the appearance of white supremacy at every turn in teacher education, the absence of critique of white supremacy coupled with intense emotional protestations to being made visible or found out “to be white” served to instantiate unchecked white supremacy in each context. The absence of acknowledging and policing white supremacy served to continually reinstall white as supreme.

The presumption is that whites research and choose to work with people of color for our benefit, those of us color. At no point, did white researchers or white doctoral students consider that their work not only did not serve people of color but, instead, might harm them. It seemed beyond the scope of whites’ understanding that their actions are potentially violent toward those who are melanin-rich. Rather, conversations centered around the ill-fated communities of color as though this “fate” was caused by us, its victims.

This focus on communities of color without actively engaging the role white communities play in the persistence of systemic oppression makes whites absent figures in the very socio-political reality they cause (Morrison, 1992). In other words, whites failed to recognize the role whites play in the oppression of people of color. Moreover, the research that makes communities of color its subject reaps professional rewards without implicating whites themselves in the oppression they seek to “expose”. Without oversight, white students were

allowed to entertain the illusion that they could potentially “help” communities of color. Their desire to do so was rewarded by affording them opportunities to study people of color.

Other dangerous iterations of this finding are the multiple entry points to the fetishization of melanin-rich children and communities—specifically African descended persons. The analysis of the data found fetishization took the form of exotic fieldtrips to melanin-rich communities so the melanin-poor could observe how “they” performed in the natural habitat. Confessions of physical desire for melanin-rich men by melanin-poorer women appeared in the data alongside using persons of color as repositories for confessions of witnessing acts of racism. These feelings and experiences, appearing normative to a white person’s racial existence (Sue & Sue, 2008), were not problematized or surveyed thereby allowing melanin-poor individuals to research melanin-rich communities. These data find a parallel in the education and postcolonial literature that cite portrayals of white teachers’ perceptions of themselves as “helpers” with a missionizing disposition to “save” melanin-rich students (Fee, 2006/1910; Sintos Coloma, 2004). A wish to spread “white” ways of being/thinking/ acting to people of color undergirds these instincts to missionize or save.

Curiously, amidst an overarching belief that white epistemologies and entitlements are supreme in a socio-political context, the data revealed a hyperbolic denial by whites of their investment in white supremacy. While there may have been hesitancy and surprise at the scope of “racism”, that is, the extent to which melanin-rich persons are, at every turn, denied human status in the socio-political landscape, there was no discussion of the collusion of whites in stabilizing white supremacy. The Coatlicue analysis of the data brought forth parallels between this lack of awareness to that of the non-Jewish Germans who stood by as people were burned and tortured (Cohen, 2001).

The analysis also established an analogous correspondence between the “lack of awareness” and “investment” in white supremacy found in the study contexts with the reaction of a non-abusing yet colluding parent of a child-victim of incest (Herman, 1992). The colluding parent is often reported as having a powerful reaction of “hysterical denial” (Gonsalves, 2008) suggesting that complex systems of cognitive denial are in place to allow abuse to occur in a family system. The data also suggested that “hysterical denial” played a significant role in whites’ embodiment of white supremacy.

Whites Appeared to Feel Entitled, Justified, and Empowered to Express (or Abstain from Expressing) Themselves When Discussing Their White Identity or White Supremacy.

“White women screaming: ‘I’m always sooo uncomfortable with this topic’”

“‘She describes everything that we do’. I am thinking, ‘yes’” —data notes.

[These are from two separate instances in the data trail. The first is a white person’s confession in a group setting of all white faculty and one student of color. The second is the emotional response of a white person at a qualifying exam responding to a critique of research being a subjective enterprise yet acting as an objective one. My response follows this outburst.]

The data showed that despite claims of being unaware, whites had emotional reactions to mentions of white supremacy. In all of the study contexts, it appeared that whites were untroubled as they pointed out the different iterations of white supremacy which occurred in the larger socio-political context and/ or the indignities people of color might suffer. However, when faced with their own white racial identity, its pursuant white supremacy, and their collusion with a system they believed unjust, the reactions spanned victimization, despair (“what would you [person of color] have us do?!”), and outrage (“so should we abandon all research?!”).

This study's contexts were peopled with those who would best be classified as "good whites" (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Thompson, 2003) sometimes even, antiracist whites (Hughey, 2010). They cited research done by people of color to show their savvy in melanin-rich conversations and concluded that other persons of color had delivered their stamp of approval thereby conferring credibility to their work/ opinions/ existence as an "ally". As Thompson (2003) explains:

When white antiracist researchers borrow the lives and writings of people of color to authenticate what we have been saying all along about class relations or progressive pedagogy or moral development, we treat people of color like trophy friends who validate our pronouncements and help us appear informed, open minded, and cutting edge. (p. 13)

Having a "white ally" identity emerged as a tenuous construct when challenged by a person of color. This challenge took the form of citing examples of work done that reified racist and colonial tropes of people of color. The responses to these challenges were emotional (angry outrages/ crying episodes) and dismissive. Rather than viewing challenges as potentially viable, they were viewed as hostile attacks upon the individual white person. Rather than considering the potential value of these challenges, for they were substantiated by corroborating "literature" (the academy's weapon of choice), they were met with a paradoxical blend of hostility and victimized indignation.

The findings note a second kind of response which I characterize as the absence of response. The absence of response took the form of not responding to emails or sitting in hours-long discussions without speaking. One explanation for this finding could be a lack of language or understanding for what white supremacy is and how white racial identity performs white supremacy. However, the extremity of the responses suggested that emotional responses spoke

louder than words. That is, either an extreme response or a complete absence of response reveals, at least, a modicum of awareness of white racial identity's complicity with oppression.

White Denial Takes Four Forms in the Study Contexts.

The following figure (Figure. 4.1) illustrates the centrality of white denial as the life source of its outer articulations. These articulations are white superiority, white illusions of ignorance/ innocence, white fragility, and white evasion. They act as generative forces and the results of white denial. Each facet or form acts equally or somehow is subsumed under the larger heading of “white denial.”

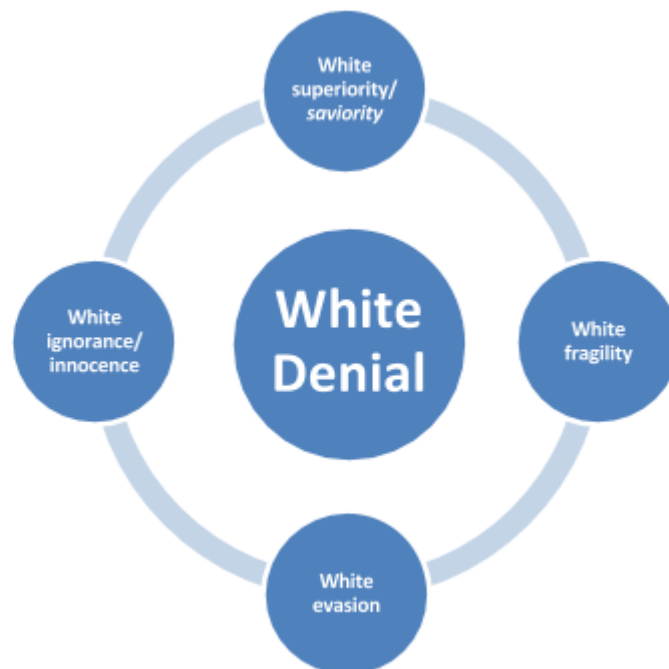


Figure 4-1 The elements of white denial and its facets.

a. White superiority/ saviority (Matias, 2013b)

“I am getting accolades from the WS [white supremacy] dispenser, feeling sick to my stomach often, and then subsequently I get myself into a pickle. I’m still in

the shadowy region of my truth at that time, but my body is definitely screaming at me to listen” —data notes. [I felt sick to my stomach at the prospect of learning that an expert in the field of educational research who both held capital and could confer capital upon me engaged in highly problematic research and teacher education practices.]

“The memory of the stab to my chest. My invisibility: Being called white by the professor. Characterizing my sharing my authentic experience (you know, which took courage), as what ‘white women’ do, which I am then to presume in a strange double-think, fuck-with-your-reality-switcheroo move renders me invisible and somehow acting out an ‘identity’ which I do not have (it’s the one you have and it’s one of pri-vi-lege) that devalues, disqualifies the ‘Courageous act’” —data notes. [I spoke against a profoundly ill-chosen activity in the course context as it pedagogically served those who had socio-political power; I was backhandedly called “white” as this comment recounts.]

White superiority is characterized by the belief that white behavior and white ideology are superior to all other racio-cultural ideologies and mores. A common expression of this superiority that appeared in the data was white saviority. Borrowed from Matias (2013b), the term speaks to the missionizing or saving spirit that is depicted in Hollywood white teacher/ students of color tropes whereby the white teacher sees herself as a beacon of hope in an effort to save the black and brown students. These tropes descend from characterizations of colonized black and brown people as “primitive” and unenlightened (Coloma, 2004).

The unapologetic conduct of white faculty and white doctoral students studying people of color typifies this facet of white denial. Recalling the instance of a white doctoral student's complete freedom to study black men, the question arises, who would check her/ him on it? The white faculty doing the same thing? White faculty in this study's contexts exhibited no comprehension (and therefore did not teach) how the whites' research of peoples of color was the first step in European colonialism to neutralize the "threat" of people of color who would fight the white man in order to maintain autonomy of their resources and their lives. Whites did not discern a connection between the seemingly kindest characterizations of black and brown people ("They're so resilient!" "They are such hard workers!" "They are the nicest people!") and the manner in which teacher education and educational research reify tropes and racializations that can be traced to eugenicists' white supremacist characterizations of "race". An insidious function of white superiority/ saviority and the research it produces—and one should remember educational research and policy bodies are majority melanin-poor—is that this works gains traction! By the continued focus on "what are they like?", the work neglects the number one cause of white supremacy: white people. As Matias (2013a) invokes Ice Cube, "Check Yo' Self Before you Wreck Yo' Self and Our Kids" (p. 68). This sentiment echoes Bonilla-Silva (2010) who reminds us that there can be no white supremacy without white supremacists. Whites are the agents of superiority and saviority, the raw material upon which colonialism and enslavement are built.

The traction of white scholars' research of people of color leads to an onslaught of literature that pounds reifying tropes into white educational research minds for decades to come. Whites receive a pat-on-the-back for daring (and "caring") to study "what black and brown children need" and a promise of a greater reward if they can "extend" this knowledge to other contexts ("Let's see if 'gains' made in Florida translate in Texas"). But let's not look at the incarceration rates of smart, gifted, and full of promise black and brown young men in these same states.

Whites, effectively, became the "experts" on all matters pertaining to people of color in each of the study contexts. Then, they were tasked with the authority to supply this "knowledge" to other whites. With few exceptions, the whites in the study conveyed little doubt about their ability as keepers and distributors of this knowledge or the manner in which this knowledge was disseminated. There were no institutional barriers or checkpoints in place to disallow white supremacist and colonial investments in scholarship.

White saviority and superiority was a value threaded through all study contexts. Without any impediment to missionizing and "helping" behavior, melanin-poor individuals rested upon the colorblind ideologies of the utility of educational research to study others to "help struggling schools" without flipping the gaze upon themselves as creators of the struggle.

b. White illusions of ignorance/ innocence

The study context which best reflected this defense of white innocence was the course context in the doctoral program. However, it should be stated that

this facet of white denial was the norm among the grand majority of whites in all courses. That is, it arose in courses in which there were discussions of “race”. Never was there an explicit discussion of the “white” race, however, in a class context that invoked frequent “race” discussions. When the socio-economic and educational inequalities that are axiomatic for the melanin-rich persons residing within a U.S context were learned through texts and lectures by the predominantly melanin-poor doctoral students, the response was one of awe and bafflement. In one instance, there was “white-girl crying” which potentially hijacked the matter of who is victimized (Leonardo, 2004; Leonardo & Porter, 2010). In toto, however, what materialized was a slow “realization” that inequities existed for children of color in the U.S. The presence of strong emotional reactions seems to suggest that their “ignorance” or “innocence” were illusory. In other words, if one knows nothing or is truly “innocent” of collusion or wrongdoing, why the strong, embodied, and emotional reaction? As the psychological and social trauma literature demonstrate, the presence of a strong reaction typically points to an equally strong sense of “knowing” on the part of the presumed innocent or ignorant party (Cohen, 2001; Herman, 1992; Zerubavel, 2006)⁹.

Student and faculty reaction reverberate with the passive bystander syndrome found in Nazi Germany or the colluding parent in an abusive household. When bystanding Germans were confronted with the comprehensive killing of their neighbors in their immediate sphere, their responses were the

⁹Though it stands outside the scope of this project to disentangle “innocence” and ignorance, is one innocent of wrongdoing because they were not aware or are ignorant of their collusion with white supremacy through an expressed white racial identity? See Tarver (2012).

result of protective mechanisms to maintain their denial (Cohen, 2001). Much like the societally sanctioned denial in the U.S to preserve white supremacy—in which its adherents pretend not to know a melanin-rich life is worth less than a melanin-poor life as reflected in the economic, criminal justice, and educational sector—passive bystander reactions abounded in the contexts of this study. Whether these reactions were cries of being a “good white” and “knowing better” than the undergraduates they taught or insistence that educational research and teacher education should not be held accountable for their continued infringements upon melanin-rich people, whites’ need to exonerate and, paradoxically, be exonerated was significant.

It is important to mention that a considerable majority of students in the course were current or former K-12 teachers in the state of Florida. There was not a single (former) teacher in the course who would not have witnessed the apartheid/ racially segregated schooling of the U.S. public school system. Therefore, to suggest that whites in the course had no prior knowledge of white supremacy in schools or society is disingenuous. It is plausible that this knowledge is routinely held at bay to better exist in an apartheid culture in which whites receive material benefits. These reactions or “lack” of knowledge indicated the colorblind racism that may have played a part in their collusion with white supremacy while teaching in the K-12 context.

c. White fragility

“That they were having any kind of process at all began to appall me.” —data notes. [White doctoral students were having profound awakenings at never having

realized racism existed. These were all former or current teachers in predominantly Florida schools. This datum was my reaction to realizing this was happening to these class participants.]

Borrowing the term from DiAngelo (2011), white fragility appeared in instances in which power seemed threatened. The phrase refers to the emotional fragility that emerged when whites were told they were white. Being white meant living free of racism, never having to think about being white nor socialize with anyone but whites for economic survival. Given the data's specific context within teacher education and educational research, another statement that evoked virulent white fragility was the challenge to whites' entitlement to study people of color and create anthropological participant-observer experiences for white teacher education candidates to examine how melanin-rich students interact in "their natural habitat" within their community, without the permission of those melanin-rich students.

The challenge to whites' superiority and racial entitlement exemplifies an oxymoronic combination of anger and a sense of victimization. "How can you say that about me? I'm trying to help!" This kind of response has been referred to as "hysterical blindness" (Gonsalves, 2008) and as a response to feeling emotionally "slammed" (DiAngelo, 2014). Slammed in this contexts acts as a euphemism for feeling attacked.

The data analysis generated multiple articulations of strong eruptions of emotion followed often by reports of feeling victimized or challenged by the assertion of white superiority. Unfortunately, this fragility, which could have

launched a much-needed process of healing from white supremacy was typically interrupted by terminating communication and/ or invoking social capital to cease any subsequent fissures to white superiority. The data notes recalled that in one of the contexts a white person wondered out loud, “If there was only a way that another word [instead of ‘race’] could be used” citing how off-putting the mention of “race” could be for preservice teachers. That is, conversations shifted away from disturbing content to preserve and protect a white person’s identity, or in this case pathology. The social capital that was invoked was the capital of being white.

Another example that materialized given the black/ white racial dichotomy that persists in the physical location of these study contexts, was the manner in which my racial ambiguity, as a person of color (or as Chapter 5 will demonstrate, an Honorary White), confused whites. Despite my non-anglo name, rather “non-white” skin pigmentation, and stating clearly otherwise, there were instances in which I was referred to as “white”. As I noted in the data, if I was “on board” and colluding, my presence caused little conflict. Whites appeared relaxed and could consider me a friend or a “smart student”. As soon as the color switch was flipped (and it was impossible to know when this switch would flip), I observed that whites seemed to feel threatened. On one occasion a professor suggested that I remain silent and allow other students to speak before me and monitor what I said and the impact it might have on others. In the qualifying examination context, these dramatic responses of perceived threat drew the concern of a faculty member, who upon meeting the whole committee asked me privately if I

was aware of, “what makes a ‘good’ committee member”. The implication is that the responses from the people who would need to approve my project posed an actual threat to my ability to finish the dissertation and receive the PhD.

d. White evasion

“I see that UF is no different or rather is deeply embedded in the space that is Gainesville. There is no outside; everything touches everything. That professor, that ‘friend’, those ‘friends’, they were all part of the same thing. I am paralyzed.” —data notes. [A moment of acceptance and my emotional reaction to that moment]

White evasion may be the facet of white denial least visible in the data, yet it was an undeniable force in the study’s inter-/ intra-/ extra-contexts. It appeared as the “sometimes you see it, sometimes you don’t” smog that figured prominently in the data but also permeated college-wide and department-wide conversational spaces. See figure 2 for a visual representation.



Figure 4-1. The ephemerality of white evasion becomes solid as white supremacy

The greatest examples of white evasion erupted as euphemisms for melanin-rich people used in white-majority spaces and silenced conversations through, to borrow from Zerubavel (2006), “conversational no-go zones” (p. 27).

White evasion reinstalled white supremacy as an undeniable force with which I had to reckon. It took the form of euphemisms that placed the onus of race onto those who are melanin-rich. In one instance, a white professor informed me that race must be quite a “filter” for me. I visited an office hour to confront them or “check in” about what I perceived to be the professor’s continued strange emotional (defensive) reactions to my classroom contributions. She insisted she encouraged these contributions and closed with the “filter” comment. Instances such as these facilitated my recognition of white evasion.

Euphemisms abounded in the data. To refer to melanin-rich people or contexts in which we reside, whites used, “of poverty”, “diverse”, “disadvantaged”, “under resourced”, “hard-to-staff schools”, “poor”, “minority”, “underserved”, and if high-achieving by white standards, “resilient”. In a strange double-bind, the colorblind white supremacy which materialized in the speech of good whites appeared to require the use of these euphemisms to avoid appearing racist.

The use of euphemisms communicated the imperative to adhere, or at least be made aware of, conversational no-go zones. Never explicitly centering race, or uttering the words, “white supremacy”, in a discipline born from the eugenics movement which scientifically codified whites as the supreme “race” (Bonilla-Silva, 2008 & Ladson-Billings, 2012) typifies white supremacy. In the study

contexts there was no mention of the history of educational research or the possibility of a socio-historical connection between the material conditions of melanin-rich people and the current educational apartheid.

The data revealed an interesting obsession with white comfort. For example, the use of highly stylized procedures or “protocols” dictated who could speak, when they could speak, and when they must be silenced. These procedures were devoid of a socio-racial political context and illustrated typical “colorblind” practice. These procedures were used to incur “objectivity” in the evaluation of raceless, absent K-12 students’ assignments. That is, race and/ or other socio-political identities are not mentioned in the construction of this tool. However, they were imposed on majority white classrooms by white professors leaving melanin-rich students voiceless.

Discussion

The findings from this analysis offer substantial insight into the consequences faced by stakeholders of teacher education and researcher preparation programs. The following discussion synthesizes the findings’ implications by offering distinct distillations of these findings. The prospect for greater discernment of embodied white supremacy can enable stakeholders to begin the process of profound and lasting alteration.

Doctoral Classrooms are Optimized for White Comfort.

The imperative of white comfort and protection comes before the needs of anyone else. Thusly, this applies to all—PK-20—classrooms. This is indeed one of the “difficult truths” encountered in the data upon analysis. It was demonstrated that whites/white doctoral students and faculty perceive race conversations as potentially “volatile” and therefore “students” must be

handled gently. Implicit is that the face of the “student” is white. This notion of the danger of conversations about “racism”, (white supremacy never appears in the lexicon of the classroom portion of the study contexts, presumably it is “too” volatile—for white students) and the preoccupation of white feelings over all others (Leonardo & Porter, 2010) are not new. One is reminded of the imperative for textbooks to avoid printing in accurate detail the story of the African holocaust in the U.S. and the subsequent reign of white terror through the 1960s for fear that predominantly white teachers would be endangered by the presence of Black students (Loewen, 2010).

White supremacy materializes in whites as an emotional or bodily response to the traumatic injury caused by being white in a white supremacist society.

Though all study contexts—a friendship with a white doctoral student, a teacher education course, and a doctoral qualifying examination experience—would presume from a Eurocentric, patriarchal, white supremacist, and anti-body standpoint to be cognitive or “intellectual” junctures, I contend that that the manner in which whites “act” or “behave” in the face of their white supremacy occurs in their bodies and through their emotions. It appears to take people outside of what might be deemed their “thinking” mind and right into their “gut” and/or defensive instincts.

This notion of feeling threatened is endemic to the white imagination (Morrison, 1992). One need only point to the white terrorism that rests solely upon the white male’s pathological fear and envy of the imagined Black Penis or Phallus. Countless black men were and continue to be executed by institutionally sanctioned means (white police and white men acquitted of killing black men). Upon being executed, the white men would often castrate the black men. Why castrate an already murdered human? The answer lies in whites’ need to ceremonialize the

removal of that which threatens them. Though its expression and context vary through history, whites experience a visceral and emotional—not merely cognitive—response to white supremacy. Executions of black men persist and are allowed because the memory of the imagined Black Phallus also persists. Although all historical and contemporary evidence testifies that it is black men who must protect themselves from white men, this accepted principle of whites feeling threatened dominates the U.S. landscape. This exemplifies the backwards thinking that typifies white supremacy's pathology.

Requests to prohibit verbal expression lest others feel threatened hardly compares to the massacre of black (and brown) men and women in this country. Where they intersect for the reader's understanding, however, is recognizing that both result from unchecked emotional responses from whites deeply entrenched in the pathology of white supremacy. To illustrate, a white person in one of the study contexts shared with me a feeling of being physically and emotionally threatened by a presentation I made about how a white teacher's characterization of her African American student dehumanized him. The same person later expressed sexual desire for men of color. It is not uncommon, given white people's colonial instinct, to devour people they consider exotic and/or submissive (hooks, 1992). For this same person to be given carte blanche (IRB/ committee support) to study black men for a dissertation project without even cursory accountability for white supremacy should cause alarm. These demonstrations of white supremacy are corroborated in various academic literatures and surfaced in the analysis of my data as well (hooks, 1992; Ladson-Billings, 2012; Matias, 2013a; Porter, 1997).

White supremacy is traumatic. It erupts from hundreds of years of torture, rape, and depravities that are still unspeakable and ignored by most. I contend they are known but ignored. The human capacity to survive trumps allowing the knowledge of these events and their

persistent legacies to reign in the conscious mind. I posit, as have others (Jackson, 2011; A. Smith, 1994; Smith, 1994), that the historical events of colonialism and enslavement cause severe moral and psychological damage to their material beneficiaries. This damage is a socially-sanctioned traumatic wound that appears to allow the dehumanization of white supremacy to persist. While some have located originating historical moments in which white supremacy and the sexual torture of women appeared through conquest (Eisler, 1987; Stone, 1981), the autogenocide and apartheid witnessed today reinforce and are reinforced by (Alexander, 2010; Leonardo, 2002; Wacquant, 2002) the white pathology in melanin-poorer persons that enslaved, tortured, and killed melanin-richer persons in the past. Put simply, historical events concretize a pathology which in turn produces more events that further concretize the pathology. What occurred in history creates our current moment, and the current moment strengthens that devastating history. The events may change in appearance (i.e., de jure school segregation becomes de facto segregation) but the pathology, due to the unexamined traumatic injury, remains intact (Bell, 1992a; Bonilla-Silva, 2010; Ladson-Billings, 2012). The findings of this study confirmed this claim.

The Greatest Barrier to White People Healing the Wound of White Supremacy is White Denial.

As the previous claim asserts, white supremacy is traumatic for melanin-rich and melanin-poor alike. What distinguishes those of color and those who are not is awareness of white supremacy's damage. Let us be clear, this is not an essentialist statement regarding a particular "giftedness" among all melanin-rich persons and our ability to "see" where others cannot. The claim that whites are profoundly damaged at their core by white supremacy is not original (Ani, 1994; Berry, 2010; Du Bois, 1920; Smith, 1994). What is omitted, however, in the

story of white supremacy's victims is the damage done to the white psyche. This damage is most apparent in the form of white people's collective denial of white supremacy's injury.

“White”, being the color of the “human”, damages whites by never requiring whites to wonder about why their existence qualifies as human at the expense of “non-whites”. In other words, the unearned paid-in-full benefit of racially melanin-poor persons (Harris, 1993) does not necessitate the critical analysis of the world in which they live. They are able to be born and die without ever having their existence endangered by the socio-political landscape. Indeed, it is rare for a white person to learn the legacy of white supremacy in the U.S. For the small minority of melanin poor persons that acknowledge the unearned financial and material benefit of being coded as “white”, there is usually not a complete disavowal of this benefit. Stated another way, being white leaves a white person with the psychological impairment that entitlement brings. This entitlement transpires due to the oppression of the majority of humans on the planet.

My findings lead me to contend that the greatest barrier to healing from the pathology of white supremacy—a pathology that delays one's actualized humanity (Andrea & Daniels, 1999; King, 1991; Skillings & Dobbins, 1991) —is the denial that such a pathology exists within the “good whites” from the study's contexts. This humanity begins with the admittance and understanding on behalf of white persons that the degree to which they enjoy the benefit of being white in a white supremacist society is 1) the degree to which a person who is not white is detained from receiving this same benefit and 2) the degree to which a white person relinquishes their humanity. The denial of the pathology compromises the beneficiary in acute ways: Primary among these is a reduction in empathy (Sontag, 2003), an inability to see or perceive the physical world clearly (Zerubavel, 2006), and a muted cognitive function thwarting knowledge capacity (Cohen, 2001).

Transition

Chapter 4 devotes itself to answering the first of the two guiding research questions for this project: What does white supremacy look like? These findings provide the first portion of our journey in this exploration of embodied white supremacy. As the methodology chapter and the opening of Chapter 4 elaborate, the ontological, epistemological, and theoretical orientations of the researcher guide these findings and their pursuant claims. To simplify, whites provided the catalyst for the brown researcher's data. This aspires to create a "bottom up" lens that subverts the hegemonic gaze of whites upon melanin rich people thereby othering white racial behavior to the margins (hooks, 1992; Huckaby, 2011).

Chapter 5 invokes the same ontology, epistemology, and theoretical framework—although varying facets. I analyze the data with different analytical tools to answer the second research question: How does white supremacy feel in a Brown body?

CHAPTER 5
WHAT DOES WHITE SUPREMACY FEEL LIKE FOR AN HONORARY WHITE?

To be white is not a crime. To be white is to reap a lifetime of unearned benefits for centuries of crime.—data notes.

Introduction

We are now pulled us into the epicenter of the body. Plummeting the depths of the second research question, “What does white supremacy feel like?” requires coping with the embodied nature of white supremacy through the particularities of one’s body. The epistemological concept that orients this query is Cherríe Moraga’s Theory of the Flesh. I amend it slightly by calling for a Theory in/Struggle with the Flesh. As Moraga (1983) formulates, “A theory in the flesh means one where the physical realities of our lives—our skin color, the land or concrete we grew up on...all fuse to create a politic born out of necessity” (p. 23). The insights and claims in this chapter spring from an embodied theorization of white supremacy. Dovetailing with my theoretical framework, the specific experience of the researcher’s brown body becomes the site from which the second research question is investigated.

The theoretical devices that drive these findings and claims are LatCrit’s transformational resistance, specificity/ generality, and multidimensionality (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001). Solórzano and Delgado Bernal (2001) distinguish transformational resistance from other resistance theories by highlighting the centrality of human agency. Their articulation of transformational resistance is a LatCrit theorization that “allows one to look at resistance among Students of Color that is political, collective, conscious...and based on an awareness and critique of social oppression...motivated by...social justice” (Solórzano & Delgado Bernal, 2001, p. 320). Using my experience as a Latin@ Student of Color, I suggest that my experience embodies opportunities to theorize from within both the specificities unique to my cultural/

racial/ ethnic conglomeration and the generalities faced by many, if not most, Latin@s/people of color. A cornerstone of LatCrit is the insistence that all parts of identity are accounted for when considering the role socio-political oppressions play. For this reason, I purposely consider the multidimensional nature of my Latin@ identity in these study contexts.

Analytical Tool: The Mestiza Way, El Camino de la Mestiza

Gloria Anzaldúa (1987) describes this form of analysis as something akin to what can only be compared to a vision quest or journey into the center of one's self. This path is intuitive in nature and requires that, "She goes through her backpack, keeps her journal and address book, and throws away the mini-bart metromaps" (p. 82). That is, through this analysis process I kept who I was and the many socio-political forces that comprise "me" close, acting as touchstones while analyzing.

I detached from a prescribed, logocentric means of data analysis that presumes a positivist or objective detachment. Instead, I submitted to this journey by navigating my personal feeling states and the self that materialized in the data. Three qualities which Anzaldúa (1987) invokes composed this analysis. Borrowing her text, I call them Inheritance, Caught in a Middle Space, and Tolerance for Ambiguity. These three qualities refine the analytical tool in the following manner:

- **Inheritance** refers to maintaining an awareness of "which is the baggage from the Indian mother...the Spanish father...the Anglo?" (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 82). Racialization is a socio-emotional process through which one inherits colonial "baggage". A mestiza, or mixed-race person, is always aware of the centrality of this legacy and is cognizant of its framing capabilities.

- **To be caught in the middle space** is to sit in the middle of the “rupture with all oppressive traditions of all cultures and religions” (Anzaldúa, 1987, p. 82) and convey that struggle. It transforms the struggle into a productive site of growth, enrichment, and learning.
- **A tolerance for ambiguity** demands the mestiza’s complete surrender to what is observed. It is a call to push off from the safety of “knowing” and inhabit the nether region of “not-knowing” in an effort to paradoxically discover the potentially difficult truths the data may reveal. This can come naturally to a mestiza who has lived a life of ambiguity in a world that prides itself on the illusion of certainty.

Using these three devices as guides produced a distinct set of insights. These insights, or findings, revealed an insider view of white supremacy. In a reversal of the gaze drawn inward, the data led to visceral discernments into white supremacy’s embodied and affective nature. Specifically, the analysis pointed to how the pathology of white supremacy, articulated in Chapter 4, touches a person of color. In this project, the person of color is often mistaken for being “one of the good ones” and recognizes collusions with white supremacists. This apparent “undercover” status or “de-ethnicized” status appears to result from a command of the academic “standard” American English and being less melanin-rich in the non-Caribbean climes of this study’s contexts.

Anzaldúa’s (1987) invocation and elaboration of the mestiza, “this mixture of races...(the product of) racial, ideological, cultural and biological cross-pollinization” (p. 77), coats the manner in which the analysis of the data for Chapter 4 is articulated. However, for my insights

and claims, I summon Bonilla-Silva's (2010) Latin Americanization thesis of racial stratification, particularly his employment of the term "Honorary White" as a productive construct to grasp the socio-political reality through which the research question resolved.

Latin American Racism Comes to the U.S.: Who is an "Honorary White"?

Aligned with LatCrit and Critical Race Theory's critique of the Black/ White paradigm, the Latin Americanization thesis offers an antidote to this binary's simplicity with a picture that clarifies racial stratification in an imagined colorblind society. Drawing upon the manner in which racial stratification operates in Latin America, Bonilla-Silva (2010a) suggests that the U.S. is proceeding in the direction of a triracial arrangement of stratification that emulates a Latin American rendering of racial stratification. Sacrificing a proper elaboration of this thesis here¹⁰, it is important to note that, "Whites", "Honorary White", and "Collective Black" (Bonilla-Silva, 2010a, p. 180) categories of race comprise this triracial arrangement. These categories cut across conventional and contemporary delineations of race.

The working sketch that Bonilla-Silva (2010a) provides places various Asian, Latin@, Native American, and multiracial ethnicities across the racial continuum. For example, Latin@s appear in the "Whites" category as assimilated white Latin@s, in the "Honorary Whites" category as light-skinned or "medium (brown) skin tone" (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, p. 108) Latin@s, and in the "Collective Black" category as new West Indian immigrants and dark-skinned Latin@s. Hispanics, Latin@s, Latin folk, all share a similar (often identical) heritage of the Spanish conquest of our Indigenous ancestors coupled with the torture and genocide of our African ancestors and a genetic co-mingling of the latter with the former (through rape and

¹⁰ I highly recommend that one read his thesis for a proper understanding of how white supremacy may continue its authority despite the predicted majority of people of color that will inhabit the U.S.

consensual sex). Consequent diasporic migration to the U.S. followed in which Latin Americans were sorted into different racial categories once they were “off the boat” (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, p. 107). Thus, the commonly adhered to U.S. racial stratification system, which places humans in one of five categories: Asian, Native American/ Hawaiian/ Alaskan, African American, Latin@/ Hispanic, and White/ Caucasian, fails to elucidate the hierarchical nuance of race in the U.S.

The Latin Americanization thesis illustrates the manner in which racism hierarchizes members of Latin American families. Much like the degradation of colorism experienced by some African Americans in the U.S. (Graham, 1999), Latin Americans replicate racial hierarchies within immediate families, rendering darker-skinned family members less valuable (and treated accordingly) than their light(er)-skinned members (Bonilla-Silva, 2010b). Latin American families actively socialize their children into valuing “white” through affective mechanisms such as preferential treatment or daily assaults on one’s less-than-white appearance. Understand that this materialization of white supremacy results from internalized racism. The internalized racism enacted by family members is merely the oppressed enacting their oppression upon other oppressed persons. It is a mistake to view the enactment of internalized oppression as racism. Rather, it is disempowered persons hurting other disempowered persons.

It is worth noting that I was raised by a very light-skinned Haitian grandmother and light-skinned Cuban mother. Being the product of a biracial Puerto Rican father and a light-skinned Cuban mother and raised only by light-skinned Caribbean people, made me visibly “less white” than my immediate family. In my experience, this skin tone discernment is lost on most Americans as they have been socialized into a black/ white racial paradigm. Historically, it has been apparent to most Latin@s where I might reside on the racial continuum. Comments regarding the shape of my nose, the size of my lips, and my apparent natural “rhythm” and

agility as a dancer were regularly made, and these traits were colloquially referred to as emanating from my Puerto Rican “side”, meaning closer to my African ancestry and farther from my white ancestry.

Honorary whites are characterized as the intermediary group of this particular articulation of racial stratification which is responsible for doing white supremacy’s bidding. A principal feature of honorary whites is that they are not white. As Bonilla-Silva (2002) reminds his opponents, many of whom tend to fit into the honorary white category, honorary whites “acquired such position because of...the political needs of whites for a buffer group to limit the likelihood of the ‘them’ (melanin-rich) becoming a numerical majority that potentially could unite against ‘us’ (melanin-poor)” (p. 110). He elaborates upon the second class status of honorary whites by reminding us that “no matter how hard they work to be White-like, their near Whiteness is totally dependent upon the whims of the dominant White strata” (Bonilla-Silva, 2002, p. 111). A lifetime of experience with this phenomenon leads me to conclude that, regardless of my educational attainment, how “well” (white-approved) I speak, and/ or the perception that I belong to an upper echelon within my ethnic group, my non-white status is and has been dependent upon the “whites in the (socio-political) room”. As Harris (1993) has explained, whites decide who gets to be white. This is born out in the historico-legal arena with great prominence (Harris, 1993).

This explication of the “honorary white” category is intended to assist the reader in understanding the complexities of race as I experience them in my skin. To state, “I am Latina” and “I am a woman of color”, which are both true, fails to offer a complete picture of how race seems to actually “work” in U.S. society. My residence in the “honorary white” category presents unique circumstances regarding my relationship to white supremacy and those who

indulge white supremacy in a systematic manner. I hope that the insights of Chapter 4 complicate rather than simplify the “Latina (brown/ person of color/ Cuban-Puerto Rican/ Haitian-American) experience”. As the Latin American racial stratification thesis implores, to claim these identities should not invite presumptive understandings of what the identities mean. It should be clear that the spectrum of “brownness” provides infinite placement possibilities on the U.S.-conceived racial continuum.

¡A Word of Caution Regarding G(r)azing upon Experiences of Color!

It is with much trepidation that the following insights are displayed for the gaze of those who may read them. The history of white people gazing upon the experiences, qualities, and “characteristics” of people of color in an effort to dominate them under the auspices of trying to understand them is vast and well-documented (Cross, 2005; Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Meyer, 2001; Miller, 1897; Paperson, 2010; Smith, L., 1999; Zuberi, 2008). Whether this be the work of eugenicists, educational researchers, anthropologists, or psychometricians, people of color have long been the object of white people’s need to observe and probe melanin-rich people for their amusement and/ or career advancement. I implore the reader to remain mindful of this historical inheritance. Perhaps, a means to enact this mindfulness is to resist the impulse to objectify another’s experience—mine, in this case—and, instead, turn the colonial gaze inward. In other words, I invite you to note and foreground your internal experience as you read. Across the melanin-rich/ poor scale, we have all been socialized into the mind of the master. While our experience and awareness differ, the master is the same—white supremacy (Ani, 1994; King, 2011; X, 2008).

Findings: What does white supremacy feel like?

The following findings acutely probed the research question: What does white supremacy feel like? It was surprising to see the shared characteristic of denial for a person of color and whites. The pervasiveness of emotional content in the findings was palpable. However, how the data produced findings are clearly delineated in each chapter within the same brown body for two different research questions that comprise the entire research project.

Double Denial: Now you see it/ now you don't

“I needed to believe that whites in my life could generally see what I saw... This class was a wake-up call... it revealed truths I couldn't deny any longer... (they) didn't have the lifelong anger, sense of outrage that accompanied recognizing your personal struggle was a collective struggle.” —data notes.

The quote above from the written record of the data typifies this insight. Each of the study contexts appeared to fashion a combined or “schizophrenic”¹¹ effect. The data produced a peculiar articulation of “now you see it/ now you don't.” It seems that my desire to see things as they actually were, which required making sense of the pain and eroding confusion that seemed to infuse the study contexts, was constantly juxtaposed by an equally strong commitment to rationalize instances of white supremacy. Nevertheless, I found myself surprised when instances of problematic, white supremacist behavior materialized, and the cloak of denial was lifted. In those instances, I wrote, “Did that really happen?” and then, “Oh, they mean well. I mean they talk about race, at least. It's all messed up and points the finger at us. But maybe they'll get there soon... gosh, I don't want to do this anymore... I should take a nap.”

¹¹ I want to be cautious in my use of the term “schizophrenic” here. I use it in its informal usage to suggest a certain dissociative or mystifying effect that mitigates how knowing and not-knowing can co-exist in the same person. This is not meant to undermine or make light of the severity of an actual medical diagnosis, but rather, aspires to serve as an illustrative vernacular allusion to such a condition. That white supremacy causes aberrations of clear thinking has already been established in Chapter 4. This merely builds upon the assertion.

The cloak represented disbelief that what I experienced was accurate. Eventually, I acquiesced that indeed these were instances of white supremacy in my relationships with a professor, a colleague, and classmates. This socio-political reality bled out of the study contexts and filtered through the entire doctoral educational experience. Yet, there was a consistent sense of “now you see it/ now you don’t” that comprises the color-blind racism elaborated in Chapter 4. In its presumed invisibility, it is everywhere visible. I provide a figure below as a possible representation of double denial.

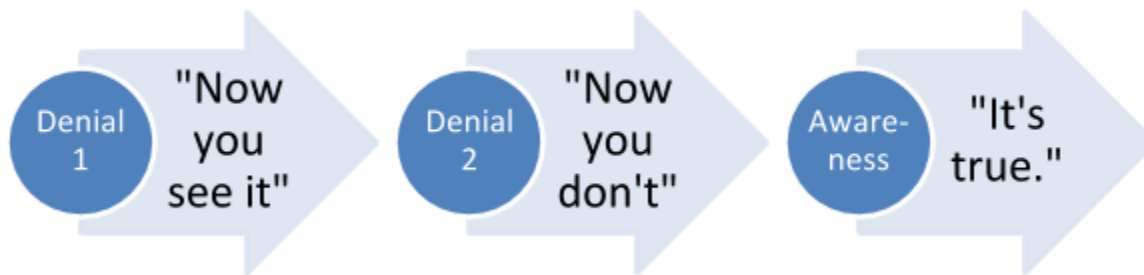


Figure 5-1. The Now you see it/ Now you don’t see it phenomenon

As the written record of the data proceeds, one encounters an “inability to believe it’s true” (I don’t see it) alongside an equally present, “holy shit, it is true” (I do see it) that the whites in the study contexts had taught in K-12 classrooms, taught (predominantly white) teachers in preservice teacher education and K-12 classrooms, and received collectively millions of dollars in grant money to reproduce white supremacy in education. Through the data, this “I

can't believe it" or "I don't want to believe it" instinct appears most poignant when I recalled my own tenure as a K-12 teacher. The disbelief materializes as an emotional torrent reminiscent of realizing one has been colluding with the enemy, in this case, the white supremacist and colonial hegemony of contemporary K-12 segregated schooling contexts in which I taught.

The other point of contention which emanated from the analysis was the disbelief, too, in watching the damage this did to the melanin-poor students. Watching students and professors in each of the study contexts act as white supremacists through defensive/ protective reactions which uphold that supremacy and/or detach from actively dealing with white collusion was an exercise in the "now you see it/ now you don't phenomenon." For example, I noted in looking at classroom posts of the course context what appeared to be stages of grief (or consciousness?) threaded over the duration of course. This iteration of double denial in these study contexts acted as a coping mechanism for me to digest the gradual realization, that yes, I was in the master's house and yes, this was how and where the academic/ educational plantation (Paul, 2001) generated its gatekeepers/ overseers.

The data connect my experience of doctoral socialization with being a teacher of predominantly children of color. Despite being a person of color, it became apparent to me that I was becoming the overseer of my students, preparing them for the outside white supremacist context in which they already lived through my actions as a teacher. The data reveal the gut-wrenching difficulty in coming to see the aforementioned reality clearly.

Double denial surfaced also in the disbelief that whites in the study could allow themselves to study children of color or world-majority (melanin-rich) cultures without any qualms of reifying white supremacy. This insight occurred across all three study contexts.

Shame/ Exhilaration at Passing/ Caretaking

“Any deviation from the white race puts you at a greater distance of what is an entitlement.” —data notes.

This insight, more than any other, enlightened the construct of the honorary white status I claim to inhabit from the outset of this chapter. Having been an honorary white my whole life, what appeared in the data were the particularities of affect in which these characteristics materialized. Being a person in whom whites would confide/ confess their complicity with white supremacy served, I noticed, as a source of shame. What had I done to make them think this was acceptable? Rather than believe that I could offer something productive, I felt as though I served as a confidante who confirmed the behavior and statements of whites. More notably, I harbored shame in eliciting this trust.

I experienced a kind of shame coupled with exhilaration in my ability to pass as one who could collude with white supremacy. In other words, I was left wondering, “What cues did I offer up to suggest I was ‘safe’?” This prompted a mild internal paranoia. Shame also arose in reflecting upon the manner in which I would instinctively “caretake” a white person’s feelings of discomfort. One example took the form of not speaking out, or “talking back” (hooks, p.5), in a group situation out of a fear of retribution. This fear and then accompanying shame produced an ever-elusive dance in which I would skirt around issues which needed to be critiqued or challenged. Lacking capital as a student made resistance to this fear and acting boldly an unnavigable situation.

These study contexts fall within a time frame of my personal development in which I began to actively resist the “racial safety” my honorary white status gave. I had resisted on many occasions throughout my life and more recently as a K-12 teacher. However, the resistances of

this era were marked by my disempowered status as a doctoral student of color. Ever aware of the elusiveness of my status, this was a learning curve indeed. Consistently, there were risks. The data reflect the challenges I experienced with these resistances and revealed the manner in which I had been socialized to derive a sense of pride corralled around how “white” I could act. Reports of regret that I did resist or speak out *more* without a thought for my “safety”, which is, nonetheless, illusory, materialized throughout the data.

My analysis notes shame at observing the multiple occasions when whites sat in silence despite my sharing difficult truths and making comments using the words “white supremacy.” The data reflect the jolt that came from feeling like the onus appeared to lie in the laps of people of color to utter, “white supremacy;” that is, it was somehow a problem owned by people of color. Being the person of color to shake whites out of this complacency, according to the data, provoked shame in me. While the silences were not decipherable, it was observable that speaking about white supremacy in my chosen study contexts was an aberration that should be avoided entirely or tread lightly upon. While the shame I found in my analysis is not itself up for scrutiny, I would be remiss if I did not recount that I found it odd that I had internalized a shame that was not my burden but rather belonged, rightfully, to white supremacists in my study contexts.

Shame is loosely defined as an appropriate response to guilt for wrongdoing. As the data state, “To be white is not a crime. To be white is to reap a lifetime of unearned benefits for centuries of crime.” One is left wondering: why has the person of color internalized the shame? This is the topic for another study.

Overwhelming Racial Battle Fatigue—rage of a colored doc student.

“3/2/10 I am in one awful place . . . I am so pissed. I feel like I’m about to explode—I don’t want the job of taking care of people’s feelings—I don’t feel like having to make it my responsibility that they feel comfortable about their own discoveries. That class is a very lonely and not fun experience.” –journal entry after class

Much like the previous insight/ findings, the analysis revealed a tension between two poles. At one end, there appeared to be a sense of resolve and acceptance. There was almost what can only be described as gratitude for the lessons learned from a fairly horrific student experience. This gratitude stood next to multiple reports of exhaustion, headaches, and digestive issues typically toward the end of a session of collecting or immediately following an emotional or difficult recounting of experiences for this study.

The opening excerpt is from one of the artifacts used to elicit data. It appears as the first temporal instance of what has been called “racial battle fatigue” (Smith, Yosso, & Solórzano, 2006). This experience instantiates the remainder of my experience in all three study contexts. This particular reflection is related to the course that comprises one of the study contexts.

The data are filled with visceral expressions of this fatigue. Some examples throughout the data include, “The class hit me like a bomb”, “the stab to my chest” after having read some online course posts by other students in the chosen class context, “The exhaustion of having to reveal (information in study contexts)”, “I am paralyzed”, “I had to see her (white-people) crazy come out”, “feeling sick to my stomach often”, and “getting tired of these migraines”. Over time these symptoms presented themselves alongside expressions of quiet rage accompanied by the aforementioned disbelief that whites were entitled to have their process at the expense of melanin-rich persons, allowed to probe or prod people of color for their material benefit and curiosity, and accountable only to other whites in power.

Distrust in Sharing “Colored” Feelings

“The world sort of went quiet as far as my doc program goes.” —data notes.

The data provided stark instances of white supremacy in which it was not safe to share feelings as a melanin-rich person. Each context required some form of sharing opinions or feelings as a participatory invective within conversations or presentations. What materializes in the data is a long-standing distrust coming to the surface. Though I reported making myself vulnerable in these contexts with the possibility that something might change and that white(s) would come around, the opposite occurred.

Looking at the data within study contexts that span four years of the doctoral program, I noted a progression of distrust. What emerges through this progression starts as a commitment to proceed with speaking “truth to power” despite the risk it involves. These risks stem from being a doctoral student of color in an HWCU in which there are many silent discourses permeating relations among peers and professors that inevitably affect one’s opportunities to engage in research projects and teaching activities. These are the activities that carry capital on a curriculum vitae by yielding professional (paying) opportunities as a result. Knowing that this is the unspoken yet ever-present backdrop, my distrust in expressing honest perspectives regarding white supremacy grows through the data.

The course context signals the onset of my realization that sharing my experience and developing articulations of the role white supremacy plays in our socialization as educational researchers and teacher educators is not safe. This realization continues through the temporal end of the study contexts in which I recognize that whites’ denial-yet-fetishization of black and brown pain comprises the epistemologico-emotional foundation of the institution within which I survived. I noted with regret and horror that using people of color for material and professional

gain was a common and unchallenged activity for whites. This culminated in my distrust for not only the whites in the study contexts but the larger context within which they reside—educational research and teacher education.

Distrust in Teacher Education

“Dear White People,

Instead of studying how ‘exceptional’ some of us are. Can you please start studying how even the most ‘sub-standard’ of you attain leadership, wealth, and power?

Thanks.

Love, me.”—data notes (months before release of movie with opening moniker)

While this insight adjoins with the previous one, it deserves its own category. This insights extends outward to the field of teacher education yet falls well-within these contexts. There exists a strong and vocal community of scholars of color in education who sound the clarion call for teacher education programs housed within HWCUs to shake themselves awake from the institutional sickness that reigns upon participants of color (Rollock, 2012; Shealey, McHatton, McCray & Thomas, 2014; Smith, Yosso & Solórzano, 2006; Solórzano, 1998; View & Frederick, 2011). The distrust also appeared to form around the identity I claimed as a “teacher”.

In the data, I reported feeling a pronounced connection to the profession of teaching. Though I came from a long line of teachers, great-grandmother on the Cuban side and grandmother on the Haitian side among the eldest, never had I aspired to be a teacher. Apparently, entering the classroom in which I taught students with whom I shared demographic characteristics appeared to change this non-aspiration to a total commitment and sense of mission. However, as my data reflect, I failed to understand why teachers were not teaching

liberatory and revolutionary curriculum given that our students were facing a very real pipeline to prison. Instead, I heard (mostly white teachers) complain about their kids' behavior, using those same racial euphemisms ("those children") that would make my skin crawl. I even heard a teacher claim that our students were the "dregs of society". How does a child stand a chance when a teacher says or thinks this? As I report in the data, there are larger systemic pathologies at work here. I neglected to see how teachers could not comprehend their role as revolutionary. Such naiveté! I believed that teachers needed to teach students of color substantive curriculum that taught Black and Latin@ history, culture, and centered all skill-oriented lessons around a social justice/ revolutionary imperative. I recalled reading the Black Power literature detailing how the Panthers and interested community members did just that and thinking, "Yes! *This* matches my students' needs."

Every day in the classroom was my teacher education training ground. Sometimes I was boring and traditional in my pedagogy; other times, I had them on the edge of their seats. I was incredibly strict (often unreasonably so, in retrospect). I was formal in my address: My students were, "Mr." and "Miss". I demanded silence during individual work. I never let students go to the bathroom (unreasonable) so they knew not to ask.

One thing never wavered; they knew I loved them. They knew I was tough because I needed them to succeed for us. In fact, I told them so. I told them I needed them to, "Get it together, children. There is a revolution and I need you to be up to the fight. I need you because I won't be working forever. I'll need you to take care of things." They knew what it meant for our destinies to be bound up together.

They knew I knew what it was to grow up Cuban and Puerto Rican in a white world. The room was plastered with pictures from their homes; we studied Tupac's message in his music

and the literary conventions used in his songs; I read Malcom X's autobiography aloud while asking the appropriate Reading skills questions. I gave tons of practice tests for the forthcoming state-mandated exam(s). I did all of these things and always felt plagued by not doing enough. Somehow, though my education was similarly below par in a U.S. public school setting, seeing these youngsters filing through the corridor that would send them to prison without batting an eye shook me to my core.

I witnessed, on the ground, a preponderance of white teachers choosing to either withhold guidance in the form of classroom management or implement unusually harsh consequences for student behavior. Knowing the manner in which a lack of loving guidance and/ or unusually harsh disciplinary measures directly correlate to the imprisonment of students and adults of color evoked the deepest rumble of rage within me. I was floored by the appearance of this pipeline (to prison) every day, our collusion with it, and the lack of awareness and outrage at its existence. I was pissed at this negligence.

Why the elaboration about my K-12 experience? Does this not fall outside of the chosen study contexts? Entering a PhD program was an act of desperation. I applied to the program nearest me with the intention of continuing to work full-time in the classroom. While pragmatic circumstances altered this intention, I was of the opinion that to teach kids every day was the greatest privilege bestowed upon me and presumed others shared this opinion. Given this assumption, I opined that others who teach (because teaching is a magical thing) were as outraged as I was and sought to create an informed and, potentially, powerful revolution in the tradition of the Black Panthers and other grassroots social justice efforts.

The course chosen for the study context emblemized what I encountered. Suffice it to say, humanizing revolutionary zeal could not be found within the predominately melanin-poor

populated walls within which my program resided. What did abound were celebrations of deeply problematic colonial discourses woven through all of the study contexts which replicated the white gaze upon the melanin-rich child. The discourses never implicated the white theft or collusion that produced the gazed upon object.

The data are replete with instances of feeling appalled by what comprises (and does not comprise) teacher socialization. Having this doctoral program serve as my first introduction to a college of education, the institutional body responsible for teaching teachers, the data revealed a sense of sadness and anger at the shock from the study context in the first year of the program followed by the malaise found in the remaining two study contexts in the following years of the program. Instances of sadness, anger, and malaise thread through all the study contexts. White supremacy was circulated through the pedagogical and curricular choices. The lengthy narrative which appeared anecdotally and referentially throughout the data revealed the shock and accompanying malaise resulted from a sense of betrayal I experienced. The betrayal and pursuant distrust stemmed from the belief that other educators and those who educate educators would possess sufficient sensitivity and humanity to be outraged. Further, this outrage would be funneled into a productive and unstoppable force to keep black and brown children from being enslaved by the white power structure. This outrage was absent in all of the study contexts for this project. White supremacy, then, produced a deep and abiding distrust of teacher education at-large.

Compulsion To Warn Melanin-Rich Others

“My brain is still unscrambling from a lifetime of this (white supremacy) shit . . . You are on enemy soil constantly.” –data notes

The data exposed a pattern. While the first three quarters of the written record of the data recount the “sensations”, “intuitive takes”, and “multileveled” “attention” (Anzaldúa, 2002, 542), acts as a response to the study contexts, the final quarter articulated a manifesto of sorts for other students of color. The manifesto portion seemed driven by an intrinsic desire to prevent others from experiencing the level of pain I encountered. The pattern as well as some of the content within this pattern is worth noting.

All three streams of awareness are certainly apparent in the data. However, it is the “inheritance” and “conscious rupture” streams that necessitate some attention. Firstly, a description of what a student of color may encounter and how to best navigate what is encountered invites the possibility that this is, potentially, a shared experience by past, present, and future students of color. There is a sense of urgency in the data to warn people of color of the damage they may experience in HWCUs which can be hostile spaces. The data morphed from the standard forms of data outlined at the outset into a desire to arm potential doctoral students of color with tools to offset academic white supremacy.

Returning to the research question, “How does white supremacy feel?”, it is clear that one of the insights that arose through the analysis process was a sense of coalitional-racial altruism. Indeed, one is reminded of Huey P. Newton’s (1973) revolutionary suicide in which he advances the reality that to speak truth to power is to risk one’s life. He invites one to consider that speaking truth to power, then, is a struggle for everyone’s freedom and therefore worth that risk. This altruistic fervor might fall within the multileveled attention or “images (my) imagination creates” (Anzaldúa, 2002, p. 542) classification of the data. However, the impending compulsion to warn others brought the data from one of inward reflection to outward action. This insight lends particular credence to the possibility that qualitative inquiry can lead to social

activist scholarship. Activism through scholarship may offer a profound outcome of altruism that teacher education and educational research need. To be sure, the compulsion to warn is viewed here as a strong impulse to thrive.

Discussion

Educational programs that prepare researchers and teachers are faced with the challenge of causing candidates of color distress (Gildersleeve, Croom & Vasquez, 2011). Despite the reality that doctoral programs have a preponderance of melanin-poor students and tend to meet their needs best, melanin-rich candidates continue to pursue programs at HWCUs. The following discussion aspires to distill some of the insights attained for the benefit for those with a stake in comprehending some hindrances that HWCUs manufacture.

Teacher education and educational research programs (and schooling generally) in HWCUs cause us, people of color, damage. The data analysis indicate that the chosen study contexts, which were illustrative portions of a doctoral teacher education program in an HWCU, produced injurious effects for this researcher of color. Even in the face of white's efforts to address "race" within these study contexts, white supremacy was upheld by whites. The damage caused by the sustenance of white supremacy as an organizing value took the form of shame, deteriorating abilities to "see" clearly, racial fatigue, and distrust.

This damage stems in large part from the socio-political verity that HWCUs are created with whites in mind. The insights, or findings, elaborated here must be seen as symptomatic of the larger and evident reality that there is an albatross of history creating the contexts which deploy white supremacy. Teacher education and educational research programs are founded upon the maxim of whites "civilizing" the subject of color. Despite failed attempts to address white supremacy with words like "equity", teacher education and educational research programs

in HWCUs reinstall white supremacy by centering the student of color as the object of study, thereby marginalizing rather than centering “white” as the object in need of study. This failure causes emotional and academic stress for students of color as we are required to “walk the whites’ talk” to garner acceptance, accolades, and much-needed academic rewards.

The continued focus on people of color as the “problem children” in education without the focus on the white supremacist(s) who cause this problem can be easily internalized by students of color without active resistance. Melanin-rich students face the predicament of having to create generate and hone active, transformational resistance. Within the study contexts, the necessity of resistance placed a needless burden upon me.

The cost of “selling out” to white supremacy for honorary whites is physical, emotional, and spiritual. The problem honorary whites face is a peculiar one. Honorary whites contend with the daily seduction of succumbing to the treats white supremacy dangles before them. Surely, honorary whites do not comprise a monolithic block in which every person’s experience is identical. However, the overarching challenge for us, especially for those who from a young age were the tokens dropped into overwhelmingly white spaces, is to remember the deeply embedded cost of those treats. Honorary whites rarely admit this status because it instantly hurls us into the “sellout” category. Thus, we reside in the role of not-white, for we are not, and not true to our roots or ourselves.

The lack of rootedness that results from wearing the honorary white crown placed upon one’s head by whites is palpable. It is not uncommon in some diasporic communities, like my own, for families to laud children raised in the U.S. who can navigate the honorary white terrain. This is often viewed as benefitting the entire family through the status of the children. Though we may frequently be cautioned to not “forget ourselves” or date outside of our ethnic enclaves,

these messages affix themselves to paradoxical messages to distance ourselves from those darker than us.

One example of this palpability is the insight about shame and exhilaration. Colluding with white supremacy within the study contexts produced collegial relations and opportunities for collaboration that resulted in academic/ professional capital. This collusion created opportunities at the cost of interrupting and challenging deeply held white supremacist practices. However, this collusion translated into actual capital that I could add to a curriculum vitae which is the document that translates into a future academic's monetary worth. The cost of this capital, however, was a sense of physical, emotional, and spiritual loss. This loss expressed itself through physical maladies such as migraines and nausea, emotionally through sadness and rage, and spiritually through a sense of groundlessness and disconnection from my deepest self.

I submit that the cost of selling out to white supremacy is simply too great for honorary whites. In many instances, we suffer a disconnection from our families and home cultures. Ultimately, and perhaps most crucially for us to comprehend, we bear a burden that works against our material interests. This is vital to understand as the excuse many of us will proffer is that we have to survive in this regime, and we are not responsible for creating it. However, we threaten our own long-term survival by strengthening white supremacy through our collusion for a short-term reward. We fortify the very construct that subordinates us. Thus, the cost of white supremacy is our demise.

These damages might be ameliorated by the support of other people of color. Whites cannot understand what people of color go through when it comes to the everyday grind of white supremacy. Barring the support that may be in place in the private spheres of melanin-rich students, it is imperative that doctoral programs at HWCUs understand the assault of white

supremacy as a norm and not an aberration with which students of color must contend. It is especially important that HWCUs not use students of color as their “native informants” so they can collect “data” to analyze and hope to create “changes” to better the lives of students of color. No. This is how we perpetuate the mess in which we find ourselves. To reiterate, whites are the problem, not the solution or saviors. Whites are the ones who have to figure out how and why their HWCUs institutions favor whites; whites and white supremacy must be put under the proverbial social scientific microscope. It is whites who are the cause; people of color are not “victims” of an amorphous entity. White supremacy is profound and substantial. White must be made “strange” or “other” to understand the pathology of a HWCU.

One way to do this is to vocalize and systematically engage in critiques of the institution and its programs. An example from the data is the crafting of an advisory manifesto for future and current students of color at HWCUs. Further, occasions to join with other students of color across departments and universities—nationally and internationally—that engage in anti-subordinate practices or insurrectionary conversations concerning white supremacy in HWCUs may prove helpful. Connecting and creating with like-minded melanin-rich doctoral students emerge as powerful possibilities for ameliorating the physical, emotional, and spiritual damages caused by doctoral education at HWCUs.

The data are less clear as to whether these opportunities to connect should be fostered formally or informally. Students no doubt already connect informally. What is lacking at HWCUs appears to be astute, insurrectionary organizing to productively harass white supremacy and white supremacists. HWCUs are known for possessing overwhelmingly white faculty. Doing this formally would require the presence and support of faculty and administrators of color. However, the dearth of officials of color and the tenuousness of their positions at HWCUs

create an unstable state of affairs for faculty and administrators of color. The data analysis implies that doctoral students of color should engage in an ongoing practice of critique and self-care.

CHAPTER 6 CONCLUSION

2014←→1641

In 1641, the Dutch seized the slave trade in Angola away from the Portuguese and they were able to control it until 1648 when the Portuguese took back control again.

A group of thirteen merchants acquired a charter from the Staten Generaal - the Dutch equivalent of the US Congress - for exclusive trade on the American East Coast in what would be called 'New Netherland'. This group of thirteen decided that an island just below present-day Albany would be the ideal place to serve as a centre of trade.

I write this on the day after the announcement that Michael Brown's murderer will be free. I did not expect that he would be indicted (Bell, 1992a). The hyped-up lag time that preceded the "decision" helped affirm my expectation. What strikes me is how much it still hurts. Despite the knowledge that white supremacy comprises this nation's past and present, it hurts no less to experience its macro-assaults (Matias, 2013b). I am reminded of James Baldwin's (1993) call to whites to humanize themselves by recognizing white supremacy's cost to their souls and the incomparable Derrick Bell's (1992b) notice that we stop expecting justice in the United States through its legal system. As you reflect upon the written iteration of this project, thus far, and read the forthcoming sections in this conclusion, I urge you to give this information a face, a body, a life.

This project's primary purpose is to awaken whites and honorary whites to recognize the high cost of white supremacy to their souls, their livelihoods, and their mental health with each black and brown child that is incarcerated or murdered, sacrificially, so that a white child or white person need not be incarcerated or murdered. This sacrifice is akin to the centuries of enslavement that African descended persons made for the material wealth that whites enjoy

today. When will all whites recognize their own livelihoods are at stake in these injustices and fill the streets calling for a stop to the incarceration and genocide of brown and black children?

The main premise from which this project springs—that white supremacy is an embodied reality—can have no better representation than in the reaction of the white police officer who reported being scared of the black child he murdered. This fear is an exemplar of embodied white supremacy. It has historically driven and presently drives the killing of black and brown men of all ages. This same fear, as this project asserts, dictates how research is conducted and students are taught. Further, this fear dictates whether white supremacy will be discussed or implicated as the primary culprit in racial apartheid and genocide.

Review of the Study

Ontology of the Body

This dissertation opens with a philosophical conundrum, ontological dualism, which it does not resolve. It does, however, illuminate its ramifications. Ontological dualism, the ontology of the Western episteme (Ani, 1994; Ephraim, 1999), denotes a belief that all that exists does so upon a balance of opposites. This means that matter, phenomena, and people are bifurcated along opposing poles.

This project concerns itself with two polarities ontological dualism causes. The first of these is the illusion of a mind/ body split. The second is the split of human/ non-human (Wynter, 2003). This paper contends that the human/ non-human duality that plagues the Western historical record (Ephraim, 1999) and episteme can be ameliorated through the restoration of the “bodymind” (Gendlin, 2007). In other words, we heal embodied white supremacy—the symptom which arises from the split of one’s internal humanity—by reconnecting with oneself as a body. The supremacy or hegemony of the mind-without-a-body, the first dualism, is the

fallacy that maintains white supremacy, the second dualism. As the Chapter 1 conveys, this primary split gives rise to the larger and more specific problem in this project—the fictitious split of the body and mind that produces the human/ non-human split of those with varying degrees of melanin. White supremacy begins with this problem and can only be disentangled and understood through its resolution. Put simply, restoration of one’s embodiment is the way to contract white supremacy at its source. White supremacy is a socio-political condition that works through bodies. It is through human bodies that it is deployed (Bonilla-Silva, 2002b). In other words, there can be no white supremacy without a human body to deploy it.

The next move in educational research and teacher education, then, is to recenter the body as the site of knowing (Gendlin, 2007; Lock, 1994). As researchers, how we come to know what we know begins and ends with perception through the body (Todres & Galvin, 2008). The findings of this study substantiate that it is precisely a reclamation of the body as a site of knowing that is required to begin to understand the problem of white supremacy in the U.S. today—especially as it is deployed in PK-20 educational settings.

Palliative Methodology: The Way Through

Palliative denotes that there is no cure. There is no cure for white supremacy. Indeed, to suggest otherwise keeps us safely within the conundrum of white supremacy’s denial. However, prioritizing the body as the primary site of white supremacy’s residence can offer an effective antidote to its strength.

In an effort to foreground the body as the site of knowing, I was able to capitalize on the work of other qualitative researchers who have written about the value of the researcher’s body as a site of knowing when conducting research with others (Cruz, 2001; Dillard, 2000; Hurtado, 2003). Researchers have yielded powerful findings and robust claims due to “being with” a

phenomenon or object studied (Todres, 2008). I can attest to a robust experience while conducting this study. While it was most assuredly a choice wrought with greater challenges and felt more costly than if I had chosen otherwise, it certainly produced more valuable insights than if I had merely engaged in a western, body-denying methodology of inquiry. However, wide-sweeping claims of the superiority in invoking the body in research have no place here. My intention from the outset has not been to demonstrate the superiority of this “method” over others. It is, rather, to establish that any research is deeply embedded in the body or bodies that produce it whereby the way through is to cease treating research as legitimized knowledge.

It is seductive to ask for a prescriptive antidote. What should we do? I hope to demonstrate two things with regard to this impulse. The first of these is that to do appears to be a downfall. It appears that the impulse to do is inextricably linked to a missionizing instinct not unlike aid efforts in historically colonized regions by previously colonizing nations (Easterly, 2007). Though I will make mention of this in the “implications” section, researchers must do the hard work of getting in touch with and healing their bodies of the white supremacist impulse.

The eugenics movement gave rise to educational science (Ladson-Billings, 2012). That educational research should find its origin in what was a legitimized scientific movement to racialize and, simultaneously, quantify superiority (McWhorter, 2008; Zuberi, 2008) should give educational researchers and teacher educators pause. This is especially so when we consider the “nonscience” (Hillard, 1996, p.1) of the bell curve, a recent iteration of eugenics’ legacy. Another disturbing legacy of American schooling is the evidence that the Nazi Party looked to the United States and its education of Black students as a model for colonial education (Rust, 1971). My goal is to hold the impulse that guides research and knowledge outputs under

suspicion. Therefore, I argue for a healthy disdain of the white supremacist agenda that propels the pursuit of research—especially when that research involves communities of color.

Changing the Face of White Supremacy

This project inserts itself into three distinct and potentially overlapping bodies of scholarship. The first of these is the multidisciplinary body of white supremacy literature. The second is the literature that exposes white supremacy as a thing or a series of forces that are perpetrated through human bodies—those coded as white and of color. The third body of literature is the teacher education literature, which I join with its sibling, counselor education. The counselor education literature augments the imperative of white teacher educators to look at their own white supremacy and its adjoining affective qualities (Arredondo, 1999; Ponterotto, 1991; Sue, 2004). This particular literature often begins as a study that probes the intricacies of helping white pre-service teachers work out and confront the implications of their white racial identity (Galman, Pica-Smith & Rosenberger, 2010; Pennington & Brock, 2012). The contention of this project from the outset was to not only extend these extant literatures through this study but also to show the manner in which each literature needs to learn from and communicate with the other.

White supremacy demands our attention. Educational research and teacher education programs need to offer majors in white supremacy and infuse all coursework with the study of white supremacy. For too long, there has been a slow trickle of courses in “Multicultural Education”, “Race and Education”, “Cultural Diversity”, and “Equity” coursework. Again, this is denial’s dance of deception using euphemisms (Bonilla-Silva, 2002a). Meanwhile, white supremacy appears to be doing pushups in the parking lot gaining its strength as teacher

education programs and K-12 schools' faculties remain overwhelmingly white (Ladson-Billings, 2005; Picower, 2009).

White supremacy's power is ever-present in education. Yet, its literature base remains relegated to the realm of subfield specialties and avant-garde or radical professional expertise. It remains the defining construct that undergirds schooling's greatest purpose: the white supremacist stratification of our society.

Summary of the Study

The findings reveal that white supremacy is a poison that affects people of color and white people, albeit differently. The two sets of people observed in this study are whites and honorary whites, who are people of color. Both sets of people are observed through the senses and body of a self-identified honorary white who is a Brown, bilingual Latina. The study's insights point to two salient constructs: The existence of denial and the role of the body.

Denial

The study births multiple insights that substantiate claims about the embodied nature of white supremacy. In particular, these insights revealed the denial of white supremacy's existence or potency. White denial is an intricate composition. This study found that white denial took the form of white superiority/ savority (Matias, 2013b), white illusions of ignorance/innocence, white fragility, and white evasion. The denial of white supremacy promulgated by whites endeavored to strengthen its foothold in the contexts studied while also appearing to cause pain or distress to whites (Jackson, 2011).

Denial for the honorary white embodiment retained an ephemeral quality whereby it would appear and disappear. The instances in which its appearance and disappearance would occur were random. Due to its ephemerality, denial never fully concretized. Thus, it was

without the more common protective tactics to maintain its dominance. The fleeting nature of my, the honorary white, denial was the particular mixture of emotions that accompanied its experience. I would characterize the range as spanning from confusion/ bewilderment to anger/ rage often to sadness/apathy.

Body

The body figured prominently in the findings of Chapters 4 and 5. In the findings of the Chapter 4, the white body held feelings of fear and “hysterical blindness” (Gonsalves, 2008) when the denial of its socio-political supremacy was threatened. The white body figured prominently with its elevation to holding highest status. Classroom environments were carefully engineered to ensure white bodily comfort. The white body’s needs for comfort trumped the needs of others. The perceived threat to the white body edified white denial and reinforced white supremacy.

For the honorary white/ of color context, the body was a site of fatigue and, often, physical illness. The body operated as a repository for multiple feeling states. These included, shame, exhilaration, and distrust. A primary difference between the honorary white/ of color and the white body transpired between their statuses to receive protection. While the white body received a series of institutional and structural protections to avoid discomfort, the body of color (honorary white) did not face the same protections and, thusly, suffered a multitude of physical and emotional symptoms when faced with white supremacy’s reign.

Implications: What Must Be Done

The enormous and wide-sweeping nature of embodied white supremacy in teacher education and researcher preparation makes me cautious. I am careful to offer prescriptive measures that are characteristic of the social science research product whereby consumers of its

contents might take comfort in suggested actions. This is not to suggest that engaging in thoughtful actions is not recommended. Rather, I hope the entire project has adequately communicated that embodied white supremacy is a deeply embedded social problem that generates our current culture. To colloquially rephrase the problem as described in the Chapter 1, embodied white supremacy is “American as apple pie”. It is a globally sacrosanct verity that informs global political relations. Thusly, I contend that the following recommendations through their implications be understood as a mere beginning rather than as all-encompassing directives and that one guard against a sense of self-congratulatory comfort in “doing”. The essential component to begin the work of weakening embodied white supremacy begins with systematic and devoted awareness. This awareness must be the starting and endpoint that accompanies the forthcoming suggestions.

Start Your Curriculum with and Focus on Cause not Effects.

The colonial expansion efforts that define the practice of social science, and by extension educational research, must be folded into every aspect of researcher preparation curriculum. The objectification of humans defines the very act of collecting social research data. Without making this act highly problematic, even criminal, we are doomed to white supremacy’s legacy of dehumanization and objectification. So, too, must teacher education begin with the role of the teacher as a “civilizing” and “whitening” agent in the history of white schooling. This calls for teacher educators and researchers to act as embedded socio-political educators. That is, requiring a history class simply relegates the information to a reservoir of knowledge from which a person can potentially access.

Become a student of white supremacy’s history first. Recognize that as an educational researcher and/ or a teacher educator, you do not exist in a vacuum. Thus, who you are, socio-

politically, generates the research or legitimized knowledge that you produce. Once informed of the vastness of white supremacy and its violent history, demand a lifelong effort to expose and disenfranchise white supremacy. White supremacy is at its most powerful when it is unspoken and cloaked in colorblind euphemisms (Bonilla-Silva, 2002a; 2010a; Leonardo, 2004; 2007). Make it your mission to learn and reflect upon white supremacy's legacy in+ your own life history as a socio-historico-political being.

Due to the aforementioned legacy in which teacher education and researcher preparation programs find themselves, one class (or two or eight) that relays historical information does little to implant in a candidate's knowledge base the profundity with which historical relations are deployed in the present. As I have suggested, these relations incarcerate humans unjustly. Every teacher education and researcher preparation learning experience must be aggressively contextualized to make clear the role that colonial expansion (land theft), enslavement (human labor theft), and American genocide and terror of people of color are implicated in the professional roles they seek. This stands in stark contrast to the ghettoization of multicultural education, "critical" (overused and misused) or social foundations coursework. If these courses are offered, they often are additive and not definitive.

The field of education, writ large, acts as a tool of white supremacy. One can be seduced into white supremacy's promise (Rodriguez, 2011) and believe that this history means little to us if we teach Social Studies/ Mathematics/ Language Arts/ Literacy methods (Bartolome, 1994). If this is what you believe, you pose the greatest threat. History is replicated, not because we forget, but due to the unresolved pain of white supremacy that leads to a position of leave well enough alone and the collective denial that promises to perpetuate white supremacy. This denial is the product of and catalyst for white supremacy's permanence.

All sub-disciplines within teacher education and educational research must accept their collusion in the predilection for and continuance of white supremacy in education. The hope here is that we can flip the white supremacist script of diversity initiatives to recruit more faculty/ students/ administrations/ presidents of color and instead call for “way too white” initiatives. That is, the issue is always framed as not enough people of color when the problem should be framed as too many white-identified individuals in power and in an organization. Until the problem is framed as a white problem and continues to appear as a people of color problem, white supremacy will reign. People of color would not need “help” if there were not enslavement, genocide, apartheid, “death by education”, (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron, 2014, p. 410), enslavement-like incarceration (Blackmon, 2008) and intergenerational economic suppression (Lui & United for a Fair Economy, 2006) at every turn for the past 400 years.

This project posits that the wound of whites as oppressors and beneficiaries (Berry, 2010) is too great such that their protective reflex is to deny (Solomon, Portelli, Daniel & Campbell, 2005; Todd & Abrams, 2011) their complicity (Applebaum, 2008b) in its existence. In other words, the very largeness of this wound begets an even greater denial of the wound. The size of the wound is in direct proportion to the size of the person’s denial of its existence. This denial masks itself behind white saviority (Matias, 2013b) and good acts of service (Thompson, 2003) for the cause of racial justice while never having to contend with the unshakeable truth that for every “successful” white person there are “unsuccessful” people of color sacrificially bearing the cost of an undeserving punishment—not being white. Speaking only as one person of color, my message to whites is I do not want your diversity initiatives or a seat at your table. I seek here to destroy the table. This proverbial table is akin to the many-headed Hydra that upon being cut

immediately grows another. The table, white supremacy, is the thing we should not support. I aim to call it by its name aloud, hope others will listen, and continue to cut off its life by refusing its soul-crushing gifts.

Do not Contribute to the Obsession of Studying White Supremacy’s Victims.

What might this look like? Rather than find ways to “reach” Black and Latino children, do away with the white supremacist institutions, practices, and norms that are standardized. Easier said than done, you say? Let us unpack that statement. Not easier for whom? Begin simply by calling schools white supremacist institutions. The sooner things can be called what they are, the sooner will the cloak of denial lift.

Consider engaging in consistent genealogical study of the field of education as an everyday part of your professional practice (McWhorter, 2008). Much as Nietzsche (1967) and Foucault (1972) sought to understand contemporary disciplines or moralistic norms, we too can engage in the work of peeling away the discursive historical layers that comprise the discipline of educational research. Ladson-Billings (2012) offers a productive finding when she shares that Tierney, a well-respected “founder” of educational research and “gifted” education, was also a eugenicist. That founding social science—psychological and educational—researchers were eugenicists is not anomalous; it is the norm (Zuberi, 2008).

Sustain a practice of spiritual, emotional, and physical health.

As many have observed, white supremacy and colonialism occur best in contexts in which its adherents are emotionally damaged and bodily unhealthy (Ani, 1994; Chopra, 2005). The neoliberal, capitalist machine that the academy has become, or perhaps always been, elicits and rewards unhealthy workaholicism (Paul, 2001). It is not uncommon for ethics, relationships, and physical health to suffer within these conditions. For researchers and teacher educators to

begin to unravel the pathology of white supremacy in one's body, one must slow down and begin to notice that there is a body with some awareness (Gendlin, 2007). This can be a challenge due to the imperative to "produce" work. As has been stated, the means of production are inevitably contributing to the prison-to-education pipeline (Fasching-Varner, Mitchell, Martin & Bennett-Haron, 2014). Thusly, the greatest care in this work is to engage in a practice of embodiment and health. Though an academic career can be hostile to one's health, the cost of unhealthy bodies deploying white supremacist practices in research and teaching is too great a cost to bear.

Consider Yourself a Facilitator.

I hope this project conveys that the dissemination of information alone fails to chip away at the edifice of embodied white supremacy. What may prove helpful for those who prepare teachers and researchers is to fully grasp that "teaching" about the subject of white supremacy is not sufficient. Any dispersal of information must be accompanied with an embodied process that walks students through the powerhouse of emotion and sensation that accompanies embodied white supremacy's discovery, acceptance, and healing. As the previous recommendation makes clear, this work must be engaged by those tasked with guiding others through this same process to be effective facilitators and leaders. Is this a tall order for the academic who is not officially required to meet any expertise in the area of embodied facilitation to be considered qualified to do their job? Certainly. Must those who educate teachers and prepare researchers be held to the highest standard of dismantling rather than edifying embodied white supremacy? Yes. Teacher education and researcher preparation can no longer send those deemed conventionally qualified to engage in white supremacist research and teaching practices simply because accrediting bodies do not possess accountability measures for which to account for white supremacy in education and research. We must raise our standard before we are required to. Time has run out.

This Is How We End Things

Schools are leading black and brown students to prison (Wald & Losen, 2007). The incarceration of black and brown citizens is a human rights violation of epic proportions (Alexander, 2010; Davis, 2003). Our educational systems bear a crucial burden in these systemic abuses. Teacher education and educational research as institutional entities, which produce and legitimize educational systems, must share the burden to right this ongoing apartheid.

The silence and, hence, collusion with white supremacy that I expose in the study contexts of this project is not exclusive to but rather is an exemplar of HWCUs in the U.S. (Smith, Yosso & Solórzano, 2006; Takimoto Amos, 2010). Further, though my study contexts are located in the South, white supremacy in K-12 and post-secondary schools is a scourge that afflicts every state of this nation. Educational institutions are sending black and brown students to prison through racist curriculum, racist disciplinary procedures, and the unchecked racist dispositions of persons of power within educational institutions. How many more children and young people must pay the price for collusion with white supremacy?

This project opens with the words, “White supremacy is a tangible and global force that infects all avenues and interstices of humanity”. These words are no less true at the end. Nothing is resolved (never was that the intention). Certainly, nothing has changed. This project spans the modern-day lynchings of Trayvon Martin to Michael Brown, both youths on the precipice of adulthood¹². One lyncher was an honorary white playing cop and the other a badge-sanctioned lyncher with every privilege the badge will afford him to escape a just trial. There

¹² I would be remiss if I did not include Mr. Eric Garner, whose murderer’s exoneration became the tipping point that led to a swift groundswell of national Ghandian civil disobedience. I participated in and felt energized by locally organized efforts. This national moment, however, postdates the original writing of this narrative.

have been many others—some have made the news stream, others never will. It is these tangible forces of genocide against those who are coded “collective black” (Bonilla-Silva, 2010a) and the pursuant global white supremacy of those forces to which I refer in that opening sentence. It is this sentence that accompanied my diminutive brown body into overwhelmingly white classrooms in the late ‘70s and early to mid ‘80s. It is this sentence that wrapped me in its poison as a classroom teacher when I had to face students every day wondering how effacing it was to call this compulsory schooling as opposed to compulsory pipeline roulette.

The core- the crux- the kernel- the indestructible truth is that white supremacy begins and ends with a fundamental schism in our ontology. This schism, then, infects, permeates, and creates at a bones & tissue level the construction of opposites based on one pole being good and the opposing pole bad. It is the illusion that “black/ white” and “good/bad” are definitive constructs that inhabit opposing points on a reality spectrum that leads to the destruction of one (or most) set(s) of humans without fail. This polarity stems from an ontological mistake that continues to cost too. many. lives.

We end where we begin—white supremacy’s global and stultifying force in the lives of all people. Specifically, white supremacy is a white people problem not unlike the greatest of traumatic injuries acknowledged in mainstream, legitimized knowledge—incest and the Jewish holocaust. Both are abhorrent pathologies that require(d) the collusion of many. Those who collude are also perpetrators. To continue to speak of white supremacy euphemistically, “diversity” “low-income” “minority”, is to aid and abet the abusers or perpetrators of white supremacy. It keeps them in their pathology and leaves the majority of us to pretend with our own abusers as they remain stuck in the pathology of physical, material, emotional, and spiritual genocide—white supremacy.

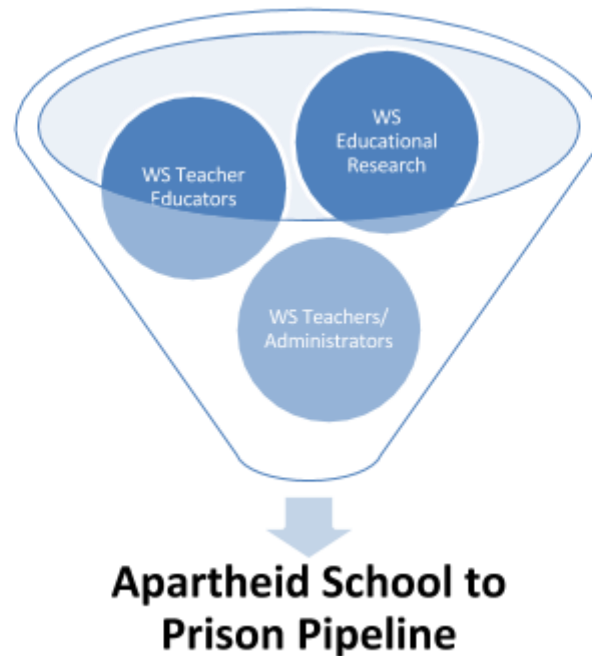


Figure 6-1. How white supremacy and education funnel into the school-to-prison pipeline

Coda: This Is the What

The “What” which is never answered in Dave Egger’s “novel”¹³ is the void in which I wish to leave this project. It would seem that this project would convey alternating quips of hopelessness and rage—each feeding the embers of a fire begun too long ago to recall its birth. I will end with a daydream instead, despite the growing darkness outside my apartment window as it nears a winter sunset. I am sitting in that course, a cold, early spring/ later winter evening in an air-conditioned classroom with 15 or so doc students. Mostly white. I have come back from an alumni of color conference that at once enraged and empowered me to endure more of the white nonsense that passes for a “seminar”. In this dream, I am calm. I am at peace in my body, in the world, I understand that there must be a perfect order to the universe that defies my

¹³ Eggers, D. (2007). *What is the what: The autobiography of Valentino Achak Deng* : a novel. New York: Vintage Books.

understanding, my perception. I am both in my body and calm. I know this is a dream because it could only be a miracle if that sense of presence and calm were actually happening. Upon listening to 30 or 45 minutes of the “conversation” in the doctoral room, I raise my hand to speak. Given that I have usually been one the more “active participants” throughout the semester, I am immediately called upon probably due to my uncharacteristic silence. I rise from my chair; I walk to the whiteboard. I grab a marker, green probably. I always like green on whiteboards. I cast a quick but panoramic glance at everyone in the room. There is a palpable stillness. I uncap the marker and I write in the largest font I can muster and still write legibly:

WHITE PEOPLE: WHO ARE YOU? HOW HAVE YOU CAUSED THE IMPRISONMENT AND LARGE-SCALE OPPRESSION OF PEOPLE OF COLOR, PARTICULARLY THOSE WHO ARE NOT “WHITE-FRIENDLY” ENOUGH? WHY ARE YOU STILL TALKING AND NOT REFLECTING ABOUT YOURSELF? WHY DO YOU BLAME COLOR AND NOT WHITE?

I want to keep writing...I do keep writing uncontrollably...illegibly. I’m starting to sweat profusely, tears burn down my cheeks and fall onto the classroom carpet. The carpet is also green...There is silence behind me which makes me glad that perhaps they’re reading, but sad and mad that saying nothing is all they have to do. They do not have to say anything. I keep writing until I can’t read it anymore; my tears have blurred the words. I turn around; I am in a classroom of seventh graders. I know this because I recognize them; they are all white also. I look at the white teacher, Mrs. Gowers. She’s glaring at me; I don’t know what just happened because now it’s a green board. I stare down at my hand and it’s dusty from the yellow chalk. In seventh grade fashion, I feel the warmth erupt on my cheeks and the beating of what must be my heart fighting to leave my chest cavity. I don’t know what to do. After a pause and a swallow

of the saliva that's accumulated, I put the chalk down, take my seat close to the back of the classroom and cry silent tears that nothing will ever change for us.

APPENDIX A
SOCIO-HISTORICAL ITERATIONS OF WHITE SUPREMACY

(from Leonardo, 2004, p. 146-148).

1. In order to promote the ‘purity’ of the white race, anti-miscegenation laws prevent diversification of the gene pool (Davis, 2001; Alcoff, 2000). White racism’s claims to purity are an instance of its problematic humanist essentialism (Balibar, 1990).
2. Housing segregation limits black mobility and access to jobs and other kinds of networks. Abandoned in inner cities, blacks suffer the most enduring and complete ghettoization in American history (Massey & Denton, 1993).
3. The rule of hypodescent, or the ‘one drop rule,’ allows the creation of more blacks and hence more slaves, increases scarcity of white identity, and provides an ‘out’ for white rapists of black women to disclaim responsibility for their children (Davis, 2001; hooks, 1981).
4. Segregated education for students of color creates substandard schools, lack of resources, and inferior education (Spring, 2000). Even after the 1954 decision following *Brown vs. Board of Education* in Topeka, Kansas ruled that ‘separate is inherently unequal,’ second generation, or *de facto*, segregation still mars the educational experience of many students of color in the U.S. (Kozol, 1991).
5. Anti-immigrant Laws and Exclusion Acts curtail the rights of many Asian immigrants on U.S. soil and place limitations or quotas on immigration from their home nation (Takaki, 1993). These laws negatively affect family development and life, psychological wellness, and increase experiences of exile in Asian immigrants.
6. Colonization of third world nations establishes white global supremacy and perceived white superiority (Fanon, 1963; Memmi, 1965). Much of the continents of Africa, South America, North America, Australia, frigid Greenland and New Zealand, and large chunks of tropical Asia and the Pacific Islands succumbed to the expansion of the white race (see Jordan, 1968).
7. The Occident creates its infantilized other through methods of cultural imperialism whereby the other is constructed, controlled, and written into inferiority (Said, 1979, 1994). Through cultural imperialism, ideologies of the West make their way to the shores of the ‘heart of darkness’ (Conrad’s terminology), where the culture of the white race is consolidated into a dominant frame of reference for civilization, moral development, and rationality.
8. Job discrimination limits the upward mobility of workers of color and their access to productive networks (Feagin, 2000; Feagin & Vera, 1995).
9. Whites’ genocidal efforts against Native Americans facilitated takeover of Northern American soil and the attempt to eliminate its indigenous population. Where a policy of elimination was

not possible, whites produced a form of education violent to Native Americans (Dog & Erdoes, 1999).

10. Global enslavement of Africans produced profit for white slave owners, compromised African collective development, and established centuries of the master–slave relationship between whites and blacks (Jordan, 1968; Fanon, 1967).

11. U.S. internment camps for Japanese target an Asian group as ‘traitors’ of the nation state and brand them as ‘forever foreigners’ on American soil. The same treatment did not fall on other ‘enemies of the state’ during World War II, such as Germans or Italians (Houston & Houston, 1973).

12. Exoticization of the other, which masks the colonial policy of the degradation of indigenous culture, has turned colonial posts into commercial artifacts to be enjoyed by the white imagination. Colonized lands, like Hawaii, are now places thoroughly ‘tourified’ for the pleasure of visitors to partake in its stereotypical, prostituted, cultural forms (Trask, 1999).

13. California’s Proposition 227, and others like it, impose English as the only legitimate language in schools and the workplace, thereby devaluing non-white cultures (Nieto, 2000). Although other European languages, such as French and German, are also unofficial, groups associated with them are not conveniently constructed as ‘aliens,’ or the common insult for Mexicans and other Latinos.

14. Appropriation of third world labor exploits the global work force for the profit of (post)industrial first world nations and the benefit of the white global bourgeoisie. This increases alienation for both groups, with the third world suffering the brutal structures of exploitation, unsafe work conditions, and an imbalance in relations of power between nations (Davis, 1997).

15. Military installation of naval and army bases to ‘protect’ third world nations from external aggression promotes a condescending and patronizing relationship between the protectorate first world nation and third world nation whose sovereignty is compromised (Enloe, 2001).

16. Welfare reform legislation in the U.S., reaching its height during the Clinton era, works against the interests of people of color (Neubeck & Cazenave, 2001).

17. Forced sterilization of women of color continues the curtailment of their human and reproduction rights (Roberts, 1999).

18. The Tuskegee syphilis study, and other unethical medical research projects like it, use minority bodies for medical experimentations without the participants’ full awareness and consent. In this case, the U.S. government deceived 400 blacks by promising free treatment for their syphilis. Between 1932 and 1972, the researchers conducted their disguised study of *untreated* syphilis, from which 100 black men died (Spina, 2000).

19. Jim Crow laws create American apartheid whereby blacks and whites are treated unequally under the auspices of the judicial system (Morris, 1984).
20. Inheritance laws favor whites, whose families benefited from free black labor during slavery. Centuries later, their children retain their parents' wealth. In general, whites bequeath wealth onto their children, whereas blacks often bequeath debt to theirs (Oliver & Shapiro, 1997).
21. IQ-intelligence testing, eugenics, and phrenology construct the genetic inferiority of people of color (Stepan, 1990). Herrnstein and Murray's recent popular book, *The Bell Curve* (1994), revisits and reasserts eugenics assumptions.
22. Tracking practices in schools limit the educational mobility, curricular offerings, and positive interactions with teachers of black and Latino students (Oakes, 1985).
23. The systematic lynching of African Americans served as a tool of social control. Often couched in the fears of miscegenation, lynching was thought to be justified because African Americans violated the racial and social etiquettes of the South or in order to deter their civil rights activism, such as registering to vote (Davis, 1981).
24. Race riots against blacks were used as tools by whites to destroy black property and business districts, especially when they were flourishing. Riots were also used to enforce neighborhood boundaries that maintained racial segregation. Reparations to blacks, who lost their property during the riots, were never made. Moreover, city governments often never officially acknowledged that the riots occurred (Massey & Denton, 1993; Roediger, 1991).
25. Women of color are more likely to be raped than white women, but less likely to be believed. The U.S. has a long history of sexual abuse of women of color, largely because of their lack of power and whites' hypersexualization of them. Sexual abuse and rape of women of color create a culture of violence (Davis, 1981).
26. Imposition of Christian religion and forceful conversion of non-Christian peoples (Spring, 2000).
27. Whites subverted community reading programs and other educational practices by blacks, forcing them to create clandestine literacy programs (Holt, 1990).
28. Union exclusion of blacks from the working-class movement or from leadership positions in proletarian groups (West, 1999b).
29. Many blacks and Latinos live in forsaken neighborhoods with high levels of toxic pollution. As a result, they suffer from diseases related to these forms of environmental racism (Lipsitz, 1998).

APPENDIX B
ANZALDÚA'S PATH OF CONOCIMIENTO

Stage	Action	Epistemological Concept
1) Arrebato/ rupture	Data Identification	Du Bois' double consciousness
2) Nepantla/ liminal	Data Collection	Sandoval's Theory of Oppositional Consciousness
3) Coatlicue/ descent	Analysis I	El Mundo Zurdo
4) Crossing/ Conversion	Analysis II	Theory in/ Struggle of the Flesh
5) Putting Coyolxauhqui together; new collective stories	Findings I	Borderlands Residence
6) Blow up; clash of realities	Findings II	El Mundo Zurdo
7) Shifting realities; spiritual activism	Dissertation write-up and defense	Borderlands Residence

APPENDIX C DATA NOTES SAMPLE

Note: The following is an exact copy from the data notes record. In an effort to show an accurate depiction of what the record of the data looked like, I have resisted editing it.

Tenet 3: DO write down EVERYTHING you think, feel, and observe in your program while showing and doing the work they ask of you. Your role is best defined as part anthropologist, part spy, part strategist. Unlike the white students, you will have to spend just as much **if not more** energy and time on your person graduate education. This means you need to read a ton, write your daily grad school field notes, and be ever mindful of your spiritual, emotional, and physical health. You are on enemy soil constantly. Just like cops who go undercover to take down “criminal” rings, you too are breathing the smog of your own demise (that they un/wittingly deeply) [?]. You **MUST** take measures to inoculate yourself every day and know that that is the **ONLY** thing that will keep you in (relative) tact.

Tenet 4: If you haven’t decided that the grind ain’t worth it and have been taking your notes diligently, consider starting to put your writings together, crafting some elegant ideas around your Tenet 3 writings and PUBLISH. Here are some journals I like: Race, Ethnicity, and Education. Journal of Negro Education. Equity and Excellence in Education. Berkeley Review of Education (←quickly becoming a fave). There are more, but I’m confident you can find what’s speaking to you out there.

Tenet 5: Possibly the most important one: Find faculty of color who can support you and your struggle. They have not only been where you are (and got out with a PhD), they are now dealing with *your* department and its white supremacy. They are your most valuable resource. **Hear this: You may have to go outside your department or college.** If you are at a smaller school or there is a complete dearth of faculty of color, go to a conference or meeting where you might find faculty of color.

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BIOGRAPHICAL SKETCH

Alvarez Tarver received a BA and MA in religion from the University of Florida. The latter of these focused on race, nationality, gender, and performance as performative rituals. She taught Reading and Language Arts to majority-world middle school students in various intra-colonial, white supremacist contexts for four years. Her professional knowledge of bodywork and movement informs her academic production in the areas of teacher education and educational research for which this PhD in curriculum and instruction is one example. She pursues a Master of Library and Information Science at Florida State University with specializations in Leadership, Management, and Information Architecture. Alvarez likes to contribute to efforts that encourage curiosity, revere creativity, and alleviate oppression.