

Ferguson Teacher of the Year 2016: Colonizing the Classroom

Jennifer Hernandez
Southern Illinois University

Abstract

In the aftermath of Michael Brown's murder in Ferguson, Missouri, the author deconstructs the Ferguson-Florissant School District's response to the community in crisis and the policies enacted through a colonizer-colonized lens, coupled with ramifications resulting in a cultural mismatch in education and law enforcement. This article reviews the teacher-student dynamics resulting from the 2018–19 Ferguson Teacher of the Year award for Lindsay Williams, a fourth-grade teacher who decided that her students should make care packages for the police in Ferguson four short years after the uprising from which the community is still healing.

Keywords: culturally responsive pedagogy, socially just education, colonization, trauma informed practice, Michael Brown Ferguson

Jennifer Hernandez, PhD, is a part of the Department of Teaching and Learning at Southern Illinois University. In 2016, she founded Jennifer Hernandez, LLC Educational Advocate, and Professional Development to provide successful and supportive advocacy for students and parents needing support with school-based issues and the Special Education Identification and Evaluation Processes while protecting their rights under IDEA. Also, she offers anti-bias / anti-racism professional development opportunities for public school administrators, faculty, and staff. These PD opportunities are designed to create inclusive and responsive learning environments that will improve students' academic performance. Please see her website for more information:
<https://socialjust08.wixsite.com/educationaladvocacy>

Nearly four years after police officer Darren Wilson fatally shot Michael Brown in the center of Canfield Drive in Ferguson, Missouri, the Ferguson-Florissant School District awarded Lindsay Williams, a fourth-grade teacher at Lee Hamilton Elementary School, Teacher of the Year. Williams was highlighted that year for her collaborative work project with Thrivent Financial, a ministry of the Lutheran Church–Missouri Synod. Williams used volunteers from Crossings Church to create a “Lee Hamilton Cares for Law Enforcement” project. Accessing the school’s Positive Behavior Interventions and Support (PBIS) buddies, Williams connected her fourth graders to second graders in making care packages for police officers. Each student personalized their bag with a picture or message, filled it with goodies, and placed a thank you note in the bag. An April 15, 2018, Ferguson-Florissant District Facebook post noted, “Williams is hoping to have some officers come to the school to receive their bags and meet the students (otherwise bags will be taken to the officers).”

Invisible, forgotten, or otherwise disregarded by Ms. Williams, are the facts of Brown’s death. Under suspicion of robbery, Brown was approached by Ferguson Police Officer Darren Wilson. A physical struggle ensued between Brown and Wilson, Wilson fatally shot Brown six times, and two of the shots landed in his head. Brown’s friend, Dorian Johnson, who accompanied him that day, testified that Brown’s hands were in the air to prove he was unarmed—hence, the protest rally cry of “hands up, don’t shoot.” Brown was left in the street outside Canfield Apartments for four hours as the community began to gather. Residents of Ferguson, adult and child, watched as Brown bled out while police stood around his body marking evidence, supporting Officer Wilson, and

taking notes. Michael Brown was 18 years old. This event ignited protests and civil unrest in the town of Ferguson, Missouri (Buchanan et al., 2015). Missouri’s governor, Jay Nixon, enacted a curfew for residents and called in law enforcement from St. Louis County, surrounding municipalities, and the state troopers. Eventually, he brought in the National Guard. Nixon received heavy criticism for his insensitive and militarized response to the civil unrest in Ferguson.

Personal Connection

As an administrator for the Ferguson-Florissant School District, I observed the faculty and staff leaving work early when the National Guard deployment was announced and refusing to return to work until the “rioting” had ceased. Predominately White female teachers called, texted, and emailed me, expressing fear to come to work or even to leave the school at the end of the day. I even received requests for police to escort them to their cars, implying that the citizens of Ferguson would attack any White person seen in their community. Being a Latina school administrator, who passes for White (if my name is unknown), I had no fear for my safety. I observed residents and families in pain at yet another death of a friend at the hands of police. I did not feel or observe any hostilities towards non-law enforcement White people within the school community or in the town of Ferguson.

Ferguson-Florissant School District leadership demonstrated this perceived lack of innocence in children and lack of compassion in the choices they made in handling the aftermath of Brown’s murder. The Sunday after Brown was killed, the interim superintendent, Larry Larrew, called in all administrators for a special meeting.

Mr. Larrew is a White male administrator who was promoted to interim superintendent from a principal position while the school board was completing the search for a new district leader. Mr. Larrew gave specific instructions that no faculty or principals were to discuss the incident at school, whether with parents or students. If we were approached by the press, we were instructed to ignore them or say “no comment.” We were assured that any violation of these instructions would result in our immediate dismissal. The overwhelming feeling in the room was, “Michael Brown deserved what he got and the ‘Blacks’ are mad, so don’t make it worse.” The idea that the volatile situation was somehow the fault of the community and that ignoring it would make it all just go away was archaic and indicative of an administration that did not know the cultural history of the community in which they served, nor did they care to. Essentially, educators were now being policed under zero-tolerance policies, and by proxy, so were students. The implementation of zero tolerance policies takes incidents of child development to a criminal level. These offenses create a hierarchy of power and control from administrators to educators to students, similar to what exists at the community level from law enforcement to civilians. Administrators and law enforcement took on the role of policing and controlling children under a punitive model instead of a child development model.

Under neo-liberal education reform, policy makers and the general public have privileged Black educational attainment and zero tolerance surveillance over and above Black children’s happiness and creative exploration of themselves and their social worlds. In short, Black boys and girls are imagined not as real children but as suspect Black bodies

for whom the broader public need have little compassion or connection. (Dumas & Nelson, 2016, p. 34)

Putting a zero-tolerance muzzle on the community in an attempt to de-escalate the situation quickly backfired. As the town residents continued to protest and the governor announced the arrival of the National Guard, we received an email in the middle of the day announcing that school would close for the week.

During the week that school was cancelled, administrators, community leaders, volunteers, and church members held school in churches. As administrators, we were expected to work within the community. I handed out lunches to families and held structured activities like kickball, basketball, and social spaces. When the National Guard left and school resumed, the students organized a walk out. As school leaders, we worked with police to ensure that the students were safe during their walk out and march from one high school to the next. Surprisingly, the school provided buses for students to bring them back to their home schools after the march. It appeared that the Board of Education and law enforcement agreed that stopping the march might upset the community further, leading to more protests.

On November 24, 2014, St. Louis County Prosecutor Robert McCulloch announced that the grand jury had decided against indicting Officer Wilson for Brown’s murder. On March 4, 2015, the U.S. Department of Justice concluded its own investigation, stating that Officer Wilson had not violated any civil rights during the shooting. The Department of Justice (DOJ) found that the witnesses that corroborated Officer Wilson’s account were credible, while the witness for Michael

Brown was discredited. The DOJ believed that the forensic evidence supported Officer Wilson's account of the incident, and they determined that Officer Wilson acted in his own self-defense. Civil unrest began again in Ferguson, prolonging a sense of vulnerability and chaos in the community (Buchanan et al., 2015).

The experience of these events wreaked havoc on a community already marginalized and impoverished from gentrification, police harassment and brutality, a failing school system, and chronic crime. Trying to hold school in an oppressed community infiltrated by the National Guard was an experience like no other, an experience misunderstood by the masses, and an experience entrenched in anti-blackness.

Blue Lives, White Lives, Not Black Lives

In terms of "Blue lives" and "White lives," Williams's project is laudable; in terms of Black lives, Williams's project is damaging. The community still holds great mistrust for law enforcement and is still trying to recover from the emotional, economic, and legislative injustices surrounding Brown's death, which is memorialized annually on the day of his death with protests and vigils alike. A step toward that recovery came in August 2018, when Robert (Bob) McCullough, the St. Louis County prosecutor who held office for more than two decades, was removed in the county's primary and replaced by a young Black male named Wesley Bell. The entire St. Louis County came out to vote McCullough out of his office primarily because of his defense of law enforcement in Brown's murder and other countless acts of police brutality in these communities.

Needless to say, the entire community, including school-age children, is still

healing, and delicacy and sensitivity ought to be employed at every level. Yet projects like Ms. Williams's, which lack awareness of the community in which she serves, are being highlighted and awarded. Not only is her project problematic in demonstrating egregious ignorance, it also is emblematic of the lack of cultural knowledge of her teaching community and classroom and her lack of empathy and understanding of the social injustices that face her students, their families, and the community. The recognition and applause of the school district leadership demonstrates a complacency and conformity to the oppressive systems that trivializes the death of a young Black man at the hands of a White officer. This is an extension of the "do not discuss this incident with students or the press or you are fired" rhetoric we heard four years ago. It is a continuation of the mindset that these children are less innocent or more deserving of this injustice, that a lack of empathy for them is appropriate, and that gratitude towards officers is the true path to healing the community. Although the district school board did choose a new superintendent, the thought process prevailed over racism and systemic injustice. The new superintendent, Joseph Davis, is a Black male, educated at Harvard and from the South, and he awarded this young White teacher for her insensitivity, lack of empathy, and ignorance of the community in which she teaches. In this, he demonstrated the side of the oppressor and colonizer. He, too, lacks the vision of these students as innocent children in need of empathy and compassion. A study done at Yale Child Study Center on implicit bias demonstrates that Black males are seen as less innocent and at least four years older than their White male counterparts (Gilliam, Maupin, Reyes, Accavitti, & Shic, 2016). This study demonstrates that in the perspective of White people, their implicit bias towards

Black children holds them as more culpable, less innocent, and older than they truly are. This incident is a perfect demonstration of this study's findings.

There is no doubt that Ms. Williams is a White female who does not live in the Ferguson community but drives in to work each day. Her husband, partner, significant other, or family members may be in law enforcement in St. Louis County or the neighboring municipalities. Her behavior is directly linked to colonizer mentality and oppression of students who are marginalized, and it is very much part of the footing in how schools maintain anti-blackness. It plays into

the long history of Black struggle for educational opportunity, which is to say a struggle against what has always been (and continues to be) a struggle against specific anti-black ideologies, discourses, representations, (mal)distribution of material resources, and physical and psychic assaults on Black bodies in school. (Dumas, 2015, p. 6)

Not only did Williams not understand the context of her community, she lacked the understanding of the history of Black struggle for education, the history of whiteness, and its colonization of Black spaces. By requiring her young students to cater to, console, and show gratitude to an institution that has harmed their people and community historically, her actions went beyond her own lack of understanding and became a direct hit on her students. She represented the anti-Black ideologies of law enforcement in a classroom space meant to be safe for learning. Her project was hailed as an opportunity for healing. That healing was for law enforcement. Where is the healing for the children, their families, and

their community? The belief that White female teachers' role is as benign protectors of children in need is ingrained in our history. White women have been teachers in an evolving system that is dependent on its colonial past and continuing colonizing mindset. Marginalized students taught by White women reflect a relationship dependent on and constructed by ideologies of racial superiority. This relationship reflects a historical relationship that is represented even more today as students of Color increase and White female teachers increase in our public schools (Leonardo & Boas, 2013).

Cultural Mismatch in Public Schools

In 2014, Ferguson-Florissant School demographics demonstrated that of the 11,599 students enrolled, 79.9% of students were Black and 13.0% of students were White. No other racial or ethnic classifications held statistical significance. Staff demographics at the time showed 86% of the teaching staff as White and 80% of the administration staff as White (DESE, 2014). The dominance of whiteness is evident in the knowledge, values, experiences, and ways of being polarized in society and in educational settings, including (but not limited to) schools and teacher education programs. In the specific case of the United States, the sociocultural factor of race has played a primary role in categorically supporting inequitable social power dynamics (Brown, 2014). The issue of race plays itself in precarious ways during times of social unrest caused by incidents of oppression. When examining the demographics of K–12 teachers in public schools, data show they are typically female, middle class, White, and monolingual (Howard, 2010). In 1988, 87% of teachers in Grades 1 through 12 were White, and in 2012, this figure dropped to 81%. Principals

are also overwhelmingly of the White race, at 80% in 2012 (US Department of Education, 2016). Although the racial diversity among teachers and principals is increasing, this is happening at an insufficient pace to match the increasing diversity of K–12 students; while our students are becoming more diverse at a rate of 8%, our teachers are only becoming more diverse at a rate of 4%, and principals at a rate of 3% (US Department of Education, 2016).

The socioeconomic status of the Ferguson-Florissant community is working poor. The Ferguson-Florissant School District offers free breakfast and lunch for all students without the need to meet an economic standard of poverty. Most families in this community are working multiple jobs while unable to meet the basic needs of housing and nourishment. Employment is typically in blue-collar trade jobs, part-time service jobs, and full-time service industry positions, such as home health aides, nurses' assistants, and housecleaning services. Very few families own homes in this community, and most properties are government-subsidized rentals. There is a clear distinction from middle-class, homeowner subdivisions that are mostly White, single parents, or elderly residents. The majority of Black families are single parent (with one parent incarcerated, sometimes not within the same geographic location), grandparents raising grandchildren, foster homes, and shelters. Students have complicated family structures impacted by mass incarceration, gentrification, poverty, and environmental racism.

An unfortunate and harmful outcome of cultural mismatch in schools is the promulgation of cultural insensitivity undergirded by a history of myths, lies, stock stories, and other rhetorical anecdotes

told by White people to maintain their privilege and the unequal existence of people of Color in the United States. Continuing a tradition of “racial folklore” (Brown and Brown, 2015; Fredrickson, 1988, p. 4), White people currently use a construct of racially coded terms and symbolic situations to maintain their historical advantage over people of Color by opposing policies intended to foster social equity (Lopez, 2014). This is apparent in Ferguson, often referred to as “the ghetto.” Most of the teachers, and *all* of the White teachers, live in the wealthier suburbs of St. Louis and drive into “the ghetto” to teach. Terms like “urban school,” “ghetto school,” and “those kids” are racially coded language for “Black” and “poor.”

Ferguson: From Redlined Zoning to White-Washed Education

Although the death of Michael Brown at the hands of Officer Darren Wilson was a turning point in the grassroots activism around the policing of Black communities with the explosion of the Black Lives Matter movement, these brutalities are not new to the residents of Ferguson. Ferguson was founded in gentrification and the redlining real estate practices of the 1950s. White flight hit North St. Louis County deliberately and strategically (Wright, 2005). The mass exodus of White families to the West County and South County suburbs left the communities in North County devastated by a reduction of employment opportunities, abandoned properties, and removal of industry. As a result, these communities were quickly marginalized and became the high crime and poor areas of suburban St. Louis. Law enforcement increased in the 1970s under President Nixon's “law and order” policies, resulting with each village, town, and municipality having its own law enforcement, in addition

to St. Louis County police. Around this same time, school desegregation policies were enacted in an attempt to equal the playing field for the students in North County with the educational opportunities of students in West and South County. However, the messaging of school desegregation is an example of anti-blackness in education policy.

[T]he essence of anti-blackness in education policy: The [sic] Black is constructed as always already the Problem, as non-human, inherently, uneducable, or at the very least, unworthy of education. (Dumas, 2015, p. 6)

The results of school desegregation and industry moving was the complete elimination of once-thriving Black communities along with anti-Black deficit messaging and the White-privileged assumption that “these communities” are ripe for the saving. Akin to this is the idea that the public education system is understood as a form of “collecting by taking” from the community. That is to say, White entrepreneurs have taken, marketed, and profited off of the vital piece of the Black community that is saturated in poverty. This collecting-by-taking approach comes in a variety of forms. An example on a macro level is the city of New Orleans, which essentially sold off its public educational system to charters. Once deconstructed, the education system rapidly morphed into a “lottery-based” system in which families are placed into competitive stances in order to get their children into the best available schools, ultimately limiting access of those in struggling Black communities (Selner, 2012). An example on a more micro level is Ms. Williams’s project that led to her being honored as teacher of the year. In both examples, public education

in Black communities is saturated in anti-Black thinking, White-savior mentality, and ultimately, collecting by taking.

When the majority of educators do not share the same cultural identifiers as their charges and commute in to serve a marginalized population, incidents of oppression and colonization escalate. Similarly, law enforcement officers are brought in from other communities to police Black bodies. Both educators and officers drive in to “save” these children/people because they are inherently uneducable or uncontrollable. The racist ideologies and colonist mindset is supported and encouraged by these geographical separations.

Since 83% of the national teaching force are middle-class Whites (National Center for Education Statistics [NCES], 2012) who have limited experiences with people of Color, one must question what experiential knowledge they draw from—as the Black imagination does—to understand the dynamics of race, racism, and whiteness. If White educators normalize whiteness to invisibility, then how can they recognize the existence of a White imagination used to resist learning about race (Matias, Viesca, Garrison-Wade, Tandon, & Galindo, 2014)? White women have fulfilled a specific role that differs from White men within the execution of racism. From enslavement to colonialism, White women have done the work to uphold White supremacy specific to their roles within the patriarchy, resulting in their own social harm and oppression in the process. As part of a marginalized identity, White women have been subjugated to reproductive roles—social and biological—in society. Despite this, the history of teaching did not always follow this script, and men were once the dominant gender in education. The fact that Black teachers of

Black and other marginalized children offer their own influence on education under the current social dynamics makes White women ideal subjects for maintaining the race relations within education today (Leonardo & Boas, 2013).

In Bruce Anthony Jones's article, *Forces for Failure and Genocide: The Plantation Model of Urban Educational Policy Making in St. Louis*, he clearly outlines seven necessary factors that need to be present for colonialism in public education. According to Jones:

1. The central concerns of the historically disenfranchised community are handled by a process that is heavily male and Eurocentric. This was evident in the Ferguson-Florissant School District when the school board chose a White male principal about to enter retirement to step in as superintendent during the search process.
2. The policy process is top-down and hierarchical compared to a shared, collaborative leadership. Likewise, the male-dominated and majority White school board gave top-down instructions to school administrators in how to respond to the students and the community in the aftermath Michael Brown's murder.
3. In rejection of diverse viewpoints for this community, the policy process is usually paternal, with the central idea being that the older, White male is politically connected and thus a better resource to the community than the community members and leaders. The educational leadership community is heavily saturated with transformational leadership propaganda and ideologies. In the face of a perceived crisis by the school board, their decision-making process quickly reverted to a top-down formality. Calling school administrators in on a Sunday afternoon for a mandatory meeting and essentially threatening each of us with termination should we choose to not follow their mandates regarding the community in crisis is an excellent example of top-down authority.
4. Policies are often unpredictable and there is no set process in place for accessing resources for school in predominantly disenfranchised communities. During my tenure at the Ferguson-Florissant School District, there was no policy in place for community crises. Granted, it would be difficult to construct a policy for a National Guard presence, however, Ferguson-Florissant is a community that is not free from violence and the loss of life. Policies are in place for students in the event of a death of a classmate, family member, or national leader in order to support students. Those policies were not enacted and extended. Instead, new punitive policies with little-to-no precedent available to support or justify the decisions of the school board were used.
5. Policies are often punitive in nature where the fear of job loss or movement is saturated in shame of the conditions and mostly inconsistent. The prevailing attitude in the district at that time was that the community was out of control, that the community members somehow brought the National Guard upon themselves, and that their behavior was unjustified and criminal. Therefore, the victim

blaming stated at the leadership meeting that prevailed among teachers and eventually was expressed towards the students was palpable.

6. Community members lack a sense of stability when policy changes are punitive and unpredictable. The school district set itself up to close school and to provide limited resources to the community as a policy during the week the National Guard was present. At the same time, the free lunch program continued as school administrators delivered sack lunches to homes and provided educational materials to churches and community centers for the week. These policies lacked consistency and predictability. Clearly, closing the schools made a statement and providing lunch and educational resources made a contrasting statement.
7. As the authority in public education moves towards the absolute, racial diversity actually decreases (Jones, 2005). After the year-long search, the school board chose the current superintendent, Dr. Joe Davis, a Black male with Harvard degrees. Aesthetics such as these ought not be underestimated in the aftermath of tragedy such as Michael Brown's murder.

Ferguson-Florissant School District is part of the St. Louis County public schools and a good example of the plantation model presented in Jones's article. In the interim during the superintendent search, the board chose a White male just before his retirement. Mr. Larrew was a politically connected educator in the county who would make policy and decisions during the community crisis after the murder of

Michael Brown. These policies, as described, were absolute, top-down, Eurocentric, and male dominated. White female teachers often perpetuate the plantation model of policy making in their own classrooms as an extension of what they experience in educational leadership. Ms. Williams's project, for which she received teacher of the year, is a mere extension of these punitive policies found in colonialism. White female and male teachers who choose to serve the marginalized and impoverished communities must be informed and conscious of their own privilege before entering the classroom. Educator preparation programs without such a lens and explicit teaching on implicit bias perpetuate the colonizer mindset in our educator community.

Ms. Williams clearly sees her students' role in the healing process as situated in the forgiveness and honoring of their oppressors, thus teaching those children that they deserve to have police in their communities, murdering their residents, abusing their power, and that they should be grateful to law enforcement for their services. She also validated and reaffirmed that they have some accountability as to why these blemishes occur in their community and not the suburban communities. The idea that they should be mature enough at nine and ten years of age to offer a healing process to the officers is absurd and unheard of in White communities. According to a Yale study, Black children are often perceived to be older than they really are and are therefore expected to understand and process complex adult themes that White children would be sheltered from (Gilliam et al., 2016).

Conclusion

Teacher preparation programs must do better to dismantle this continuous cycle of young, White teachers entering marginalized communities with the mindset of a

colonizer. Ms. Williams's "good intentions" with her project are an excellent example of the cultural mismatch between *the culture we are* versus *the culture we serve* as educators. Her lack of understanding resulted in harming children. Explicit teaching of implicit bias, privilege, oppression, and marginalization in a teacher educator preparation program would have supported Ms. Williams in being conscious of her own bias and how it may impact her classroom. If she knew the history of the community in which she serves, the Black American culture, and her own race and class privilege, she may have made more empathetic and trauma-informed choices for a class project. It is a lack of awareness of her own race and class privilege that allowed her to think this classroom project would bring healing to her students and the community. Ms. Williams's project forced the students to validate and demonstrate accountability in their own oppression and systemic injustice. Having students make care packages for the officers that harmed their community is to invalidate their own suffering. As children, adults should be caring for their mental health and emotional well-being. Ms. Williams employed the opposite. It was a symbol of contrition and subordination for students of Color to be giving care packages to their White oppressors using state-sanctioned violence to force submission. The award Ms. Williams received for this work has perpetuated the colonizer mindset and set the standards of excellence in teaching at a level that accepts harm to students because of a lack of awareness of the community and families in which she serves. Ms. Williams was praised and awarded for her innovative project in collaboration with community members and church leaders. However, when viewing this project from a colonizer-colonized lens, Ms. Williams added to the trauma of this community by forcing

compliance to an oppressive structure that harms this community and its residents daily.

References

- Brown, A. L., & Brown, K. D. (2015). The more things change, the more they stay the same: Excavating race and enduring racism in the US curriculum. *National Society for the Study of Education, 114*(2), 103–130.
- Brown, K. D. (2014). Teaching in color: A critical race theory in education analysis of the literature on preservice teachers of color and teacher education in the U.S. *Race Ethnicity and Education, 17*(3), 326–345. doi: 10.1080/13613324.2013.832921
- Buchanan, L., Ford Fessenden, K. K., Lai, R., Park, H., Parlapiano, A., Tse, A., Wallace, T., Watkins, D., & Yourish, K. (2015, August 10). What happened to Michael Brown? *The New York Times*. Retrieved from <https://www.nytimes.com/interactive/2014/08/13/us/ferguson-missouri-town-under-siege-after-police-shooting.html>
- Burris, C. C., & Garrity, D. T. (2008). *Detracking for excellence and equity*. Association for Supervision and Curriculum Development (ASCD). Alexandria, VA. Retrieved from <http://www.ascd.org/publications/books/108013/chapters/What-Tracking-Is-and-How-to-Start-Dismantling-It.aspx>
- DeCuir, J. T., & Dixon, A. D. (2004). “So when it comes out, they aren’t that surprised that it is there”: Using critical race theory as a tool of analysis of race and racism in education. *Educational Researcher, 33*(5), 26–31.
- Donner, J. K. (2016). Lies, myths, stock stories, and other tropes: Understanding race and whites’ policy preferences in education. *Urban Education, 51*(3), 343–360.
- Dumas, M. (2015). Against the dark: Anti-blackness in education policy and discourse. *Theory into Practice, 55*(1), 11–19. doi: 10.1080/00405841.2016.1116852
- Dumas, M., & Nelson, J. D. (2016). (Re)imagining black boyhood: Toward a critical framework for educational research. *Harvard Educational Review, 86*(1), 27–47. Retrieved from [https://www.hepg.org/her-home/issues/harvard-educational-review-volume-86-number-1/herarticle/\(re\)imagining-black-boyhood](https://www.hepg.org/her-home/issues/harvard-educational-review-volume-86-number-1/herarticle/(re)imagining-black-boyhood)
- Fredrickson, G. M. (1988). *Racism, a short history*. Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press.
- Gilliam, W. S., Maupin, A. N., Reyes, C. R., Accavitti, M., & Shic, F. (2016, September 28). *A research study brief: Do early educators’ implicit biases regarding sex and race relate to behavior expectations and recommendations of preschool expulsions and suspensions?* University Child Study Center.
- Howard, T. (2010). *Why race and culture matter in schools: Closing the achievement gap in America’s classrooms*. New York: Teachers College Press.

- Jones, B. A. (2005). Forces for failure and genocide: The plantation model of urban educational policy making in St. Louis. *Educational Studies*, 37(1), 6–24. doi: 10.1207/s15326993es3701_3
- Leonardo, Z., & Boas, E. (2013). The other kids' teachers: What children of color learn from white women and what this says about race, whiteness, and gender. In M. Lynn & A. D. Dixson (Eds.), *Handbook of Critical Race Theory in Education* (pp. 313–324). New York and London: Routledge.
- Matias, C. E., Viesca, K. V., Garrison-Wade, D. F., Tandon, M., & Galindo, R. (2014). "What is critical whiteness doing in our nice field like critical race theory?": Applying CRT and CWS to understand the white imaginations of white teacher candidates. *Equity & Excellence in Education*, 47(3), 289–304. doi: 10.1080/10665684.2014.933692
- Missouri Department of Education. [mde.mo.gov](http://www.mde.mo.gov). School District Report Card. Retrieved from <http://www.therealstreetz.com/2015/07/16/st-louis-north-county/>
- National Center for Educational Statistics. (2015). Retrieved from <https://nces.ed.gov/nationsreportcard/studies/gaps/>
- Selner, J. (2012). Examining race privilege in America: The preservation of whiteness through the systematic oppression of African-Americans. *The Agora: Political Science Undergraduate Journal*, 2(2), 108–126.
- United States Department of Education. (2016). The state of racial diversity in the educator workforce. Office of Planning, Evaluation and Policy Development. Retrieved from <https://www2.ed.gov/rschstat/eval/highered/racial-diversity/state-racial-diversity-workforce.pdf>
- Wright, J. A., Sr. (2005). *St. Louis: Disappearing black communities*. Mt. Pleasant, SC: Arcadia Publishing.