#SayHerName: Making Visible the t/Terrors Experienced by Black and Brown Girls and Women in Schools

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#SayHerName
Making Visible the t/Terrors Experienced by Black and Brown Girls and Women in Schools

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#SayHerName

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About the Title and Cover

We constructed the title of this issue to honor the #SayHerName movement, our initial Call for Papers, and the current collection of essays. The "t/Terrors" we speak of include the broad range and variation of microaggressive and macroaggressive violences experienced by Black and Brown girls and women across their academic and social life spans.

- The issue features a particular set of t/Terror narratives, as named in the title. Spreading the word about the complexities of these narratives — the fact that they do, as our introduction states, include surviving and thriving — is a part of the movement for consciousness about lived experiences of Black and Brown girls and women in schools and society.

- A few essays in this collection highlight family and individual thriving despite systemic injustices that necessitate that labor. It is important to include these narratives in a complex understanding of relational and social t/Terrors. Troubling the painful irony of the always, already present oppressions that push individuals and families to craft triumphs out of nearly constant tribulations is a part of the collection. These instances are too often lauded, applauded, and exemplified by white teachers, administrators, and policymakers in an effort to alleviate the gargantuan stress of the always, already present problem, hold other Black girls and women to ironic and insulting double standards, and avoid deep understanding of relational and social t/Terrors—as they occur on a spectrum, over time.

- For the issue's artistic representations we specifically requested of Tawana Simone, one original illustration that features mature Black and Brown girls/women huddled and smiling. This was intentional and does not contradict the title of the issue, or our introduction. The illustration shows solidarity among girls and women of color. It shows thriving, despite infuriating, disrespectful, shocking, diminishing, punishing, and insulting behaviors that occur against Black and Brown girls and women in schools and society, from early childhood through higher education. This illustration exemplifies our resilience, the presence of self- and sister-constructed joy, composure, ease, and resolve, even in high stakes contexts that are often constructed to hurt , and even kill, us. Thank you for sharing in the experience of this collection. We hope you will share it widely with others in your professional and personal circles.

– Jeanine Staples & Uma Jayakumar

About the Artist

Tawana Simone is an artist/illustrator who centers the lived experiences of Black and Brown girls and women through vivid representations of the daily adventures, monotony, intimacies, and resistances we generate. Each of the illustrations you see associated with this issue were specifically commissioned by the artist. You can learn more about her work at ***tawanasimone.com***.

Introduction
Reading and Writing the t/Terror Narratives of Black and Brown Girls and Women: Storying Lived Experiences to Inform and Advance Early Childhood through Higher Education

Jeannine Staples and Uma Jayakumar

It is our pleasure to introduce this special issue of the *Bank Street Occasional Paper Series*, #SayHerName is a social justice initiative—now popular Twitter hashtag and visibility movement—founded by Kimberle Crenshaw and the African American Policy Forum. Through #SayHerName, Crenshaw states:

> "Although Black women are routinely killed, raped, and beaten by the police, their experiences are rarely foregrounded in popular understanding of police brutality. Yet, inclusion of Black women's experiences in social movements, media narratives, and policy demands around policing and police brutality is critical to effectively combating racialized state violence for Black communities and other communities of color.

This movement aims to expose the experiences of Black and Brown girls and women who are subject to police violence in society and various violences in schools. In response to the #SayHerName call, this issue forefronts the lived experiences of Black and Brown girls and women from early childhood through higher education.

Throughout schooling and within multiple social contexts, Black and Brown girls and women experience micro and macro social traumas—also known as t/Terrors-- that have a lasting and significant impact, even when we are able to resist, survive, and persevere academically and socially (Staples, 2012, 2015, 2016). Too often, the capacities we generate to overcome adversities are used to absolve academic and other social institutions of responsibility for the perpetuation of interpersonal and intergenerational suffering. Indeed, despite the important role that Black and Brown girls and women play in initiating

academic and social reforms, we are rendered less visible and less relevant in the fight for justice and equity.

It is against this background that this special issue finds its dual purpose: to acknowledge the power of Black and Brown girls and women and to write us into the world. This means recognizing the particular spectrum of violence that Black and Brown girls and women experience over time, contributing to the eradication of that violence, and moving decidedly to the realization of what we call "life in abundance," the ability to attain happiness and sustain well-being (Staples, 2016). It requires a critical race praxis—by, with, and for girls and women of color—towards transforming the conditions, practices, and policies that attempt to render us invisible (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2015). At this socio-political moment, such a project requires naming oppressive conditions, as the very nature of the violence we experience is yet to be fully acknowledged by multiple teaching/learning constituents. It also calls for centering the voices of Black and Brown women who are scholars, educators, and activists to shape the (re)construction of social and emotional justice. In line with a critical race praxis for educational research (Jayakumar & Adamian, 2015), this work is not only crucial for envisioning more equitable and just policies and schooling conditions, it is tied to personal healing and transformation.

The Importance of Social and Emotional Justice

Social justice initiatives privilege acknowledgment and protection of the experiences, rights, roles, and responsibilities of all members of humanity in their exterior/public life; emotional justice initiatives do so for their interior/personal life (Staples, 2012, 2016). These interdependent movements converge to speak to systemic, institutionalized breeches in individuals' experiences, rights, roles, and responsibilities due to dehumanizing ideologies, practices, and policies that violently affect or even erase exterior and interior life. Empathetic and altruistic social and emotional justice includes the ability to attain *life in abundance* in academic and social spaces, throughout one's lifetime (Staples, 2012, 2015, 2016).

Unfortunately, Black and Brown girls and women in the United States are under-resourced and under-researched, and many are too socially, emotionally, politically, and academically neglected and abused to attain a sense of well-being (Crenshaw, 2014; Rollock, 2007; Staples, 2016). The inequalities we endure regularly lead to inconclusive educational attainment, high rates of state-sanctioned and interpersonal violence, disciplinary brutalities, emotional and psychological duress, gross disparities in healthcare, and, eventually, severe constraints upon the acquisition of wealth (Savali, 2014; Solorzano, Ceja, &

Yosso, 2000; Williams & Nichols, 2012). Policies meant to reverse segregation and promote "equity," by increasing the number of under-represented girls and women of color in Pre-K–20 contexts, are often ineffectual because they neither acknowledge nor respond to the complexities of microaggressive and macroaggressive "t/Terrors." They do not inform or meaningfully educate constituents about the complexities of lived experiences that emerge in relation to integration and inclusion.

This micro/macro distinction is important. Whereas microaggressive experiences result in incremental social alienation, mental exhaustion, and emotional turmoil, macroaggressive experiences result, by extension, in physical violences, retentions, social ostracizing, legal entanglements, and political alienation. Microaggressive relational and social *terrors* have been demonstrated to culminate, over time, as meta-level crises—that is, *Terrors* (Staples, 2016). These t/Terrors compound over time in the lives of Black and Brown girls and women, constructing us paradoxically as extraordinarily powerful and painfully, dangerously vulnerable to more violences (Staples, 2016). Furthermore, in early childhood through higher education, we face distinct barriers to success, due to the intersections of race *and* gender biases, discriminations, and prejudices on the individual, group, and systemic levels. Yet these experiences are often analyzed in broader narratives that separate such identities (Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1989).

Given these and other troubling findings, it is imperative to understand and clearly convey the impact such abuses, instabilities, erasures, and intersections have on the abilities of Black and Brown girls and women to develop affirming and actualizing intellectual, social, and emotional states in and beyond Pre-K–20 contexts. Such understanding often emerges from narrative, critical, and ethnographic research. This qualitative research functions to envision new theoretical frames that complement, challenge, and inform the quantitative, outcomes-based studies upon which policymakers generally rely. At the same time it promotes more meaningful curriculum and pedagogical practices that can lead to social *and* emotional justice, for all.

Contributions to Our Understanding of Social and Emotional (In)justices

This special issue is comprised of informed, grounded, thick, descriptive, critical, and creative narratives by Black and Brown women scholars, educators, and activists. Each author has cultivated years of lived experiences and praxis at these marginalized race and gender intersections in addition to supporting the academic and social evolution of girls and women who are similarly situated in schools and society.

There is wealth in our insights. Through scholar/educator/activist articulations—and a talented artist's creative representations—of the lived experiences of Black and Brown girls and women in and out of school, the contributors address key gaps in the literature while informing public discourses.

We called upon the authors to provide brief, critical essays using intersectional frameworks to convey marginalized lived experiences. We asked for essays that show the need for new interpretive, conceptual, and methodological frameworks in grasping these complexities. Our goals included the production of work that contributes to explaining how discrete social categories such as race, gender, sexuality, class, and nationality compound to inform experiences with inequalities and injustices—barriers to happiness, well-being, and abundant life—in everyday academic and social contexts.

By using intersectional frames, this special issue intends to reveal the invisible nature and impact of daily micro- and macroaggressive t/Terrors experienced by Black and Brown girls and women (Ruchti, 2016; Staples, 2016). By naming and problematizing what is made invisible or trivial, we seek to improve the lives and learning trajectories of students who embody multiple dimensions of identity (Hankivsky & Cormier, 2011). We hope to challenge how educators, administrators, activists, and policymakers think about equity and justice-related initiatives and interventions (such as mentorship programs and safe zones) through a focus on shared conceptions of wellness, humanization, and radical, contextual equity. We privilege identity dimensions on the margins of schools and society to move toward these ends (Guyton & McGaskey, 2012; McCabe, 2009; Ruchti, 2016).

The essays in this issue reflect deep awareness of the types and tenors of relational and social t/Terrors endemic in the academic and social experiences of Black and Brown girls and women. They forefront the need for transformative solutions that support us in not merely surviving, but in individually and collectively thriving. The essays focus on identifying the often dismissed violences of schooling. At the same time, they highlight courage and resilience, as well as institutional programming and practices that support the happiness and well-being of Black and Brown girls and women. Together, these works affirming Black and Brown youth as "student teachers" support the development of critically conscious and radically inclusive pedagogies, curricula, and policy. We are confident that they will help create more critically conscious classroom and school cultures and rich conversations about what is—and is not—happening with Black and Brown girls and women.

Questions that Inspired the Issue

We asked contributors to consider a range of questions as they prepared their essays. We ask that you engage with these questions as you read the issue and reflect on your work as scholars/educators/activists and/or administrators/policymakers/artists.

1. How are Black and Brown girls and women labeled (as unintelligent, poor, fat, loud, wild, or "fast"—or as smart, pretty, quiet, sweet, palatable, or exceptional)? What are the socioemotional and sociopolitical effects of such labels, and the lived experiences they reproduce?

2. How are schooling and the people inside of schools violent toward the Black and Brown bodies of girls and women? What stories need to be told about these types of violences in order to foster exposure, interruption, elimination, and reconstruction?

3. How might we reimagine supporting Black and Brown girls in their management of various relational and social t/Terrors (i.e., micro- and macroaggressions)? The emphasis here is particularly on how Black and Brown girls and women can be foregrounded beyond the social dimensions of fictions and speculation. We can do this by humanizing, texturizing, and materializing empathic views among people who serve them.

4. How do we challenge the dehumanization of Black and Brown girls? How can we name, identify, and revise the schooling systems that dehumanize Black and Brown girls and women?

5. How can we effect change in the academic, social, political, media, legal, and cultural systems that adversely affect the life trajectories of Black and Brown girls and women? How do we challenge and destabilize white supremacist patriarchal norms and values so that the onus is not on Black and Brown girls to adapt to multiple systems of oppression? How can we enlist white people and people who can claim white privilege into this project?

Our Invitation to You and a Preview of the Essays

And now, we ask that you join us in engaging with these questions as you read the essays and reflect on your own experiences in and out of schools, in relation to pedagogy, your practice, artistry, and administering. As you do, keep in mind that, despite our salience and power, the lived experiences and transformative political influences of girls and women who are Black and Brown are rendered less relevant and credible within schools and society. To render them highly visible, we must acknowledge and center our power by writing ourselves, via articulations of our lived experiences with t/Terrors in and out of school, into the world. We hope that they will clarify the requisite steps and interventions for reducing inequalities and mediating injustices affecting Black and Brown girls and women, early childhood through college.

Let's Say a Word About the Girls

This essay focuses on stereotype projection and enactment in the context of the white gaze. Wendi S. Williams points specifically to frames of smartness and goodness, and discusses how the stereotypes that are commonly projected onto Black girls affect their educational experiences.

Not Only a Pipeline: Schools as Carceral Sites

Connie Wun argues that schools are part of a U.S. logic of punitive carcerality, positioning Black and Brown bodies under constant observation and scrutiny. Drawing from a qualitative study of Black and Latinx girls and their experiences with school discipline, she describes the normalization of policing and carcerality, and highlights how the girls assert their agency and forms of resistance to maintain autonomy and possession of their bodies.

Perhaps a Black Girl Rolls Her Eyes to Shift Calcified Pain Throughout Her Body

Fahima Ife describes "#BlackGirlMagic Across Time & Space," an undergraduate literature course she designed in response to her teacher education students' reflections on and reactions to the Black girls in their field sites. Through novels, poetry, music, film, scholarly pieces, and art, her students examined how Black girls cultivated sites for expressive freedom and created what the author calls a spiritual training ground.

Under Surveillance: Interrogating Linguistic Policing in Black Girlhood

Pamela M. Jones explores how language-based micro- and macroaggressions conspired to shape her identity and opportunities. Using intersectionality as her theoretical frame, she arrives at new understandings about resisting multiple oppressions and considers possible interventions at the school level.

'Who You Callin' Smartmouth?': Misunderstood Traumatization of Black and Brown Girls

Using critical race theory's counter-storytelling, Danielle Walker, Cheryl Matias, and Robin Brandehoff

begin with the story of a Black girl's response to her teacher's white emotions. They argue that teachers, especially those who are white, must stop emotionally projecting onto Black and Brown girls and instead begin what they call an honest listening.

Put Some Respect On Our Name: Why Every Black and Brown Girl Needs to Learn About Radical Feminist Leadership

Bettina L. Love and Kristen Duncan argue that to honor the humanity of Black and Brown girls we need to begin with narratives that not only #SayHerName, but explicitly expose girls to radical feminist leadership approaches. The essay includes practical suggestions for the classroom to ensure that young girls of color understand the philosophy that guided Black and Brown female leaders who were freedom fighters for liberation.

Restorative Schooling: The Healing Power of Counternarrative

In this essay, Veronica Benavides describes her own educational journey and the low expectations she encountered along the way. She proposes the concept of restorative schooling as an alternative way of being, seeing, and knowing in the world.

Where Our Girls At? The Misrecognition of Black and Brown Girls in Schools

Amanda E. Lewis and Deana G. Lewis contend that misrecognition leads to both invisibility and hypervisibility of Black and Brown girls in schools and educational research. The authors argue that schools must become places where students' full humanity is acknowledged, their struggles are recognized, and they gain the necessary skills to realize their aspirations.

Resist School Pushout With and For Black Girls

Here, Joanne N. Smith describes Girls for Gender Equity, which centers the experiences of young women of color within advocacy campaigns, participatory action research, and programming. She shares how this intergenerational organization helps youth to reach their potential as social justice advocates and leaders demanding an end to educational injustices and working towards gender and racial equity in schools.

Untying the Knot

Pointing to the experience of Shaquanda Cotton, who served jail time for a minor physical altercation, Charise Jones argues that we must be proactive in highlighting the struggles and gifts of Black girls and in seeing the world through their eyes. She offers concrete strategies and urges us collectively to work harder to achieve this goal.

Black Girls Are More Than Magic

In her essay, Gloria Ladson-Billings describes "famous" accomplished Black women as both magical and not. In so doing, she points to the strength, intelligence, bravery, and resilience of Black girls to underscore their essential work in fighting for social justice.

Walking the Tightrope of Visibility

In this essay, Leigh Patel asks how we can bring about visibility that not only interrupts the erasure of Black, Brown, and Indigenous women, but also alters how we are in relation to what and whom we have named. She argues that this work is especially important in schools where students are ranked and sorted, and where the idea of representation can overshadow a more valuable focus on our ways of being with each other.

We hope you enjoy this collection as well as the artistic representations commissioned especially for it. Please feel free to connect with us online to share your engagements with the works:

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Uma M. Jayakumar, Guest Editor (umajaya@ucr.edu)

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Dr. Jeanine Staples is Associate Professor of Literacy and Language, African American Studies, and Women's, Gender, and Sexuality Studies at the Pennsylvania State University. Her work focuses on dismantling supremacist patriarchies by developing critical and creative identity theories and methodologies, in addition to radical pedagogies for teachers and teacher educators. She was named a Senior Fellow at Columbia University School of Law's Center for Intersectionality and Social Policy Studies and Senior Visiting Scholar at the University of Rhode Island's Harrington School of Communications. Dr. Staples earned her bachelor's degree in English Literature and Urban Education from Howard University, her master's degree in Teaching and Curriculum from Harvard University, and her Doctorate in Literacy and Language, with distinction, from the University of Pennsylvania.

Uma M. Jayakumar is an associate professor in the Graduate School of Education at University of California, Riverside. Her scholarship and teaching address racial justice and policy issues in higher education, with a focus on how institutional environments such as campus climates and cultures shape college access and racialized experiences, outcomes, and resistance to genuinely inclusive engagement. Jayakumar is a 2017-2018 Spencer Midcareer award recipient. Her scholarship is featured in *Educational Researcher, Journal of Higher Education, Harvard Educational Review*, and across numerous amicus briefs to the Supreme Court in the most recent (Fisher v. University of Texas) affirmative action cases.

Pauli Badenhorst, advanced doctoral student in Curriculum and Instruction and Comparative and International Education at Penn State, served as a logistical editorial assistant for this special issue. His experience as an emergent scholar/educator who is white and male informs his anti-racist work, particularly as it pertains to Black girls and women.

Let's Say a Word About the Girls

Wendi S. Williams

> *The laugh that is too loud; the enunciation a little too round; the gesture a little too generous. They hold their behind in for fear of a sway too free; when they wear lipstick, they never cover the entire mouth for fear of lips too thick, and they worry, worry, worry about the edges of their hair.*

—Toni Morrison, The Bluest Eye

Attention to Black girls' experiences in academic settings is often set against a backdrop of gendered-male and racially-white norms. Notions of normalcy, acceptability, and, ultimately, respectability are aimed at Black girls to shape not only the ways they are perceived and treated by others but also how they see themselves. Whether in esteemed private, independent institutions, or poorly resourced urban or rural schools, a Black girl's presence bodes a misplacement. Physically, the presence of her actual body is in defiance of the norms of academic space, but also her sense of self and personhood become a site for the misplacement of stereotype projection. Beneath the gaze of educators, policymakers, administrators, and school law enforcement, the articulation of Black girlhood becomes contested space on which articulation of her selfhood is challenged.

The title of this piece and opening quote were carefully chosen. In 1970, Toni Morrison's The Bluest Eye was published. Morrison's writing was a first glance into the psychological machinations of Black girls' coming-of-age beneath the White gaze. The White gaze is the tendency to look at the world through a white person's racial point-of-view (Abagond, 2009). The gaze can be direct, occurring in public spaces, such as the supermarket or the school, but it is also often filtered through the lens of those viewing Black girls within their homes or communities. In these cases, oppression and racism are internalized (Bailey, Williams, & Favors, 2014). I utilize Morrison's quote to articulate the impact of that gaze on Black girls.

The title of this piece is drawn from the late Gwen Ifill's (2007) response to the radio commentator Don Imus's insult targeting the Rutgers University Scarlet Knights on the occasion of their 2007 NCAA championship victory. His words don't bear repeating now. However, their intention toward

disparagement, and the potential to derail focus from the girls' victory, spoke to the need to re-center the discourse on the girls.

In a similar vein, I seek to center attention on the psychological phenomenological experience of Black girls. Specifically, I will use this space to describe stereotype projection and enactment in the context of the White gaze. I will then discuss the ways this gaze makes specific impact on the educational experiences of Black girls, utilizing Broderick and Leonardo's (2016) frame of smartness and goodness as properties.

Stereotype Projection and Enactment

Stereotypes are gross, oversimplified ideals attached to groups of people, with little connection to their phenomenological sense of self. Historic stereotypes, such as the Mammy/Matriarch/Superwoman, the Sapphire/Angry Black Woman, and the over-sexualized Jezebel, are rooted in the categorization of Black women according to functions or duties they performed in service to whites during American enslavement (Collins, 2000, 2005).

The Jezebel stereotype has evolved to include types of women such as the video vixen and crack whore, which serve explanatory functions to support and validate capitalist enterprises of women and sex as objects and for transactional exchange. Similarly, the idea of Black women as holding perpetual caretaking roles, and being perfectionistic and emotionally strong (stoic) have been articulated through the ideal of the Strong Black Woman stereotype and validate the role of Black women to take up socially sanctioned "women's work."

Though stereotypes were derived from women's roles in society, they serve to shape the ways Black girls are perceived. Rather than being viewed through a developmentally- appropriate lens, Black girls are perceived through stereotyped notions of Black womanhood. Thus, they are seen as older and perhaps more mature than they actually are, and as able to respond to these projections when they have yet to develop the ego strength to set psychic and emotional boundaries to protect themselves in the face of these misplaced projections. Consequently, these stereotypes can be internalized and enacted, becoming a part of the ways Black girls may come to see themselves (Williams & Moody, 2017).

On Being Good Girls

Quite often, Black girls fall outside of the boundaries of what is deemed acceptable, respectable, and even good. In her critical work, Morris (2016) highlighted that the most troublesome thing about the over-surveillance of Black girls in schools is that common expressions of Black femininity (e.g., the ways Black girls talk, dress, and wear their hair) are deemed unacceptable, even bad. In fact, Morris highlighted that Black girls' ways of being might even be targeted through school policy. For example, as recent as the summer of 2016, a Louisville, Kentucky high school had a policy banning "hair in cornrows, braids, twists and dreadlocks." (Quinlan, 2016). For this reason, a critical look at race, gender, and class helps to frame and lend understanding to the challenges Black girls face in schools. In fact, a closer look is required to appreciate how Black girls are hypervisible yet not seen, problematized and not helped, and deemed bad for simply being NOT white and NOT male.

Though Morris's work addressed girls designated "at risk," the fact is, Black girls attending school in affluent private and independent settings, and even into higher education contexts, are constantly fighting for their version of themselves to be the standard by which they are judged. In a recent writing in the Huffington Post, contributor Cara Thompson (2017) discussed the undue stress typical of campus life for Black girls entering college. Describing her own experience, she highlighted how the strong black girl/woman stereotype came tumbling down as she recognized "words like 'sassy' and 'strong' were no longer compliments," but "dismissals of the depth and dimension of my emotional capacity" (para. 3). Her actual experience of herself held the potential for much more than had been made available to her throughout her academic life.

We encourage Black girls to be "good" when the opportunities to be perceived as such exist on a very narrow band of possibilities. If, in some schools, to be "good" (e.g., to sit still, listen, follow instructions, and not question) is to be smart, then Black girls, for their variability and verve, will not be deemed smart. Rather, they are more likely to be categorized under the umbrella of emotional/behavioral disability—a designation disproportionately assigned to Black children (Gillborn, Rollock, Vincent, & Ball, 2016).

Broderick and Leonardo (2016) asserted that "goodness" associated with smartness is "a performative, cultural and ideological system that operates in the service of constructing the *normative* center of schools" (p. 57). You read normative. I see race, class, and gender prescriptions that exclude Black girls, and perhaps make them the antithesis of goodness and smartness with two effects: (a) their "NOT

goodness/smartness" defines the goodness/smartness accessible to others who are least racially/genderwise like them; and (b) their positionality as the antithesis of being good and smart impedes our ability to substantively and ardently attend to the actuality of their socio-emotional and educative needs in academic context. This impediment has direct and negative bearing on educational policy and practice debate related to Black girls.

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Not Only a Pipeline:
Schools as Carceral Sites

Connie Wun

In this article, I argue that schools operate as multilayered sites that do more than fun-nel students into prison or prime them for incarceration. Schools are part and parcel of a US logic of punitive carcerality, positioning Black and Brown bodies under constant observation and scrutiny through the school's architecture, policies, and practices. I examine the relation-ship that this logic has to Black girls and their experiences with school discipline, including their resistance to the conditions of schools as carceral sites.

Drawing from Black feminist theory (Richie, 1996) and critical prison studies (Rodri-guez, 2006), I collected data via participant observations and in-depth interviews at Founda-tions High School, located in northern California.[1,2] Based upon a qualitative study of 20 Black and Latinx girls and their experiences with school discipline, this paper focuses on three girls whose narratives exemplify the experiences that they and their peers have with school disci-pline and punishment.

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1   Pseudonym
2   According to school records, in 2013–2014 the population was 22.1% Asian, 19% Filipino, 32% Latino, 7.8% White, 9% Black, 4% Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander, and less than 1% Native American. The percentages are plus or minus points and do not need to add up to exactly 100%. They need to approach the totality with reasonable efficacy, which is the case.

The Carcerality of School Discipline

Although Foundations High School does not have metal detectors, the campus has only one entrance for approximately 4,000 students, is surrounded by approximately 12 security cameras, has eight campus security officers, and is located across the street from the city's police station. According to the girls' narratives, while all students are subject to surveillance, youth of color are more likely to be monitored and punished by school authorities.[3] Specifically, the girls' stories highlight the ways that school operates as a carceral site with racialized and gendered forms of policing and punishment.[4]

As a part of the US political, economic, and social culture, state institutions like prisons and schools are authorized to discipline and punish women and girls of color—specifically Black girls and women, including trans and gender nonconforming people of color—as a way to re-produce and reify structural norms, which (in part) are white supremacist, heteronormative, cisgendered, and patriarchal. Understanding US carcerality as a means by which bodies are en-closed and dispossessed, Sojoyner (2013) explained that schools have a long history of confin-ing Black bodies beyond and before the creation of the contemporary prison system. While all students are vulnerable to school discipline, the girls in this study felt particularly targeted and controlled but attempted to resist these conditions. Among a number of disciplinary mecha-nisms, they were subject to referrals, suspensions, and arrests.

Referrals and Constant Observation

Referrals, which do not typically result in student exclusion from the classroom, are the most common form of discipline at Foundations High School.[5] Victoria, a 14-year-old Puerto Rican and Black girl, shared her experiences with referrals:

> Victoria: He [her white male teacher] gets mad for everything, like if you're drinking Gatorade, he yells, "Put that away!" [I say] "What do you mean? I'm thirsty." You have out ChapStick®, he yells, "Put that away!"
>
> Victoria: I wait 'til I'm done using it [chuckles] then I put it away.
>
> C: What happens after that?
>
> Victoria: I get a referral.

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3   In particular, Black girls shared that they often got into trouble for having "attitudes," a "smart mouth," or "talking back."
4   Sojoyner (2013) contended that these contemporary school discipline mechanisms and exclusionary practices can be traced to the strategies used prior to the 1960s to police and contain Black students in public schools.
5   Nineteen of the 20 girls in the study had been given referrals.

According to Victoria, she felt as though, compared to her non-Black peers, she was un-der perpetual observation and continually punished. Despite being subject to threats and disci-plinary actions, she insisted on maintaining autonomy over herself and her use of ChapStick® and Gatorade. Although referrals did not necessarily register as harsh forms of punishment, incessant surveillance was part of the girls' carceral experience.

Suspensions and Juridical Language

Girls from this study explained that their suspensions were for fighting, possession of drugs, or theft. Michaela, a 15-year-old Black girl, shared that one of the reasons she was sus-pended was that she was caught selling her free/reduced-fee lunch cards:

> Michaela: I got suspended for selling lunch cards… For "stealing school property."
> C: How'd they find out?
> Michaela: Um…they said they'd been watching me.
> C: For how many days?
> Michaela: Like three.

According to the school handbook, students are prohibited from selling or "pawning" lunch cards, which are identified as school property.[6,7] Given Michaela's limited family income, selling these cards could be construed as a crime of survival (Richie, 1996). However, using the language of the criminal justice system, the school criminalized Michaela's action, characteriz-ing it as a property crime against the school system.

Arrests and Criminality

The school handbook indicates that infractions such as weapons possession and assault warrant suspension, possible expulsion, and notification of the police. Carla, a 15-year-old Black girl, shared her experience with suspension and arrest: "I was in the locker room and I had seen this girl at the other end.…I said, 'Don't touch these lockers 'cuz I know them.'"[8] She explained what happened a

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6   One of the campus security technicians explained that selling lunch cards was equivalent to "stealing the public's money."

7   Michaela did not discuss the fact that in order for a student to get lunch cards, the stu-dent's family must demonstrate financial need. Her mother is a single parent of three children and qualifies for the program. According to the 2012–2013 California Depart-ment of Education income eligibility guidelines for free and reduced-price meals or free milk in nutrition programs, a family of four must have an income of $29,965 or below to qualify for the program.

8   Carla explained that she did not want to get involved in what the other girl was doing, but did want to protect her friends'

few days later:

> The campus security came to my class.…And right when I got in [the office], they [the police] automatically said I was arrested for taking this, this, this. They read me my rights, said I had the right to remain silent. So I stopped talking.

As a form of resistance, knowing that she had been unfairly arrested, she refused to speak. She recalled that the police officers responded to her silence by saying, "We don't have to deal with your attitude." In response, the officers kept her in a cell until the evening, but were unable to charge her with a crime.

Conclusion

Rodriguez (2006) argued that schools have long operated as racialized sites of confine-ment for communities of color. Drawing from this, Sojoyner (2013) contended that US schools have historically (re)produced logics and mechanisms of carcerality that perpetually subject Black and Brown bodies to state surveillance and violence. Students from this study highlight the ways that being at school is like living under confinement: perpetually watched, criminal-ized, and punished (Wun, 2015). These forms of policing and carcerality are thereby normalized (Meiners, 2010).

In response to living under surveillance, the girls in this study insisted on enacting mi-croforms of resistance. Their narratives help us to identify schools as part of the US racialized and gendered logic of carcerality, where the girls were criminalized and punished, held under constant surveillance, and controlled. Under carcerality, they creatively asserted their agency and forms of resistance to maintain autonomy and possession of their bodies.

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belongings.

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Perhaps a Black Girl Rolls Her Eyes Because It's One Way She Attempts to Shift Calcified Pain Throughout Her Body?

Fahima I. Ife

My spirit is unsettled each time I read my secondary English education students' reflections about their placement sites. As is typically the case in teacher education programs, in each cohort most of my students are White women, and a few are White men; there are always fewer than five students of color. As they prepare to enter middle and high school classrooms as full-time English teachers, my students participate in required field experiences in schools throughout East Baton Rouge Parish, where they encounter mostly Black and Brown students from low socioeconomic backgrounds. For many, this is their first time being surrounded by students whose bodies and lived experiences differ greatly from their own.

I do not join my students in their field sites. I wait for them at the university, in our English methods courses, where they bring many reflective stories. Mostly, their narratives feel like greedy gossip. They relay tales of hostility witnessed as fights break out each day. They report standing on the sidelines, spying young Black bodies clawing at one another. They mumble desires for strategies to "manage" their future students. My Queer-Black-woman self has learned to wander between the spoken and unsaid. Deeper within their reflections lies another narrative—a clear disdain toward Black girls' expression. My students are angered when Black girls roll their eyes, suggest they develop more backbone in their teaching, adamantly refuse another rudimentary reading of *The Crucible*, or loudly assert their needs and objections in the classroom.

Why do my students register Black girls' actions as impolite, rather than seeing them as animated responses? Why must Black girls continue to enter classrooms where teachers aspire to refashion their behavior and to forcibly eradicate loud, wild, and sassy expressions of Black girlhood, rather than "celebrate" (Brown, 2013) their vibrant spirits? Perhaps a Black girl rolls her eyes because it's one way she attempts to shift calcified pain throughout her body? Perhaps she's disinterring historicized pain, meticulously shifting transatlantic memories of an earlier time's forced breeding (De Veaux, 2014; Shange, 2010; Spillers, 2003), of yesterday's slanders against her sexual nature (Morgan, 2000;

Richardson, 2013), and of today's appropriation of her genetic legacies (Bey & Sakellarides, 2016) and envisioning tomorrow's dissolution of hardened slabs of salt flowing freely throughout her healed body? Perhaps she's signaling her need for creative outlet, a mythical opportunity worthy of her sentience?

Perhaps a Black girl rolls her eyes to intervene against daily assaults against her humanity in hostile classes? Where being Black-and-girl incites dehumanization and despiritualization? Where *being* "loud Black girls" (Fordham, 1993; Koonce, 2012; E. Morris, 2007) summons state-sanctioned incarceration, underreported police fatalities (Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015), and minimal space to address its impact (Love, 2017)? How can my future-teacher-students cultivate empathy for Black girls if they do not understand their kaleidoscopic expressions, if they cannot understand their multiply overlapping intersections of marginality, if they have never absorbed their literary imaginations, if they do not personally know or love any Black girls whose lives do more than gesticulate Whiteness?

But this isn't entirely their fault. They are undergraduate English majors who are largely unfamiliar with the worlds curated by Black women writers, whose works are rarely included in British and American literature courses.

So, I meddle.

Because t/Terror times demand intervention, I introduce my students to the silent, elliptical attacks against Black girlhood. We synthesize Monique Morris's (2016) *Pushout* and #SayHerName reports from the African American Policy Forum (Crenshaw, 2015; Crenshaw & Ritchie, 2015). I ask them to consider Black girls' needs—and they do, perhaps for the very first time—as they begin sculpting curricula.

Because Pre-K–20 courses rarely center the experiences of Black girls and women, and because I've grown tired after years of my own eye-rolling, I designed and taught an undergraduate survey of African American women's literature, "#BlackGirlMagic Across Time & Space." Thirty-three students enrolled, 24 Black women and nine allies.[1] Nearly half our class openly or quietly identified as LGBTQ, and a few Black women discussed their nonmonogamous and polyamorous expressions of love. Many openly discussed their yearnings for love.

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1   Three White women, three Black men, two Latina women, and one White man also enrolled in the course.

Using novels, poetry, music, film, and scholarly pieces, we examined how Black girls, in real and imagined scenarios, cultivate sites for expressive freedom. We opened with individual definitions of #BlackGirlMagic and Jamila Woods's (2016) ode to Chicagoan #BlackGirlMagic in her album *HEAVN*. We considered origins of #BlackGirlMagic as social media phenomenon brought to life by CaShawn Thompson in 2013 (Wilson, 2016). We read closely, relying upon Black feminist critiques, including those about intersectional legacies of trauma (Crenshaw, 1991), geographical (re)imaginations of Black girlhood/womanhood (McKittrick, 2006), and (re)articulations of eroticism (Lorde, 1984). Indigo's girlhood conjure in Ntozake Shange's (2010) *Sassafrass, Cypress, & Indigo* initiated our thinking about the magical and subversive aspects of #BlackGirlMagic.

We continued with an erotic interlude on transatlantic memories, "other heres," and beautiful human evolution in Alexis De Veaux's (2014) *Yabo*. Anyanwu's shapeshifting and healing in Octavia Butler's (1988) *Wild Seed* helped us consider bold assertions against patriarchy. And Celie's spiritual and sexual awakening in Alice Walker's (2003) *The Color Purple* solidified our understandings of how intertwined eroticism is with magic and creative expression. Students located evidence of #BlackGirlMagic and its mechanisms and interventions in novels and course readings and wrote in creative reflective journals and analytical #BlackGirlMagic commentaries.

Between novels, we read scholarly critiques and blog posts by Black women and shared media "play dates" where we listened to music and crafted magical items such as wish jars, collages, and poetry. We listened to Solange Knowles's (2016) *A Seat at the Table*. We also viewed D. C. singer-songwriter-filmmaker Be Steadwell's (2014) short film, *Vow of Silence*, and Beyoncé's (2016) visual album, *LEMONADE*.

After listening and viewing, we ruminated on heartache and healing in student-facilitated talkbacks. We co-curated a digital media archive holding links to interactive sites, blogs, songs, documentaries, opinion editorials, animated series', and other electronic artifacts portraying our expansive, collective definitions of #BlackGirlMagic. Toward the end, we discussed ownership, reflecting on Clover Hope's inquiry, "Who Gets to Own 'Black Girl Magic?'" (Hope, 2017). We concluded with an art fair, where students showcased both individual and collaborative creative projects based on their own redefinitions of #BlackGirlMagic.

Here, in what became an incredibly q/Queer expressive course, Black girls' eye rolling and side-eyeing were embraced as rhythmic creativity. #BlackGirlMagic was rearticulated as a spiritual antidote to

Western conceptions of learning, discussion, and being in venues of higher education. Throughout our time together, we giggled, we gathered in talking circles, we smiled, we snapped our fingers in recognition, we were shameless, we shouted in exasperation, we danced, we sealed our wishes in jars, we reported harm, we created, we cried, and we invited one another to tenderly hold parts of our humanity rarely broached in humanities courses.

"#BlackGirlMagic Across Time & Space" intentionally centered emotional and social justice in the lives of Black women. It evolved into a spiritual training ground, a creative space where Black women (and allies) continually existed in "full abundance" (Staples, 2016). Perhaps a Black girl rolls her eyes because there are so few spaces where she can simply *be*, shifting and twirling through various emotional states? Yet, by persistently replenishing living, breathing archives, they/she/we curate magical spaces, animated by brilliance. And through steady creative motion, we heal.

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Under Surveillance: Interrogating Linguistic Policing in Black Girlhood

Pamela M. Jones

The many privileges I've been afforded often mask the violence perpetrated against me as a female in a Black body. The sobering reality is that no girl or woman with Black skin can escape the far reach of race, age, class, gender, sexuality, and nation (Brown, 2009; Collins, 2000; Crenshaw, 1991; Gholson & Martin, 2014). I am acutely aware of the fact that Black girls are not a monolithic group (Collins, 2000), but I imagine that many young Black girls have had experiences similar to mine (Brown, 2013; Morris, 2016).

Ever on the border between linguistic worlds, my childhood self felt this liminality, this double-consciousness (DuBois, 1903/1994). I couldn't always make sense of the vulnerabilities I faced, but nevertheless, they were there. In my Midwestern city, which has a long-standing history of racism, school personnel sometimes used language to incite violence within Black girls' lives. In this autobiographical essay, I use an intersectional lens to engage in critical self-reflection as I explore how language-based micro- and macroaggressions conspired to eclipse opportunities and shape my identity.

Finding My Voice

As a young Black girl in the late seventies and early eighties, I was located at the center of interlocking oppressions. Because I was Black and from a middle class family, I could potentially be relegated to

the academically at-risk category by some people; being of childhood age rendered my voice less audible, and being a girl marginalized me by virtue of my biological sex and gender identity. Seemingly unaware of these constraints, I perceived my linguistic range of motion to be limitless. I used both "ain't" and "isn't," sometimes in the same conversation; deployed "y'all" with reckless abandon; and tried on the adverb "generally" to see how it fit. I hadn't begun to wonder whether I needed to shift my linguistic style to accommodate my interlocutors or the contexts I inhabited. Word play was alive in my childhood home with an eclectic mix of English dialects in the rotation but, akin to the hit track on an album, African American Language (AAL) (Lanehart & Malik, 2015) played on repeat. My AAL was a beautiful thing—until it wasn't.

A Change on the Horizon

By age six, I had begun to lose my linguistic innocence. I wondered if who I was and how I sounded was wrong. Both inside and outside of school, I often felt the accusations and suffered microaggressive looks and reprimands when I dared to speak outside of the standard. What did it mean for me to be a Black girl? Was I expected to language my way into Whiteness? These questions took up residence within my soul, and in my Black girlhood I couldn't find answers that left me feeling whole. I didn't realize that how I languaged was tantamount to performing identity. Open School Night during my first-grade year was a clarifying moment and marked a shift in how I was to be perceived.

As one of the only children in attendance, I stood out like a snowstorm in spring. When my teacher asked me to read the information she'd written on the board for the benefit of the parents, I did so with little hesitation. My parents and I received numerous "At-a-girls!" for my performance. This struck me as odd, especially since I knew all too well that I could decode and comprehend text as a result of the time and energy spent by my parents, siblings, and select educators to grow me into an avid reader with a burgeoning academic identity. By reading the Standard English (SE) message on the board, I was ascribed the identity of "articulate while Black" with the potential to perform Whiteness (Alim & Smitherman, 2012, p. 35).

Under Surveillance

While I was fortunate to have many teachers who accepted me in my entirety, I encountered others who launched campaigns to rob me of my dignity. For every reassurance I received (e.g., "Good job on your reading, Pam"), I was sometimes met with denigrating comments (e.g., "Will someone please tell

Pam where we are in the story?"). When one teacher nominated me for science club, another teacher challenged my inclusion, asserting that I didn't measure up. I grew accustomed to some teachers seeking to prove me unworthy of scholastic accolades by using language and race as proxies for the degree of one's intellectual capacity.

I felt surveilled for my use of unsanctioned languages and dialects during (a) daily interactions with school personnel and peers, (b) in-class work, and (c) in-class assessments. These actions were tantamount to invoking a "mechanism for normalizing Whiteness" (Kirkland, 2010, para. 5) at the expense of acknowledging the stark reality of multiple oppressions and language-based discrimination. Eventually, I internalized a bias against my AAL so formidable that I sustained considerable damage to my self-concept. I grew less comfortable leaning into discourse styles that are part and parcel of being African American, and in school contexts I distanced myself from the words, syntax, and overall style associated with AAL.

Showing up in my life as my whole self was seen as an "act of rebellion" (Tippett, 2015), and with each rebellion I mounted, the dominant culture grew more resolved in its stance. Thankfully, the "resistant capital" (Yosso, 2005, p. 80) instilled within me by my family counteracted the language bias I'd internalized and led me to seek refuge in AAL features like habitual be, BIN, suck-teeth, and calculated silences (Richardson, 2003; Smitherman, 1977). My AAL had not been lost after all; the challenge, however, was that some of my teachers did little to honor my vernacular. School felt increasingly unsafe.

In Search of Justice-Oriented Pedagogies

The fault lies not with those who believe that Black girls need to master what Delpit (1992) called literate discourse; rather, fault resides with those who denigrate vernaculars to perpetuate the myth of a standard language (Lippi-Green, 1997). Unconscious language bias (Scott & Smitherman, 1985) and an absence of explicit instruction in language varieties render educators ill-suited to teach to students' full linguistic repertoires (Shelton, 2009). I wish my teachers had engaged us in critical conversations about the politics of language, race, and power because I would have better understood why I was expected to speak differently in disparate contexts. More importantly, having this knowledge would have stemmed the tide of self-doubt and blame that ensued when I dared to speak AAL (Kirkland & Jackson, 2009).

Ideally, my peers and I would have been best served by code-meshing pedagogy, which calls for "blending vernacular language and dialects of English in speaking and writing" (Young, 2014, p. 76) that were "previously considered…unmixable" (p. 81). My inner Black girl compels the Black woman I've become to foreground pedagogies like code-meshing in my work as a teacher educator because I need my students to realize that teaching is an inherently political act in which they are uniquely complicit (Freire, 2000; Gilyard, 1996; hooks, 1994). In a classroom that "promotes linguistic democracy," Black girls are encouraged to "blend language and identities" (Young, Martinez, & Naviaux, 2011, p. xxiv) instead of being surveilled relentlessly when they embrace the "skin that (they) speak" (Delpit, 2002, p. xvii). Teaching for social justice requires nothing less.

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"Who You Callin' Smartmouth?" Misunderstood Traumatization of Black and Brown Girls

Danielle Walker, Cheryl E. Matias, and Robin Brandehoff

Denying Human Dignity with White Emotions

Sigh. I overslept again. Last night was another long evening of balancing homework, putting my siblings to sleep, and tuning out my parents' fighting. I rush to get ready. Mom has already left for her 12-hour shift at the hospital and dad is asleep, preparing to work another 15-hour double shift at the factory. I try not to complain about having to get my siblings ready because I know it helps the family. The only things I dread are Ms. Becky and having to explain why I am late yet again. I wish I had someone at school to talk to about how overwhelmed I feel, but these white teachers don't care about me or any Black kids.

Before leaving, I'm cognizant that my clothing complies to the unjust dress code policy even though I'm only ten years old. Ms. Becky has told me my clothes are too tight, although I see white girls in school wearing tight clothing but never getting reprimanded. As if I don't have enough to worry about at home, I also must prepare for battles at school over how my clothes look, how threatening my kinky hair is, and, most of all, Ms. Becky's emotions: Will she be happy with my Blackness today or will she vilify me? I don't want to end up like those Black girls in the Carolinas.[1] I shouldn't dread school. Truth is, I love school. I love learning and my grades are always high, but Ms. Becky kills my spirit. It's like she gets sadistic pleasure from seeing me irate; like it confirms her stereotype of me.

Collecting my tardy slip, I head to class. As I expected, Ms. Becky waits, wearing a predatory smirk. Her crossed arms and unwelcoming frown show she is ready to interrogate me. I hand her my slip, and she says, "So, what's the excuse this time?" Tired of dealing with her emotions, I say, "I'm just late." Shaking her head in disbelief, she says, "You'll never be successful if you're always late."

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1   https://blackamericaweb.com/2015/10/26/south-carolina-teen-slammed-to-ground-by-school-security-officer-in-classroom-video/
https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2017/jan/04/high-school-girl-body-slammed-police-officer-north-carolina

"Ms. Becky, I have the highest grades in class!" I reply. Ms. Becky stops, astounded that I had the audacity to speak up for myself. She flails her arms, screaming, "Look, smartmouth, grades will only get you so far. I'm sick of your attitude. You'll spend the day at the principal's office!" I didn't even make it through the door today. I'm tired of tiptoeing around her emotions. What about me?! Ms. Becky showboats how much she "loves" and "cares" about her Black students, but how could she? With everything I go through, is it too much to ask for a simple, "What's going on, Brittany? Why are you late?"

Although the above counterstory draws from one of the author's experiences as a Black woman, there are similar stories of countless Black women everywhere. Before delving into the trauma evident in the counterstory above, we first define the very concept of trauma. Trauma, per Herman (1992), is "an affliction of the powerless.… At the moment of trauma, the victim is rendered helpless by overwhelming force…" (p. 33). For Black and Brown girls, trauma that makes them feel helpless comes in many forms, produced through whiteness that targets girls of Color.[2] For example, punitive disciplinary policies constructed through whiteness punish Black and Brown girls' bodies, speech, behavior, and dress.

Sadly, even Black hair is seen as a threat and in its mere expression, whiteness finds ways to exert itself so that it continues to traumatize Black girls. These are seen in those punitive measures. These punitive measures are traumatic because as Matias (2016a) argues, trauma "relentlessly terrorizes my heart, soul, and psyche on a daily basis" (p. 10). Black girls are made to feel ashamed of their own hair. Although Matias referred to the trauma she faces as a Brown professor of white teacher candidates, these are also the very teacher candidates who will become K–12 teachers like Ms. Becky who inflict trauma on girls of Color. To stop this trauma, more analyses of how the emotionality of whiteness traumatizes Black and Brown girls must occur.

Only Three-Fifths of White Emotions

The counterstory above draws from the common trope that white teachers in urban schools are sympathetic (Matias, 2013) and righteous in their proclamation of love and care for their students of Color. Whether portrayed in film (Vera & Gordon, 2003) or described in teacher education settings (Matias, 2016b), white female teachers are shown espousing white saviority, altruism, and benevolence.

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2   We follow the precedent of critical race scholars by intentionally combating white supremacist language practices. Therefore, white, which is the racially dominant group, appears in lowercase, and all references to People of Color are capitalized.

Brittany's teacher, Ms. Becky, is no different. In her self-promoting role as a hero to Brittany's life, she reprimands Brittany's tardiness and "advises" her that she will not become successful because of it. Though Ms. Becky does not embody all white female teachers, she is the embodiment of the statistical majority of white teachers. By stating this, we acknowledge, it placates white emotionality; for whiteness always works in ways to deny one's own complicity just to make one feel morally intact (i.e., "I didn't vote for Trump," "I'm not like those white folks," "I never own slaves.")

Couched in false empathy (see Matias & Zembylas, 2014), Ms. Becky's feelings toward Brittany are so obvious that Brittany tiptoes around them, hoping never to unleash them. Often, students like Brittany are sent to principals, who often refuse to listen to the voices of Black girls. Simply put, when the white emotions of white teachers are considered more important than those of their students, the pain of Black and Brown girls becomes only three-fifths of their white teachers' pain.

Speaking Truth to Black Female Students

There is a great deal of research profiling the injustices Black and Brown boys face (Archer, 2003; Ferguson, 2001; Noguera, 2009). Though important, it masks how intersectionalities of racism and sexism impact Black and Brown girls. Black girls are suspended six times more often than white girls, whereas Black boys are suspended three times more than white boys (Morris, 2016).

In the counterstory, Ms. Becky's patronizing remark about Brittany's excuse "this time" places Brittany in a subjected position—one that is immediately vilified. The saddest part is that Brittany is aware of this. She expects Ms. Becky's vitriolic behaviors, which make Brittany feel as though her thoughts, feelings, and presence do not matter—essentially as though her humanity does not matter.

When Brittany asserts her humanity by mentioning her high grades, Ms. Becky shoots her down as a "smartmouth." This is no different than labeling Black and Brown girls as sassy, feisty, or angry. These labels, the denial of the essential humanity of girls of Color, and the teacher's immediate need to vilify are traumatizing. Plainly, because Black and Brown girls are dismissed as defiant when expressing discontent, white teachers like Ms. Becky concoct versions of Black and Brown intentions to justify maltreating girls of Color. They view "smartmouth" Black and Brown girls as misbehaving and in need of control and order, instead of acknowledging that being a "smartmouth" is expressing an objection to dehumanizing schooling practices.

So What Is Traumatizing Black and Brown Girls? What Traumatizes Us?

Whiteness traumatizes Black and Brown girls because racially inept educators reading Brittany's story will question why she did not tell the teacher instead of questioning Ms. Becky's reaction. Brittany's scenario is traumatic because teachers are always given the benefit of the doubt and girls of Color are socialized to put their thoughts and feelings to the side to accommodate the fragility of their teachers. We, the authors, are all women of Color. As such, we too are subjected to racialized trauma. We are angry at how such traumas persist, especially now that we have our own daughters to protect.

So what is it that traumatizes us? We know systemic white supremacy produces a society where whites are given privilege, but that alone is not enough to traumatize us on the level of our soul. Instead, the emotionalities of whiteness upholding institutional white supremacy dehumanize us. We witness this when girls of Color are denied their humanity by their white teachers, many of whom render them as "smartmouths" with attitudes. Suffocated by these atrocities, we are traumatized because we know that when we assert our humanity, the emotionality of whiteness becomes unfettered and will do anything to put us back in our place. If Ms. Beckys want to support students, they must drop their "smartthought" about Black and Brown girls, and develop a "smartear" to listen to them.

Special Acknowledgement

For Black and Brown girls—may you see past the whiteness that dulls the beauty of your Color.

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Put Some Respect On Our Name:
Why Every Black and Brown Girl Needs to Learn About Radical Feminist Leadership

Bettina L. Love and Kristen Duncan

The hashtag #SayHerName was spearheaded by the African American Policy Forum (AAPF) to respond to the erasure of Black women and girls' experiences with police brutality and radicalized state violence. Kimberlé Crenshaw, co-founder and executive director of AAPF, argued that having an analytical understanding of gender-specific violence is necessary in order to start community conversations and policy initiatives. This premise can be applied to education, too.

Young girls of color need to be exposed to gender- and race-specific curricula that center their lives and tell the stories of women of color who have fought for liberation in a myriad of rebellious and subversive ways (Price-Dennis, 2016; Haddix, McArthur, Muhammad, Price-Dennis, & Sealey-Ruiz, 2016; McArthur, 2016; Muhammad & Haddix, 2016; Sealey-Ruiz, 2016). This essay argues for exposing Black and Brown girls not only to women of color who were freedom fighters, but to the radical feminist leadership approaches that guided these women's work. Radical feminist leadership is invested in sustainable civil rights organizing and is concerned with collective power and democratic forms of shared leadership.

Our Work Speaks For Itself, If You Listen

In 2020, for the first time in its history, the United States of America will put a woman on its paper currency: abolitionist Harriet Tubman. When the change occurs, Tubman will finally be introduced to millions of Brown and Black girls as an important figure in American history, a leader in America's quest to form a more perfect union. But as what kind of leader will teachers depict her? Visibility does not equal power.

It remains to be seen whether teachers will honor Tubman and the countless women of color (e.g., Mary McLeod Bethune, Ella Baker, Rosa Parks, Sojourner Truth, Diane Nash, Daisy Bates, Dorothy Height, Carmen Abrego, Fannie Lou Hamer, Josefina Fierro de Bright, Dolores Huerta, Cathy Cohen,

Septima Clark) whose radical feminist leadership focused on community uplift, love, and helping everyday people understand the social, political, and economic contexts of their oppression. If the conversation concerning Tubman does not reflect the totality of her life and is not deliberately presented to young girls of color as a model of their intellectual capacity, their creativity for doing what is deemed impossible, their duty to be civic agents, and, ultimately, their collective liberation, her visibility in the classroom will be as flat as her image on the $20 bill.

It is well known that Tubman, as a conductor of the Underground Railroad, returned to the South to safely lead enslaved Blacks north to free states. However, she was also a Union spy with the strategic skills to run a special operations unit:

> … A nine-man spy unit comprising local black riverboat pilots who knew the waterways well and taught them how to collect intelligence. They scouted for the Union, mapping the islands and shores of South Carolina and providing information about the location of Confederate sentinels. (Lamothe, 2016, para. 6)

Society typically portrays Tubman as courageous, but not as a mastermind and a leader of men.

One of the most prolific, courageous, intellectually acute political organizers for social change of all time is Ella Baker, though her work is rarely discussed in schools. She worked from the premise that "Strong people don't need strong leaders" (Ransby, 2003). Baker was critical of charismatic male leaders, or the singular charismatic leader who did not empower people with the tools to transform their lived conditions. Baker was just as important to the Civil Rights Movement as Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. She, unlike King, believed in the power of oppressed people and communities to create pathways to leadership that were decentralized and non-hierarchical. She wanted people to understand just how strong and brilliant they were, both individually and collectively. Baker was driven by the idea of a radical democratic practice where the oppressed, excluded, and powerless became active in positions of power with decision-making opportunities (Ransby, 2003).

The Need for Fuller Stories

Girls of color often experience social, emotional, psychological, and physical violence inside and outside of schools. They need more than just the counter-narratives that highlight women of color

deemed successful by American standards of exceptionalism and meritocracy. Brown and Black girls need to be equipped with radical feminist leadership models that highlight activism and strategizing for collective liberation, and that exclude no one.

Black Lives Matter is a contemporary model of Ella Baker's philosophy of a leaderful movement led by women of color strategists and organizers. These leaders' ideas, if not their physical bodies, should permeate classrooms concerned with the lives of Black and Brown girls, instead of purely focusing on the negative portrayal of how bad their lives are. In short, these girls need a curriculum concerned with engaging young women of color in a leadership model that will #SayHerName.

From a feminist leadership perspective, activism is at the center of teaching and learning. The idea of activism is foundational to girls of color because they need to know that they have the power to change their communities as leaders. Merely exposing young girls of color to Black and Brown women who have managed to become successful by the standards of American meritocracy is futile. In fact, doing so without including the herstories that demonstrate Black and Brown women's type of leadership and activism upholds patriarchy by teaching all students, especially young girls of color, that only male leadership models can create change.

Practical Examples

Teaching students about radical feminist leadership needs a curriculum that centers women as historical actors, not passive participants in history. When we teach about the Civil Rights Movement, Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is usually referenced as someone who went out and took action. Rosa Parks, on the other hand, is frequently positioned as a woman who only refused to give up her seat on that Montgomery bus because she was tired. Rosa Parks was actually a trained civil rights activist who knew exactly what she was going to do when she stepped on that bus on December 1, 1955, and what the consequences would be.

Additionally, the ensuing Montgomery bus boycott was planned and orchestrated by the Women's Political Council, an organization of Black women led by JoAnn Gibson Robinson, not King and the Southern Christian Leadership Conference (Robinson & Garrow, 1987). Teaching the complete picture, which includes women taking leadership roles, engaging in civic agency, and empowering their community members helps students understand that the Montgomery bus boycott and other historical events simply would not have happened without women and their focus on community uplift.

Another approach is to talk to local women of color, helping students learn how these women have organized and led efforts for change in their own communities. Whether it is Aurielle Lucier in Atlanta, Charlene Carruthers in Chicago, Alicia Garza in Oakland, or Luba Cortes in New York City, few things could help students understand radical feminist leadership better than learning about the ways women are working to make their communities better. An added bonus to focusing on women in the local community is that it allows students to hear about their endeavors directly from the source.

There are also free online curricula for teachers. For example, Get Free (Getfreehiphopcivics.com) is a multimedia hip-hop civics curriculum for youth and young adults. Its goal is to introduce young people and educators to a national network of young community leaders, artists, and activists who advocate for social change and democratic inclusion driven by grassroots organizing. The site focuses on exposing youth to radical feminist leadership models and individuals. Lastly, a #SayHerName syllabus is available online (http://www.blacklivesmattersyllabus.com/sayhername/).

We hope these resources are helpful as we all uplift and honor the lives and ideas of women of color. Putting some respect on the names of women of color is not just honoring women of color, but laying the foundation for young girls to resist and lead. The playbook that was been created and left for girls of color is robust, malleable, and proven to be successful in the fight for justice—a fight that will never be won without women and girls of color in leadership positions.

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Restorative Schooling:
The Healing Power of Counternarrative

Veronica Benavides

> *A question Chicanitas sometimes ask*
> *while others wonder: Why is the sky blue?*
> *or the grass so green?*
>
> *Why am I so brown?*
>
> *God made you brown, mi'ja,*
> *color bronce—color of your raza*
> *connecting you to your raíces,*
> *your story/historia*
> *as you begin moving towards your future.*
>
> *God made you brown, mi'ja,*
> *color bronce, beautiful/strong,*
> *reminding you of the goodness*
> *de tu mamá, de tus abuelas*
> *y tus antepasados.*

—Trinidad Sanchez Jr., Why Am I So Brown?

I stared at these words by Trinidad Sanchez (1991) with tears running down my face. I had been asking myself that same question, among others, earlier in the day: Why am I so brown? Why am I so stupid? Why am I so poor? Why am I so different? It was my first semester of college at the University of Texas at Austin (UT Austin) and I had just received my first failing grade on an exam. Accustomed to being at the top of my class, I was devastated. My boyfriend used the opportunity to make a point about the failures of affirmative action, while assuring me that he would be able to provide for us, no matter what happened.

For a moment, I believed him and hated myself. I was just a Chicana from a low-income, low-performing school district. What made me think that I could keep up with the academics and intellectuals of the world? I opened up my well-worn, favorite book, seeking solace. I saw the words of Trinidad Sanchez. I said them out loud. I believed them. I realized that I have beauty, strength, history, and a future because of my brownness, not in spite of it.

I broke up with the naysaying boyfriend, graduated with honors from UT Austin, earned my Master's of Science in Teaching from Fordham University, and received my doctorate in education leadership from Harvard University. Throughout my journey, I was often faced with deficit-based, dominant narratives of minoritized communities. We all know the story: higher levels of suspension, lower levels of college matriculation, disproportionate representation in special education. Research proves again and again that teacher expectations and perceptions of students impact academic performance (Boykin & Noguera, 2011). Because of the deficit-based, dominant narratives of minoritized communities, these low and negative expectations are often reserved for students of color.

The presence of stereotypes and deficit-based thinking impact students' perceptions of self and their academic performance (Steele & Aronson, 1995). They also impact the design of schooling. When educators and policymakers see no value in the cultural assets of students, they design the deliberate removal of such assets. This can be seen in the "no Spanish" or "English only" laws of Texas that allowed educators, until 1973, to punish students who spoke Spanish on school grounds (Rodríguez, 2016). It can also be seen in our current classroom textbooks, which minimize, ignore, and erase the history of minoritized groups (Fernandez & Hauser, 2015). This type of schooling is known as subtractive schooling.

The concept of subtractive schooling was coined by Angela Valenzuela in her 1999 book, Subtractive Schooling: U.S.-Mexican Youth and the Politics of Caring. According to Valenzuela, "Subtractive schooling encompasses subtractively assimilationist policies and practices that are designed to divest Mexican students of their culture and language" (p. 20). Valenzuela's assessment of the subtractive nature of schooling encapsulates my own experience of the K–12 system in Texas. All of my cultural resources were deemed barriers to professional and academic success, and they were treated accordingly.

Restorative Schooling: A Response to Subtractive Schooling

Despite systemic efforts to bury my language, traditions, and history, my cultural assets survived the

subtractive schooling process. Though they were left weakened and more vulnerable, I drew from these resources to persist through the difficulties of college. Where my K–12 schooling failed me, my cultural resources rescued me. I've realized that these resources survived not by coincidence, but through a process I call restorative schooling.

I define restorative schooling as a family's response to subtractive schooling. It is the pushback, both big and small, of parents and families against the traditional schooling system. Restorative schooling looks like traditional foods for lunch and dinner, native languages spoken in the home, oral histories passed on from elders to youth, celebrations, and resistance. Restorative schooling often teaches us another way of being, seeing, and knowing in the world. It taps into the collective memory and historical strength of marginalized people who have survived generations of oppression. It restores what has been lost or taken away.

Tamales and Chisme: Restoration Through Counternarrative

For me, restorative schooling happened most often through counternarrative, and women were the storytellers, stars, and villains. Storytelling could happen anywhere at any moment, but the juiciest stories always came in December, during tamale-making season. With three different generations, four different family names, and hours upon hours of time, the stories flowed like honey.

I learned some of my most important lessons while spreading masa on a dry corn husk. I learned that my great-grandmother loved to sing and stomp her foot while playing curandera. I learned that my grandmother fell in love with a married man. I learned that my tía's common-law husband hit her, and that she hit him back. I learned that my mother wore short shorts to the beach, and paid her brothers to do her chores. I learned that the women in my family did, when no one else was there to do. They made the most of dark situations, and brought light to their families.

The women in my family led my restorative schooling process, rebuking stereotypes and low expectations through their mere existence. They reminded me that Mexicanas and Chicanas are feminists, breadwinners, healers, and lovers. We are dynamic human beings with unlimited potential.

A Different Way: Educators and Restorative Schooling

Restorative schooling doesn't just happen in the home; it can happen in the classroom as well. Educators

can eliminate the subtractive nature of schooling and create spaces for restoration by integrating a student's culture into the fabric of schooling. Research shows that the use of restorative practices—like ethnic studies curricula, and curricula that elevate the narratives of traditionally marginalized groups—promotes academic achievement for students from those groups. There is a clear body of research documenting the relationship between the racial/ethnic identity of students of color and academic achievement (Altschul, Oyserman, & Bybee, 2006; Carter, 2008; Chavous et al., 2003; Sleeter, 2011).

Through culturally relevant curriculum, books that are representative of the students in the classroom, and authentic family engagement, educators can transform schools into spaces where students' cultural selves are not seen as harmful to or separate from their academic selves. Infusing students' culture into the curriculum is most impactful when paired with educators who are equipped to build authentic relationships with their students (Boykin & Noguera, 2011). For that reason, it is imperative that teachers know and honor their students' strengths, interests, and cultures. It was my favorite teacher, after all, who gave me my well-worn book with the restorative words of Trinidad Sanchez.

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Where Our Girls At?
The Misrecognition of Black and Brown Girls in Schools

Amanda E. Lewis and Deana G. Lewis

Black and Brown girls are often marginalized, not only in society and in schools, but in research about schools; their experiences and needs are relegated to the sidelines or disregarded entirely.[1] In this essay we argue for careful consideration of the specific ways that Black and Brown raced and gendered identities render these girls vulnerable and put them in jeopardy. Dangers abound, not only from approaches that focus exclusively on gender or exclusively on race/ethnicity, but from colorblind or other supposedly race-neutral approaches that render these girls more rather than less vulnerable (O'Connor, Lewis, & Mueller, 2007), and make educators and scholars more likely to be complicit in their marginalization.

We focus on just a few of the many ways that this marginalization happens. We provide two classroom vignettes that capture dynamics of invisibility and hypervisibility. While these dynamics may seem to be diametrically opposite, both involve the process of what Fraser (2000) called misrecognition: "To be misrecognized… is to be denied the status of a full partner in social interaction, as a consequence of institutionalized patterns of cultural value that constitute one as comparatively unworthy of respect or esteem" (p. 113).

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1   Here we are focused primarily on cisgender (non-trans) girls' experiences. We recognize that these experiences of marginality become even more intensified for trans youth, non-binary youth, and queer youth.

Invisibility

In one study of race making, the first author spent a year doing daily participant observation in two urban schools in a West Coast city—a Spanish immersion school that was predominantly Latinx[2] and White, and a multiracial neighborhood school (Lewis, 2003). While reading through her fieldnotes for emerging patterns, she discovered a critical absence: despite the fact that they were represented in high numbers in both schools, Latinx students were largely missing from the fieldnotes. And this was in a school where most of the students were first- or second-generation Chicanas. In each school's hectic classrooms, her notes documented action, vocal exchanges, tensions, lesson plans, and who was getting called on and how. But she had not "taken note of" those whose hands weren't going up, those who weren't asking for help, those who were never out of their seats.

After that discovery, she spent the next few weeks closely watching Latinxs in these classrooms and discovered that their lack of visibility was not confined to fieldnotes, but to classroom processes more generally. Fieldnotes thereafter captured moments when these girls were placed in reading groups not because of their reading level but because of their "flexibility" in peer group dynamics; moments when they sat quietly at their desks, confused about the assignment, not asking for help, not causing any disruption; and entire math periods with classwork left undone and no one taking notice. These girls moved through the school day largely staying under the radar, ignored by teachers and not asking for assistance. Socially and academically, their needs remained firmly on the margins. Far from idiosyncratic, this echoes similar work that has found that students of color often feel less connected to teachers who lack the will or the ability to fully engage them (Voight, Hanson, O'Malley, & Adekanye, 2015). What would be possible if Black and Latinx girls' educational experiences were centered in schools and classrooms?[3]

Hypervisibility

In a recent book, the first author described life at Riverview High School, a well-resourced suburban school in the Midwest with a very diverse study body (Lewis & Diamond, 2015). While the study focused on understanding the racial achievement gap at the school, one of the key sets of findings focused on subtle daily disciplinary practices. These disciplinary routines were recognized by almost everyone in the school to be racially inflected (at minimum).

2   Latinx is a gender-neutral term that takes the place of Latina and Latino to refer to people of Latin American descent.
3   As Carter (2005, 2012) has discussed, negative racial climates in schools have multiple consequences for students who have to contend with institutional messages that negatively characterize their identities and cultural repertoires.

Lewis and Diamond (2015), like other researchers, found that Black boys were subject to high levels of monitoring and discipline. But they also found that Black girls were subject to unfair treatment related to a quite different set of stereotypes or, as Collins (2000) describes, controlling images. Black girls' bodies were understood differently, rendered problematic, and "adultified" in distinct but still problematic ways (Ferguson, 2000). A key example was how the school "policed" violations of school dress codes. The rules, as described in the school handbook, read:

> Brief and revealing clothing are not appropriate in school. Examples include tank or halter tops, garments with spaghetti straps or strapless garments; clothing that is "see-through," cut low, or exposes one's midriff; or skirts that are shorter than 3-inches above the knee.

An internet search revealed similar language in school discipline codes from around the country. These seem to be common expectations in many high schools. However, as one teacher explained, girls were being assessed through adults' racialized lenses that perceived only some of them to be in violation:

> We had a policy that the girls couldn't have their belly showing. All you saw walking in the hall [was] girls with their white bellies out. Black girls sent home. They [Black girls] were pissed off. [One Black student] said, "Well, why are you saying something to me. I'm sitting up in a room with six white girls with their stomach out and you pick me out of the group."

As this teacher described, girls are not always passive recipients of such differential discipline. Tiffany, a junior at the school noted, "They tried to get me one year but I wasn't havin' it. I put up a fight. I said, 'You know, that's not fair.'" And girls like Tiffany regularly resist being framed as a problem. Yet even as they resist, they learn important lessons about how their raced and gendered identities subject them to scrutiny.

All the Girls are White, All the Blacks are Boys…

In cases of both invisibility and hypervisibility, these girls are experiencing the full brunt of misrecognition—having a wide range of raced and gendered tropes projected onto their bodies as they are simultaneously denied access to the kinds of educational experiences they need and deserve. Misrecognition is a problem not only in schools, but in research about schools. When attention is called to the needs of girls or the crisis around Black and Brown children, familiar patterns emerge where a focus on girls' experiences is about mostly White girls and a focus on Black or Latinx students'

experiences centers on boys (Hull, Scott, & Smith, 1982). In research about gender or girls' performance in the classroom, White, middle-class girls are considered the norm (Evans-Winters, 2011; Morris, 2007; Morris 2012, 2016). In educational research on disproportionality in school discipline, Black girls' experiences are on the sidelines (Morris, 2012; Noguera, 2003, 2008). These girls are not only misrecognized in schools but also marginalized in research on student experiences in schools.

Schools should strive to be places of sanctuary where students' full humanity is acknowledged, their developmentally appropriate struggles are recognized—places where we help them figure out who they want to be in the world, and we help them to gain the skills they need to realize their aspirations. We can only know whether schools are falling short if educational leaders, scholars, and policymakers put Black and Brown girls at the center of our attention with a keen eye to the multiple ways they are often misrecognized. It is our responsibility as educators and researchers to ensure that these young women are written into schooling and educational narratives to underscore the importance of their experiences and contributions to the world.

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Resist School Pushout With and For Black Girls

Joanne N. Smith

Girls for Gender Equity (GGE) is an intergenerational, advocacy organization committed to the physical, psychological, social, and economic development of girls and women. Through youth organizing, leadership development, and community building for gender and racial equity, GGE challenges structural forces—racism, sexism, transphobia, homophobia, economic inequality—that work to constrict the freedom, full expression, and rights of trans and cisgendered girls and young women of color and gender nonconforming youth of color. At the forefront of GGE's strategy is the belief that young people are strong leaders and catalysts for change.

Black girls, young women, and gender nonconforming young people of color in the United States face distinct forms of gender-based discrimination and violence in their communities and schools. For example, Black girls are more likely than their White peers to experience sexual harassment that makes them feel unsafe on their way to school and in school, to encounter threats and injuries with weapons on school property, and to be forced to have sexual intercourse or experience dating violence (Eaton et al., 2008).

Nationally, 12% of Black girls have received at least one in-school suspension, versus 2% of white girls (Henderson, 2014). Black girls are disproportionately suspended from middle school for behaviors subjectively determined to be worthy of reprimand; in the classroom, educators are more likely to view Black girls as "loud, defiant, and precocious" and reprimand them for being "unladylike" (Morris, 2016). In New York City, 50% of women living in areas of concentrated poverty, the majority of whom are women of color, have not earned high school diplomas (Mason, 2013). As Heleya, a Black 16-year-old GGE participant, explained, "I feel like the education system has found multiple ways to push me out of the community and isolate me and make me feel discouraged to participate."

GGE's efforts, described here, are designed to demonstrate how youth and adult allies counteract the systemic barriers that cause "school pushout." GGE recognizes school pushout as anything that prevents or gets in the way of a young person completing their education, including harsh discipline policies, high-stakes testing, unsafe schools, and a history of gender-specific systemic ideologies that

perpetuate inequality. School pushout disproportionately affects students of color, as well as lesbian, gay, bisexual, and trans youth, due to the various forms of oppression that these groups face daily. Black Girls Breaking the Silence on School Pushout

The need for Black girls to break their silence on school pushout grew out of GGE's Sisters in Strength Youth organizers expressing their frustration about being disciplined more severely than non-Black peers. The same youth organizers began a participatory action research (PAR) project to examine the relationship between school pushout and harsh discipline policies. PAR has deep roots in social justice, critical theory, and participation of the most marginalized, and views knowledge from lived experiences as equal to that produced in the academy; it seeks to challenge and expand traditional notions of expertise, centering those most impacted by social disparities and inequalities (Torre, Fine, Stoudt, & Fox, 2012).

With support from GGE staff, youth organizers interviewed peers about the forces contributing to oppressive school environments and increased suspensions. One 16-year-old described the flawed system:

> We used to have metal detectors that we as students would have to go through every morning. There use[d] to be a line that stretched from the basement of the school to outside the main gate of the school with students. Some days you could be on that line for at least an hour waiting to get into the building. There were days you missed your first-period class.… Then one day they tried to tell girls to stop wearing bras with wires in them so they can shorten time by not having to get wanded by the guards. Mind you, my first day of middle school I was scared because they made me take off my shoes, coat, and jewelry. From then on, I had to get use[d] to doing that every morning depending on the outfit I wore that day.

GGE staff led a power-mapping activity to make a web of influence, power, privilege, oppression, resistance, and liberation. This helped the girls understand and discuss the incongruent relationship between teachers, administrators, school safety officers, and youth, as well as the policies that criminalized normal adolescent behavior. Figure 1 outlines key aspects of their discussion.

Figure 1: School Pushout Factors

The girls' experiences affirm that the criminalization of Black female bodies in schools begins with interactions between youth and school safety officers. A study by the Georgetown Law Center on Poverty and Inequality provides data showing that adults view Black girls as less innocent and more adult-like than their White peers, especially in the age range of 5 to 14, suggesting that the perception of Black girls as less innocent may contribute to harsher punishment by educators and school resource officers (Epstein, Blake, & Gonzalez, 2017).

Under the guise of protecting the school climate, officers often perform "stop and frisk"-like violations. Girls are forced to remove headscarves and bobby pins and suffer encroachments on their personal space, inappropriate touching, and sexual harassment. When they advocate for themselves, Black girls are often disciplined for being "loud" or "out of line," underscoring implicit bias, racism, and stereotypes about the "angry Black girl" (Morris, 2013).

Girls also reported being suspended rather than being referred to guidance counselors or mediation programs. In a recent study, one high school junior described her first suspension for "insubordination"— wearing a cardigan that didn't match the colors of the student uniform (NWLC & GGE, 2015). Too many times, Black girls are criminalized for normal adolescent behavior, offenses based on survival, trauma, or mental health issues, and substance abuse issues that require social and community support rather than incarceration.

GGE youth organizers most affected by school pushout led the PAR project so they could help liberate the voices of others and demand changes in the school climate. They attended local and national campaign meetings, led trainings on implicit bias, developed public service announcements, and created photo essays. They partnered with Dr. Monique Morris, author of *Pushout: The Criminalization of Black Girls in Schools* (2016), and Dr. Venus Evans-Winters, author of *Teaching Black Girls: Resiliency in Urban Classrooms* (2011), to present findings at the 2014 American Educational Research Association conference (Evans-Winters, 2017).

The girls also developed and released an educational advocacy video (GGE, 2015). Through storytelling, they amplified their ability to influence legislation and sway decision-makers including teachers, philanthropic partners, and civic leaders at the state and federal levels. Most importantly, they inspired others to tell their stories and underscored that the flaws lie with systems and institutions, not with them.

School Girls Deserve Campaign

The School Girls Deserve Campaign (SGDC) is also part of GGE's larger school pushout work. Often advocates, teachers, and young people are able to articulate problems but do not communicate concrete visions of what youth deserve. GGE's youth organizers and staff have led visioning sessions with over ten organizations throughout New York City to engage cis, trans, and gender nonconforming youth in imagining the schools that they desire, need, and deserve.

In October 2015, Dignity in Schools (2006), a national coalition to combat school pushout, organized a national week of action. As a partner, GGE hosted workshops for parents, teachers, students, and school safety agents. Participants learned about school pushout, viewed the Black Girls Breaking Silence on School Pushout video (GGE, 2015), and unpacked real-life scenarios where implicit bias led to mistreatment of young people of color. As a result, GGE worked with a group of teachers and parent coordinators to incorporate restorative justice practices into the school culture.

GGE also collaborated with Teachers Unite, a New York-based organization growing restorative and transformative justice strategies, to put SGDC into practice in GGE's middle school. The goal was to provide resources on running community-building circles and working with schools to develop a curriculum that could be used school-wide within three years. Simultaneously, GGE (2017) developed a policy book to share findings with coalition partners, policymakers, and youth to strengthen local, state, and national school climate policies and practices. The book addresses the emergent needs of cis and trans Black girls, young women and girls of color, and gender nonconforming young people. It presents local policy recommendations that build efforts at the intersections of their identities and lived experiences while advancing educational justice that centers intersectional, youth-centered solutions.

Engaging Young People to Combat School Pushout

The institutional violence that schools direct towards Black girls stops them from meeting their basic needs and is 100% preventable. GGE's work to combat school pushout focuses on the dynamic possibilities of galvanizing young people, youth advocates, policymakers, educators, and school administrators to interrupt institutional and interpersonal violent policies, practices, and culture. While the fight to eradicate racial and gender injustice in education in the twenty-first century is global, local strategies are particularly important. Black girls, young women of color, and gender nonconforming youth of color have always provided legislative, practical, and resource-allocation solutions to improve systems that devalue their basic humanity. GGE's work with young people to combat oppressive educational institutions and classrooms is in keeping with this tradition.

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Untying the Knot

Charisse Jones

Consider the case of Shaquanda Cotton.

A 14-year-old African American girl growing up in Paris, Texas, Cotton pushed a hall monitor one school day morning when the employee would not let her into the building to pick up her prescribed medication (Witt, 2007). As reported by Howard Witt in the *Chicago Tribune*, Cotton had never been in legal trouble before, though she had been given written warnings at school for such wayward behavior as wearing a skirt that administrators said should have been one inch longer.

For that shoving incident, Cotton was found guilty of assaulting a public servant and given a sentence of up to seven years in jail. But the judge who meted out Cotton's punishment was considerably more lenient with another 14-year-old girl who happened to be White. That teenager received probation after being found guilty of intentionally setting her family's home on fire (Witt, 2007).

The shockingly unequal treatment that Cotton suffered in school, and then in the legal system, begs many questions. Among them: What happens to your psyche when you are maligned before you have time to define yourself? What does it do to your spirit to see your image projected back to you, distorted and fractured, like the reflection in a fun house mirror?

The emotional trauma experienced by Black girls is worthy of deep exploration, but for now, let us examine the roots of that stress. Black girls stand at the juncture of race and gender. The biases that they face are at times sharp and distinct, targeted with clarity at one innate part of their selves. At other times, the biases blur, tangled together like a knot. Black girls live in double jeopardy, misunderstood or minimized because of the most salient parts of their identity. (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). And yet there is little acknowledgment, in their communities or the broader culture, of their unique experiences and struggles.

To ensure that Black girls become fully realized, confident contributors to a society that can ill afford to discard any of its members, we need to take the time to look at the world through their eyes and then do whatever we can to remedy the inequities that we see.

When it comes to matters of gender and race, two images loom in the national imagination. White women are the standard bearers of womanhood, the center of discussions around pay parity, reproductive rights, and sexual harassment. Black men are top of mind when talk turns to the ramifications of racial bigotry, whether that bias plays out during a traffic stop, in a corporate office, or inside a courtroom.

And yet, not only do Black women suffer sexual harassment, but it is often of a more violent nature than that endured by their White peers (Jones & Shorter-Gooden, 2003). Black women have also historically been paid less than both White women and Black men (Swartz & Jones, 2017). And while it may be true that Black men often bear the most visible and violent expressions of racial bigotry, Black women also experience the paper cuts and deep wounds inflicted by subtle and overt acts of racial prejudice.

The stereotypes that envelop Black women—painting them as unnaturally strong, lacking in intelligence, sexually promiscuous, and criminally inclined—do not just take hold on the threshold of adulthood. They latch on tight while Black women are still children. That is how an act of arson can result in a slap on a White wrist, and a shoving incident that leaves the victim physically unharmed leads to a Black girl being sent to prison (Witt, 2007).

There are so many ugly stereotypes to unpack, but let us think for a moment about just one—the myth of criminality. As the nation begins to grapple with the inequities of the legal system, from the stark racial profiling used in stop-and-frisk tactics to the hyperincarceration of Black men, a lens is also being turned on the school-to-prison pipeline. Suspensions, or even expulsions, for the smallest of infractions fall hardest on Black boys. But Black girls are also on the receiving end of harsh and unequal treatment. In the 2011–2012 school year, 12% of African American girls were suspended from school, versus 4% of Latinas and 2% of young White women. For Black girls with a disability, the number soared to 19% (Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, n.d.).

Missing days of learning because of a suspension or having to find a new school after being expelled is disruptive and can undermine a student's chances at academic success when her educational journey is just beginning (Morris & Perry, 2016). It can also create a paper trail used to justify unduly harsh punishment for childish transgressions.

In 2013 young Black women were roughly three times more likely than young White women to be referred to juvenile court for an allegation of delinquent behavior (Office of Juvenile Justice and

Delinquency Prevention, n.d.). And in 2014 the incarceration rate for Black women was 109 per 100,000, compared to 53 per 100,000 for White women (Sentencing Project, 2015).

In addition to the visible abuses Black girls and women may suffer while detained, there is also more subtle emotional damage that can occur when they are struck with the realization that they are being judged more harshly simply because they live inside brown female bodies. Shaquanda Cotton, desperate and afraid as she languished for months in jail, reportedly tried to hurt herself (Witt, 2007). She was finally released in March 2007, roughly a year after her sentencing, and two weeks after the newspaper reported her story.

What of the other girls like Shaquanda, who may not wind up in jail for a childish physical outburst, yet who have to fight every day to maintain their dignity as they are followed around a department store, parodied on television, or underestimated in the classroom? We should pay attention to the emotional terrain traveled by African American girls, and consider how to make their lives less arduous.

The narrative of the American melting pot is largely a myth. It implies a mutual appreciation for how each culture, gender, faith, and hue enhances the other, culminating in a society worthy of celebration. We are far from such unity, but it is a worthy goal. And if there is a possibility of ever reaching it, we as a society must try harder to acknowledge the humanity of each of our citizens.

For Black girls to grow into their most assured selves, the institutionalized barriers that crush their confidence, stifle their expression, and cut off their opportunities have to be addressed. We can call for dialogues with educators about implicit bias. We can follow the lead of entities like the Office of Juvenile Justice and Delinquency Prevention, which recommends, as an alternative to detention facilities, the creation of community-centered programs to work with girls who are unlikely to cause harm to others. And, as a last resort, we can file complaints to legally challenge overly punitive actions. Whatever the strategy, we must be proactive in bringing both the struggles and gifts of Black girls out of the shadows. We haven't a moment to waste.

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Black Girls Are More Than Magic

Gloria Ladson-Billings

I began my public school teaching career with middle-grade students in the city of Philadelphia. My assignment was to teach social studies, and my area of specialty was U.S. history. I reconceived the course by beginning with the civil rights icon Fannie Lou Hamer and accompanied it with the question, "Does the U.S. form of democracy work for this woman?" My rationale for using Fannie Lou Hamer had to do with the way she symbolizes the complexities of race, class, and gender.

A voting rights activist in Mississippi and a member of the Freedom Democrats, Mrs. Hamer contested the Democrats sending an all-white delegation to the 1964 Democratic National Convention. After bringing national attention to the situation of Blacks in Mississippi, she and other members of the Freedom Democrats were invited to speak to the Democrats' Credentials Committee.

When I first saw Mrs. Hamer on my television screen in 1964 she was declaring herself to be a "democratically elected delegate" to the Democratic National Convention in Atlantic City, New Jersey. At that moment, I recognized that Mrs. Hamer was simultaneously ordinary and extraordinary. She was "regular" and she was magic.

I recognized her as ordinary or "regular" because she looked exactly like so many Black women who were a part of my growing up. Sitting before the Democrats' Credentials Committee in a matronly, flowered dress with her hair "hard pressed" and curled, Mrs. Hamer looked exactly like women I regularly saw in my neighborhood, at my church, or showing up at school to plead for another chance for one of their children. She reminded me of my grandfather's sister, my great aunt Dolly, who, although she lived in Brooklyn for many years, maintained what I would call her "Southern ways."

Fannie Lou Hamer was the emblem of the tens of thousands of Black women who worked hard to raise and protect their families, but who were not to be trifled with. Despite their very ordinary countenances, in the face of threat to their loved ones or blatant injustice, they could become quite extraordinary. They could be magic.

Fannie Lou Hamer's magic was the powerful and precise way she stated her case before the entire nation. Her presence was so commanding that President Lyndon Johnson called an impromptu press conference to divert the national media from her testimony. But it was too late. She had worked her magic—her Black girl magic. Mrs. Hamer demonstrated that a woman did not need to be young, thin, rich, or White to captivate the nation. She had to have integrity, truth, and justice on her side.

I am dismayed by how many of my university students have never heard of Fannie Lou Hamer, but I am not surprised. Black girls and women are rarely featured in the narrative of U.S. history. When pressed to name "famous" Black women who are not artists or entertainers, most students settle on Harriet Tubman, Sojourner Truth, Rosa Parks, and Coretta Scott King. More recently Michelle Obama has been added to the list. But few students know of Harriet Jacobs, Biddy Mason, Ida B. Wells, Anna Julia Cooper, Fannie Coppin, Mary Church Terrell, Dorothy Height, or countless others. The recent release of the Hollywood film *Hidden Figures* (Chernin, Topping, Gigliotti, Williams, & Melfi, 2016) tells the story of three Black women mathematicians—Katherine Johnson, Dorothy Vaughn, and Mary Jackson—who, along with Christine Darden, began working for NASA in the 1950s and charted the launch of astronaut John Glenn into orbit around the earth (Shetterly, 2016).

I highlight these women because they stand in stark contrast to the way Black girls and women are generally portrayed both in our popular culture and in schools. Discussions about race tend to center on Black boys and men. Discussions about gender focus on White women (Hull, Bell-Scott, & Smith, 1993). However, some scholars are beginning to pay attention to the plight of Black girls and women both in schools and in the community.

Morris (2016) documented the increasing numbers of suspensions, expulsions, and juvenile detentions that Black girls experience. Crenshaw, Ritchie, Anspach, Gilmer, and Harris (2016) called attention to the way Black women's brutalization and victimization by the police is rendered invisible by most media outlets. Thus, while most people know the names of Trayvon Martin, Eric Gardner, Michael Brown, and Tamir Rice, the names of Sandra Bland, Rekia Boyd, Tanisha Anderson, and Mya Hall go unnoticed and unacknowledged.

Today, celebrities like Beyoncé, Rihanna, Alicia Keys, and Mariah Carey are lauded for their "Black Girl Magic." But what they do is not "magical." They work hard, they go up against White celebrities, and they allow their talent to shine through. "Magic" for Black women is the ability to feed families, keep roofs over their children's heads, and maintain dignity in the face of a society that despises them

for both their race and their gender. Magic is the ability to persevere despite being rendered invisible. Magic is setting your own standard of beauty while every representation of beauty displayed to you from the time you are a little girl is the antithesis of your skin color, your size, your hair texture, your nose, your lips, and your hips.

Black girls are so much more than magic. They are strong. They are smart. They are brave. They are resilient. They are capable. They are so much more than what society claims they are. They are responsible for almost every civil rights movement that tackles racism, sexism, homophobia, classism, and ability discrimination. What makes them more than magic is that they have not allowed all of the things they are up against to deter them from continuing the fight for justice and right. Instead of being ignored or despised by society they should be venerated. Programs like Black Entertainment Television's (BET) "Black Girls Rock" pay tribute to both the famous and the ordinary to remind us that we are more than magic. But Black girls are smart enough not to wait for external celebrations of who they are. Instead, they continue to be themselves and to make the world believe they are more than magic!

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Walking the Tightrope of Visibility

Leigh Patel

It is often said, posted, and quipped that "we do not live single-issue lives." Sometimes this quotation is rightly attributed to Audre Lorde (2012 p. 138); often it is not. This lack of attribution is more than ironic, considering Lorde, her work, and her life. Lorde was a poet and future-dreaming analyst whose words incisively named the white, heteropatriarchal nationalist violence visited upon Black peoples, and saw the possibilities beyond these realities. She named oppressions and also wrote of strength, life, and love. At the core of Lorde's poetry and her life was the idea that being an outsider meant multiple realities. She wrote about herself as "the outsider, both strength and weakness" (Lorde, 2004, p. 120).

When Lorde's words are used and she is not cited, a theft of her ideas occurs—a theft that is as regular as rain in a nation built by stolen labor on stolen land. When Lorde is not acknowledged, we also suffer the loss of learning from her work, which saw beyond the categories of Black, woman, queer. What, then, does it mean to pay attention in a rightful way? How can we name not just as a way of interrupting the ongoing erasure of Black, brown, and Indigenous women, but as a way of altering how we are in relation to what we've named?

The United States has long relied on erasing Indigenous populations and Black peoples' labor, particularly the labor of Black women. Because the nation was built upon the economic system of slavery, Black women were pivotal to the founding fathers' projects and success. They could bear children, which meant more property for slave-owning office holders, university presidents, farmers, and school headmasters.

When Janie, the protagonist in Zora Neale Hurston's 1937 novel, Their Eyes Were Watching God, is told by her grandmother, "De nigger woman is de mule uh de world so fur as Ah can see" (p. 29), it cues the reader to witness and take note of the ways that Janie lived entangled with these burdens and how she lived beyond them. Hurston encourages us to read Janie's story as a way of changing not only how we deal with burdens, but how those burdens are assigned. In a culture that has historically been tethered to individualistic ideas of identity, #SayHerName (http://www.aapf.org/sayhername/) calls us to speak out loud the intersecting vectors of racism, heteropatriarchy, ableism, and capitalism as they impact Black and brown women and girls.

Naming also urges us to speak to the life and learning that has taken place in defiance of these oppressions. Naming as a way of being in right relation obligates us to make visible the lives of Black and brown girls, and to do so with a sober understanding of this society's tendencies toward spectacle. Visibility has both potential and peril, particularly for education.

Categorized as Victim or Overachiever in Schools

In November 2015, the nation collectively gasped when a cellphone video of a young Black high school student being tossed across a classroom by a white male school safety officer went viral. In mere seconds of grainy footage, millions of people saw the seeds of violence that had been planted by intersecting categories of young, Black, and girl in a white male nationalist setting. Yet when people deliberated what this young girl might have done to precipitate this heinous action, they engaged in a narrative that associates Blackness with criminal or deviant. Asking what she may have done erases longstanding population-level vulnerabilities and replaces it with justified white male violence. Neither the spectacle of this egregious violence nor how it was then justified is unusual. Schools are regular sites for the conjoined categorical locations of savage and savior.

Schooling is animated by categorical logics because it sits within and feeds into a larger society that segments and stratifies. More and less intelligent, beautiful, and worthy is the drumbeat of colonial ranking of human to less than human (Wynter, 2003). Reading groups, math course tracks, the first to be called for physical education teams, the roster of detention, and the list to be expelled—these are the sounds of categorical distinction. The machinery of schooling ranks and sorts people into categories.

Categorical distinction is never just about the single categories; the impact is in how the categories function together. Black suffering is created for white profit. Narratives of manifest destiny are required to justify the theft of Indigenous land. Categorical projects seek to position people towards poles: one is discardable because another needs to be essential. If visibility means playing into facile tropes of victim or superachiever, saying her name hasn't served her well at all.

 The song, "Tightrope" (Lightning, Wonder & Big Boi, 2010), as performed by Janelle Monae, reminds Black and brown girls that high and low are both still places on the tightrope:

While they jumpin' round ya

They trying to take all of your dreams

But you can't allow it

Cause baby whether you're high or low

Whether you're high or low

You gotta tip on the tightrope.

Upending the Tightrope

There is no doubt that we must say her name. We must say her name to interrupt the erasure that whiteness, heteropatriarchy, and ableism rely on. We must say her name to starve racist capitalism of its projects that confuse, blur, and conflate whiteness with human. The challenge is in saying her name with a vivid understanding that visibility is not in and of itself a means to an end; it is the way to upend categories of distinct and destitute.

Although easily and constantly glossed over, the experiences of Black and brown girls can serve to upend the tightrope instead of just our place on it. Saying her name invites and obligates us to articulate the connected yet distinct ways that Black suffering is spectacularized (Dumas & Nelson, 2016; Wun, 2014), while erasure of Indigeneity relies on silence (Dhillon, 2015). Saying her name offers an opportunity to interrupt these twinned and contradictory impulses of hypervisibility and erasure. But it will not succeed without vigilance to the structure of settler colonialism that not only allows for these intersecting oppressions (Crenshaw, 1991), but relies on them.

This is a big ask for education and its categorical logics. The seduction of justice through representation is palpable. The term *underrepresented* speaks of the material impact of privileging certain populations as smart, talented, and beautiful: they become overrepresented in positions of power and safety. But the term also belies a cul-de-sac finish line that is easily satisfied by numbers but doesn't necessarily change how we are with each other.

Leanne Betasamoke Simpson writes, "Change achieved through struggle, organizing, and creating the alternatives produces profoundly different outcomes than change achieved through recognition-focused protest, and pressuring the state to make the changes for us. That is a recipe for co-option" (2016, p. 24). Recognition and optics are beguiling but also potentially politically distracting. Saying her name holds great power and potential to shatter single-node approaches to just racism, or just

patriarchy, or just capitalism. It also demands that we shed individualistic ideas of heroines and victims. It calls on us to eschew the high or low place in the interest of finding new ways of being with each other and for each other.

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