

can happen in an instant and where book bans and laws are justified on the spurious claim that they will protect children from the supposedly corrupting influence of queer people. Erhart's brilliance lies in her ability to lay out in all their complex detail the ways in which different forms of censorship operate.

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Building Power, Breaking Power: The United Teachers of New Orleans, 1965–2008

University of North Carolina Press, 2024. 336 pp.

Three months after Hurricane Katrina decimated New Orleans in 2005, the Orleans Parish School Board fired more than 7,500 employees, nearly 4,000 of them teachers. Since close to three-quarters of the dismissed teachers were Black, their termination echoed the mass displacement of Black educators in the southern United States following *Brown v. Board of Education*. While the scale and precipitating factors differed, both cases underscored the inextricable ties between public education, labour, and American racial politics.

By kneecapping the teachers' once-powerful union—the United Teachers of New Orleans (UTNO)—the post-Katrina terminations abetted the dramatic overhaul of the city's public school system. The democratically elected school board lost much of its power, privately run charter schools replaced publicly administered ones, and jobs shifted from veteran Black educators to less experienced white ones. By the 2019–2020 academic year, New Orleans became the only major American city in which all publicly funded schools were charters. In *Building Power, Breaking Power*, Jesse Chanin seeks to determine why teachers and their union were so central to this transformation.

Her explanation revolves around the considerable power that educators—Black women educators in particular—amassed through labour organizing in the decades prior to Hurricane Katrina. Black teachers formed the American Federation of Teachers Local 527 in 1937, and the union notched an early civil rights victory by securing the equalization of Black and white teachers' salaries in 1943. In 1965, when the majority-Black New Orleans public schools remained largely segregated, Local 527 initiated a collective bargaining campaign. A year later it launched the first teachers' strike in the South to demand a collective bargaining election and the increased hiring of Black personnel at all levels. Unsuccessful, Local 527 struck again in 1969, then merged with a majority-white union in 1972 as the district transferred teachers en masse to desegregate faculties. Black educators became the leaders and driving force within the integrated union, renamed UTNO, and in April 1974 the

school board authorized educators to select an exclusive collective bargaining agent. Teachers overwhelmingly elected UTNO to bargain on their behalf later that year and, following the threat of yet another strike, the union inked a collective bargaining agreement with the board in 1975—the first in the Deep South.

Chanin argues that UTNO's success resulted from its prioritization of racial justice, its simultaneous advocacy for Black and working-class interests, and its dedication to participatory democracy within its ranks. These practices, alongside its persistent reliance upon disruptive protest and commitment to interracialism, enabled UTNO to grow its ranks and secure continued wage, benefit, and working condition concessions even as antiunionism increased during the 1970s, 1980s, and 1990s. With its finely tuned organizing operation, UTNO also became a political kingmaker within New Orleans; its endorsements and get-out-the vote campaigns mattered.

Yet ironically, the union's strengths contributed to its post-Katrina diminishment. While UTNO had slowed Louisiana and New Orleans's pivot toward educational privatization during the decade before the storm, it struggled to mount a defense in 2005 as policymakers authorized a state takeover of most city schools, dramatically expanded the number of charter schools, and then fired the city's teachers. The union had grown more top-down and service-oriented after its founding director left UTNO for the American Federation of Teachers national office in 1998. That change, coupled with the dispersal of its members by Katrina's floodwaters, left UTNO unable to draw upon the people power that had previously fueled its political engine. The union's strength also made it a target for business interests, philanthropists, and market-oriented reformers, who scapegoated the union in particular and teachers generally for the high-poverty, chronically underfunded school district's systemic failings. Their critiques, which overlooked UTNO's long-term advocacy for resources to benefit teachers and students, often trafficked in racist and gendered stereotypes about the Black women who comprised UTNO's core.

To reconstruct UTNO's history, Chanin conducted more than fifty interviews with former and current New Orleans teachers, paraprofessionals, clerical workers, union leaders, and district administrators. She supplemented those interviews with archived union and school district records, personal paper collections, and an extensive review of press coverage from New Orleans's primary Black- and white-owned newspapers. Significantly, UTNO retrieved additional, unprocessed papers from a storage unit, sharing them with Chanin. She then digitized and organized those records before depositing them at the Earl K. Long Library at the University of New Orleans. Hopefully, she will also make her interviews publicly available.

Building Power, Breaking Power makes notable contributions to the historiographies of teachers' unions in the United States, Black teachers and the civil rights movement, and the post-1965 urban South. Expanding upon Vanessa Siddle Walker's and Elizabeth Todd-Breland's work, Chanin underscores Black educators' critical role as labour activists. Given that historians of American teachers' unions have focused on regions where white educators dominated the profession, this is a valuable corrective. Chanin also convincingly presents UTNO as part of a long civil rights movement in which intertwined economic and racial justice concerns fueled activism from the

Great Depression into the 1970s. Situating UTNO's history within this longer continuum underscores the ways in which New Orleans's post-Katrina educational overhaul undermined civil rights victories and the Black educators who pressed for them.

While Chanin sought to interview prominent advocates for New Orleans's post-Katrina reforms, they declined to speak to her. To obtain basic salary details for charter school teachers, she also had to file nearly fifty public records requests and then badger administrators to comply. This opacity leaves lingering questions about whether the erosion of Black power was an intended versus unintended consequence of New Orleans's educational transformation. Future researchers should pursue this line of inquiry. Doing so would test Chanin's often bold assertions about charter advocates' motives, which historians such as Todd-Breland and Jack Dougherty have shown to be varied elsewhere. More importantly, it would hold those who operate in the shadowy realm between the public and private to account. As Michel-Rolph Trouillot notes in *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*, "The ultimate mark of power may be invisibility; the ultimate challenge, the exposition of its roots."²¹

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Lauren Leigh Kelly and Daren Graves, eds.

The Bloomsbury Handbook of Hip Hop Pedagogy

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The Hip Hop community celebrated Hip Hop's Golden Anniversary in 2023. From a house party in the Bronx to a worldwide phenomenon, Hip Hop has altered the global rhythm and lens that we use to read the world. Hip Hop pedagogues have continued to highlight the genre's contributions to education spaces: student engagement, cultural connectivity, and future building all for a radically just world. Editors Lauren Leigh Kelly and Daren Graves offer an expansive understanding of Hip Hop pedagogy through their release of *The Bloomsbury Handbook of Hip Hop Pedagogy*. As this text states, Hip Hop pedagogy (HHP) considers the study, application and reflection of Hip Hop's five elements (deejaying, emceeing, breaking, graffiti and knowledge of self) in education. The editors invite thirty contributors to walk readers through Hip Hop pedagogy's emergence and the nascent adoption and integration of it in classroom settings in this handbook.

With an ode to cassette tapes and vinyls, this handbook dissects Hip Hop pedagogy in four segments: HHP's origin story, theory, research methodology and practice. Education scholar, David Stovall leads the handbook by penning a posture check

21 Michel-Rolph Trouillot, *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History* (Beacon Press, 1995), xxiii.